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EXPERIENCE AND FEELING IN T.S. ELIOT AND
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the University of the West
of England, Bristol for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts, Creative Industries & Education,

University of the West of England, Bristol

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Abstract

This thesis identifies and interrogates commonalities and divergences in the works of T.S. Eliot and Ernest Hemingway in relation to their focus on how to make sense of the world of experience in the early twentieth century, and the complex mediations in which feeling and consciousness are involved. Chapter One considers Eliot's and Hemingway's common concern in their early works with the experience and representation of a fragmented self, and the extent to which this feature led them to involve their characters in a flow of sensations that liberates consciousness from the chains of rational constructs. Chapter Two examines Eliot's and Hemingway's later ambivalent consideration of this glorification of the sensual beyond any intellectual categorization of reality. The chapter shows how their shared mistrust of this primitive state of mind guided them to pay attention to collective modes of experience intrinsic to ritual patterns. The focus of Chapter Three is on Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (1926). This chapter analyzes the rituals to which they paid attention and how these shaped their distinctive consideration of a common unifying sense of feeling to revitalize society. Chapter Four investigates Eliot's interest in religious feeling and Hemingway's concern with moral feeling as modes of reinforcing the interrelation between the individual and society. The aim in the final chapter is to consider Eliot's *Four Quartets* (1943) and Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) within the framework of the American Jeremiad to analyze the outcomes of the final quest of these two authors to

attain a unity of experience that moves beyond the frontier of the contradictions of the material world.

Critics have commented on the relationship between Eliot and Hemingway in different terms. My overall argument, however, is that the similarities and differences between these two authors result from Eliot and Hemingway occupying two poles of a dissociated experience of reality, and that they attempted in comparable yet contrasting ways to transcend the disorder of experience. This analysis is situated within the intellectual context of the turn of the twentieth century and the emphasis on a philosophy that defends an original flux of sensations as opposed to a rational formulation of reality. This contextualization establishes the consonance between the philosophies of Bergson, James and Bradley, and the concern with consciousness and experience deployed by Eliot and Hemingway in their early works. By analyzing this within their texts, the thesis provides a framework for an understanding of the progression Eliot and Hemingway engaged with from a reflection on individual consciousness and experience to a later consideration of collective experiences and culture. This second discussion focuses on the confluence between Eliot's and Hemingway's later works and the theories of early twentieth century social scientists such as Lévy-Bruhl, Frazer and Freud.

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The research that forms the basis of the work here was carried out while I was a PhD student at the University of the West of England. Dr. Sarah Robertson was one of my supervisors there and I feel lucky that I was able to work with her. Thanks for all her valuable suggestions in the last stage of the dissertation and for her amazing lectures on Tim O’Brian and Paul Auster. Thanks to Dr. Lewis Ward for all his help in the last stage of the dissertation.

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Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my wife Teresa (siempre será una hora cojonuda) and Theo (who is in his way). Believe or not, both of your parents have finished their dissertations just on time.

Abbreviations

Works of T.S. Eliot

ASG *After Strange Gods: A Primer of Modern Heresy.*

CPP *Complete Poems and Plays.*

EAM *Essays Ancient and Modern.*

ICS *The Idea of a Christian Society and Other Writings.*

IMH *Inventions of the March Hare: Poems.*

KE *Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley.*

NTDC *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture.*

OPP *On Poetry and Poets.*

SW *The Sacred Wood. Essays on Poetry and Criticism.*

SP *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot.*

TCC *To Criticize the Critic and Other Writings.*

Works of Ernest Hemingway

AFT *A Farewell to Arms.*

AMF *A Moveable Fest.*

CSS *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway.*

DS *The Dangerous Summer.*

DIA *Death in the Afternoon.*

FC *The Fifth Column.*

FWBT For Whom the Bell Tolls.

IOT In Our Time.

HHN To Have and Have Not.

NAS The Nick Adams Stories.

OMAS The Old Man and the Sea.

SAR The Sun Also Rises.

Works of Irving Babbitt

MFC The Masters of Modern French Criticism.

RR Rousseau and Romanticism.

Works of Henri Bergson

CE Creative Evolution.

MM Matter and Memory.

TFW Time and Free Will.

Works of F.H. Bradley

AR Appearance and Reality.

ES Ethical Studies.

Works of Ernst Cassirer

EOM An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture.

PSF The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms. Volume Two: Mythical Thought.

SMC Symbol, Myth, and Culture: Essays and Lectures of Ernst Cassirer 1935-1945.

Works of William James

ERE Essays in Radical Empiricism.

POW Pragmatism and Other Writings.

Works of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl

HNT How Natives Think.

NPM The Notebooks on Primitive Mentality.

Introduction

A number of critics have worked on the relationship between T.S. Eliot and Ernest Hemingway.¹ Joseph M. Flora claims Eliot's role as a mentor for the young Hemingway (73). He argues that "T.S. Eliot did for twentieth-century poetry what Ernest Hemingway would do for twentieth-century fiction" (73). He notes curious biographical sketches and points out commonalities and similar references between texts. But, surprisingly, he does not connect that initial statement with his final suggestion about the tangled relationship between those two authors as being settled around the concept of experience: "Readers continue to juxtapose the lives and works of T.S. Eliot and Ernest Hemingway. We scarcely read one without the other, and we read them similarly. Hemingway and Eliot shared more than they realized (or would admit), as is emblemized in the riverine dimensions of their experience and their writing" (84). Unfortunately, Flora does not develop further this insightful framework, and the question of the value of articulating an analysis of the works of these two authors remains unanswered.

Other critics focus on how Eliot and Hemingway shared a commitment to emotions and feelings in their works.² Alan Brown and Nicholas Joost state that "[i]n

¹ I have chosen not to reflect on Eliot's and Hemingway's biographical commonalities and the different remarks these two authors made about each other. First, I consider that these anecdotes would not offer any useful line of argumentation to my analysis. Second, most of the critics that have analyzed the relationship between Eliot and Hemingway have already dealt with all this information. In that respect, see Flora, P. Eby or Curnutt.

² Critics have mainly focused on two aspects to make their cases. Firstly, they claim the similarities between Eliot's "objective correlative" (*SP* 48) and Hemingway's "real thing" (*DIA* 2) as two broadly similar aesthetic formulas. Secondly, they have paid

‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’ Eliot anticipates Hemingway’s belief that learning how to capture the emotions of common experience is one of the greatest challenges facing aspiring writers” (428). P. Eby argues that Hemingway’s formulation—to evoke emotions—“sounds remarkably like the ‘objective correlative’ defined by [...] Eliot” (177). In a comparable way, Watkins suggests Eliot’s and Hemingway’s interest in the evocation of emotion and the similarities between their respective literary formulas. According to Watkins, “Eliot is indicating how literature effectively conveys feeling” (18). Similarly, this critic uses Hemingway’s remarks about the work of the writer to show Hemingway’s commitment to emotion and feelings: “[The writer should] convey everything, every sensation, sight, feeling, place and emotion to the reader” (100). Watkins compares Eliot’s and Hemingway’s comments on emotion and feelings, but he does not contrast them. He sees the correlation between external fact and emotion as pointed out by these two authors, but he dismisses the opportunity to engage further with some of the ideas that this analysis suggests.

All these critics point convincingly to experience and feeling as the cornerstone of the commonalities between Eliot and Hemingway, but to a certain extent all of them make the same mistake. They consider these two authors’ examination of feelings and emotions in isolation. They do not take into account the key feature of a troubled consciousnesses attempting to come to terms with a fragmented experience of reality.³ As

attention to the common use of the legends of the Grail. For the first aspect, see Grimes, Baker, and Kenner. For the second aspect, see Cowley, Flora, Baker and Lupack. I shall deal in detail with all these critics in Chapter One and Chapter Three respectively.

³ Since the very beginning of their careers Eliot and Hemingway showed their common concern with a fragmented experience of reality. The very title of one of Eliot’s earliest poems “Do I know how I think? Do I know what I feel?”—collected in the posthumous

Stasi argues, the only mode of confronting the critique of modernism is to examine more closely the relationship between aesthetic form and historical ground (5). It is necessary to analyze Eliot's and Hemingway's aesthetic propositions as being the result of an intellectual terrain concerned with a set of intellectual problems in a particular period. Matthew J. Bolton takes this approach and involves Bergson's philosophy in the textual interaction between Eliot's and Hemingway's works. Bolton persuasively considers the early work of Hemingway and Eliot in the context of problematic representations of consciousness and their common use of images to render multiple planes of perception (38). Bolton points to Bergson's philosophy as a way of situating Eliot and Hemingway in a textual interaction in a common terrain of intellectual ideas. He also underlines their common use of memory-images (38, 43).⁴ Bolton contends that Hemingway learned from Eliot how to represent the processes of the conscious mind through fragments of texts and images. Bolton accurately points out how these two authors reflected in comparable ways on the impossibility of conjugating a sensuous self which experiences inwardly, and an intellectual self conditioned by the outer world. However, he fails at the same time to realize the extent to which this shared reflection led them to explore an experience that

Inventions of the March Hare—points out the dissociation between two levels of experience. In this poem Eliot splits “what I think” and “how I feel” to reflect on this fragmented experience (*IMA* 80). In comparable ways, Hemingway shows his suspicion of a dissociated experience of reality when he differentiates in *Death in the Afternoon* between “what you really felt” and “what you were supposed to feel, and had been taught to feel” (2).

⁴ “[M]emory-images” (Bolton 43) relates to a term developed by Henri Bergson in *Matter and Memory* and to the correlation between object and image. I shall explain this in detail in Chapter One.

may transcend these contradictions.⁵ This is a comparatively superficial approach in that it overlooks the correlation between Eliot's and Hemingway's preoccupation with a dualistic conception of reality and their common pursuit of an experience that transcends such fragmentation.

Adams indirectly takes account of the lead ignored by Bolton to focus on Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* in relation to their common use of the mythical method.⁶ In his analysis of the similarities between these two works, he argues that the novel "does embody the feeling Hemingway shared with Eliot and others that Western civilization was dying" (126). Furthermore, he relates this feeling to the loss of religious faith: "Hemingway at this period seems to have shared Eliot's opinion that one prime cause of sterility in Western civilization was loss of religious faith [...]. Eliot's conviction has since increased, while Hemingway has said less and less about orthodox Christianity; but in *The Sun Also Rises* Christian and pagan religious feelings work together in perfect harmony" (130). Adams identifies the coexistence of Christian and pagan rituals that Hemingway explores in the novel as a mode of overcoming a fragmented experience of reality, but he fails at the same time to analyze the extent to which this distinction symbolizes Eliot's engagement with spiritual experiences and

⁵ Bolton notes how Eliot and Hemingway realized that "[t]he answer lay not in adding a traditional narrative framing device but in eschewing such contrivances altogether in order to create a mosaic-like arrangement of brilliant fragments" (40). But this critic overlooks the real purpose of the arrangement which is to transcend the contradictions of the material world.

⁶ "[T]he mythical method" (Eliot, *SP* 177) is an expression used by Eliot to praise Joyce's *Ulysses* for its inclusion of ancient myths as a mode of reflecting on the "panorama of futility" (177) of early twentieth century society. I shall explain in detail the meaning of this term in Chapter Three.

Hemingway's concern with a physical experience of reality. Brooks indirectly confronts this distinction in his analysis of Eliot and Hemingway. He represents the writer of fiction concerned with depicting "the struggle of man to be a human being in a world which increasingly seeks to reduce him to a mechanism" (6). Alternatively, this critic analyzes Eliot as a poet mainly focused on reconstituting the Christian meaning of life (73). Brooks ignores how this distinction results from the distinctive rituals they explored as a mode of pursuing a unifying sense of feeling to transcend the contradictions of the material world.

Despite the possible limitations and differences in method and conclusion, all these critical works about the relationship between Eliot and Hemingway offered me points of embarkation in this study. The commonalities and divergences in the works of Eliot and Hemingway are at the centre of this dissertation. The aim is to explore the extent to which these similarities and differences result from Eliot and Hemingway occupying two poles of a dissociated experience of reality. It is necessary to comprehend how these two authors attempted in the realms of fiction and poetry to envisage forms of unified experience (often only variably successful, if at all). Thus, this dissertation establishes a framework to deploy this analysis within modernist poetics understood as a product of an intellectual crisis. The chapters provide an understanding of the intellectual transition from nineteenth century confidence in scientific advances to the questioning of these secure scientific formulations in the early twentieth century. The consideration of this progression offers a social historical context that clarifies not only Eliot's and Hemingway's literary practices, but also the correlation between the modernist aesthetics and intellectual ground that cohabited with this literary movement. It is necessary to be

aware of the consonance between Eliot's and Hemingway's works and their reflections on feeling and experience within a particular intellectual and social context.

To do so, I address five key and interrelated questions. First, if Eliot and Hemingway shared a consideration of a fragmented experience of reality in which mind and body break up experience, how did this feature condition their literary practices, and to what extent did these practices involve the pursuit of a sensuous flow of experience beyond the limitations imposed by the intellect? Second, in what ways did the exploration of this sensuous flow of experience, or primitive state of mind, condition their reflections on modern civilization? Third, in what ways did Eliot and Hemingway focus on collective modes of experience absent in modern civilization to pay attention respectively to experiences intrinsic to Christian and pagan rituals? Fourth, in what ways did the engagement with these rituals lead Eliot to focus on religious faith and Hemingway to become involved in political ideology in their common, but distinctive, attempt to reinforce the interaction between individual and society? And fifth, to what extent does an understanding of these lines of thinking offer a productive way of reading Eliot and Hemingway as part of the American literary tradition and, more importantly, to what extent does it offer the opportunity to analyze the final outcomes of their common attempt to reach a unifying experience of reality?

The methodology I shall use in this dissertation to confront these questions is to articulate an analysis of the textual interaction of the works of Eliot and Hemingway in a terrain of common ideas. Schwartz's work on Modernism has shaped in part my own approach: "I will construct a matrix that brings together a significant number of philosophers and poets, and articulate the relationships among them. [...]. This study,

then, will situate an important literary movement in its intellectual context” (3-4). To do so, I shall locate the works of Eliot and Hemingway within the intellectual context that cohabited with literary modernism at the turn of the twentieth century.⁷ Prompted by the expression “dissociation of sensibility” (*SP* 64) that Eliot popularized in his essay “The Metaphysical Poets,” I argue that Eliot and Hemingway were part of a similar cultural and philosophical paradigm. In his essay about the Metaphysical poets, Eliot writes that “[i]n the seventeenth century a dissociation of sensibility set in, from which we have never recovered [...]. The language went on and in some respects improved; [...]. But while the language became more refined, the feeling became more crude” (*SP* 64). I claim that this concern with a dissociated sensibility is still at the core of the philosophical debate at the turn of the twentieth century and the subsequent patterns of thought promoted by a philosophy that prioritizes sensory experiences of reality over rational abstractions developed by the intellect to impose order in the material world. By underlining the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway felt attracted in comparable ways by a flow of experience beyond the limitations of the outer world, I engage with the concept of primitivism.

I argue that Eliot and Hemingway were part of the dichotomy intrinsic to the idea of ‘the primitive’ in the early twentieth century. These two authors felt attracted by the concept of the *Noble Savage* inherited from Rousseau, but at the same time, they recognized the necessity of controlling this tendency in order to prevent society sinking

⁷ When I use the term modernism I refer particularly to the literary movement that exploded “onto the international scene in the aftermath of World War I” (Murfin and Ray 268). This literary movement “reflected the pervasive sense of loss, disillusionment, and even despair in the wake of the Great War” (268).

into chaos.⁸ Eliot's and Hemingway's conflicting involvement with the primitive resulted in the consideration of collective experiences intrinsic to the performance of rituals. My argument is that this commonality in Eliot's and Hemingway's works is underscored by the progression undertaken after the events of World War One from interest in the centrality of the self towards the consideration of collective experiences. This framework clarifies the common interest of these two authors in ritualistic patterns of experience and the extent to which the different nature of the rituals they paid attention to conditioned their proposition to secure social cohesion. Only within this context will the opposition between Eliot's engagement with the Christian faith and Hemingway's concern with political ideology be grasped. As I shall attempt to show, without an awareness of the intellectual context I identify, the literary analysis of Eliot's works alongside Hemingway's fiction would be impoverished.

In the first chapter, I shall explore Eliot's and Hemingway's common reflections on the dissociation between the consciousness of inner and outer worlds. I shall focus on the extent to which Eliot's first volume *Prufrock and Other Observations* (1917) and Hemingway's first collection of short stories *In Our Time* (1925) are the result of the engagement of these two authors with William James's and Henri Bergson's similar ideas of the concept of the self, in which two levels of experience are identified with two levels

⁸ Rousseau never used the phrase "noble savage", although his "savage man" is closely related to this term and it has become associated with views he expressed in his *Discourse on Inequality*: "If I strip the being thus constituted of all the supernatural gifts that he may have received, and of all the artificial faculties that he can have acquired only through a long process of time, if I consider him, in a word, as he must have emerged from the hands of nature, I see an animal less strong than some, less agile than others, but taken as a whole the most advantageously organized of all. I see him satisfying his hunger under an oak, quenching his thirst at the first stream, finding his bed under the same tree which provided his meal; and, behold, his needs are furnished" (81).

of consciousness. In a comparable way, Eliot and Hemingway considered time and space as intellectual categories imposed by the human intellect to arrange external reality. This shared concern leads them to propose similar aesthetic formulas based on the deployment of images to represent an experience in which the boundaries between internal thinking and external reality dissolve. This shared attempt to overcome a dissociated experience of reality led them to consider primitivism as a reaction against the mechanical categorization of reality.

Chapter Two pays attention to the common reflections on civilization pointed out by Eliot and Hemingway as a result of their shared engagement with the dangerous allure of the primitive. I reflect on Eliot's second volume of poetry, *Poems* (1920), and some of Hemingway's early short stories in the context of conflicts between individual sensual tendencies and social conventions and constraints. This common concern relates Eliot and Hemingway to the parameters of thought promoted by Irving Babbitt and Sigmund Freud and their shared questioning of the primitive. Similarly, Eliot and Hemingway portrayed characters involved in sexual and violent actions to call attention to the necessity of restraining the tendency towards a primitive state of mind. This consideration of the primitive as opposed to the civilized led Eliot and Hemingway to reflect on the necessity of restoring the correlation between individual and society, and reflect on collective modes of experience that they found absent in modern civilization. In comparable ways, these two authors paid attention to ritual patterns of experience as a mode of involving the whole of society in collective modes of experience.

Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) are the focus of Chapter Three. I analyze Eliot's and Hemingway's common interest in a

“mythical-religious feeling of *community*” (Cassirer, *PSF* 175). I focus on the similar use by these two authors of a mythic paradigm to reflect on an incoherent experience of reality. Eliot’s reflections on “the mythical method” (*SP* 117) along with F.H. Bradley’s theory of experience will clarify the common concern of these two authors with an absolute order of experience. They explored the myth of the Fisher King and the rites tied to this myth in their shared pursuit of such a unifying sense of feeling. This engagement led Eliot to focus on Christian rituals and Hemingway to explore the pagan ritual of bullfighting. The distinctive nature of those rituals disposed Eliot to consider religious experiences and Hemingway to explore experiences resulting from the individual’s behaviour in the material world.

In Chapter Four the focus of attention is Eliot’s religious faith and Hemingway’s political ideology. I shall examine the way Eliot’s interest in religious experiences led him to focus on the Christian tradition and the extent to which Hemingway’s concern with individual actions led him to focus on the tradition of bullfighting. I shall decipher how each tradition represents a distinctive way of feeling that similarly implies the interrelation between individual and society. I shall then focus on Eliot’s *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) and Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) to clarify the social institutions that Eliot and Hemingway proposed to guarantee the social cohesion that they related to the experience of religious and moral feelings respectively.

In Chapter Five I discuss the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway were part of a common literary tradition. I shall focus on the extent to which they paid attention in comparable ways to the correlation between language and the experience of reality. This shared consideration relates these two authors to an understanding of language inherited

from their American literary forefathers. I shall focus on the communalities between Ralph Waldo Emerson and William James in relation to their reflections on language and the extent to which they urged the use of symbols to prevent language from becoming useless to explain the experience of reality. I focus then on the symbol of the American Jeremiad to read Eliot's *Four Quartets* and Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) as works connected to this American literary tradition. This analysis shall offer the framework to contrast the distinctive outcomes of Eliot's and Hemingway's shared pursuit of a transcendental centre to reach a unified experience of reality that significantly is also at the core of the American Jeremiad.

Reynolds contends that "[t]he relationship between Hemingway and T.S. Eliot has drawn little critical interest despite the several signs pointing the way" (112).⁹ In this dissertation I plan to explore these signs to gain a better understanding of this relationship that may shed some light on unexplored aspects of each of these two authors. I intend to demonstrate that juxtaposing Eliot and Hemingway in this way reveals hitherto unavailable ways of reading both authors.

⁹ In his personal library Hemingway owned not only the complete collection of Eliot's poetry and plays, but also all of Eliot's criticism. For further information about the books owned by Hemingway in his private library, see Brash and Sigman, and Reynolds.

Chapter One

Dramas of Experience in Early Eliot and Hemingway

1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on Eliot's and Hemingway's shared consideration of a dissociated experience of reality in which mind and body break up experience. Their earliest work represents a fragmented self that is immersed in a flow of perception trying to recover the unity of the mental and the physical in pure experience.¹ I shall consider how this feature frames these two authors in patterns of thought promoted by a philosophy that prioritizes sensory experiences of reality over rational abstractions developed by the intellect to establish order in the material world. I exemplify this philosophy in the theories of William James and Henri Bergson. These two authors articulated at the turn of the twentieth century a debate about the opposition between conceptual abstractions and immediate experience. Their common conviction that reality "transcend[s] intellect" (Bergson, *CE* 46) was shared by others philosophers of this period who engaged in dismantling the nineteenth-century concept of the intellect and showing the falseness of an unguarded faith in scientific progress (Douglass 8-9). James

¹ Pure experience is a concept from William James that I shall consider more fully later in this chapter as part of my analysis of Eliot's and Hemingway's first published works within the framework of late nineteenth and early twentieth century psychology. For a further reference to the relevant psychology of that time, see Levenson.

and Bergson in particular argued the existence of an original flux of concrete sensations as opposed to the instrumental conventions developed by the intellect. They reconceived the categories of time and space as artificial units of analysis that disguise this vital reality of flux and duration. The consideration of this more vital reality of human intuition led them to reflect on a “double form of the real” (matter and life) that suited to a “double form of consciousness” (intelligence and intuition) (Bergson, *CE* 188). James and Bergson redefined the real by relocating it in experience and this feature was at the core of modernist aesthetics.

My intention in this chapter is to explore how far Eliot and Hemingway were part of this cultural and philosophical paradigm at the turn of the twentieth century. Firstly, I want to reflect on the forms of consciousness that these two authors represented in their early works. I shall consider William James’s and Henri Bergson’s similar ideas of the self in which two levels of experience are identified with two levels of corresponding consciousness. I shall consider Eliot’s early poem “The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock” and Hemingway’s earliest short story “Up in Michigan” to show how these two authors presented in a similar way the clash between the inner and the outer world: the opposition between sensations and intellectual conventions used to shape daily existence. Secondly, I shall focus on how Eliot and Hemingway considered time and space as part of that problematic experience of reality. My reading of Eliot’s *Prufrock and Other Observations* (1917) and Hemingway’s *In Our Time* (1925) will exemplify the extent to which these writers treat these categories as artificial conventions disguising a more vital reality or stream of sensations. Thirdly, I shall consider Eliot’s “objective correlative” (*SP* 48) and Hemingway’s “real thing” (*DIA* 2) as two aesthetic propositions related to

shared reflections on the experience of fragmented selfhood. Eliot's prose poem "Hysteria" and Hemingway's short sketch in chapter 14 from *In Our Time* will be read as two similar attempts to represent through the use of images an experience in which the boundaries between the inner and the outer world disappear. When I use the term image I refer to the concept developed by Henri Bergson in relation to intuition. According to Bergson, "[l]ife and its meaning [...] can be grasped only through intuition. An intuition [...] is inseparable from a sensuous reception of images" (Brooker, *Mastery* 50). Finally, some of the images deployed by Eliot in his early poems and Hemingway's "Big Two-Hearted River: Part I" will be considered as the representation of an experience, or state of mind, previous to any intellectual category that fragments reality to take action in the material world. I shall show how these two authors pointed to the categories of time and space as the agents that prevent the individual from experiencing the flux of vital reality in the modern world.

In his early critical writings Eliot positioned consciousness at the centre of his reflections on poetry. In his essay "Dante," compiled in his first published collection of criticism *The Sacred Wood* (1920), Eliot wrote that "[t]he aim of the poet is to create a vision, and no vision of life can be complete which does not include the articulate formulation of life which human minds make" (144). In a similar way, in his appraisal of Donne's poetry in "The Clark Lectures" (1926), Eliot wrote that "[o]riginal movements of mind created the forms, you cannot by simulating the forms revive the mind" (*VMP* 189). In these remarks Eliot stresses the articulation between mind and poetry; and hence, the extent to which poetry is the result of distinct states of mind. I consider that when Eliot uses the term 'mind', he is referring to consciousness and its creative capacity as

considered by William James: “Only those items which I notice shape my mind—without selective interest, experience is an utter chaos. Interest alone gives accent and emphasis, light and shade, background and foreground—intelligible perspective in a world” (qtd. in Kress 24). As Kress makes clear, “the ultimate principle of Jamesian consciousness is its creative capacity. The human mind [...] is constantly ‘shaped’ and reshaped by experience, by the imaginative energy ‘inside’ it and by its connection to the fluid world outside it” (24). This consideration of the creative capacity of mind can be identified in the “The Metaphysical Poets” (1921). In this essay Eliot made a remark about the dissociation of sensibility established in England between the time of Donne and the time of Tennyson. When Eliot affirms that “[i]n the seventeenth century a dissociation of sensibility set in, from which we have never recovered” (*SP* 64), he is suggesting that a dissociated mind created a particular poetry during that period.²

The term ‘dissociation of sensibility’ frames a form of consciousness that confronts a dualistic conception of reality in which mind and body fragment experience.³ As Nancy K. Gish clarifies, dissociation of sensibility is not only an aesthetic style but also a “psychological condition to be resolved in part through poetic means” (114). This form of consciousness implies a constant interaction between the outer and inner worlds and a “bifurcation of experience between subjective and objective domains” (Schwartz

² For an explanation of Eliot’s uses of the phrase “dissociation of sensibility” throughout his criticism, see Beasley 53-54.

³ For an overview of the connection between Eliot’s dissociation of sensibility and Cartesian substance dualism, where mind and body are held to have the distinct essences of thought and material extension, see Wunderlich: “If we replace in the Cartesian terminology dualism with dissociation, mind with thought and body (senses) with feelings, we can derive Eliot’s term *dissociation of sensibility* from the Cartesian divide” (19-20).

177). Eliot's reflections on the dissociation of sensibility engaged with the modern debate about the breakup of stable relations between subject and object and the consequent enshrining of consciousness as the repository of meaning and value.⁴ As Eliot asks in one of his essays, written as a graduate student, on the philosophy of Henri Bergson: "Where, again, is the reality, [...] in the consciousness, or in that which is perceived? Where is the one reality to subsume both of these, and can we or can we not know it?" (qtd. in Jain 159). In order to understand the communalities between Eliot and Hemingway it is necessary to approach their work as a reflection on the psychological condition of the self.

Hemingway's early short stories show the same concern with the contemporary debate about the unstable balance between subject and object in the experience of reality. As De Falco suggests, the troubled individual consciousness of the characters is part of the material Hemingway worked with in some of his stories (19). Jim Barloon is more specific, framing *In Our Time* within a context in which the old epistemological ways of delineating a character no longer apply: "[W]hen consciousness itself—or, as Lawrence put it, the 'old stable ego'—has slipped its moorings, new ways of transcribing experience must be found" (7). In this vein Matthew J. Bolton considers Hemingway's first writings to be under the direct influence of Eliot in the context of the modern preoccupation with "the representation of layering of multiple planes of perception" (38). Bolton states that "[Hemingway] learned from Eliot how to work with fragments of text and how to arrange images [...] that would enact the processes of the conscious mind" (54). Aspects of the discussion of the representation of consciousness in the early work of

⁴ See Levenson 22.

Eliot and Hemingway are key to an understanding of their later work as alternative responses to the similar dissociated experience of reality they confronted in their first writings. Thus, it is necessary to be aware of the extent to which the early works of these two authors were under the influence of reflections on consciousness and experience at the turn of the twentieth century, and the philosophies that looked at the interaction between the physical and the psychological world.

At the turn of the twentieth century rational constructs were questioned by many philosophers, who considered intellectual concepts as instrumental forms imposed upon the flux of sensations. As Schwartz argues, the philosophy of that time focused on the opposition between conceptual abstractions and immediate experience. Bergson's 'real duration,' James's 'stream of consciousness,' Bradley's 'immediate experience' and Nietzsche's 'chaos of sensations' refer to the opposition between the instrumental conventions that shape ordinary life and the original flux of concrete sensations (5). William James and Henri Bergson entered this debate by considering an original flux of experience beneath the forms that organized daily existence. I take as my point of embarkation James's and Bergson's similar consideration of the double form of the real. They differentiated between the mental and the physical, but as part of a "flux" (James, *ERE* 49) or "stream of life" (Bergson, *CE* 196) in which these two levels of experience are in constant interaction. They reflected on this stream of vital reality beyond the intellectual concepts deployed to arrange the material world. Furthermore, they embraced a fluid understanding of consciousness in which these two levels of experience are in constant interaction with each other as part of this stream of continuous experience. These parameters of thinking may be identified in the earliest characters of Eliot and

Hemingway. Prufrock and Liz in “Up in Michigan” are trapped within the dissociation between the self that experiences inwardly a flux of sensations and the self that understands his sense publicly and constrains those inner experiences through intellectual categories. So Eliot and Hemingway presented the minds of these characters as a prison, unable to conjugate the inner and the outer world, the physical and the psychological, in order to experience the stream of life.

James and Bergson had a common belief in a stream of experience beyond the intellectual categorization of reality. As part of this reflection they called attention to the constructions of artificial categories that break this continuous flow of vital reality. They differentiated between the self who depends on the superficial level of actions—framed by time and space in the outer world—and the deeper self for whom those intellectual categories do not exist. In *Time and Free Will*, Bergson affirms that “[b]y separating our conscious states we promote social life, but raise problems soluble only by recourse to the concrete and living self” (137). James also looks at these two levels to claim that “[t]here is no thought-stuff different from thing-stuff, [...], but the same identical piece of ‘pure experience’ (which was the name I gave to the *material prima* of everything) can stand alternatively for a ‘fact of consciousness’ or for a physical reality, according as it is taken in one context or in another” (*ERE* 72). Eliot and Hemingway explored in their early characters these two selves at war; and, hence, they similarly identified the modern devices that break the continuous stream of experience in fragmentary mechanical units of space and time. As Hugh Kenner elucidates, Eliot’s work was deeply affected by the technological changes of the time. Eliot was “his time’s chief poet of the alarm clock, the furnished flat, the ubiquitous telephone, commuting crows, the electric underground

railway” (25).⁵ Hemingway also framed the experience of his earlier characters within a world conditioned by clocks, trains and artificial categorizations of time as a reflection on how this mechanical approach to experience disguises the continuous stream of real time.

This rejection of the intellectual categories that fragment reality in artificial units of space and time turned into an interest in experiencing an immediate state of mind previous to any distinction between object and subject. Therefore, the consideration of primitivism—or pre-civilized states of mind—became part of a reflection on consciousness and experience articulated by James and Bergson in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The fundamental characteristic “of primitive sensibility [...] is the absence [...] of a firm and rational distinction between the inner world of feelings and the external order of existence” (Bell, *Primitivism* 8-9). The primitive state of mind is beyond the intellectual categorizations of reality: for Bell, “[the primitive’s] sense of space and time were radically different from ‘ours’” (21). Both Eliot and Hemingway were attracted by primitivism as a reaction against the intellectual categorization of reality.⁶

My intention in this chapter is to demonstrate how the lines of thinking that emerged from philosophical reflections on consciousness and experience at the turn of the twentieth century can be identified in the early work of Eliot and Hemingway. In the first section I identify how William James and Henri Bergson distinguished between two levels of consciousness which interact within the continuous flow of experience they

⁵ See Trotter 239.

⁶ In a 1919 review entitled “War-Paint and Feathers,” Eliot wrote that “it is certain that some study of primitive man furthers our understanding of civilized man [...]. The maxim, Return to the sources, is a good one” (qtd. in Manganaro 393).

considered reality. One level refers to social life and the other to a more vital reality of flux. I analyze Eliot's and Hemingway's earlier works to show the extent to which these works are dramas of consciousness based on the confrontation between two levels of a fragmented experience. As Brooker affirms in relation to Eliot's early poems, "[t]he gap between body and brain is a major motif in the four great poems Eliot wrote between 1909 and 1911" ("War" 2). Eliot's and Hemingway's characters are involved in a flow of experience in which the inner life clashes with the requirements of the outer world. In section two I reflect on how James and Bergson considered the categories of time and space as functional units of analysis that arrest a more vital reality of flux and duration. I focus on how Eliot and Hemingway explored these two categories as artificial constructs used for convenience in the public sphere of reality. This common rejection of the artificial categorizations of time and space led them to propose aesthetic formulas based on the deployment of images to represent an experience in which the boundaries between subject and object disappear. Furthermore, they explored through the deployment of these images a primitive state of mind beyond the framework of the modern world.

2. Experience and the fragmented self

Eliot's poem "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" and Hemingway's short story "Up in Michigan" provide a number of coordinates for my analysis of the confrontation between a self longing for sensory experiences and a social self preventing the sensuous flow of experience. In these two works there is a constant interaction between the inner

and the outer world. The impossibility of combining these two levels of experience is at the core of the drama that takes place in the mind of the characters. Eliot's poem opens with a formal request: "Let us go then, you and I" (*CPP* 3).⁷ This separation points to duality as the cornerstone of Prufrock's dramatic monologue. At one level, the poem presents the society where Prufrock lives and from where he gets the sense of his social self: "There will be time, there will be time/To prepare a face to meet the faces that you meet" (4). At another level, the poem points to an inner flux of experience beyond the social world: "I should have been a pair of ragged claws/Scuttling across the floors of silent seas" (5). In a comparable context, Hemingway explores the dissociated self in "Up in Michigan." In this short story the young Liz suffers a clash between her inner feelings for Jim and her thoughts about how those feelings are controlled by society. Eliot and Hemingway represent in a similar way the confrontation between the self that experiences inwardly a flux of sensations and the self that understands this sense publicly and controls those inner experiences.

The theories of James and Bergson are relevant to my analysis for at least two reasons. Firstly, they refer to comparable senses of the self in which two levels of experience are identified with two states of consciousness. Secondly, both philosophers share a preoccupation with the fluid nature of human consciousness in which those two levels or states of experience function with each other as part of a flux of experience. In *The Will to Believe* (1897), James comments on "ordinary" and "total consciousness" and says that "[t]he result [of this proposal about the self] is to make me feel that we all have

⁷ For a succinct analysis of the alternative interpretations of the meaning of "You and I" made by different, see Child 65-73. Sanford Schwartz also refers to "internal and external self" (190), but he focuses on conflicting points of view rather than in levels of experience or forms of consciousness as I do in my analysis of the poem.

potentially a subliminal self, which may make at any time irruption into our ordinary lives” (qtd. in Johnson 14). Similarly, in *Time and Free Will* (1889), Bergson distinguishes between “two aspects of conscious life” (128) to affirm that when consciousness adapts to the requirements of social life it “gradually loses sight of the fundamental self” (128). In their early work Eliot and Hemingway represent these two aspects of conscious life that are in continuous change and interaction in the experience of reality. They also look to the social world as the agent that aborts any possibility of experiencing this fundamental or subliminal self discussed by James and Bergson in their reflections on consciousness and experience.

The first line of “The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock” splits Prufrock’s experience into “you” and “I” (*CPP* 3). This separation is followed by the delimitation in lines four and nine between the public space of “certain half-deserted streets” and the private inner sphere of “a tedious argument/Of insidious intent” (3). Eliot mentions two levels of experience at the same time that he underlines the separation between the inner and the outer world. In the first stanza Eliot frames the parameters in which he plans to dissect Prufrock “[l]ike a patient etherized upon a table” (3). This division is a constant as Prufrock journeys, or not, through the city space: “Time for you and time for me” (*CPP* 3). The poem presents the society where he lives and where he experiences the charade of social conventions: “After the cups, the marmalade, the tea,/Among the porcelain, among some talk of you and me” (4). Cultural and societal rules must be followed: “Before the taking of a toast and tea” (4). The outer social world is the physical space where Prufrock interacts with this social routine and in which he realizes the apprehension of his social identity: “[They will say: ‘But how his arms and legs are thin!’]” (*CPP* 4). Society

unavoidably comments and exerts control over him: “And I have known the eyes already, known them all—/The eyes that fix you in a formulated phrase” (5). The character of Prufrock symbolizes the confrontation between the physical world and his interior life; but, within the latter, this dissociation splits into two levels of consciousness that meaningfully refer to the two realities that are in constant interaction in the scenario that comprises this poem.

In “Portrait of a Lady” Eliot also outlines the separation between the outer and the inner world at the same time that he explores how these two levels of experience condition the consciousness of the female character. The lady constantly refers to the outside world and how societal rules determine her sense of self. She insists on how important her friends are for her life: “You do not know how much they mean to me” (8), but at the same time, she realizes that their opinion about her relationship affects her own feelings for the male character: ““For everybody said so, all our friends,/They all were sure our feelings would relate/So closely! I myself can hardly understand”” (11). She is aware of being trapped within the control that society has over her life, as she points out when she recognizes that once her male companion is gone she “shall sit here, serving tea to friends” (11). As Mayer notes, “[t]he poem insistently points up the contrast between the outdoor public world [...] and the indoor domestic world of the woman—a single room that is identified by both parties with the life of feelings” (111-12). But in “Portrait” feelings are under the control of the outside world in the case of the lady. She envies the male character because he is able to ignore the chains of society that control the experiences of her own life: ““You let it flow from you, you let it flow”” (9). She cannot ignore the control that the outside world exerts over her feelings even when she is in the

private world of her room. She cannot access to this flow of life as her male companion does, because the social role-play also governs her private life. In this poem Eliot again reflects on two levels of experience that, as in Prufrock's case, are at war in the consciousness of the character. A reflection on the fragmented experience of the self is also found in Hemingway's first published short story.

In "Up in Michigan" (1922) Hemingway presents a character confronting a dissociation similar to that experienced by Prufrock in his dramatic monologue. As in "Prufrock," there is a gap between the outer and the inner world. Hemingway presents both the space of Horton Bay where Liz acts, and the private sphere of Liz's feelings: "When she saw the wagon coming down the road she felt weak and sick sort of inside" (CSS 60). This confrontation between the two levels of experience is transferred into Liz's troubled consciousness. On the one hand, there is an aspect of consciousness that is concerned with the outer space where Liz acts: "She was afraid to ask Mrs. Smith" (60); and, on the other hand, there is an aspect of consciousness that is concerned exclusively with Liz's own desires for Jim: "If she let herself go [thinking about Jim] it was better" (60). Liz experiences the imperative of unifying these two levels of consciousness, but the impossibility of doing so leads her towards a moment of crisis.

At the end of the story, Liz's feelings about Jim push her towards a sexual act, but when the moment arrives she is reluctant to engage in it voluntarily: "She was frightened but she wanted it. She had to have it but it frightened her" (CSS 62). Liz knows that the people in the village will talk about it. Society unavoidably exerts some kind of control over her doubts: "You mustn't, Jim. You mustn't. [...] Oh, it isn't right" (62). Once she thinks about what has happened to her, she tries to recover from Jim's action but cannot:

“Liz started to cry. She walked over to the edge of the dock and looked down to the water. There was a mist coming down from the bay” (62). The mist not only symbolizes the confusion experienced by Liz after Jim’s abuse, but also the impossibility of combining her own desires for him before he took advantage of her and the consequences of such an act. Liz experiences the gap between the two levels of consciousness as a result of the impossibility of conjugating her flux of sensations and her thoughts about how those feelings are controlled by the social world. Prufrock and Liz experience dissociation between the two levels of consciousness that are part of the same fragmented experience of reality, in which the inner and the outer world are in constant confrontation in the construction of selfhood. This double form of consciousness corresponds to a double form of reality that—as Bergson and James argue—is in constant interaction within a continuous flux of experience.

In *Essays in Radical Empiricism* (1911) William James alludes to the distinction between the mental and the physical, but he affirms that this distinction is part of the flux of experience⁸: “In this full, concrete, and undivided experience, such as it lies before us, as a given, the objective physical world and the personal inner world of each one of us meet and merge as lines merge at their intersection” (*ERE* 120). James points to a double form of the real, “external realities” and “internal thinking” (12), but he insists that these two aspects are part of an immediate experience he calls pure experience: “‘Pure experience’ is the name which I gave to the immediate flux of life which furnishes the material to our later reflection with its conceptual categories” (*ERE* 48). James

⁸ For an extensive explanation of William James’s treatment of the dualism between the mental and physical in *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, see Myers.

distinguishes between the physical and the mental, but as part of a vital reality that is beyond the categories we use to arrange our experiences within this “flux of life” (12).

In *Creative Evolution* (1907) Henri Bergson also develops an analysis about the physical and the mental converging in a flux of experience or “[p]ure duration” (*TFW* 100).⁹ He points to “the double form of the real” (matter and life) to state that “[t]he double form of consciousness is then due to the double form of the real” (*CE* 196).

Bergson distinguishes between matter and inner life before splitting consciousness into two forms: intelligence and intuition. Intelligence produces inert workings to arrange the material world. Intuition, as Gilles Deleuze expresses in *Bergsonism*, “leads us to go beyond the state of experience toward the conditions of experience” (27). The form of consciousness guided by intuition tends toward the conditions of experience or “stream of life” (Bergson, *CE* 196).¹⁰

The double form of reality analyzed by James and Bergson as being in constant interaction within “a flux” (*ERE* 12) or “stream of life” (*CE* 196) is also manifested in Eliot’s “The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock” and Hemingway’s “Up in Michigan.” These two works represent the interaction between the two levels of experience and the correlative double form of consciousness. However, a clash emerges when the sensuous flow of the inner life of the characters is reduced to a permanent objective truth. The flux

⁹ In *Time and Free Will* Henri Bergson refers to this flux of experience as pure duration. Critics often use the original French term: *durée réelle*.

¹⁰ This “stream of life” (Bergson, *CE* 196) is reminiscent of James’s streams of consciousness. James affirms: “Consciousness, then, does not appear to itself chopped up in bits. Such words as ‘chain’ or ‘train’ do not describe it fitly as it presents itself in the first instance. It is nothing jointed; it flows. A ‘river’ or a ‘stream’ are the metaphors by which it is most naturally described. *In talking of it hereafter let us call it the stream of thought, of consciousness, or of subjective life*” (*POW* 177).

of sensations cannot be reduced to a rational formulation as “Prufrock” suggests: “And when I am formulated, sprawling on a pin,/ When I am pinned and wriggling on the wall,/ Then how should I begin” (*CPP* 5). The utilitarian categories used to arrange the outer world expel Prufrock from his inner sensory stream. Once this happens, he is not sure how to act: “And should I then presume?/And how should I begin?” (5). The inner life of the self cannot be controlled by categories developed by the intellect. Hemingway explores an equivalent thought in his first short story about Nick Adams.

In “Indian Camp” Hemingway allows the young Nick to reject the fixed explanations offered by Doctor Adams about the bloody spectacle he witnesses when they help an Indian woman in labor. When the woman starts to scream, Nick asks, “can’t you give her something to make her stop screaming” (*CSS* 68). After this enquiry, Nick’s father can only find an answer to the suffering of the woman from his rational point of view as a doctor: “No. I haven’t any anesthetic [...] But her screams are not important. I don’t hear them because they are not important” (68). Once the cesarean has been performed with a jack-knife—“That’s one for the medical journal” (69)—they realize that the Indian husband has committed suicide. Nick tries to understand the bloody scene: “Is dying hard, Daddy?” (*CSS* 70). Doctor Adams does not have an accurate answer for all the suffering his son has witnessed and, from his scientific approach to mortality, the only explanation he can offer is a laconic one: “No, I think it’s pretty easy, Nick. It all depends” (*CSS* 70). The young Nick rejects these words. They do not belong to the sensorium of screams and pain he has experienced in the camp. As Lisa Narbeshuber observes, Doctor Adams is split off from the woman’s scream, the Indian husband’s distress, and Nick’s inability to deal with the crisis. This passage suggests “Nick’s own

perceptual disassociation” (14). Nick and his father experience the same scene differently as they are immersed in different levels or states of consciousness at the time of confronting it.

Nick’s inner feelings do not correspond with his father’s rational explanations, hence their alternative perceptions of the same event. It is remarkable how Hemingway uses the words ‘think’ to refer to the father’s experiences—“I think” (CSS 70)—and ‘feel’ for Nick’s—“[he] felt” (70). This simple distinction underlines the clear confrontation between the intellectual thinking of the doctor versus Nick’s private approach to the experience of reality. In the very last sentence of the story, Hemingway presents father and son sitting apart in the boat. Nick rejects his father’s approach to reality and embraces his own inner sensations: “[H]e felt quite sure that he would never die” (70). In this story Hemingway presents not only a young man who has witnessed death, but also the impossibility of his understanding those experiences through the fixed rational symbols offered by his father. Nick—like Prufrock—represents the impossibility of controlling the inner flux of life through the same utilitarian categories that work in the outer world.

The flux of experience cannot be reduced to the intellectual premises that are developed within society. In *Time and Free Will* Henri Bergson states that the two levels of experience refer to two conflicting selves in constant interaction in “pure duration” (100):

Hence there are finally two different selves, one of which is, as it were, the external projection of the other, its spatial and, so to speak, social representation. We reach the former by deep introspection, which leads us to grasp our inner states as living things, constantly *becoming*. (231)

Bergson relates the social self to spatial representations and the inner life to a sphere above those artificial limitations. He distinguishes between “two possible conceptions of time” (100) to oppose real time to space: “time, understood in the sense of a medium [...] is nothing but space” (91). William James’s ‘pure experience’ shares with Bergson’s ‘pure duration’ the concept of a stream of life that is in a continuous state of becoming in time: “According to my view, experience as a whole is a process in time” (*ERE* 33). Therefore, both philosophers consider time and space as artificial categories that arrest the fluid time of the vital reality. Eliot and Hemingway explored this flux of vital experience. In the next section I shall analyze representations of the categories of time and space to reflect on the extent to which these two authors embraced that sensuous flow to experience reality.

3. Time, memory and space

Eliot’s *Prufrock and Other Observations* and Hemingway’s *In Our Time* treat the categories of time and space as artificial conventions disguising a more vital reality of flux and duration. The poet and the writer of fiction explore in their early writings two levels of consciousness which refer to both the outer and the inner world. As part of this experience of the fragmented self they also look at two alternative conceptions of time that correspond to those two levels of experience. They identify the public conception of time used to organize public spaces. Moreover, they ponder the extent to which an alternative consideration of time in continuous duration may be experienced beyond the

public sphere of reality. In their first published works Eliot and Hemingway depict how human intellect imposes the categories of time and space to arrange the external reality that constrains the stream of life.

The fact that they wrote in the early twentieth century means that Eliot and Hemingway reflected on a world facing important technological and cultural changes. Discoveries in physics in the first years of the century, most notably Einstein's theory of relativity, questioned the standardized textures of reality based on Newton's notions of absolute time.¹¹ For the latter, time exists in an absolute succession and it is alien to anything external.¹² In contrast, Einstein rejects the notion of an absolute time and contends that "the dilation of time was only a perspectival effect created by the relative motion between an observer and the thing observed" (Kern 18).¹³ These changes resulted in a flexible and dynamic consideration of time that was at odds with the industrial modernization of the nineteenth century and the necessity of adopting a standard public time. For Kern, economical changes and new modes of mass production, along with the wireless telephone and railroad timetables, necessitated the creation of a universal public time to coordinate life in the modern world (34). Therefore, at the turn of the century

¹¹ For a full discussion of the alternative considerations of time and space under Newton's *Principia Mathematica* and Einstein's theory of relativity, see Kern.

¹² For a more detailed explanation of Newton's description of time, see Schleifer 37.

¹³ In the "London Letter, March 1921"—one of the Eliot's essays that appeared periodically in the magazine the *Dial*—the poet makes reference to the presence of Einstein in England: "Einstein the Great has visited England, and delivered lectures to uncomprehending audiences, and been photographed for the newspapers" (Rainey 183). This reference to Einstein suggests that Eliot was not unaware of Einstein's work and the impact of his discoveries in physics. For a detailed explanation of this reference, see Rainey.

there was a conflicting coexistence between a static public consideration of time and the reconfiguration of space-time as dynamic and mutable. Bergson articulated this debate as part of his preoccupation with a flux of vital reality beyond the fixed symbols developed by the intellect to arrange daily experiences.¹⁴

Henri Bergson claimed that time is fluid and continuous. He defined real duration as what is “the most removed from externality and the least penetrated with intellectuality” (*CE* 218). Fluid time is in permanent development, “the past, always moving on, is swelling unceasingly with a present that is absolutely new” (219). As Deleuze clarifies, “[d]uration is essentially memory” (*Bergsonism* 51). There is a connection between pure duration and pure memory, because as Bergson makes clear, “[m]emory, laden with the whole of the past, responds to the appeal of the present state” (*MM* 168). Beyond this undivided movement of life, Bergson considers the categories of past, present and future as artificial constructs developed by human activity to arrange the external world. Bergson looked at the clock as a symbol of the devices developed to impose divisions upon pure duration in the outer world, “[b]ut what we call measuring time is nothing but counting simultaneities. The clock taken as an illustration” (108). Furthermore, this artificial measure leads to the consideration of space; after all, public time is “time that has become quantity by being set out in space” (*TFW* 127). For Bergson “pure duration” (100) cannot be measured by using artificial devices to control time. He was reluctant to “project time into space” or “express duration in terms of extensity” (101), considering that the continuous becoming of real experience is beyond

¹⁴ The English writer Wyndham Lewis accused Bergson of putting a hyphen between space and time. He viewed Bergson’s philosophy, Einstein’s physics and some of the literature of the period as responsible for removing clean lines from art and separating faculties from human perception (Kern 26-27).

the intellectual control intrinsic to the human activity. Beyond intellectual categorizations there is a stream of real duration.

These lines of thinking that emerge from Bergson can also be located in Eliot's and Hemingway's first published collections of works. In their early writings these two authors reflect on the nature of space-time and subsequent repercussions in the organization of the outside world that developed in the beginning of the twentieth century. So, bearing in mind this common interest I shall analyze the extent to which the poet and the writer of fiction considered a stream of life beyond those intellectual categories that oppress a vital reality.

Eliot's early poems offer a clear framework for representing and analyzing the alternative considerations of time explored by the poet. In the first lines of "Preludes," Eliot depicts an urban landscape framed by the rhythm of a clock: "The winter evening settles down/With smell of steaks in passageways./ Six o'clock" (*CPP* 12). In the second section, the urban landscape becomes an object of experience: "The morning comes to consciousness/ Of faint stale smells of beer" (12). In this stanza Eliot does not name the rhythm of any clock, but he presents the life of the modern city under the arrangements of its daily public activity with all these "muddy feet" in their way to work heading to "early coffee stands" (12). Kern explains how at the turn of the century, "[as] the economy in every country centralized, people clustered in cities" (34). "Preludes" explores the condition of the modern metropolis. Eliot reflects on "all the hands/That are raising dingy shades/In a thousand furnished rooms" (12). Eliot portrays a desolated panorama of "broken blinds and chimney-pots" and a street with "[a] lonely cab-horse" (*CPP* 12). He refers to "smoky days", a "blackened street", "stale smells of beer", "dingy shades."

Eliot equates this urban landscape with ugliness and decay. This depiction implies a negative impression of the material world that Eliot relates to the daily requirements of urban life. In “Morning at the Window” Eliot also reflects on this daily rhythm of the cities when he refers to “breakfast plates in the basements kitchens” (16) at the same time that he connects this landscape with “the damp souls of housemaids/ Sprouting despondently at area gates” (16). Eliot locates all the “twisted faces” and “passer[s]-by with muddy skirts” (16) in an urban scenery that is arranged by a mechanical categorization of time.

The self is trapped in urban life and the rhythm of the clock organizes it. Eliot equates the material world with the public function of time. Moreover, he refers to activity in the outer world as “the other masquerades/That time resumes” (*CPP* 12). All these public activities or masquerades are framed within public time, but in the last two stanzas of the poem Eliot looks at it differently. He refers again to the urban landscape as “sordid images” (12); but, for the first time, Eliot uses the experience of the self to allude to an inner flow of experience: “I am moved by fancies that are curled/Around these images” (13). In the last section of the poem the experience of the ‘I’ is not framed within the time of the clock, but within a flow of experience alien to any artificial device that may control it. Eliot opposes the experience of the ugly urban world framed by clock time to an experience beyond these boundaries. Eliot refers to “[t]he notion of some infinitely gentle/Infinitely suffering thing” (13). In these two lines Eliot alludes to something beyond the previous conception of time that he uses to depict the images of the city. As Sigg notes, “[t]hinking about ‘Preludes’ involves beholding something that is not there as well as the something that is” (37). Eliot opposes the material world, with its

clock time, to the experience of something that is beyond the world of the city depicted in “Preludes.”

Eliot confronts standard time as a mode of organizing daily life in modern cities and the needs of urban life. In “Portrait” Eliot engages with this feature when he explains how the female character has “the scene arrange itself” (*CPP* 8). Eliot reflects on the social demands of the inhabitants of cities by alluding to “watches” that are corrected by “public clocks” (9). In “Prufrock” Eliot again explores this aspect when Prufrock complains how he has “measured out” his “life with coffee spoons” (5). All the social activity he gets involved with demands certain manners and time organization. The coffee spoons are not simply an element of the cutlery, but a sign of the schedules and arrangements according to which Prufrock lives his daily activities. Modern life demands certain routines and Prufrock reflects on this aspect through the use of clock time: “In a minute there is time/For decisions and revisions which a minute will reverse” (5). Eliot opposes this dimension of the modern world to a consideration of a time beyond the requirements of this world. The same concern is at the core of “Rhapsody”, but in this poem Eliot uses lampposts as a new modern device to reflect on two alternative considerations of time at war in these early poems.

In “Rhapsody on a Windy Night” Eliot presents a city in movement within a span of time from “Twelve o’clock” to “Four o’clock” (*CPP* 14-16). The street lamp marks the mechanical rhythm of life: “The street-lamp sputtered/The street-lamp muttered” (14), but Eliot also introduces in the poem the natural sources that conventionally differentiate between day and night: “The lamp hummed:/‘Regard the moon,[...] She is

alone/With all the old nocturnal smells” (15).¹⁵ “Rhapsody” uses the streetlights as agents of the development of modern life: “The street-lamp said, ‘Regard that woman/Who hesitates toward you in the light of the door’” (14). The lamp represents the selectivity of the practical intellect that pays attention to some objects and ignores others. As Childs argues by using Bergson’s philosophy, “individual consciousness is limited to those aspects of the universe that can affect the individual, the nature and extent of our consciousness of an object promising to affect us varying with the proximity of that object. [...]. In ‘Rhapsody on a Windy Night’ lamps [...] draw very particular objects to the speaker’s attention, objects illuminated by a circle of light that includes the object in question and excludes all others” (54). The activity of the urban area involves the perception of the outside world under modern devices symbolized in the public lighting.

Eliot uses these devices to present the outer world in a mechanical mode. The lampposts lead the attention towards certain images in the way in which they “sputtered,” “muttered,” and “said” (*CPP* 14-15). Eliot repeats this pattern three times in different stanzas in the poem to depict the city. He emphasizes the role of the lamps to present the different images of the street within a span of clock time. “Rhapsody” uses the hours of the clock to divide experience at the same time that it directs the perception of the outer world through the regularly spaced streetlamps (Mayer 79). This brings a mechanical experience of the city, but by doing so, Eliot simultaneously calls attention to those aspects of the experience of the urban landscape that remain obscured under the automatism of modern life.

¹⁵ The use of a public electric supply system at the end of the nineteenth century implied a blurring of the division between day and night (Kern 29).

Eliot represents in the street lamp the dichotomy between artificial impositions of the standardized time and the flow of experience beyond such a conception of time. A different sort of rhythm hovers within this urban landscape: “Every street-lamp I pass/Beats like a fatalistic drum” (14). As B.C. Southam identifies, when Eliot wrote this line he may have had in mind Bergson’s statement in *Creative Evolution* about how “‘incidents’ seem to be ‘discontinuous’ but they ‘stand out against the continuity of a background on which they are designed...they are the beats of the drum [cf. line 9] which break forth here and there in the symphony’” (63). At one level, Eliot explores a flow of time under the practical life of the metropolis; and, at another, the poet introduces a conception of time beyond the frame of urban life: “Whispering lunar incarnations/Dissolve the floor of memory” (14). By introducing memory in the poem, Eliot goes deeper into the representation of time to explore its correlation with memory within the framework of Bergson’s analysis.¹⁶

In *Matter and Memory* Bergson distinguishes between “pure memory” and “habit memory” (151), the former being “[c]oextensive with consciousness, [...] leaving to each fact its place and consequently marking its date, truly moving in the past” (151). This memory equates to real duration as it “gnaws on things and leaves on them the mark of its tooth” (CE 7). Contrarily, habit memory “is nothing else but the complete set of intelligently constructed mechanisms [...]. This memory enables us to adapt ourselves to the present situation” (MM 151). Bergson differentiates between two types of memory as he does with time. When Eliot mentions the dissolving floors of memory that end with

¹⁶ For an explanation of Eliot’s exposure to Bergson’s philosophy during the year he spent in Paris in 1910-1911, see Beasley 41.

“all its clear relations,/Its division and precisions” (14), the poet portrays habit memory—and its mechanistic function in practical life—vanishing among the limitless flow of the pure memory. In these lines Eliot portrays two types of memory at war in the same way that he does with time in the symbolism of the street lamp. “Rhapsody” represents the extent to which two conceptions of time, and hence memory, coexist in modern life.¹⁷ Hemingway’s early writings exhibit the same concern with time.

In some of the stories and short sketches from *In Our Time*, Hemingway frames action by using a mechanistic conception of time. The first line of the sketch from Chapter V narrates how “[t]hey shot the six cabinet ministers at half-past six in the morning” (51); the events in the sketch from Chapter VIII take place “[a]t two o’clock in the morning” (79); and in Chapter XV Sam Cardinella was hanged “at six o’clock in the morning in the corridor of the county jail” (143).¹⁸ Hemingway also depicts events with precision in some of his short stories; for example “The revolutionist” situates the events “[i]n 1919 [when] HE was traveling on the railroads of Italy” (81). Hemingway uses artificial measures of time to describe action in the outer world, but he also looks at a continuous and fluid time beyond the limits of its mechanistic conception as part of his reflections.

¹⁷ There is extensive work on the relation between Bergson’s philosophy and this poem. In his analysis of “Rhapsody” David J. Childs engages with the most relevant critics—Smith, Gray and Gordon—to develop an enriching argument. He considers that this work does not anticipate Eliot’s later revision of Bergson as these critics have argued but rather is the culmination of it (51). My own analysis owes a great deal to Childs’ insights as I consider this poem to be part of Eliot’s reflections on consciousness under the influence of Bergson’s philosophy, and not a critique of those theories.

¹⁸ Italics in original.

In “Soldier’s Home” Hemingway depicts the life of a veteran who has returned to his hometown. His mother hopes he will get involved in the social world and she constantly relates action to time as part of her discourse. She allows him “to take the car out in the evening” (*IOT* 73), she talked to his father “last night” (73), and when she suggests that he should get a job she says that “it’s about time” (75). Alternatively, the young vet does not seem to be interested in his mother’s approach to daily experiences and he tries to focus on “[a]ll the times that had been able to make him feel cool and clear inside himself” (69). He has no intention of following the dictates of the social world as “[h]e did not want any consequences” (71). When he realizes how the girls from the town have grown up, he prefers to ignore them and he neglects all the “intrigue” and “politics” (71) they involve. “He wanted to live along without consequences” (71). The vet is interested in a flow of experiences beyond the arrangements of society or any work routine: “He had tried so to keep his life from being complicated. [...]. He wanted his life to go smoothly” (76-77). In this story Hemingway explores the mechanical time symbolized in his mother’s appeal to the organized outer world and the vet’s search for an alternative experience of reality. The clash between these two characters symbolizes Hemingway’s exploration of time. In this story the writer of fiction looks at a flow of continuous inner experience to ponder the extent to which this real duration may be engaged beyond social activities and, as part of this analysis, he is compelled to focus on memory.¹⁹

¹⁹ For alternative considerations of memory in Hemingway’s work, see *Ernest Hemingway and the Geography of Memory*, edited by Mark Cirino and Mark P. Ott. This essay collection focuses on the geographic elements in Hemingway’s writings and how his work “evolves through his travels and across the texture of his constructed images of different spaces” (xi). Critics use different approaches to consider the relation between

The first two paragraphs of “Soldier’s Home” describe two pictures in which the character appears in different moments of his life: “There is a picture which shows him among his fraternity brothers [...] There is a picture which shows him on the Rhine with two German girls and another corporal” (*IOT* 70). On the one hand, these pictures symbolize the evolution of mechanistic time: “He enlisted in the Marines in 1917” (70) and he did not return home until “the summer of 1919” (70); on the other, this span of time covers the memories of the main character from that period and how these have affected him. Grimes, when reflecting on the character of this story, suggests that “[m]emories of pain and disillusionment blot out the expectations of glory, honor and valor with which [...] [he] entered the war. [...] He wants to live above the turmoil, the chaos of his time” (45). These memories take him to the past and back again to the present, but the origin of the vet’s anxieties is the “chaos of his [present] time” (45) that Grimes insightfully refers to. Therefore, the young vet pursues a flow of time and memory that may move him beyond the frame of the present time and the “habit memories” (Bergson, *MM* 151) that unavoidable torment him in his daily experiences.

Hemingway also refers in “On the Quai at Smyrna” to the two levels of time along with two levels of memory. The writer of fiction uses memory and time to narrate the tragic experiences of a soldier in the Turkish war. However, there is a clear differentiation between, on the one hand, the narrator recalling the memories of events under the clock-time: “The strange thing was, he said, how they scream every night at

memory and Hemingway’s fiction. For example, Hewson and Seals focus on Hemingway’s own memory and the role it played in his work; Perosa reflects on memory as “[w]hat mediates between experience and invention, or what allows the passage from one to the other for narrative purposes” (32); and Cirino reads *A Farewell to Arms* “as an extended autobiographical memory” (151) to decipher the truth that memory may represent in Hemingway’s fiction.

midnight. I do not know why they screamed at that time. We were in the harbor and they were all in the pier” (*IOT* 11); and on the other hand, the allusion to a deeper level of memory under duration: “You remember the harbor. There were plenty of nice things floating around it. That was the only time in my life I got so I dreamed about things” (12). The memories of the screams are framed by the public space of the harbor. The memories of “things floating around” (12) are part of the inner life of the soldier. These two levels in the soldier’s experience relate to the inner and the outer world. In this short story Hemingway stresses the unavoidable correspondence between time and memory, but he also involves space when he depicts the two alternative conceptions of these two categories at war in the soldier’s life.

In their early works Eliot and Hemingway reflect on a mechanistic time which distorts the real duration that flows beyond the restrictions of social or public space. These two authors depict the same two processes of mind that Henri Bergson explores in *Creative Evolution* when he refers to “continuous creation” or “free activity” and the reversion of that activity which turns into “extension” and “geometrical mechanism” (244). Therefore, it is necessary to consider space as part of the equation because, according to Bergson, “we live for the external world rather than think; we ‘are acted’ rather than act ourselves. To act feely is to recover possession of oneself to get back into pure duration” (*TFW* 231-32). Mechanistic time “is nothing but space, and pure duration is something different” (90). Eliot and Hemingway pursued that ‘something different.’ They unavoidably framed the experience of ordinary consciousness in mechanistic time and public space. Furthermore, they looked at private spaces, searching for the vital reality, but they faced the fact that even the private inner life of the individual works

under the categorizations of the outer world. Hemingway and Eliot have been considered by critics in this context only in partial and random ways.²⁰

In “Portrait of a Lady” Eliot frames the scene in a private room, but the inner experiences of the characters are under the influence of the public world: “Correct our watches by the public clocks./Then sit for half an hour and drink our ricks” (*CPP* 9). In the second line of the poem, Eliot stresses the arranged order of the space: “You have the scene arrange itself—as it will seem to do—/With ‘I have saved this afternoon for you’” (8). Nothing is left to improvisation and everything seems to move under a mechanistic tone that suffocates the rhythm of the private experiences of the male character: “The voice returns like the insistent out-of-tune/Of a broken violin” (9). In “Aunt Helen” Eliot explores the same feature when he depicts the “small house” of his aunty, where the “Dresden clock continued ticking on the mantelpiece” (17). In these two poems Eliot attempts to move away from the public sphere of reality and therefore he turns to the space of the private rooms, but this movement unavoidably turns into a failure as the private is also under the influence of the public.²¹ The poet leads these characters to private spaces beyond the limits of the social world, but they still act according to the rhythms of public time. A similar movement may be identified in some of Hemingway’s short stories when he confronts private and public spaces.

²⁰ See Sigg or Narbeshuber.

²¹ For an alternative analysis of Eliot’s use of rooms in his poetry, see Lobb. This critic insightfully considers the image of the closed room as central to Eliot’s entire poetic career, and he compares Eliot’s use of this image in his early and late poetry. Lobb reads the image of this claustrophobic atmosphere as a symbol of “a enclosed consciousness” (23). However, he overlooks the extent to which in his early poems Eliot uses this image in contraposition to the world beyond this space as a mode of reflecting on the correlation between the inner and the outer world.

In Hemingway's "Cat in the Rain" the American woman is trapped in the privacy of the limits of the hotel room, and only when she crosses those boundaries can she experience a "feeling of being of supreme importance" (*IOT* 93). But this is only a momentary feeling as she comes back to the room to look out "of the window" (94). The origin of the American woman's anxieties does not come from the outside world, but from her own inner experiences. In the same way, in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" Hemingway positions the story between the physical boundaries of the cottage and the world outside that private space. At the end of the story Nick refuses to visit his mother where "[h]er Bible, her copy of the *Science and Health* and her *Quarterly* were on a table beside her bed in the darkened room" (26). Significantly, he decides to leave the spatial limits of the private house to hunt squirrels, as a reaction against the restrictions his mother symbolizes. The private sphere of reality is under the influence of the mechanistic conception of reality and those characters are trapped in their own incapability to leave such a situation.

In their early collections of writings, Eliot and Hemingway represented the constant interaction between the inner and the outer world in the experience of reality. They considered time, memory and space as part of a problematic experience of reality. I believe that these earlier works explore the correlation between a deeper state of consciousness and an alternative conception of time beyond a mechanistic conception of reality. They attempted to move beyond the public sphere of reality to a realization that the private inner life of the individual also works under these intellectual categorizations. They failed in their shared attempt to enter into that stream of pure duration that—as Bergson stated—"is something different" (*TFW* 90). Therefore, both Eliot and

Hemingway continued to pursue in their later works an experience in which consciousness, and that which is perceived, coexist in a principle of duration. It is necessary to bear this in mind to understand the extent to which Eliot's "objective correlative" (*SP* 48) and Hemingway's "real thing" (*DIA* 2) were aesthetic propositions relating to reflections on the experience of a fragmented self.

4. Image, emotion and the flow of vital reality

Eliot's "objective correlative" (*SP* 48) and Hemingway's "real thing" (*DIA* 2) show a corresponding concern with the permanent interaction between physical and mental—external reality and internal thinking—in the experience of reality. These formulas point to the deployment of images in their shared attempt to unify these two levels of experience. When I use the term image I refer to the concept of movement-image developed by Henri Bergson in the first chapter of *Matter and Memory*. As Deleuze explains, "[t]he movement-image is the object; the thing itself caught in movement as continuous function. The movement-image is the modulation of the object itself" (*Cinema* 2 26). Moreover, Eliot and Hemingway turn on the emotion associated with the image as the final experience of such union. Therefore, I shall analyze Eliot's and Hemingway's aesthetic propositions by juxtaposing the physical and the mental as articulated by Henri Bergson and William James. Firstly, I shall focus on Bergson's reflection on movement-image as an attempt "to overcome this duality [...] of consciousness and thing" (Deleuze, *Cinema* 1 58). Then, I shall consider James's

treatment of emotion and its key function in perception, “unifying the physical and the mental” (Opdahl 119). My argument is that Eliot’s and Hemingway’s propositions are attempts to recast the union of the inner and the outer world in a “pure duration” (Bergson, *TFW* 232) beyond a mechanistic conception of reality deployed in the public sphere. These formulas are part of their shared reflection on the impossibility of conjugating a sensuous self which experiences inwardly, and an intellectual self conditioned by the experiences of the outer world.

In his essay “Hamlet” (1919), Eliot defends the “objective correlative” (*SP* 48) as “the only way of expressing emotion in the form of art” (48). It is a “set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that *particular* emotion, such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked” (48). At one level, he points to external objects—“external facts” (48). At another level, he alludes to the inner experience of the subject—“sensory experiences” (48). Eliot’s “objective correlative” (48) presents a concept of the self in which consciousness implies the interaction between the inner and the outer world. Even more importantly, he points to an image—a particular “situation” (48) or distinctive arrangement of objects in the material world—to produce the emotion in which these two levels of experience converge.

In a related way, Hemingway wrote in *Death in the Afternoon* that his main struggle at the beginning of his career was “to put down what really happened in action, what the actual things were which produced the emotion that you experienced” (2). Hemingway aims to offer an intense experience in an instant of time; “the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion and which would be as valid in a

year or in ten years” (2). In this remark Hemingway differentiates between the outer world of the “actual things” (2) and the inner world of the subject. Furthermore, as Eliot does in his “objective correlative” (*SP* 48), Hemingway also refers to image—what happens in “action” (*DIA* 2)—as the vehicle for producing an emotional experience that allies the physical with the psychological. Therefore, these two authors situate images—and their intrinsic emotions—as the key feature that may offer the desired unification of these two levels of experience.²²

In *Matter and Memory* Bergson argues that the image is everything that can possibly be known about the material world. As Deleuze explains, “Bergson constantly says that we cannot understand anything unless we are first given the set of images” (*Cinema I* 65). In *Creative Evolution* Bergson clarifies this idea further in order to claim that it “is no longer reality” that will be “reconstruct[ed], but only an imitation of the real, or rather a symbolic image” (xxi). According to Bergson, the intellect uses these images as a representation of the real to understand and organize it. Bergson presents an intellect gathering together images to arrange reality, but, as Beasley clarifies, he also calls attention to the impossibility of the intellect’s grasping “reality in its pure state of flux”

²² Most of the critics who have previously analyzed the communalities between these two authors point to the relation between Eliot’s “objective correlative” (*SP* 48) and Hemingway’s “real thing” (*DIA* 2). For alternative considerations of this correspondence see Adams, Baker, Grimes, Joost and Brown and Watkins. Baker argues that Hemingway’s formula has an advantage over Eliot’s because it does not require any previous “literary” experience (56). Joost and Brown accurately note how “Hemingway’s own theory of writing reflects the imagist technique of T.S. Eliot” (427). Grimes looks at Pound’s definition of an image to connect Eliot’s and Hemingway’s aesthetics formulas. To a certain extent all these critics insightfully focus on emotion and image to build the correlation between these formulas, but I shall go beyond this obvious communality to develop further the reasons why these two authors turned to these aesthetic formulas as a result of their common concern with a problematic experience of reality.

(35). Bergson underlines the double form of the real, one based on intellect and one based on intuition.²³ The former is oriented to action and reduces reality to spatial representations for practical purposes. The latter is not oriented towards practical action in the outer world.²⁴ Therefore, there is a confrontation between the reality organized by the intellect that breaks the pure movement of life, and the reality of constant flow beyond the mechanism of intellectual arrangements. The intellect works scientifically, separating things from motion, to ponder the actions that may be executed over those things to arrange the public sphere of reality. Contrarily, the internal life of intuition is a constant flow of movement through time: “As soon as we go out of the encasings in which radical mechanism [...] confine[s] our thought, reality appears as a ceaseless upspringing of something new” (CE 53). The question then is that of the extent to which these images constructed by the intellect have access to the internal and continuous reality of intuition.

In *An Introduction to Metaphysics* Bergson argues that the inner life of pure duration “cannot be represented by images” but “many diverse images, [...], by the convergence of their action, direct consciousness to the precise point where there is a certain intuition to be seized” (16). Therefore, although the deployment of images by the intellect does not offer access to the real, Bergson states that “we must find again and rejoin to the intellect proper, in order to grasp the true nature of the vital activity” (CE 56). Bergson encourages regaining access to the flow of pure duration or intuition. Furthermore, he points to cinema as a metaphor of the process experienced by the

²³ As I have extensively argued in Section One and Section Two (see pp. 25-47).

²⁴ For a more detailed explanation about Bergson’s epistemology, see Brooker’s *Mastery and Escape*.

intellect and its use of images: “Such is the contrivance of the cinematograph. And such is also that of our knowledge. Instead of attaching ourselves to the inner becoming of things, we place ourselves outside them in order to recompose their becoming artificially” (*CE* 332).²⁵ As Armstrong argues, “cinema offered many modernists a new [...] language of images” (106).

In her essay “The Cinema” (1926), Virginia Woolf reflected on the distinctive mental experience intrinsic to cinema to affirm that objects in the screen “have become not more beautiful in the sense in which pictures are beautiful, but shall we call it (our vocabulary is miserably insufficient) more real, or real with a different reality from that which we perceive in daily life” (349). Woolf distinguished between the experience of daily life and an alternative experience of reality beyond that life. She also compared cinema to language to affirm that “[f]or a moment it seemed as if thought could be conveyed by shape more effectively than by words” (350). Just as Eliot and Hemingway did in their early works, in her essay on cinema Woolf looked at an experience beyond a mechanistic conception of reality deployed in the public sphere of reality to ponder the extent to which language may have access to it. This shared concern amongst modernist writers clarifies the correlation between cinema and the common language of images, as deployed by Eliot and Hemingway. These two authors adopted Bergson’s recognition of the need to ally the physical reality of movement in the external world with the image as psychological reality in consciousness, and hence, they looked into the movement-image to explore such an enterprise.

²⁵ As Deleuze expresses, in spite of Bergson’s critique of the cinema, “nothing can prevent an encounter between the movement-image, as he considers it, and the cinematographic image” (*Cinema I* xix).

In the sketch from Chapter 14 in *In Our Time* Hemingway narrates the death of a bullfighter. In this short paragraph, he presents the events in three movements. First, Hemingway presents the image of an immobile bullfighter: “*Maera lay still, his head on his arms, his face in the sand. He felt warm and sticky from the bleeding*” (131).²⁶ Secondly, Hemingway presents the events in movement in the outside world: “*Some men picked Maera up and started to run with him toward the barriers through the gate out of the passageway around under the grandstand to the infirmary*” (131).²⁷ Finally, the static image of the bullfighter and the image of the outer world delimited in space lead to the experience of the bullfighter in a final image:

*Maera felt everything getting larger and larger and then smaller and smaller. Then it got larger and larger and larger and then smaller and smaller. Then everything commenced to run faster and faster as when they speed up a cinematograph film. Then he was dead.*²⁸ (IOT 131)

These three steps in the narration correspond to Bergson’s thesis on movement-image in the first chapter of *Matter and Memory*. For Deleuze, “there are not only instantaneous images, that is, immobile sections of duration; there are movement-images, which are mobile sections of duration; there are, finally, time-images, that is, duration-images, [...], which are beyond movement itself” (*Cinema I* 12). In the first two movements of the sketch, space and time are used to arrange the scene in the outer world. Bullfighting is strictly ordered by space and time and the execution of the fight should be performed within spatial and temporal divisions. As Hemingway underlines in *Death in the*

²⁶ Italics in original.

²⁷ Italics in original.

²⁸ Italics in original.

Afternoon, “[t]he bullfight itself takes place in a sand-covered ring enclosed by a red wooden fence a little over four feet high. This red wooden fence is called *barrera*. Behind it is a narrow circular passageway that separates it from the first row of seats in the amphitheatre” (30-31). The ring itself is spatially divided in portions where the different parts of the fight take place.²⁹ Significantly, Hemingway takes into account these spatial divisions to arrange the narration of the action. He moves Maera from the sand in the ring to the infirmary. Hemingway clearly considers the spatial portions of the ring when he refers to “*barriers*,” “*passageway*” and “*infirmary*” (*IOT* 131).³⁰ When the bullfighter is evacuated and he leaves the ring through the protective fences, he crosses all the imaginary and physical boundaries that conform to the spatial configuration of the bullfight.

Hemingway also alludes to temporal division when he explains that “[t]he doctor came running from the corral, where he had been sewing up picador horses” (131).³¹ It implies that the picador has already done his work and the fight is in the last act where the bull should be killed. As Hemingway clarifies, “[t]here are three acts to the fighting of each bull and they are called in Spanish *los tres tercios de la lidia*, or the three thirds of the combat. The first act, where the bull charges the picadors [...]. Act two is that of the

²⁹ McCormick argues that “[t]he division between the *medios* and the *tercios* is imaginary, but in Spain a line in white or red whitewash is painted on the sand to mark the division between *tercios* and *tablas*. The picador is not permitted to ride beyond that line into the *tercios*. The *burladeros*, or protected fences, are comparatively modern; originally access to and egress from the ring were over the top of the *barrera*, via the *estribo*, or narrow wooden shelf placed about 16 inches above the sand” (134-35).

³⁰ Italics in original.

³¹ Italics in original.

banderillas. [...]. [T]he third act and final division is the death [of the bull]" (*DIA* 96-97). Maera is fighting the bull when he is gored, so the fight is in the third or final act. Hemingway frames the first two movements of the paragraph within the spatial and temporal divisions intrinsic to bullfighting. But at the end of the scene, time and space are presented as fluid, beyond the mechanical categorization used in the outer world of the bullring. By referring to the "*cinematograph*" (*IOT* 131) along with the way he depicts the death of the bullfighter in the final image, Hemingway makes a statement about these images as devices to unify the inner and the outer world in a flow of experience. He presents an image in which time is flowing beyond its mechanical considerations in the outer world.³² This final image is different to the initial immobile image of Maera and the second image in movement of the bullring. Furthermore, in the last image he clearly dissociates the experience of time from that of a homogeneous categorization of space. In essence, he disembodies space-time as an intellectual device to organize reality. As Lisa Narbeshuber states, "[p]aralleling the chaos of the 'external' world, the dying Maera's perception of space and time breaks down" (19). The final image of Maera dying is beyond movement as an intellectual category.

In these few lines Hemingway cancels the mechanical conception of space-time used to arrange the outer world. His writing aligns with the conclusion made by Bergson in his consideration of how pure duration has been decomposed by the intellect into artificial categories, and the extent to which this may be reverted to come back to a flow

³² For an alternative consideration of the influence of cinema on Hemingway's deployment of language, see Trodd. This critic argues that Hemingway's use of "a camera-eye aesthetic [...] rejected all apparently coherent and exclusive ways of perceiving the world" (8), but she fails to notice the extent to which this concern is result of his reflection on the interaction between external reality and internal thinking.

of intuition through the use of images. In this short sketch the writer of fiction offers an important clue when he points to the cinematograph, which as Deleuze explains “does not give us an image to which movement is added, it immediately gives us a movement-image.” (*Cinema I* 2-3). The sketch in Chapter 14 is part of Hemingway’s reflections on a dissociated experience of reality and the concern with “free[ing] ourselves from the space which underlines the movement in order to consider only the movement itself, [...], pure mobility” (Bergson, *IM* 16).³³ Hemingway explored this movement within the spatial and temporal divisions of bullfighting.³⁴ Significantly, Hemingway looked at the action between the matador and the bull to explore images in which the categorical distinctions of time and space are blurred and a moment of pure duration is reverted, as he aimed for with his aesthetic formula “the real thing” (*DIA* 2).³⁵ The exploration of

³³ It is worth noting how Ortega y Gasset argues that genuine bullfighting “assumes unavoidably a strange cinematic inspiration” (128, my translation). In his analysis of bullfighting Gasset refers to cinematic movements in his attempts to discern the value of the matador’s performance (119-20).

³⁴ For further considerations of time and space in relation to bullfighting, see Chapter 5 of Wolff’s *Filosofía de las Corridas de Toros—Philosophy of Bullfighting*.

³⁵ Most of the criticism is unhelpful in the context of my research in relation to Hemingway and bullfighting. Critics have overlooked the extent to which Hemingway considers bullfighting as a result of his attempt to make sense of the world of experience. For example, in one of the most recent works about Hemingway and bullfighting, Mandel deploys an interesting analysis about the evolution of bullfighting in Spain and how Hemingway reflected on it in his works. This critic states that “Hemingway recognized the bullfight as a rich subject for his own art” (235), but the question of what Hemingway found in this subject to deploy in his fiction requires further consideration. In this dissertation I attempt to go deeper in the analysis of the correlation between bullfighting and Hemingway’s reflections on experience. I engage extensively with that issue in Chapter Three and Four and I involve studies about bullfighting that have not traditionally been used in Hemingway criticism e.g. (Filinich, Ortega y Gasset or Wolff), but offer enriching approaches to that matter.

Bergson's consideration of images as a mode of entering into that flow of "[i]nner duration" (11) may also be identified in Eliot's short prose poem "Hysteria".³⁶

In "Hysteria" Eliot narrates the scene of a man and a woman waiting to have tea in a restaurant.³⁷ Eliot presents the woman as an object observed by the man. The man contemplates her and, as soon as he focuses his attention on her laughter, the boundaries between external reality and internal thinking start to blur: "As she laughed I was aware of becoming involved in her laughter and being part of it" (*CPP* 19). Eliot involves space and time in the representation of this image-movement. Furthermore, as Hemingway does in the sketch from Chapter 14, the poet dissolves the intellectual categorization of space-time in the outer world when he presents the image in which the man becomes one with the woman's laughter: "I was drawn in by short gasps, inhaled at each momentary recovery, lost finally in the dark cavern of her throat" (19). The rhymes of the woman are beyond the mechanical consideration of time. The darkness of the cavern also cancels the clearness of any physical boundaries in the outer world. As Henry Christian states in his analysis of this prose poem, the "dark caverns" remind us of the narrator's spatial confusion (77). This confusion is a consequence of the suspension of the intellectual categories that are represented as dysfunctional in this image, in which the man becomes one with the object. The reunification of these two levels of experience is interrupted by the inclusion of a waiter in the scene. Eliot turns again to time and space to organize the

³⁶ For an analysis of Eliot's comments on cinema in his poems, essays and letters, see Trotter.

³⁷ It is worth noting the possible influence of Freud's *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* ('Dora') (1901) on Eliot at the time of writing this prose poem. For evidence of Eliot's knowledge of Freud's studies about hysteria, see MacDiarmid. This critic compiles the most relevant criticism about "Hysteria."

action in the scene. The waiter invites them “to take their tea in the garden” (19)—a physical boundary—and the man thinks about “the fragments of the afternoon” (19)—a mechanical delimitation of time. After the arrival of the waiter, the man tries to regain some control over the scene. He hopes that “the shaking of her breast could be stopped” (19), but as McCabe remarks, this hope “only accentuates an awareness of corporeal fragmentation” (35). Once the waiter interrupts the movement- image in which the man and the woman are becoming one, the dissociation between these two levels of experience returns to the scene.

Eliot and Hemingway deploy in these short pieces images in which the boundaries between the physical and the psychological momentarily blur. They present first an immobile image of an object, then they depict an image in movement that leads to a final image in which matter and inner life—intellect and intuition—converge in an experience beyond the intellectual mechanism of the outside world.³⁸ Eliot and Hemingway do not simply depict the subject’s perception of the object. They present an experience in which subject and object become one through a combination of images in movement. The poet and the writer of fiction felt under the influence of those “modern poetic methods [that], assimilating those of cinema, can enact the dissociated body and offer an alternative mode of embodiment” (McCabe 227). For Kenner, “[i]n the 1920s the most pertinent influence on narrative art was surely the reading public’s newest habit: it was starting to go to the movies” (127-28). Eliot’s “objective correlative” (*SP* 48) and Hemingway’s

³⁸ It is worth noting how these two authors string together in these short pieces the three steps that correspond to the three sorts of images that compound the “*movement-images* [...] *when they are related to a centre of indetermination as to a special image*: perception-images, action-images and affection-images” (Italics in original, Deleuze, *Cinema I* 68).

“real thing” (*DIA* 2) are not simply aesthetic propositions, but rather a distinctive mode of presenting images, as part of the authors’ shared attempt to overcome a dissociated experience in which mind and body fragment experience. Furthermore, these two authors focus on an emotional experience as a consequence of the deployment of such movement-images because “that affection must, at a given moment, arise out of the image” (Bergson, *MM* 55). As Grimes affirms in relation to Maera’s sketch, “the emotion to which Hemingway refers is analogous to the subjective awareness of the life-force that Bergson calls intuition” (*Religious* 120). Therefore, it is necessary to question why this emotion intrinsic to the image recasts the intellectual categorization of the outer world into a flow of inner life.

In his essay “The Place of Affectional Facts in a World of Pure Experience” William James argues that emotion fulfills a key function in all perception, as it unifies the physical and the mental. James emphasizes the correlation between subject and object at the same time as underlining how “the affective meaning belongs to not just the mind that perceives but the object that is perceived” (Opdahl 119). So, the affective meaning depends on images—particular arrangement of objects—that, combined in a distinctive mode, redirect consciousness toward intuition. “It is by the interest and importance that experiences have for us, by the emotions they excite, [...], by their affective values, in short, that their consecution in our several conscious streams, as ‘thoughts’ of ours, is mainly ruled” (*ERE* 79). I consider that Eliot’s and Hemingway’s deployment of images imply particular “affective values” (79). Even more importantly, these images present the external world in a particular way to offer distinctive experiences. Therefore, in the next section I shall analyze some of Eliot’s and Hemingway’s images from their early works to

ponder why these experiences recast the self within the stream of life beyond the intellectual categorization of the outside world. I shall argue that Eliot and Hemingway present images beyond the mechanical restrictions of the modern world, and, hence, an emotional experience alien to any rational categorization of reality.

5. Primitivism in early Eliot and Hemingway; or, the shared pursuit of immediate experience

Eliot and Hemingway reflected on the pursuit of a sensuous flow of experience beyond the limitations imposed by the intellect. They identified the intellectual categorizations used in the material world as agents that prevent the individual from experiencing this flux of vital reality. Therefore, in some of their early works they depicted distinctive images as a representation of temporary immersions of the individual in a stream of becoming or pure duration. In this section I analyze some of these images deployed by Eliot in his earliest poems and Hemingway's "Big Two-Hearted River: Part I" to show the extent to which these two authors shared an endeavour to reach an experience in which the boundaries between the inner and the outer world merge. To do so, I shall consider Bradley's "immediate experience" (*KE* 31) along with the "primitive sensibility" (Bell, *Primitivism* 7) as two concepts in which the differences between

subject and object disappear in a state of mind beyond the mechanism of the modern world.³⁹

In the first chapter of his Harvard doctoral dissertation—published as *Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F.H. Bradley*—Eliot focuses on the concept of immediate experience as a basic premise of reality:

Immediate experience, we have seen, is a timeless unity which is not as such present either anywhere or to anyone. It is only in the world of objects that we have time and space and selves. By the failure of any experience to be merely immediate, by its lack of harmony and cohesion, we find ourselves as conscious souls in a world of objects. We are led to the conception of an all-inclusive experience outside of which nothing shall fall.⁴⁰ (KE 31)

According to Eliot, immediate experience is a timeless unity. So, it is previous to any limit imposed by the intellectual categorizations of time and space in the material world. Similarly, the primitive state of mind has a psychological continuity with his world; the sense of space and time is alien to any rational category used to fragment the material world. Primitive sensibility and Bradley's immediate experience are previous to any distinction between the inner and outer world. Bradley's concept takes place "before distinctions and relations have been developed, and where as yet neither any subject nor object exists" (KE 16).⁴¹ In a similar way, the fundamental characteristic of the primitive

³⁹ For an analogous consideration about the connection between primitive mentality and Bradley's 'immediate experience' see Brooker, *Mastery* 43-44 or Brooker, *Transcendence* 63-67.

⁴⁰ T.S. Eliot wrote his dissertation between 1913 and 1916. Although it was passed, Eliot never travelled to Harvard to defend it. Faber and Faber published Eliot's dissertation on the philosophy of F.H. Bradley in 1964. For a more detailed explanation of the correlation between Eliot's thesis and Bradley's philosophy, see Lyndall Gordon.

⁴¹ Bradley's "immediate experience" has much in common with Bergson's real duration and James's stream of "pure experience." These three concepts point to the original and undivided "whole of feeling" beneath the level of common awareness. Despite this

sensibility is that there is no distinction between the inner and the outer world. As Ernst Cassirer argues, for the primitive state of mind “there is no separation of a total complex into its elements, but [...] only a single undivided totality is represented—a totality in which there has been no ‘dissociation’ of the separate factors of objective perception and subjective feeling” (*PSF* 46). Eliot and Hemingway shared the pursuit of a state of mind prior to the intellectual conventions used to order the outer world. Furthermore, they presented similar movements beyond the landscape of modern civilization in their representation of such an experience.

At the beginning of “Big Two-Hearted River: Part I” Nick Adams arrives by train to the burned town of Seney. Once the train has left the young man heads towards the river and he contemplates the rubble of the town. These two simple movements lead to Nick’s attempt to leave everything behind: “The River was there” (*IOT* 133). Nick finally faces the river, but in the first three paragraphs of the story all his activity is reduced to a contemplation of the surroundings: “Nick looked down [...] watched the trout keeping themselves steady [...]. He watched them holding [...] he watched far down [...] he saw them” (133). Nick observes the river and then he focuses in a particular trout. “[A] big trout shot upstream in a long angle, [...], and then, as he went back into the stream under the surface, his shadow seemed to float down the stream with the current, unresisting, to his post under the bridge where he tightened facing up into the current” (*IOT* 134). Then Hemingway deploys for the first time in the story the correlation between subject and

similarity, Bradley’s immediate experience is previous to any distinction between consciousness and its objects. In contrast, James and Bergson presuppose the external object in their effort to show that consciousness is not a mere reflection of that object (Schwartz 32).

object. “Nick’s heart tightened as the trout moved. He felt all the old feeling” (*IOT* 134). The trout tightens in the river at the same time that Nick’s heart also tightens by observing the scene. These two sentences point out the unification of Nick’s feeling and the trout’s actions. There is no difference between the object and the subject, and Nick experiences a state of mind that allows him to enjoy a psychological continuity with the trout and the river. This state of mind offers Nick a feeling that he has not experienced in a long time, as the use of the adjective “old” points out. This is not a new feeling for Nick, but something that he experiences only in the river. He fulfills the expectation that he had when he jumped from the train. Nick finds out that the river, the trout and the fishing still provide him with “the old feeling” (134). Hemingway does not explain further the nature of that feeling, but he offers a series of images in movement that may bring some understanding of the purpose of Nick’s fishing trip. I consider that this affective experience is related to Nick’s need to leave behind the requirements of the modern life to recast into the stream of vital reality.⁴²

⁴² In the wide range of criticism on this story, scholars have used different approaches to make their cases. One of the most convincing interpretations of Nick’s traumatic experience for a long time was the war wound thesis. This thesis was first advanced by Edmund Wilson and later developed by Malcolm Cowley. Others scholars such as Philip Young or William Adair have suggested alternative readings of this story, but always using the same war experience as the cornerstone of their interpretations. Even Hemingway himself supported that thesis when in his posthumously published memoir, *A Moveable Feast*, he wrote that “[t]he story was about coming back from the war but there were no mention of the war in it” (76). Kenneth S. Lynn has made a case for Nick’s troubled sexual identity based on Hemingway’s childhood, while Robert Paul Lamb has tried to prove that the war wound thesis and childhood thesis are not exclusive. Sarah Mary O’Brien dismantles Lamb’s thesis in terms of his approach to the story as critical reading of the pastoral world. My own reading of the story converges in some points with O’Brien thesis, but I pay more attention to Nick’s fragmented experience of reality and the dissociation between object and subject, between the psychological and the physical.

Nick picks up his backpack and starts to walk. The physical exercise makes him happy. “His muscles ached and the day was hot, but Nick felt happy. He felt he had left everything behind, the need for thinking, the need to write, other needs” (*IOT* 134). It is remarkable how Hemingway constantly refers to Nick’s physical actions and how he connects them to his feelings. Hemingway involves Nick in a stream of actions in which the main character does not need to think. In fact Nick deliberately leaves any intellectual activity behind him: “Nick had wondered about them as he walked, without really thinking about them” (*IOT* 135). As Narbeshuber explains, “Nick learns to enjoy himself [...] and generally attend to the particular rhythms of his body, he develops a consciousness able to resist the speed of modern life” (Narbeshuber 25). Walking in the woods he again gets in touch with his deepest sense of self.⁴³ He does not need to follow the intellectual thinking prevailing in the modern world. He is experiencing a state of mind in which there is no differentiation between internal thinking and the experience of the material world. As Bell explains in relation to primitive mentality, “long before the human consciousness forms its first concepts concerning the basic objective differentiation of number, time and space, it seems to acquire the subtlest sensitivity to the peculiar periodicity of rhythm of human life” (*Primitivism* 108). Nick is beyond any intellectual categorization of reality that breaks time and space into artificial units. He does not need them as he acts now according to his instincts. “He did not need to get his

⁴³ There is a long-standing tradition in American literature of characters entering in the woods running away from civilization. A clear example would be Thoreau’s *Walden: Or, Life in the Woods*: “I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived.[...]. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms” (143).

map out. He knew where he was from the position of the river” (*IOT* 135). Nick is one with the external world. As Lévy-Brul explains about the primitive state of mind, “he feels a participation with himself—and separation in space, as we know, constitutes no obstacle to the unity of the individual” (*NPM* 124). There are no boundaries between subject and object in Nick’s experiences in the woods.

Nick has left behind every sign of modern life. There is no sight of the train line. He faces “the country alive again” (*IOT* 136). He is not trapped in a fragmented experience of reality: “Nothing could touch him” (139). When he is preparing dinner he remembers his old friend Hopkins. These memories from urban life create anxiety: “His mind was staring to work” (142), but Hemingway does not allow Nick’s mind to work: “He curled up under the blanket and went to sleep” (142). Eliot also presented in some of his early poems an experience beyond the rational constructions of the modern world. The poet also used the pattern deployed by Hemingway in Nick’s fishing trip to present movement images in which the boundaries between the inner and the outer world blur.

In “Preludes” Eliot presents the interaction between inner and outer worlds, between consciousness and the objects of the material world. Then, he explores the dissociation between these two levels of urban life to present an image in which this fragmentation disappears. Eliot alludes twice to the notion of an “infinite[ly] [...] thing” (*CPP* 13) as opposed to the intellectual categorization of time and space that he uses in the other preludes to depict the life of the city. Eliot attempts to connect all these fragments into a unity, but he finally relates this illusion to “fancies” (13). Eliot neglects this “infinite[ly] [...] thing” (13) and he finishes the poem by referring again to an image of modern life where “ancient women” gather “fuel in vacant lots” (13). In “The Love

Song of J. Alfred Prufrock” Eliot also explores images to represent an experience beyond the rational categories that fragment experience in the outer world.

In Prufrock’s dramatic monologue, Eliot depicts in the first stanza the dissociated experience of a fragmented self—“you and I” (*CPP* 3). Then, throughout the rest of the poem he explores the interaction between these two levels of experience within urban life. Finally, in the last two stanzas, Eliot presents an image in which the initial fragmentation disappears: “I have seen them riding seaward on the waves/Combing the white hair of the waves blown back/When the wind blows the water white and black./We have lingered in the chambers of the sea” (*CPP* 7). Here, Eliot presents an image beyond the rhythms of modern life that earlier in the poem frames Prufrock’s life. This image is a form of representation of a state of mind in which—as Lévy-Bruhl clarifies about the primitive mentality—“[t]he determinations in space and time which are indispensable in order for facts to have a place in the series of the real phenomena are here entirely lacking” (*NPM* 87). Once the “I” focuses its attention in the movement of the waves beyond the spatial movement of urban life, the ‘I’ and the ‘you’ become a ‘we’. They are immersed in the boundless space of the sea where the intellectual categories of time and space do not work anymore.

In their first works Eliot and Hemingway focused on a state of mind prior to the fragmentation of the inner and the outer world induced by modernity in all its technological and routinizing forms. As I have pointed out before in relation to the concept of the noble savage (p. 11), there never was such a state. It was a convenient fiction, a thought that related society to the corruption of the individual. Eliot and Hemingway represented through distinctive images experiences similar to Bradley’s

immediate experience and the primitive state of mind. I consider that Eliot and Hemingway deployed these images as a reaction against the intellectual premises that fragment the flow of vital reality in the modern world. As Bell clarifies, “primitivism [...] is born of the interplay between the civilized self and the desire to reject or transform it” (*Primitivism* 80). These two authors repudiated any limitation imposed by the intellect in order to pursue a flow of a sensuous experience beyond civilization. Therefore, in the next chapter I shall consider the consequences of this common movement undertaken to overcome the dissociated experience of reality.

6. Conclusion

My analysis of Eliot’s and Hemingway’s concern with a fragmented experience of reality results in four main points that I consider crucial to an understanding of the literary practices in their early careers. First, both shared a way of thinking about a problematic experience of reality that was under the direct influence of the philosophical debate at the turn of the twentieth century. In their first works, Eliot and Hemingway explored the dissociation between two levels of consciousness that meaningfully refers to the inner life and the outer world. Under the influence of psychological theories that elevate sensations over abstract concepts, they confronted the intellectual categorization of reality that fragments a stream of vital reality. Secondly, they treated the categories of space and time as artificial intellectual conventions that arrest this “stream of life” (Bergson, *CE* 196). Thirdly, their consideration of the artificial fragmentation of time and space in the

material world led them to propose broadly similar aesthetic formulas. Eliot's "objective correlative" (*SP* 48) and Hemingway's "real thing" (*DIA* 2) are based on the deployment of images to represent an experience in which the boundaries between internal thinking and external reality dissolve. Finally, their attempt to overcome this dissociated experience of reality led them towards an interest in primitivism as a reaction against the mechanical categorization of reality in the modern world.

This chapter has established a way of understanding Eliot's and Hemingway's common immersion in a similar intellectual landscape to reflect on the experience and representation of the troubled modern self. The poet and the writer of fiction involved their characters in a flow of sensations to liberate consciousness from the chains of the rational constructs. This feature would bloom in the development of distinctive paths back to wholeness; but, first, the next chapter will look into the meaning of Eliot's and Hemingway's regressive movement into a spiral of pure sensations beyond any restriction imposed by the intellect.

Chapter Two

Reflections on Civilization

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on Eliot's and Hemingway's reflections on modern civilization.¹

Whereas the first chapter concluded that Eliot and Hemingway shared an interest in primitive states of mind, this chapter considers how they depict civilization as a barrier to experiencing this state of mind. On the one hand, these two authors paid attention to the idea of a primitive mentality prior to the separation between objective perception and subjective feeling. On the other hand, this can also be seen as a dangerous allure. Eliot and Hemingway reflected on the tendency of going back to earlier stages of human development and the necessity of controlling this impulse. This consideration relates both authors to the parameters of thought promoted by Irving Babbitt and his questioning of the primitive in *The Masters of Modern French Criticism* (1912): "[A]t the very time that

¹ As Williams explains, the word civilization "has come to be a relatively neutral form for any achieved social order or way of life" (*Keywords* 59). When I use the term modern civilization I refer to the early twentieth century and the period of the aftermath of World War One. I focus on the confluence of the modernist dismissal of "the reign of instrumental reason" (Armstrong 4), the subsequent longing for a pre-civilized state of mind alien to the urban life and the consequences for the social order of such a longing. Freud points out this dichotomy when he affirms in *Civilization*, "it is impossible to overlook the extent to which civilization is built up on renunciation, how much it presupposes the non-satisfaction of powerful drive—by suppression, repression or some other means" (34).

one side of our civilization is sentimentalizing about the primitive, another side of this same civilization is just as surely killing it” (*MFC* 24). My intention is to analyze the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway engaged with this dichotomy in their work and how it affected their reflections on modern civilization.

Firstly, I shall consider how they explored the sensuous disposition of the individual as a result of their shared attraction to the primitive. I shall use Lévy-Bruhl’s insights about the primitive mind, as opposed to a civilized consciousness, to analyze to what extent Eliot and Hemingway considered the confrontation between these two radically different states of mind. I analyze Eliot’s Sweeney poems and Hemingway’s “The Battler” in the context of conflicts between individual sensual tendencies and social conventions and constraints. I argue that Freud’s vocabulary in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930) is a useful way of exploring Eliot’s and Hemingway’s ambivalent consideration of civilization. Freud reflects on the assertion that civilization is a source of suffering at the same time that he recognizes the necessity of controlling the individual tendency towards abandoning civilization to prevent society from sinking into chaos. Finally, I shall argue that these conflicting ideas about the primitive and the civilized are integral to the analysis of Eliot’s and Hemingway’s reflection on the necessity of restoring the correlation between individual and society. Lévy-Bruhl’s concept of the primitive “feeling of participation” (*NPM* 61) as distinct from Freud’s insights about “[c]ommunal life” (32) results in a way of reading Eliot’s “Gerontion” and Hemingway’s “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II” that makes visible the interrelationship between these

two writers in this context. Both attempt to regenerate the collective modes of experience they see as lacking in modern civilization.²

In T. S. Eliot's review of Wyndham Lewis's *Tarr*, he affirms that the "[p]rimitive instincts and the acquired habits of ages are confounded in the ordinary man" (qtd. in Levina 81). Eliot suggests that in the civilized state of mind there are residues of a primitive mentality. The same dichotomy is identified by Hemingway in a private letter in which he recalls the personality of the journalist Lionel Moise: "I remember him as a sort of primitive force, a skilful and extremely facile newspaper man who has his troubles and his pleasures with drink and women" (*SL* 775). Hemingway represents in the figure of Moise the coexistence of two opposing forces. He points out that primitive instincts are still at the core of civilized man, just as Eliot does in his review of Lewis's novel. Eliot and Hemingway suggest that the primitive exists within the civilized. The former is somehow under the control of the latter. These two authors felt attracted by a primitive state of mind and they reflected on the presence of this primitive disposition in the modern man. As Bell affirms, primitivism is by definition the paradoxical product of civilization itself; it is born of the interplay between the civilized self and the desire to reject or transform it (*Primitivism* 80). Thus, it is necessary to consider Eliot's and Hemingway's part in this debate about the primitive.

² In the last section of the previous chapter I analyzed "Big Two-Hearted River: Part I" (see pp. 62-65). In this chapter I examine "Big Two-Hearted River: Part II." It is important not to neglect the relation between these two stories. They narrate the same Nick Adams's fishing trip to the woods, but I treat them as independent stories. In the contents of *In Our Time*, Hemingway places them as two different stories. He separates them with a short sketch or inter-chapter as he does with the others short stories of the collection.

Eliot and Hemingway confronted the disparities between sensuous experiences and the intellectual premises that may control the tendency toward the primitive. But, while in Eliot's "Prufrock" or Hemingway's "Up in Michigan" this dissociation between the sensual and the intellectual prevents the individual from experiencing his inner life, the Sweeney poems and "The Battler" elevate the experience of reality to the level of consciousness that refers to sensuous experiences.³ In these works they look back to the origin of that flow of sensations that has dehumanized the experience of reality, as Eliot's Sweeney points out when he is enclosed in a room, ignoring anything that may happen beyond those walls. He enjoys his sensual pleasures with no regret. In Hemingway's story the three characters ostracized by society are also immersed in the satisfaction of their own sensual instincts. Eliot and Hemingway reflect on the selfish, lascivious, natural man defended by the romantic faith in man's natural virtue.⁴ They paid attention to theories that value the individual over any other category. They also questioned the natural virtue of the individual and his pursuit of a sensuous flow of experience alien to the limitations imposed by rational constructs. In these works Eliot and Hemingway depict the consequences of a sensuous experience of reality that is incompatible with intellectual categories. They claim a reconsideration of the intrinsic interaction between individual and society. The Sweeney poems and "The Battler" locate Eliot and

³ As I have extensively argued in Chapter One (see pp. 25-33), Eliot and Hemingway reflected on the fragmentation between two levels of consciousness; one referring to the intellectual categories deployed to arrange the outer world, and the other referring to the experience of the inner life.

⁴ See, Beasley 59. In this chapter I allude to Rousseau's romantic conception of the individual, but as part of Babbitt's critique of Bergson and Emerson. In *The Masters of Modern French Criticism* Babbitt argues that Bergson gave "new form to the Rousseauistic strife between head and heart" (253). Similarly, Babbitt criticized "[t]he Rousseauistic side of Emerson" (305-06).

Hemingway within the parameters of thought intrinsic to the progression undertaken in the early twentieth century from the consideration of individual consciousness and psychology to social psychology.⁵

After the events of World War One, it was necessary to consider the correlation between individual claims and the survival of civilization. The interest in the centrality of the self evolved towards the consideration of collective experiences. This progression is exemplified in the theories of Freud who during this period of time “turned from the evolution of the individual psyche to the evolution of cultures: he needed a broader canvas than the individual psyche to explain what had gone wrong in modern times” (Torgovnick 198). However, when he argues in *Civilization* that “[w]e learn how to distinguish between the internal, which belongs to the ego, and the external, which comes from the outside” (6), he reflects on the necessity of communal life as part of the consideration of individual consciousness. When he affirms that “[t]he replacement of the power of the individual by that of the community is the decisive step towards civilization” (32), he effectively subordinates the individual consciousness to that of society as a whole. He distinguishes between “the development of the individual” and “the other process” he calls ““cultural”” (76-77). Alternatively, Lévy-Bruhl reflected on a primitive state of mind alien to the differentiation between the individual and the community. The primitive feeling exists insofar as it is part of the feeling of the group, but the individual consciousness is not privileged over that of the group. This

⁵ When I use the term social psychology I refer to Freud’s consideration of individual psychology always being related to a group. As Freud clarifies in *Group Psychology*: “In the individual’s mental life someone else is invariably involved, [...], and from the very first individual psychology [...] is at the same time a social psychology as well” (qtd. in Paul 268).

differentiation is central to an understanding of Eliot's and Hemingway's reflections on collective consciousness. In the next section I shall analyze Eliot's and Hemingway's questioning of the individual sensual instincts as part of their shared reflections on collective modes of experience.

2. The dangerous allure of the primitive

This section focuses on Eliot's and Hemingway's interest in the representation of characters involved in the pursuit of sensual experience. This allows a consideration of the extent to which these two authors were concerned with representing characters involved in sexual and violent actions. In his second volume of poetry, *Poems* (1920), Eliot introduced the figure of Sweeney to reflect on an individual experiencing bodily sensations.⁶ In the short story "The Battler" Hemingway also portrays the characters by their sensual impulses. Eliot and Hemingway represent in similar ways characters defined by their physicality. Sweeney and the three outcasts from "The Battler" relate to Eliot's and Hemingway's interest in calling attention to the emphasis upon sensual instincts at the expense of intellect as part of their shared reflection on the primitive.⁷

⁶ Sweeney appears in three poems in Eliot's second volume of poetry: "Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service," "Sweeney Erect" and "Sweeney among the Nightingales." This character is also named in the third part of *The Waste Land* and in the fragmentary play *Sweeney Agonistes*. In her article, Brooker makes a succinct list of the more relevant critics who have read this character by using alternative interpretations. For a compilation of essays about the Sweeney poems, see Roby.

⁷ In criticism of both Eliot and Hemingway, different scholars have made their cases in relation to primitivism. For alternative considerations about the connections between

The Sweeney poems represent Eliot's progression from his earlier identification of the intellect as the agent that arrests the flow of sensuous experience to his latter reflection on an individual immersed in sensual impulses. As Cook argues in his comparison of Prufrock and Sweeney—that could also be applied to a more general correspondence between Eliot's first and second volume of poetry— “[t]he two men may be regarded as two halves of a dissociated sensibility, the sensuous and the intellectual, each isolated from its natural partner” (44). Eliot explored the primitive as a result of his attempt to overcome the clash between the world of the intellect and the world of the senses. A parallel movement may be identified in Hemingway's early works. In the short story “The Battler” Hemingway presents three characters immersed in the sensual experience of reality. Eliot and Hemingway evoked a primitive perception for which civilized men may feel a powerful nostalgia.

The desire of civilized man for a return to a primitive condition is as old as his civilized capacity for self-reflection.⁸ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars of social sciences paid attention in their anthropological theories to the

Eliot and Lévy-Bruhl see Harmon, Manganaro, and Menand and Schwartz. In his chapter “The Interpretation of the Primitive Ritual” Gray uses one of Eliot's papers as a graduate student to clarify the poet's interests in the primitive mentality in relation to myth, rituals and religious consciousness. In a similar way, Cowley calls attention to Hemingway's use of myth and ritual to affirm that he possessed a “pre-Christian and prelogical mentality” (qtd. in Civello 1). Civello also explores the correlation between primitivism and archetypical rituals in “Big Two-Hearted River.” I agree with these critics on the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway paid attention to ritualistic patterns and myths. In Chapter Three I shall reflect on how these two authors consider rituals and the mythical method from similar, but distinctive, points of view. In this chapter I focus on their ambivalent consideration of the primitive. For alternative readings of Hemingway and primitivism, see Burnan, Meyers and del Gizzo.

⁸ See Bell 1.

relationship between the primitive and the modern mind. Eliot was not ignorant of these studies and he was familiar with the work of Jane Harrison, Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl.⁹ He integrated this knowledge in his reviews about contemporary artistic works to argue “that an understanding of primitive man is a prerequisite for understanding civilized man” (Brooker, *Mimetic* 131).¹⁰ Eliot assumed a bond between the modern and the primitive mind as he pointed out when he affirmed that Frazer’s “*The Golden Bough* can be read in two ways: as a collection of entertaining myths, or as a revelation of that vanished mind of which our mind is a continuation” (Rainey 189). Eliot refers to a vanished mind, but he underlines how “our mind is a continuation” of the primitive. Eliot assumes this continuity. He followed Frazer’s evolutionary point of view and his consideration of the primitive as connected to the modern man (Vickery 24-25).¹¹ But not all anthropologists of that period embraced this approach in such a clear way.

Lévy-Bruhl defended the idea of a primitive mentality as pre-rational.¹² By distinguishing the primitive from the modern he neglected the clear continuation between these two states of minds. He argued that primitive men “may see with eyes like ours, but they do not perceive with the same minds” (*HNT* 31). Eliot was ambivalent about Lévy-Bruhl’s theories. As Crawford points out, Eliot questioned to the way in which the

⁹ See Gordon 86-87.

¹⁰ Brooker alludes to these reviews in his analysis of Eliot’s consideration of the artist as an essential link between the primitive and the modern (131-33).

¹¹ As Brooker explains, Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and its hypothesis of the ‘missing link’ that connected present to past and contemporary humans to their remotest ancestors was a main influence on the anthropologists of the time (130).

¹² For a further analysis of the complexity of the different approaches to the study of the primitive in the early twentieth century, see Torgovnick.

French anthropologist drew the distinction between primitive and civilized states of mind too clearly (92). But, at the same time, Eliot felt attracted by Lévy-Bruhl's explanations of the primitive mentality (98). When Eliot comments on Lévy-Bruhl's account of the Boroboro tribe in Brazil, he affirms that "he [the Boroboro] is capable of a state of mind in which we cannot put ourselves" (Manganaro 99). He considered that "[this state of mind] plays much greater part in the daily life of the savage than in that of civilized man" (99). In his reviews Eliot advocated the bond between the primitive and the modern questioned by Lévy-Bruhl. In his poetry, the clearness of this claim becomes more ambiguous. Via Lévy-Bruhl's theories I propose that Eliot's Sweeney poems focus on the necessity of restraining the tendency towards a primitive state of mind rather than on the missing bond between the primitive and modern minds.

In *How Natives Think* (1910), Lévy-Bruhl observes that "primitives perceive nothing in the same way as we do" (30).¹³ He rejected the assumption that primitive cultures were basically no different from the modern man and that "they must think rationally as we do" (xi).¹⁴ Lévy-Bruhl points out that, of course, there is more than one way for the mind to grasp the world. For Lévy-Bruhl's primitive, the relation between an object and an individual is not based on objective perceptions, but on feelings: "[F]or the primitive, there is no question [...] of intellectual operations, but of something apprehended as felt" (NPM 157-58). In the Sweeney poems Eliot cancels the intellectual operation of this character, but this character is far from experiencing a primitive state of

¹³ See Jain 133.

¹⁴ As Ruth L. Bunzel explains in her introduction to the English version of *How Natives Think*, Lévy-Bruhl thought that the predominant mode of thinking in nineteenth century anthropology was rationalistic.

mind. These poems contradict Eliot's assertion of the continuation between the primitive and the civilized mind.

In "Sweeney Erect" and "Sweeney Among the Nightingales" Sweeney is in a brothel and his performance revolves around sex: "Gesture of orang-outang/ Rises from the sheets in steam" (25). He stresses his sensual impulses to depict how he satisfies them in the whorehouse. He is incapable of controlling his instincts and he copulates ignoring the screams of the woman: "he knows the female temperament" (25).¹⁵ His sexual activities turn violent. There is a chiasmatic relationship between sex and violence in Sweeney's actions. Sex is violent in the room of the brothel and the violence is sexual: "Pushing the framework of the bed/And clawing at the pillow slip" (25). There is no real differentiation between one and the other because both of them respond to Sweeney's sensual tendency. Significantly he shows no remorse for his actions. He does not have the ability to discern the consequences of his behavior. Sweeney does not distinguish between his sensual appetites and how he satisfies them. He cannot dissociate sex and violence and, therefore, his actions result in destruction.

In the room Sweeney sways like an animal: "Sweeney shifts from ham to ham/Stirring the water in his bath" (34). The manners of this character and his agitation are typical of an animal: "The sickle motion from the tights/[...]/Then straightens out from heel to hip" (25). Eliot underlines the animalistic behavior of Sweeney. There is no intellectual trace that makes him think about controlling those impulses. He does not

¹⁵ For an analysis of misogyny in relation to Eliot's early years, see Gordon. For a reading of this matter in relation to Eliot's discourse, see MacDiarmid. From a different angle, Jacqueline Rose diagnoses "Eliot's rejection of [Hamlet] as misogynist revulsion" (qtd. in MacDiarmid 67). See also Clark.

differentiate between sex and violence as both respond to the satisfaction of his sensual instincts. Sweeney has become an animal, but animalism and the primitive are not interchangeable. Sweeney responds to Eliot's attraction to the primitive as opposed to the civilized, but this character is only a civilized man who happens to ignore any restrictions that may control the satisfaction of his sensual pleasures. Eliot argued in his reviews about "that vanished mind of which our mind is a continuation" (Rainey 189). There is no trace of such a mind in Sweeney. He does not experience a primitive perception of reality, but only a sensuous experience that ignores intellect. A similar limitation is found in Hemingway's "The Battler."

In this story Hemingway also explores the representation of individuals turning their backs on the intellect and immersing themselves in sensuous experience. In this story the characters' actions turn on their physical condition. They are tired, hungry and thirsty and all their feelings are reduced to their sensual instincts connected to the necessity of satisfying their physical appetites: "'When are we going to eat, Bugs?'" (*IOT* 57). In this early adventure of Nick Adams, Hemingway develops the same pattern used by Eliot in the Sweeney poems to call attention to the animalistic condition of the individual. Particularly, Hemingway's presentation of the ex-boxer Ad Francis resembles Eliot's depiction of Sweeney in his poems. Firstly, Hemingway underlines the character's animalistic features. Secondly, Ad's actions respond to his sensual instincts to the extent that he cannot control this inclination.

Once Nick has been bumped from the train he thinks, “They would never suck him in that way again” (53), and he keeps walking away from the tracks.¹⁶ He meets Ad Francis, a tramp living in the woods with his friend Bugs. Ad is an ex-boxer and Hemingway pays especial attention to his physical features: “[H]is face was misshapen. His nose was sunken, his eyes were slits, he had queer-shaped lips [...] the man’s face was queerly formed and mutilated” (55). Hemingway offers a detailed description of his face: “[h]e had only one ear. It was thickened and tight against the side of his head” (55). Ad’s physiognomy is compared to regular human features: “Where the other ear should have been there was a stump” (55). This character is proud of his physical strength and his identity is based on it: “‘Do you know how I beat them?’ [...] ‘My heart’s slow’” (56). The boxer’s physiognomy is the result of fighting in the rings and his identity relies on his animalistic behavior.

When the second tramp joins Nick and Ad in the woods, the three characters gather around a fire to eat: “‘Are you hungry, Nick’ [...] ‘Hungry as hell’” (57), but suddenly the boxer loses his temper and everything turns around violence. “‘Hit me,’ he moved his head. ‘Try and hit me’” (59). They are in the woods and there is nothing to restrict the boxer’s violence. Nothing can stop his animalistic tendency. They are not in the ring and there are no rules. Therefore, “the negro [...] tapped him across the base on the skull” (59). The only solution that the tramp finds to control the boxer’s violence is

¹⁶ As Marx observes, by the mid-nineteenth century, the locomotive was becoming a national obsession in America. The invention of the steamboat had been quite exciting, but it was nothing compared to the railroad. It was the embodiment of the age and seen as an instrument of power, speed, noise, fire, iron, and smoke (191). It is worth noting how Hemingway uses railway tracks to settle the boundaries between civilization and nature, just as he does in other stories such as “Big Two-Hearted River: Part I.” Hemingway’s characters leave behind them the track of the locomotive as a symbolic gesture in their search of the primitive.

more violence: “I know how to do it. He won’t remember nothing of it. I have to do it to change him when he gets that way” (60). These two characters live away from society and their behaviour is based on the obedience of their own sensual impulses and their inability to control them. These characters are defined by their use of violence as a result of the impossibility of controlling these instincts. These characters ignore any “intellectual operations” (Lévy-Bruhl, *NPM* 158), but this does not imply an experience of a primitive state of mind. It is only a temporary withdrawal from any rational categorization of reality.

Eliot’s Sweeney poems and Hemingway’s “The Battler” are not a representation of a primitive state of mind. These works reflect on the ferocious ambivalence involved in acquiescing with the primitive tendency or sensual disposition of the individual. As Armstrong affirms, “to encounter the primitive is to time-travel, returning to earlier stages of human development of which ‘vestiges’ are buried within the psyche” (140). Eliot and Hemingway involve their characters in a journey towards encountering these vestiges. They release them from “modes of censorship imposed by civilization,” but Sweeney and the outcasts from “The Battler” end up immersed in the maelstrom of the reversion towards a “vitalist self at one with its sexuality and being” (140). Hemingway’s characters are isolated in the woods to the same extent that Sweeney is secluded from civilization in the room of the brothel. These works are still framed under the consideration of the civilization as the agent that corrupts the individual. They move their characters away from civilization; but at the same time, they contradict any positive valorization of the primitive as opposed to the civilized. They point to “fundamental assumptions that the primitivist, if indulged, can only lead to the destruction of the

civilized self and that such an eventuality is necessarily evil” (Bell, *Primitivism* 39).

These works converge with Babbitt’s indictment of the anti-intellectual tendency of a positive valorization of the primitive.

In *The Masters of Modern French Criticism* (1912) Babbitt criticizes “primitivism [...] [because] [i]n the Rousseauistic fashion we are to advance by looking backward, we are to progress by reverting to origins; only in this way can we escape from the artificial and the imitative and recover the spontaneous and the original” (*MFC* 22).¹⁷ This critique of “the so-called anti-intellectualist movement” (vii) is relevant to my analysis for at least two reasons. Firstly, Babbitt criticizes “the glorification of impulse” as opposed “to the mechanizing of life” (*RR* 300). Secondly, Babbitt warns that the immersion in this flow of sensuous experiences implies the exaltation of the private self that is incompatible with anything beyond the individual himself. Babbitt identifies two main orders of intuition, “the sensual” and “the intellectual” (52) and he considers that the enthusiasm of the sensuous unavoidably leads to a dangerous consideration of personal experiences as the measure of all things. Eliot and Hemingway involved their characters in an attempt to revert to origin escaping from any artificial devices imposed by civilization: ‘Got a watch?’/‘No.’/‘Neither have I’” (*IOT* 56). They reflected on the intrinsic destructiveness of such attempts to claim the restoration of the unavoidable correlation between individual and society.

Once Sweeney has satisfied his appetites, he “addressed full length to shave/ Broadbottomed, pink from nape to base” (*CPP* 25). He stands to cut the “root of knots of hair” (25). He performs an action proper to a human rather than an animal. Eliot

¹⁷ For a further consideration of Rousseau’s primitivism and his concept of the *Noble Savage*, see Murfin and Ray 370-71.

emphasizes the animalistic nature of Sweeney, but he also underlines that he is a human. By placing Sweeney in front of a mirror, Eliot presents a new aspect of him that was imperceptible amidst the maelstrom of his previous actions.¹⁸ As Brooker notes, “[l]ooking in the mirror, he sees the human face behind the knots of hair” (7). After the depiction of Sweeney contemplating his human nature, Eliot offers an insight into the behaviour of this character: “(The lengthened shadow of a man/Is history, said Emerson/Who had not seen the silhouette/Of Sweeney straddled in the sun.)” (*CPP* 27). Eliot refers to the American father of transcendentalism and his celebration of individualism. In the Sweeney poems Eliot depicts a man incapable of restraining his sensual inclination and he indirectly relates this to individualism.

Sweeney personifies Eliot’s reflection on the philosophies that praise “the private, self-supplied powers of the individual” (Babbitt, *MFC* 361).¹⁹ Sweeney represents the extent to which this centrality of self has degenerated into an individual concerned simply with fulfilling his sensual tendencies. As Babbitt warns, “[t]he worst that is likely to befall the man who plants himself indomitably upon his own instincts is that he will plant

¹⁸ It is worth noting the similarities between Sweeney’s reflection in the mirror, his awareness of his surroundings for the first time in the poem, and Lacan’s mirror stage. “In the famous ‘Mirror stage’ article (1929) Lacan first directs his attention to the Imaginary, the elected domain of binary oppositions and of the ego [...]. What matters here is the function of the image as our first mediator and our perpetual other” (Paccaud-Huguet 281). Significantly, once Eliot places Sweeney in front of the mirror, the consideration of the social world and the meaning of the other Sweeney in the world outside the room emerge.

¹⁹ Among others, Brooker writes of how “‘Sweeney Erect’ is above all an ironic commentary on Emerson’s view of human nature and history” (431); more generally, Lee Oser underlines how in his second volume of poetry Eliot advanced an argument in opposition to Emerson (58). For additional readings of Eliot’s allusions to Emerson, see Clendenning, Cook and Peake.

himself indomitably upon his own crudity” (*MFC* 361). Sweeney is the result of this “whole movement from Rousseau to Bergson [...] filled with the glorification of instinct” (*Babbitt*, *RR* 147).²⁰ He is a symbol of this glorification and its correlative behaviour. He neglects the possibility of “disciplining himself to some form of perfection set above his ordinary self” (23). Consequently, Sweeney is not only an individual pursuing the satisfaction of his own sensual instincts, but a vehicle for reflecting on the results of an individual ignoring any social bond that may restrict his primitive tendency within society.

The relevant aspect of Sweeney is how Eliot disdains the equivalence between nostalgia for a primitive state of mind and the subsequent rejection of civilization. This leads to the consideration of the necessity of cultivating the bonds between individual and society to restrain the tendency towards the primitive. Hemingway also explores this misleading equivalence, but in “The Battler” he points out a subtler consideration that is not at the core of Eliot’s Sweeney poems. Hemingway is aware of the dangerous allure of the primitive, but he focuses on the restrictions imposed on the individual by civilization to decipher the origin of such attraction. This can be better understood if Hemingway’s story is read along with Freud’s *Civilization and Its Discontents* and its analysis of the paradox of civilization.

In the third chapter of *Civilization* Freud maintains that “[i]t is contended that much of the blame for our misery lies with what we call our civilization, and that we should be far happier if we were to abandon it and revert to primitive conditions” (24-25). Later in this work he refutes this claim, affirming instead that the “[p]rimitive man” is

²⁰ For a more detailed analysis of *Babbitt*’s critique of Rousseau and Bergson in relation to primitivism, see Crawford 61-62.

actually better off, because “his drives” cannot be “restricted” (51).²¹ In *Civilization* Freud moves from an early positive consideration of the primitive to a later call for the necessity of controlling the primitive tendency or aggressive instinct.²² Freud regards this instinct to defend civilization as a necessary asset. The primary role of civilization is to control this aggressive impulse, but this control inflicts suffering on the individual. Freud relates it to the “sense of guilt” (62) to identify its origin with the fear of authority and social values that “force[s] us to forgo the satisfaction of our drives” (62-63). It is necessary to control the primitive impulse, but “to subdue it, society has to place seemingly excessive and unreasonable demands on its members” (Deigh 290). Civilization results from the conflicting combination of the primitive and the civilized. The regulation of these forces implies the fundamental paradox of civilization. It protects the individual from the primitive urge, but at the same time, it is a source of suffering. One cannot be dissociated from the other.

Two characters from “The Battler” have suffered the consequences of going against the norms imposed by civilization. Bugs is “a negro” (*IOT* 57) who met Ad in jail: “I was in for cutting a man” (61). Ad, the ex boxer, married a woman and people thought she was his sister: “Of course they wasn’t brother and sister no more than a rabbit, but there was a lot of people didn’t like it either way” (61). Civilization censured

²¹ As Torgovnick notes, “Freud’s map of the psyche placed the ego (the *Ich*, the I) at a point that mediates between civilizing super-ego and the ‘primitive’ libido (or id)” (17). Freud argues the necessity of constraining the id through the reinforcement of the demands of the superego (*Civilization* 78-79).

²² As Church describes, Freud’s view of the nature and number of basic drives changes over time, but by *Civilization and Its Discontents* the crucial distinction has become that between “life-preserving and life-destroying instincts” (222). In *Civilization* Freud considers these life-destroying instincts as virtually primitive.

Ad's relationship and he became crazy: "He was busting people all the time after she went away and they put him in jail" (61). Ad and Bugs could not control their aggressiveness, but civilization executed its procedures to restrain it. These two characters ran away to avoid the social prohibitions that restrict "the life-destroying instincts" (Church 222). They are isolated from civilization, but primitive drives and the necessity of controlling them are still at the core of their lives.

In their travelling around the country as outcasts Bugs has managed to create a life for his friend and himself. Everything goes smoothly when they are by themselves, but sometimes Ad turns violent if somebody from outside comes to their camp in the woods. As Bugs says: "I have to sort of keep him away from people" (62). Nick's arrival makes Ad lose control over his temper and Bugs has "to thump him" because "it's the only thing to do when he gets started" (62). Bugs' admission that he has to keep Ad away from people shows that he has an ingrained sense of societal expectations and behaviour. He understands the necessity of controlling his friend's violence as part of the requirement for social interaction. For Kyle, "in 'The Battler' when social contact is made, it results in violence and suffering: Nick suffers because of the breakman and Ad Francis because of Nick. Even when society is limited to only three members, as in 'The Battler,' violence—being indigenous to society itself—erupts a second time for Nick" (297). Bugs accepts the use of violence to maintain such order. He has found a way of regulating social relations. Bugs questions civilization by living away from it; but at the same time, he validates his sense of the social when he recognizes the necessity of mechanisms to

maintain the relation with other people: “I don’t like to not be hospitable” (62).²³ The lack of norms also threatens life in the camp. Ad’s societal sense implies control over the primitive urges of his friend. In “The Battler” Hemingway reflects on the aggressiveness intrinsic to the primitive drives to deal with the paradoxical nature of civilization. The analysis of this paradox points to Hemingway’s rejection of the nostalgic allure of the primitive, but also his acceptance of a distinctive civilized perspective that implies assumptions about its supremacy.²⁴

Hemingway staged the confrontation between the primitive and the civilized. He recognized the necessity of negotiating the clash between these forces, but “The Battler” underlines an important aspect about Hemingway’s consideration of the civilized. In this story the “negro” defends an established sense of the social. Hemingway constructs the identity of the civilized as opposed to the primitive, but this identity is based on a distinctive assumption. As Strong affirms, “Bugs intervenes in the white-white conflict in order to preserve peace between the two men” (57). This peace implies the success of the

²³ Bugs symbolizes Hemingway’s reflection on the impossibility of returning to a primitive condition. As del Gizzo explains, during his childhood Hemingway was exposed to the primitivist rhetoric of the return to nature (497). But by the time Hemingway wrote these stories such positive valorization of “back to nature” was questioned, as Jean Toomer in “On Being an American” points out: “Back to nature, even if desirable, was no longer possible, because industry had taken nature unto itself. Even if he wanted to, a city person could not become a soil person by changing his locale and living on a farm or in the woods. ... Those who sought to cure themselves by a return to more primitive conditions were either romantics or escapists” (qtd. in North, *Dialectic* 167).

²⁴ Torgovnic makes clear that in *Civilization* Freud reflects on the categories of “female/male and primitive/civilized. He then allies himself with the ‘triumphant’ categories—civilized male” (203). Hemingway also allies himself with a privileged civilized position. It implies not only a male position, but also a racial supremacy.

civilized, but for Hemingway, the identity of the civilized is the white Western identity.²⁵

In the Indian stories Hemingway reflects further on this encounter between the primitive and the civilized from a privileged Western point of view.²⁶

“Indian Camp” presents the Indian settlement separated from the town where the white men live. This spatial division implies the interaction between the primitive and the civilized at the same time as maintaining the distinctiveness of these two identities:

“‘Where are we going, Dad?’ Nick asked. ‘Over to the Indian Camp. There is an Indian lady very sick’” (*CSS* 67). The white men go to the camp to help an Indian woman in labour. The civilized brings knowledge to the primitive. The same spatial division is at the core of “Ten Indians”: “‘I went for a walk up by the Indian camp’” (*NAS* 31). But in this story the Indians also cross the limits of their own territory: “The Indians were all in town getting drunk” (31). When civilized people pay a visit to the Indians, they are depicted as resourceful and capable of helping each other. Alternatively, when the Indians move into a domain of civilization, they are portrayed as drunks: “[They] passed nine drunken Indian along the road” (27). In these stories, space serves as a liminal terrain underlying the opposition between primitive and civilized. As DeFalco argues in relation to “Indian Camp,” the three characters move from “their own sophisticated and civilized world of the white man into the dark and primitive world of the [Indian] camp”

²⁵ By Western I mean the dominant Euro-American cultures. Particularly, in Hemingway’s stories, the white men that migrated from Europe represent the civilized. For a further study of colonial Americans in relation to Indians see Pearce.

²⁶ There is extensive criticism relating to race in Hemingway’s fiction: see Holcomb, Lewis and Strong. These critics develop an analysis of Hemingway’s treatment of race in relation to African-Americans, Africans and American Indians respectively. In my analysis, I refer to race in relation to Hemingway’s limited consideration of the primitive and the extent to which it implies assumptions of the civilized.

(qtd. in Strong 19).²⁷ Hemingway presents the Indians as primitive and the white men as civilized.

These two stories resonate with the eighteenth and nineteenth century consideration of Indians as the uncivilized of America. As Benjamin Lincoln wrote in 1792: “Civilized and uncivilized people cannot live in the same territory, or even in the same neighborhood. Civilization directs us to remove as fast as possible that natural growth from the lands which is absolutely essential for the food and hiding-place of those beasts of the forest” (qtd. in Pearce 68). In the Indian stories, Hemingway presents the delimitation between the forest and the city, between the primitive and the civilized. This spatial delimitation is a result of the territory defended more than one hundred years before the story was written. During this time, the “beats of the forest” have been secluded and isolated from the civilized, but they are still at the core of the identity of the white men as much as they were in the time of the colonization. It is remarkable how “Ten Indians” happens “[a]fter one Fourth of July” (*NAS* 27), the day of the celebration of the beginning of an independent American civilization. In Hemingway’s story, Indians had been ostracized from their way of life. The time when—as Benjamin Lincoln put it— “[the Indians] will be either civilized or extinct” (qtd. in Pearce 69) has arrived. Of course, the result of this “either or” was not as pristine as Lincoln’s words suggested. The opposition between primitive and civilized is more complex as Hemingway pointed out in the Indian stories. As Strong states, we have not fully engaged with the Indian stories unless we come to terms with the way Nick’s and his father’s identity are constructed in relation to the Indian’s presence, and vice versa (“Screaming” 22). “The Doctor and the

²⁷ In her article, Strong makes a succinct list of the most relevant criticism that analyses Hemingway’s consideration of the Indians as primitives.

Doctor's Wife" goes deeper into the complexities of this interaction.

In this story the Indian visits the white man. This time the latter asks for help from the former. The supremacy or dominance of the civilized over the primitive as depicted in "Indian Camp" and "Ten Indians" is challenged, but significantly, the power of the Indian in this story is used to defend the value of the civilized. The three Indians come from their camp down to the cottage. They cross the boundaries of the others: "They came in through the back gate out of the woods" (*CSS* 73). The fact that there is a gate implies ownership, a value that, as we should see Indians do not recognize. Doctor Adams needs the Indian to cut a log, but Dick, a "half-breed" (*IOT* 24), claims that Doctor Adams's log is a stolen one: "'Well, Doc,' he said, 'that's a nice lot of timber you've stolen'" (24). The Doctor argues that it has no owner: "It's driftwood" (23), but Dick points to the mark that clearly shows that it "'belongs to White and McNally'" (24). The Indian challenges the civilized man by using the value of property; a value transmitted by the white man to the Indians.

In his tracing of American ideas about Indians, Pearce points to a group of Scottish philosophers that in the eighteenth century saw the savage as limited by the lack of private property and division of labour: "Yet they need to be mature in rich, complex, civilized humanity. The primary means to this are private property and the division of labor, as these mark the end of human progress towards its goal of high civilization" (Pearce 85).²⁸ In "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" Hemingway presents the Indians as

²⁸ This group was formed by historians belonging to what has become known as the Scottish school of common sense and moral sentiment. See, Broadie. They adopted an historical method of analyzing social process. The main goal of these men, among them Francis Hutcheson, Thomas Reid, Adam Ferguson and Lord Kames, was to construct a sociology of progress, "a theory which would make comprehensible at once social

advocates of private property. As Helstern affirms, “this story enacts the assimilation of the Indian into the white world” (69). The primitive has been civilized, but this story questions the white world portrayed in the other two Indian stories.

When Dick refers to Doctor Adams as ‘Doc’ he is diminishing, to a certain extent, his education and profession. By using this diminutive, he is undermining the doctor’s profession and its social recognition. Adams is most likely addressed publicly as ‘Doctor’ in his civilized world. Hemingway himself validates the civilized identity of the character by naming the story “The Doctor and the Doctor’s Wife”, emphasizing not once but twice the title of the character. Even the wife remains nameless, and her whole identity is subjected to her husband’s profession. He is purely defined as a Doctor, a profession highly valued and respected in the civilized world. This is precisely the reason why Doctor Adams threatens Dick: “If you call me Doc once again, I’ll knock your eye teeth down your throat” (25). The trigger for the Doctor’s violent and threatening reaction is purely based on Dick’s choice of words even though what has probably bothered the Doctor is the accusation of stealing. Dick, however, is well aware of his physical superiority and that he is using the civilized law of private property and, therefore, he challenges the Doctor with the very same word that upset him in the first place: “[O]h, no, you won’t, Doc” (25).

Hemingway opposes the primitive force of the Indian character to the physical inferiority of the white man. But it cannot be ignored that Dick’s dominance is used by Hemingway to defend the civilized value of property. He disguises the primitive to

stability and social growth” (Pearce 82). They equated social, technical and moral progress, since the progress of the individual was to be measured in the progress of the society which gave him his social being (83).

defend the civilized: “[M]any of the farmers around the lake believed he was really a white man” (*IOT* 24). In this story Hemingway makes the primitive adopt white ways: “It belongs to White” (24). As Helstern points out, “[t]he only hope for the Indian lay in incorporating tribal skills and values into white society” (63). Dick uses his physical strength and abilities as a warrior to defend a civilized norm. Doctor Adams recognizes the Indian’s powerful position and avoids direct confrontation: “The doctor chewed the beard on his lower lip and looked at Dick Boulton. Then he turned away and walked up the hill to the cottage” (*IOT* 25). Hemingway involves the primitive in this story not only to reinforce a civilized value, but also to put under consideration the limitedness or flaws of white identity.

Once the doctor is inside the cottage, his wife reminds him that “he who ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city” (*IOT* 25). These words do not offer Doctor Adams any comfort when he listens to them while “cleaning a shotgun” (26). His coping mechanism, his way of achieving some reassurance, is to clean a gun, an object that represents the force and authority that was used against native Americans and that the Doctor “was very fond of” (26). He is still angry due to his weakness, and again reverts to white logic to reassure his supremacy in relation to the Indians: “Dick owes me a lot of money for pulling his squaw through pneumonia and I guess he wanted a row so he wouldn’t have to take it out in work” (26). Doctor Adams tries to rationalize his humiliation from his civilized point of view, but it does not work. The confrontation between the white man and the Indian implies an assessment of the civilized. Hemingway’s consideration of the Indians as uncivilized is not fully understood if it is not considered as part of the configuration of the Western identity. As del Gizzo makes

clear, “[a]s the ‘other’ of the West, the primitive becomes an empty holding place that reflects Western desires and anxieties about its own culture and identity” (498). The question is the extent to which the civilized may fulfill such desires and prevent those anxieties.

Primitivism allows the civilized to inspect itself through an imaginary opposite (Bell 20). Hemingway and Eliot explored the dangerous allure of the primitive as opposed to the civilized. These two authors questioned this nostalgia for the primitive to reflect on civilization as a necessary force that may control this tendency. But this engagement with the primitive also led them to examine Western identity. Hemingway and Eliot adopted the modernist tactic of using a construct of the primitive as the perfect position from which to criticize and inspect the culture and society of the early twentieth century.²⁹ This scrutiny led these two authors to claim collective modes of experience that they considered absent in modern civilization, as I shall analyze in the next section.

3. Collective modes of experience

This section focuses on Eliot’s and Hemingway’s interest in calling attention to the necessity of a common way of life to revitalize the bonds between individual and society. First, I shall analyze Hemingway’s “A Very Short Story” and “Mr. and Mrs. Elliot” along with Eliot’s reference to Sweeney in *The Waste Land* and *Sweeney Agonistes* as similar attempts to reflect on the absence of any common link among the members of society. In

²⁹ See del Gizzo 503.

addition, I shall analyze Eliot's "Gerontion" and Hemingway's "Big Two-Hearted River: Part II" to show the extent to which these two authors point out the need of recasting collective modes of experience. I will compare Freud's "common feelings" (*CD* 33) to Lévy-Bruhl's "feeling of participation" (*NPM* 61) to comprehend Eliot's and Hemingway's shared progression towards collective experience.

In some of their earlier works Eliot and Hemingway looked at dysfunctional families to represent their concern with the lack of any common way of life in modern civilization. This consideration of family converges with Eliot's reflections on this institution as one of the cornerstones for the stability of civilization. In *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* (1948) Eliot connects family to culture at the same time that he relates the survival of a meaningful way of life to the transmission of that culture:

If we agree that the primary vehicle for the transmission of culture is the family, and if we agree that in a more highly civilized society there must be different levels of culture, then it follows that to ensure the transmission of the culture of these different levels there must be groups of families persisting, from generation to generation, each in the same way of life. (*NDC* 48)

Eliot stresses the correlation between family and civilization and connects the success of a communal life to the existence of a common culture. The differentiation between the terms civilization and culture is not a clear one. In the nineteenth century culture was sometimes still used as a synonym for civilization. Eliot himself affirms in the introduction to *Notes* that "[w]e do use one word, frequently enough, in a context where the other would do as well; [...] and I do not think that this need cause embarrassment" (13). In the late nineteenth century, culture "came to mean 'a whole way of life, material, intellectual, and spiritual'" (Williams, *Culture* 16). Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* was a seminal work on that matter in this period. In *Notes Towards the*

Definition of Culture, Eliot refers to this work to affirm that Arnold was “concerned primarily with the individual and the ‘perfection’ at which he should aim” (22). Eliot criticizes Arnold’s focus on the individual rather than perfection of society as a whole. This is precisely the direction adopted by Eliot when he affirms that “culture is ‘a way of life’ which includes ‘all the characteristic activities and interests of a people’” (Beasley 105). For Eliot, culture prevents the dissociation between individual and society: “[T]he culture of the individual is dependent upon the culture of a group or class, and [...] the culture of the group or class is dependent upon the culture of the whole society” (21). This common way of life is put at risk if family fails.

In “A Very Short Story” Hemingway presents the failed attempt of an American soldier to create a family. “After the armistice they agreed he should go home to get a job so they might be married [...] It was understood he would not drink” (*IOT* 66). The soldier accepts these requirements, but his girlfriend falls in love with an Italian major and frustrates his plans. At the end of the story, the young American soldier “contracted gonorrhea from a sales girl in a loop department store while riding in a taxicab through Lincoln Park” (*IOT* 66). “A Very Short Story” is not simply a story about a young soldier having sex to overcome a failed relationship. It is mainly about the extent to which this frustrated marriage leads the young soldier to question the traditional social code of behaviour. Fiedler argues that “[i]n Hemingway the rejection of the sentimental happy ending of marriage involves the acceptance of the sentimental happy beginning of innocent and inconsequential sex, and camouflages the rejection of maturity and of fatherhood itself” (296). In “A Very Short Story,” however, sex has consequences. The main character is punished for transgressing the traditional social bond of sex and

marriage. The escape from such a bond leads to a destructive end: “gonorrhea” (66). Sex implies indirectly the rejection of fatherhood, but not as a rejection of maturity, but as a result of the impossibility of marriage. As Modellmog suggests in relation to the marriage stories of *In Our Time*, in those stories sex is used to reflect on the unfulfilled individual expectation of the characters (603).³⁰ In this story the frustrated expectations of the character implies a subtle critique of the social world that frames the story.

The main character wants “only to get a job and be married” (*IOT* 66). He is a young American soldier who grew up in a society where—as Theodore Roosevelt expressed it in “The Strenuous Life” (1899)—people “admire the man who embodies victorious effort” (1). He has been in the war and now he wants to fulfill his duty towards a family. He does not fear “work” or a “righteous war” as Roosevelt put it to define the threats of a healthy society. “A Very Short Story” suspends temporarily the chances of the young soldier succeeding in embodying the “victorious efforts” that the society in which he grew up demanded from a man. As Narbeshuber affirms in relation to Hemingway’s early stories, “family, fatherhood, and marriage, as well as other cultural myths and institutions, either fail altogether or are held in a state of suspension” (11). This suspension points to Hemingway’s awareness of the necessity of restoring the bond between individual and society. Hemingway disdains the values he engages with in this story. He considers them useless for performing the desired regeneration of a communal life.

³⁰ When Modellmog alludes to the so-called marriage stories, she is referring to “Mr. and Mrs. Elliot,” “Cat in the Rain” and “Out of Season.” I would include “A Very Short Story” as part of the marriage stories as well.

In the short story “Mr. and Mrs. Elliot” Hemingway puts again under suspension the mechanism of a traditional family.³¹ Hemingway depicts an unhealthy marriage, emphasizing the obnoxious side of constant sex in order to procreate: “[T]hey tried as often as Mrs. Elliot could stand it” (*IOT* 85). Hemingway pays special attention to the ailing nature of the woman: “Mrs. Elliot was quite sick. She was sick and when she was sick she was sick as Southern women are sick” (85).³² Sex is never an enjoyable experience and even during their wedding night “they were both disappointed” (86). The couple’s unfulfilled expectation of having a baby is not related at all to mutual sexual pleasure. It is only a necessary means to conceive; and hence, to fulfill the expectations of having children intrinsic to a traditional family. It is only when Mrs. Elliot’s friend arrives that she becomes “much brighter [...] and they had many good cries together” (87). Hemingway is pointing to a sexual relationship between the woman and the friend, who “slept together in the big medieval bed. They had many a good cry together” and they were “quite happy” (88). The marriage with her husband makes Mrs. Elliot constantly sick, but the arrival of her friend cures her and changes her attitude. The traditional marriage leaves her unsatisfied, but it is when “all their friends had gone off” (88) to a seaside resort and the three characters are not living within society anymore, that they can reach happiness by looking at an alternative to the traditional family: “In the evening they all sat at dinner together in the garden under a plane tree [...] and they were

³¹ Others references to frustrated marriage in Hemingway’s works are the impossible marriage of Jack and Lady Brett in *The Sun Also Rises*, the tragic end of *A Farewell to Arms* or the couples of “White Hills like Elephants” or “Cat in the Rain.”

³² For a consideration of T.S. Eliot as the target of this parody see Curnutt (163, 169-70). This critic affirms that “‘Mr. and Mrs. Elliot’ mocks both Chard Powers Smith and T.S. Eliot” (170).

all quite happy” (88). Hemingway represents an alternative to the conventional family as a mode of questioning the extent to which the traditional bonds between individual and society provide the necessary framework for the development of a common way of life. The same concern may be identified in Eliot’s representation of family relationships in the second part of *The Waste Land*, “The Game of Chess.”

Lil has recently aborted her baby: “It’s them pills I took, to bring it off” (*CPP* 42). Lil does not want to have more babies: “She’s had five already, and nearly died of young George” (42). Alternatively, one of the nameless women in the tavern asks her: “What you get married for if you don’t want children?” (42). This woman does not conceive of stopping having babies once you are married. In addition, she assigns to Lil the role of submissive wife by warning her that she needs to give sex to her husband: “And if you don’t give it him, there’s others will” (41). Lil, however, revolts against this role by taking the decision to not have any more babies. Eliot juxtaposes two different modes of understanding a family. By pointing out these two alternative conceptions; he questions the mechanism of the traditional family itself. As Modellmog clarifies, in the early twentieth century “the dominant conservative Victorian sexual definitions and codes no longer made sense to many people, and new forms of consciousness and identity developed” (Modellmog, “Sex” 357). Eliot engaged with these new codes about sex and family in his poetry to reflect on the mechanism that guarantees the relationship amongst individuals within society. Sweeney’s last appearance in one of Eliot’s poems conforms to such engagement.

In the third section of *The Waste Land* Eliot refers again to Sweeney: “Sweeney to Mrs. Porter in the spring/[...]/They wash their feet in soda water” (*CPP* 45). This

character is one of the nine examples that Eliot presents in this poem “of the sterility and perversion of love and sex in human relationships outside marriage” (Hargrove 162). In *The Waste Land* Sweeney is one of the characters living a sexual life beyond the traditional frame of the family. This lack of connection between sex and family does not simply imply a critique of this mode of practicing sex, but mainly a warning of a withered society that does not offer “any vehicle for the transmission of culture” (Eliot, *NTDC* 48). The connection between futile sex beyond family and the sterility of the character’s existence responds to Eliot’s concern about the lack of any bond among the members of society. As noted, Eliot considered family as “the primary vehicle for the transmission of culture” (48). By questioning the mechanism that provides the functioning of the family, he is questioning the possibility of culture itself. As Oser affirms in relation to Sweeney, “[t]he chief social corollary of Eliot’s aesthetic is that individualism had closed the door to a common culture” (64). In *Sweeney Agonistes* Eliot develops further this concern in order to reflect on an individual who not only has become conscious of this predicament, but also attempts to communicate it to others.

In 1924 Eliot recalled in relation to *Sweeney Agonistes* that he wanted to write a drama about modern life.³³ As Hargrove explains, Sweeney “has an insight into the meaningless quality of modern existence [...], an insight which he tries unsuccessfully to communicate to the others” (Hargrove 164). The question is why Sweeney fails in such attempt. Sweeney tells the story of a man murdering a girl. He is aware of the evil tendency of the individual and how he is connected to other people. He realizes that life

³³ See Hargrove 164.

is more than “[b]irth, and copulation, and death” (*CPP* 80), but he cannot convey this awareness to the other members of society.

In *Sweeney Agonistes*, Sweeney does not limit his experiences to his individual consciousness, and he unsuccessfully tries to relate them to a supra-individual consciousness. In *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* Eliot wrote that in *Sweeney Agonistes* he wanted to create a character whose “sensibility and intelligence” would be “on the plane of the most sensitive and intelligent members of the audience” (153-54). In this play Eliot distinguishes between the main character’s sensibility and the other participants in the drama, but by transferring this distinction to the public itself, he reflects on a similar inequality among the members of modern society. As Smith argues, “when Sweeney says ‘Death is life and life is death,’ there is no evidence whatever that he attaches to the words any meaning that the other characters miss or that the audience as a whole [...] cannot grasp” (112-13). In this play Eliot explores this lack of meaning, but he does not point to Sweeney as responsible for it. Instead, he looks at society as a whole to find the reasons for this situation.

Eliot suggests that modern civilization has lost its ability to involve all the members of society in any communal experience. Even when at the very end of *Sweeney Agonistes* the chorus sings, they do not reflect on their experiences as a group, but they refer to someone’s else experience: “When you’re alone in the middle of the night and [...] perhaps you are dead” (*CPP* 84). In *Sweeney Agonistes* Eliot presents several members of modern society, and among them, only Sweeney seems to be aware of the fragmentation of this community: “But if you understand or if you don’t/That’s nothing to me nothing to you/We all gotta do what gotta do/[...]/We’re gona stay and we’re gona

go” (84). The only communality among all these characters is that each of them has his particular interests and purposes in life. Sweeney’s inability to communicate his insights is based on the impossibility of the members of society of conveying a collective experience. As Harmon explains in relation to Eliot’s interest in the primitive harmony of a whole community, “[w]ith the growth of so-called ‘civilization’ this state of mankind gives way to a very different state in which each member is divided in his own sensibilities and the community as a whole becomes fragmented into irregularly zoned obligation and chores” (800). This is the fragmentation Eliot explores in this play: “‘A quarrel. An estrangement’” (*CPP* 76). He dramatizes the dissociation between individual and society. *Sweeney Agonistes* is the result of Eliot’s attempt to call attention to the difference between a society understood as a cluster of individual consciousnesses or one understood as a collective consciousness. This distinction is symbolized in the contrast between Freud’s “common feeling” (*CD* 33) and Lévy-Bruhl’s primitive “feeling of participation” (*NPM* 61). I shall use these two concepts to analyze Eliot’s “Gerontion” and Hemingway’s “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II” in this context.³⁴

In *The Notebooks on Primitive Mentality* Lévy-Bruhl’s explains that “[t]he consciousness which ‘primitive man’ has of his individuality, [...], is enveloped in a complex where the predominant element is the feeling that the individual has of ‘belonging’ to a group which is the true individuality and of which he is simply an

³⁴ Mayer illustrates how Eliot was aware of the work of contemporary anthropologists and social psychologists such as Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, Frazer and Weston. In this section I focus exclusively on Lévy-Bruhl as I consider that his theories clearly differentiate between civilized individual consciousness and primitive collective consciousness. In the next chapter I shall use Frazer’s and Weston’s work to make clear Eliot’s and Hemingway’s use of myths and rituals as a result of their interest in collective experience.

element [...] of the social body” (77). This feeling of participation differs from Freud’s consideration of a “common feeling” to guarantee “a majority [...] stronger than any individual” (32). Lévy-Bruhl’s primitive experiences the collective feeling as a result of being a member of a group and not because “the majority” needs to be “stronger than any individual” (Freud, *Civilization* 32). In “Gerontion” Eliot reflects on the primitive “feeling of participation” (Lévy-Bruhl, *NPM* 61) to engage with “the question of what modern man [...] [had] lost in the process of becoming civilized” (Manganaro 98).³⁵ The old man in Eliot’s poem demands the restoration of the feeling of belonging to a social body beyond his own individuality. In “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II” Hemingway also makes an allusion to this feeling of participation intrinsic to primitive patterns of experience in order to overcome the character’s condition.

The thoughts of Gerontion and Nick Adams are the thoughts of damaged minds within a damaged culture. Some critics have read “Gerontion” as a symbol of modern civilization. For example John T. Mayer illustrates how “Eliot makes Gerontion a collective consciousness” (220) in the poet’s attempt to let the experience of the individual recap the experience of the world. Jewel Spears Brooker uses F.H. Bradley’s philosophy to read the poem as “the perfect metaphor for a ruined and dying civilization” (“Structure” 338). Gerontion and Nick Adams have suffered traumatic events in the modern world and they choose similar, but distinctive, attitudes to reflect on the crossroad in which they are trapped. The old Gerontion is limited by his physical condition: “I have lost my sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch” (*CPP* 23) and he focuses

³⁵ According to Jeffrey Meyers Hemingway also felt attracted by the primitive mentality and he believed “that the primitive past influenced the psychology of the present” (305).

on his “thoughts” to call for regeneration. Alternatively, the young Nick walks in the woods, fishes and camps to overcome his condition: “Nick crawled out under the mosquito netting stretched across the mouth of the tent, to look at the morning” (145). Nick performs physical activities while Gerontion reflects on the reasons for his situation.

In the first line of “Gerontion” the old man affirms: “Here I am, an old man in a dry month,/ Being read to by a boy, waiting for rain” (*CPP* 21). He aims to move beyond the landscape of destruction that he recalls: “Nor fought in the warm rain/ Nor Knee deep in the salt marsh, heaving a cutlass” (21). Gerontion is waiting for the situation to change: “I would meet you upon this honestly” (22), but he relates an improvement of his condition to the eventual restoration of society’s condition: ““We would see a sign!”” (21). Initially, Gerontion reflects on these circumstances from an individual perspective: “I an old man,/A dull head among windy spaces” (21). The old man stresses the troubled condition of his mind: “My house is a decayed house” (21); but by the end of the poem, he identifies his tortured consciousness with the consciousness of society. He makes his decayed house part of a communal group: “We have not reached conclusion, when I/Stiffen in a rented house” (22). Eliot relates the experiences of the old man to the experience of modern society as a whole.

Gerontion participates in the feelings of the group and his individual experiences are part of them: “Neither fear nor courage save us/ [...] Virtues/Are forced upon us by our impudent crimes” (*CPP* 22). He stresses the “crimes” they have performed together. Gerontion’s troubled consciousness is part of a damaged collective consciousness and he ponders the extent to which this situation may be different. He alludes to “the juvenescence of the year” when “[c]ame Christ the tiger” (21). The old man is waiting for a new life

beyond the deteriorated state of civilization and he alludes to Christ as “the greatest of all signs of new life” (Williamson 109). As Brooker explains, “[a]ll of those ruined houses in windy spaces [...] are suddenly placed in the context of the rejections of Christ” (326). After introducing the image of Christ, the third stanza alludes to the Christian communion: “To be eaten, to be divided, to be drunk” (*CPP* 22). In spite of this reference to the body of Christ to be shared in a Eucharist, in the next lines Eliot includes some elements that question the religious dimension of the ceremony: “Among whispers; By Mr. Silvero/With caressing hands [...] /By Hakagawa, bowing among the Titians;/By Madame de Tornquist, in the dark room/Shifting the candles” (22). As Southam argues, these references point to hints of black magic (73). The presence of Christ in the sacrament of communion is reduced to “a corrupt eucharist ceremony” (Brooker 329).³⁶

Modern society seems not to be aware of the meaning of this sign of new life. Eliot frames his hope of change within “depraved May” (*CPP* 21). He stresses the barrenness of this historical moment at the same time that he recalls the extent to which the situation will change eventually as always had occurred throughout history: “Think now/History has many cunning passages, contrived corridors/And issues, deceives with whispering ambitions” (22). The old man points to a new period: “The tiger springs in the new year” (22), but this new state of life will bring conflicting forces. As Jain explains, “‘spring’ is a pun, meaning that Christ the tiger both arises like a rejuvenating spring, giving new life, and pounces like a murderous beast” (93). Gerontion warns of these conflicting forces—“Us he devours”—to pay attention to the necessity of confronting “such a knowledge” (*CPP* 22); and therefore, to prepare the collective consciousness of

³⁶ Brooker develops further the analysis of this poem in relation to the Christian religion.

modern society to deal with such forces. Eliot uses “Gerontion” to reflect on the extent to which the true individuality of the old man’s “decayed house” depends on the situation of the social group he belongs to: “Tenants of the house” (23). His identity is contingent on that of the group, as Lévy-Bruhl explains in relation to the primitive feeling of participation. The old man’s experiences cannot be dissociated from those of modern civilization, and Eliot points to the rituals of the Christian tradition which pursue collectively the restoration of the condition of this social body.³⁷

“Gerontion” alludes to the Christian ritual of communion. He introduces fragments of the performance of this ritual, but at the same time, he doubts the extent to which the persons involved in such a performance are aware of the function or meaning of the ritual. Eliot presents a synthesis that questions the execution of rites in modern civilization, but he underlines their continuation. “Gerontion” refers to rituals and their intrinsic collective modes of experience as necessary to the restoration depicted in this poem. In “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II” Hemingway explores a comparable situation. In his fishing trip Nick returns to ritual patterns in his attempt to overcome his troubled condition. He performs these patterns, but they do not offer him the expected effect. He realizes the necessity of rejecting his isolation and returning to society to perform these patterns collectively.

In “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II” Nick wakes up in his camp with the intention of spending the day fishing. “The grass was wet on his hands as he came out. [...]. There was the meadow, the river and the swamp” (*IOT* 145). The very first paragraph

³⁷ For other references to the Christian rituals in “Gerontion” see Mayer, Southam and Williamson. Eliot’s use of Christian rituals in his poetry and plays will be developed in the next two chapters.

establishes the movements Nick is going to perform during the day. Nick moves from the camp to the river. He tries later to enter the swamp to decide finally to avoid it before coming back to the camp. Nick's movements are determined by the control he may exert over his activities in these three locations. As Benca notes, "Nick's ritualistic and precise actions throughout the story reflect his need for reconstruction and order in his life" (66). All his actions follow a precise pattern after he leaves his tent. Nick methodically takes the grasshoppers for bait: "Nick picked them up, taking only the medium-sized brown ones" (*IOT* 145). He cooks his breakfast with precise measures: "one cup of flour, one cup of water" (146) and he tidies up his camp before heading to the river: "It was a good camp" (147). Nick needs order and he finds it in the camp.

Nick hopes to experience the same feeling while fishing in the river. As Cirino explains, the issue that justifies the narrative of this story is "Nick's tortured consciousness, his struggle to control it [...] and the depiction of his failure when 'he can't shake it'" (117). This control depends on Nick's ability to succeed in the river. Nick is constantly concerned about his feelings and how his actions in the water depend exclusively on his ability to fish there: "With the core of the reel showing, his heart feeling stopped with the excitement" (150). The knowledge and domain of the technique helps him to control the trout. After catching one, he unhooks it to drop it back into the stream. The trout does not move, but Nick knows that "[h]e's all right [...]. He was only tired" (149). Alternatively, Nick becomes "a little sick" (150) after struggling with the trout for a while. He could not catch it. His equipment fails and he loses the trout. Nick's mastery in the river is related to his performance and he can control it only to a certain extent.

He is happy in the water until he recalls past memories of dead trout resulting from fishermen touching them with unwashed hands. This is the first time that he thinks about anything other than his own feelings. Then he affirms that he “did not like to fish with other men on the river. Unless they were of your party, they spoiled it” (*IOT* 149). This is a key moment in Nick’s fishing trip. On the one hand, he refers to the possibility of fishing with somebody else. On the other, this reference to “your party” along with his insistence on certain ways of acting in the river points to Nick’s understanding of fishing as a ritual with a code of behaviour that must be respected. As Baker explains, “the story is full of rituals” and all the “fishing is conducted according to [a] [...] ritualistic code” (126). The fishing ritual offers Nick the comfort he was looking for when he moved away from civilization. He misses a big trout and he does not worry even when “[h]e had never seen so big a trout. There was a heaviness, a power not to be held” (150). Nick realizes that the ritual of fishing consists in dealing with such power: “He felt like a rock, too, before he started off. By God, he was a big one” (151), but “[h]e did not care about getting many trout” (152). In the river he relates his feelings to his interaction with the trout as a symbol of this uncontrollable power.

Nick equates his feelings in the river with his performance in the stream. In “Big Two-Hearted River: Part I” Hemingway points out the unification of Nick and the trout to decipher Nick’s feelings (see p. 63). Nick identifies the trout in the water with the experience of a state of mind in which there is no separation between objective perception and subjective feeling. In the second part of the story, Hemingway reflects further on the consonance between the water and Nick’s feelings to emphasize the extent to which Nick needs to control his feelings in the water through fishing technique. After

Nick affirms of the big trout that it has “a power not to be held” (*IOT* 150), he decides to leave the water because “[h]e did not want to rush his sensations any” (151). “He sat on the logs, smoking, drying in the sun, [...]; slowly the feeling of disappointment left him” (151). Hemingway uses the water as a symbol of this stream of experience or psychological continuity with the world with no dissociation between object and subject, but he also prevents Nick from being immersed in this state of mind with no control. In the water, Nick explores this feeling beyond the requirements of the modern world, but at the same time, he does not dare to immerse himself in this stream of experience without limitation.

Nick embraces the performance of archetypal movements of the ritual of fishing, but only under certain circumstances. “It was right now” (151). He has everything under control “with his rod lying out on the logs” (151). Nick arrives at the woods escaping from a world of chaos symbolized in the burned town at the very beginning of the first part of the story. Then he finds in the water a world of order, but he loses such order when the “river” narrows and goes “into a swamp” (154). “Nick did not want to go in there now” (155). Nick does not want to confront the chaos again. Hemingway points out through the ritual of fishing in the river the ambivalence of this primitive state of mind. On the one hand, Nick wishes to move beyond the chaos and violence of the modern world and he attempts to come back to a primitive condition through the ritual of fishing. On the other hand, he prevents himself from becoming immersed in such a condition.

Nick has moved from the camp to the river. In these two locations he enjoyed control over his actions. He knows that in the swamp he will lose this control. The swamp

is an unstable terrain and he prefers to avoid it: “He did not feel like going on into the swamp” (*IOT* 150). He knows that in the swamp he will not be able to control his feelings as he did in the camp and the river: “He felt a reaction against deep wading with the water deepening up under his armpits” (155). There is an element in the swamp that he cannot manage. “The swamp is too apt a symbol for the world he does not want to face” (Korn 981). This is an experience he does not dare to face in such isolation. All the feelings he has experienced in the river depended on the patterns of fishing: “Nick felt awkward and professionally happy with all his equipment hanging from him” (*IOT* 147). In the river he has the possibility of following the whole ritual of fishing. Alternatively, in the swamp all the control that he has over his feelings will disappear.

Hemingway does not conclude the story with Nick immersed in the waters of the swamp. Nick feels unsafe in that terrain. As O’Brian notes, “[t]he swamp possesses uncertainties equal in danger and complexity to the violence of human civilization” (77). Whatever uncertainties forced Nick to run away from civilization are symbolized in the swamp. Nick is isolated in nature now, but he cannot control these uncertainties as he hoped when he arrived in the woods. Nick has tried to restore his condition by isolating himself in the woods. He has moved away from everything that could remind him of the trauma he experienced in civilization. The fishing ritual offers him some temporary relief, but when he realizes that he cannot perform this ritual in the swamp, he decides to “com[e] back to the camp” (*IOT* 156). As Kyle explains, “the symbols of the campfire and the swamp stand in contraposition to one another: the one representing clarity, order, safety—cosmos; the other representing obscurity, disorder, insecurity—chaos” (299). Nick opts for order and safety, but the extent to which this order is the result of the

performance of the ritual patterns of fishing cannot be ignored. The reason why Nick avoids entering into the swamp is not simply because it is dangerous, but mainly because this terrain does not allow the performance of the pattern that offers him such order.

Nick avoids fishing in the dangerous waters, but he does not renounce this ritual. He hopes that things will be different in the future. He decides to wait for conditions to change. This short story uses fishing as a source of healing that has connections with the use of this sport in *The Sun Also Rises*. But there is a key difference between these two works in that respect. In the early short story Nick performs fishing in isolation while Jake fishes with his friends in the river of Navarre. In the short story this activity does not finally offer Nick the experience he was looking for when he arrived in Seney, while the fishing performed as a group in the novel offers the main character a spiritual healing. (I shall explore further this point in Chapter Three, see pp. 142-43). In “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II” the young man—like the old Gerontion—confronts his situation. Firstly, he runs away from society in his attempt to regenerate himself. “Nick’s own loss of faith in civilization can be inferred from his determination to escape” (O’Brian 75). But, finally, he abandons this seclusion. In his fishing trip, Nick realizes the impossibility of facing any tragic adventure by himself in the wilderness of the swamp: “In the swamp fishing was a tragic adventure” (*IOT* 155). Nick points to fishing as the only mode of restoring his condition. As Civello explains, in this story Hemingway points toward modern man’s redemption through ritual patterns that are close to the rhythms of life (14). Nick, however, alludes to the uselessness of performing in isolation this ritual in the unsafe waters of the river: “He did not want to go down the stream any further today” (*IOT* 155). This ritual offers modern man’s redemption only to the extent that it is

executed in isolation. Nick Adams looks for ritual patterns to be performed collectively as the only mode of restoring the condition of modern civilization. Nick—like the old Gerontion—engages with the dichotomy between his individual experiences and these considered as part of a collective social body. Nick Adams is isolated in the woods. Gerontion is secluded in his old house, but both characters become aware of the unavoidable relationship between their own experiences and those of the social group they belong to.

Eliot and Hemingway used these two works as vehicles for exploring collective modes of experience. As Lévy-Bruhl explains in *How Natives Think*, the primitive modes of experience “are common to the members of a given social group; [...] they impress themselves upon its individual members, and awaken in them sentiments of respect, fear, adoration, and so on, according to the circumstances of the case. Their existence does not depend on the individual” (3). The experiences of the old Gerontion and Nick Adams do not make any sense if they are considered in isolation. Eliot and Hemingway pointed out ritualistic patterns that are intrinsic to primitive modes of experience. They focused on experiences that conform to rituals. As Cassirer explains in relation to primitive societies “[r]ites are not individual acts; they are always performed by a community [...]. It is their principal effect that the men and women who are performing these rites lose every sense of their individuality. They are melted together; they act, think, and feel as a whole” (*SMC* 256). Eliot and Hemingway explored ritual as a mode of improving the deteriorated situation they depict in the old man’s internal monologue and Nick’s fishing trip.

“Gerontion” and “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II” end with an allusion to a different future. Nick affirms that “[t]here were plenty of days coming when he could fish the swamp” (*IOT* 156). He trusts in the regeneration of the ritual of fishing to succeed in such an endeavour. Eliot suggests in the last line of his poem that the present condition of modern society is only a temporary situation: “Thoughts of a dry brain in a dry season” (23). He relates this new life to the coming of Christ. In later works Eliot and Hemingway immersed their characters in different rituals to involve society as a whole in modes of experience. Therefore, in the next chapter I shall consider the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway used myths to explore distinctive rituals as a result of their interest in such experiences.

4. Conclusion

Eliot’s and Hemingway’s reflections on modern civilization cannot be separated from their ambivalent exploration of the primitive. Eliot’s Sweeney poems and Hemingway’s “The Battler” are still part of their consideration of the clash between the world of the intellect and the world of the senses. But these works respond to the glorification of the sensual beyond any intellectual categorization of reality. These works represent Eliot’s and Hemingway’s interest in the primitive, but also the impossibility of experiencing it from a civilized state of mind. Sweeney and the three outcasts from “The Battler” symbolize the dehumanized individual who reflects exclusively on his private experiences and their reduction to the satisfaction of sensuous desires, ignoring the world

beyond impulses. These works point out the consequences of ignoring any intellectual restrictions imposed by civilization. Eliot and Hemingway realized that civilization results from the conflicting combination of the primitive and the civilized.

Primitivism is the projection by the civilized sensibility of an inverted image of the self. “Primitivism is almost as old, it may be supposed, as civilization; both terms, of course, being relational. As a literary convention primitivism allows the civilized to inspect, or to indulge, itself through an imaginary opposite” (Bell, *Metaphysics* 20). Eliot’s and Hemingway’s conflicting involvement with such images resulted not only in the realization of the necessity of controlling the sensuous tendency of the individual, but also in their consideration of collective modes of experience. This reflection led them to consider the necessity of cultivating the bonds between individual and society. They reflected on collective consciousness as opposed to the restrictiveness of the individual consciousness dominant in modern civilization. Then, they again paid attention to the primitive to reflect on this flaw of Western identity. Eliot and Hemingway looked at primitive modes of feelings intrinsic to ritual patterns of experience to restore the necessary bonds between individual and society. In the next chapter I shall analyze Eliot’s *The Waste Land* and Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* as two related, but distinctive attempts to achieve collective modes of experience.

Chapter Three

The Waste Land and *The Sun Also Rises*

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on Eliot's and Hemingway's interests in a "mythical-religious feeling of *community*" (Cassirer, *PSF* 175). This phrase from Cassirer's analysis of "mythical feeling" (*PSF* 175) summarizes Eliot's and Hemingway's interest in the feeling of the individual "insofar as it takes place as a result of being a member of a community" (175). It also encapsulates a use of myths to explore collective experiences connected to religion. My use of "religion" is influenced by William James' consideration of the topic in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). William James confronts the study of religion as a state of mind, more or less ignoring its institutions: "There is a state of mind, known to religious men, but to no others, in which the will to assert ourselves and hold our own has been displaced by a willingness to close our mouths and be as nothing in the floods and waterspouts of God" (47). I shall elucidate the correlation between myth and religion by using Frazer's analysis of myth and ritual resulting from a belief in gods.

Whereas I concluded in Chapter Two that Eliot and Hemingway drew attention to collective modes of experience intrinsic to ritual patterns of experience, in this chapter I shall analyze the distinctive rituals they explored as a result of their common interest in

religious feelings and the extent to which these shaped their commitment to social revitalization.¹ Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* celebrate the chaos of modern culture and compel its reevaluation. They use myths and rituals to frame this endeavour. I argue that Eliot and Hemingway were influenced by the "myth and ritual theory" (Segal 37) deployed by Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*. This theory connects myths to rituals. "[It] maintains that myths and rituals operate together" (37).² In this context I shall consider the "mythical method" (Eliot, *SP* 177) along with Bradley's "absolute order" (Eliot, *KE* 90) as broadly equivalent concepts based on a unity of feeling. As Cassirer notes, "[t]he real substratum of myth is not a substratum of thought but of feeling. [...] [T]heir coherence depends [...] upon unity of feeling" (*EOM* 81). Eliot and Hemingway were engaged in the pursuit of a unifying sense of 'feeling' as a way of transcending the disorder of experience. When I use the term unity of feelings I use it in relation to Bradley's theory of experience as interpreted by Eliot in *Knowledge and Experience*. He affirms "that the only independent reality is immediate experience or feeling" (*KE* 30). As I have argued in Chapters One (see pp.60-66) and Two (see pp. 74-92), both Eliot and Hemingway felt attracted by this state of mind, but moved beyond the destructiveness intrinsic to such a tendency. Even though we cannot reach immediate experience, "[w]e are led to the conception of an all-inclusive experience outside of which nothing shall fall" (31). As Levenson notes in

¹ Williams argues that "[s]ociety is now clear in two main senses: as our most general term for the body of institutions and relationships within which a relatively large group of people live; and as our most abstract term for the condition in which such institutions and relationships are formed" (*Keywords* 291). In this chapter I use this term in its more abstract sense. In Chapter Four I shall reflect on society understood as a "body of institutions" (291) as a result of the condition of society I analyze in this chapter.

² For an overview of alternative theories of myth and ritual, see Coupe and Seagal.

relation to Bradley's concept of the absolute, "[i]t is simply the final synthesis of all diversity, the supra-rational state past the reach of common sense which integrates and transcends contradiction" (178). This all inclusive experience or "Absolute order" appears in moments of meaningful perception that Eliot calls "felt whole[s]" (155). I shall consider the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway applied the insights of Bradley's theory of experience to reflections on modern society and the extent to which this world of absolute order can be experienced collectively. My intention is to explore how these two authors shared the quest for this "mythical-religious feeling of *community*" (Cassirer, *PSF* 175) through the performance of rituals tied to distinctive myths.

In *Death in the Afternoon* Hemingway provides a clue about the correlation between ritual and feeling in bullfighting. Reflecting on bloody spectacle of the horses bleeding to death in the ring, he affirms that:

[T]he tragedy of the bullfight is so well ordered and so strongly disciplined by ritual that a person feeling the whole tragedy cannot separate the minor comic-tragedy of the horse so as to feel it emotionally. If they sense the meaning and end of the whole thing even when they know nothing about it, feel that this thing they do not understand is going on, the business of the horses is nothing more than an incident. If they get no feeling of the whole tragedy naturally they will react emotionally to the most picturesque incident. (8-9)

If the spectator engages in the tragedy of the bullfight, the anecdotal episode of the horse will not evoke in him any emotion. Alternatively, if the spectator does not share the ritual experience of the whole thing, he will inevitably react emotionally; his experience will not be part of the whole feeling of the bullfight. As Babington notes, the context of this statement "is his defense of bullfighting, which—as ritual—must not, he believes, be viewed fragmentarily" (91). Hemingway underlines that ritual patterns offer the individual the experience of the unity of feeling intrinsic to the ritual itself. In *The Clark*

Lectures (1926) Eliot also alludes to an experience that makes the individual subsume his feeling under an experience organized by ritual. “[T]he method and the goal seem to me essentially the same as with Aquinas and Dante: the divine contemplation, and the development and subsumption of emotion and feeling through intellect into the vision of God” (103-104). There is a significant resemblance between Hemingway’s and Eliot’s ideas in that they both consider the individual emotions and feelings to be part of a more inclusive experience.

Aspects of the discussion of the difference between emotion and feeling are key to exploring the relationship between feeling and communal experience in the works of Eliot and Hemingway. The difference between these two terms is not a clear one as several critics have already pointed out. A.G. George underlines how ‘Feeling’ and ‘Emotion’ are words that frequently appear either together or separately in Eliot’s criticism (48). Lewis Freed observes that “Eliot, like Bradley, does not distinguish between feeling and emotion except where the context requires it” (8). S. H. Clark goes beyond this lack of clarity and contends that “the relation between ‘emotion’ and ‘feeling’ must remain [...] permanently insoluble” (190). I agree to a certain extent with all these critics about the problematic differentiation between emotion and feeling. However, I consider that when Eliot and Hemingway talk about emotion they are reflecting on a fragmented experience of the self, as I have extensively argued in Chapter One in relation to their aesthetic formulas, the “objective correlative” (Eliot, *SP* 48) and the “real thing” (Hemingway, *DIA* 2). Alternatively, they relate feeling to ritual; and hence, to a communal experience. Eliot and Hemingway both point to rituals as a guarantor of such collective experience, but there is a key difference between these two

considerations of rituals. Eliot indirectly alludes to Christian rituals to achieve the divine contemplation of God. As Brooker notes, Eliot used Christian ritual as an underlying structural metaphor in some of his early poems (*MS 130*). Hemingway alternatively reflects on the ritual of bullfighting to experience the unity of feeling intrinsic to the tragedy performed in the bullring. In both cases, individual experience cannot be dissociated from the feeling experienced collectively through the performance of a ritual. In *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises*, Eliot and Hemingway respectively reflect on the experience of rituals and they frame them within similar myths. A question arises about the extent to which these approaches to myth and ritual relate to Eliot's concern with the spiritual and the divine and Hemingway's involvement with a physical level of experience.

First, I want to consider Eliot's and Hemingway's reflections on a disordered experience framed within the decayed urban landscape they depict in their respective works. I plan to examine "The Burial of the Dead" and Book One of *The Sun Also Rises* to show how Eliot and Hemingway attempt to unify the incoherent experience of reality that they portray. Second, I shall focus on the extent to which Eliot's and Hemingway's use of the myth of the Fisher King along with allusions to ancient ceremonies led them to explore different rituals. I shall consider the similarities and differences between some Christian rituals and the pagan ritual of bullfighting to clarify the extent to which Eliot focuses on the spiritual and the divine and Hemingway on the physical realm of life. This difference disposed Eliot to move beyond the boundaries of the material world and Hemingway to remain trapped in the physical level of reality in their pursuit of a unifying

sense of feeling. In addition, I shall analyze the extent to which this feature led Eliot to pursue religious feelings relating to Christianity and Hemingway to neglect them.

2. The experience of an absolute order

The Waste Land and *The Sun Also Rises* focus on the disordered experience of reality framed within a distinctive urban world. These works present a disoriented crowd wandering around cities. They reflect on this situation as a temporary circumstance to be overcome through the pursuit of a “world of absolute order” (Eliot, *KE* 90). Eliot and Hemingway recruit mythical figures in their attempt to reach such order. Eliot’s analysis of F.H. Bradley’s theory of experience and “the mythical method” (Eliot, *SP* 117) offers an enriching understanding of *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises* as two relatable attempts to transcend the disorder of experience.

In *Knowledge and Experience* Eliot analyzes the three levels of Bradley’s theory of experience. First, he defines “immediate experience” (31) as prior to any temporal or spatial category. Then, he differentiates between the other two levels to clarify their correlation:

There is a real world, if you like, which is full of contradiction, and it is our attempt to organize this world which gives the belief in a completely organized world, and hypothesis which we proceed to treat as an actuality—whence the question how and how far come into contact with this world of absolute order.
(90)

According to Eliot’s interpretation of Bradley, we oscillate between two experiences of reality: the disordered “real world [...] full of contradiction” and “a completely organized

world” (90). The question is to what extent we experience this world of “absolute order” (90).³ In “Ulysses, Order, and Myth” (1923), Eliot casts some light on how this issue is at the core of *The Waste Land* and its use of myth. In “Ulysses” Eliot praises Joyce’s use of “the mythical method” as a “way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history” (*SP* 177). Eliot stresses the fragmentary nature of the experience of the modern world to point out Joyce’s ability to arrange all that disconnection within the framework of “the mythical method” (177). Eliot considers the world full of contradictions, as referred to in his analysis of Bradley’s second level of experience. He also points out the correlation between the use of the mythical method as a way of organizing the experience of this “real world” (*KE* 90) and the belief in a world of absolute order. In *The Waste Land* Eliot uses the figure of Tiresias in his attempt to reflect on the extent to which modern society can experience that world of absolute order. Hemingway confronts similar issues in *The Sun Also Rises* through the character of Jake.

The first section of *The Waste Land*, “The Burial of the Dead,” depicts a broken landscape comprising “dull roots,” “branches,” “dry stone,” and “stony rubbish” that symbolizes a “dead land” (*CPP* 37) where the “dead tree gives no shelter” (38). This barren landscape leads to an “[u]nreal city” where “[a] crowd flowed over London Bridge” (39). Eliot portrays a modern metropolis, inhabited by a sick crowd: “so many/I had not thought death had undone so many” (39). The first book of *The Sun Also Rises* also presents a collage of bars and restaurants with the only common link being Jake as he wanders through them. All the characters move around the city, disoriented, from bar

³ See Levina 5-8.

to bar: “I am sick of Paris, and I am sick of the Quarter” (*SAR* 19). They are souls that are lost in the maelstrom of their own lives, but they still try unsuccessfully to find a retreat from their chaotic selves: “Don’t you ever get the feeling that all your life is going by and you’re not taking advantage of it” (*SAR* 19). *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises* present individuals whose futile lives are represented by a sterile terrain. But Eliot’s and Hemingway’s characters do not experience the isolation of, say, Prufrock, Gerontion or Nick Adams in the earlier works. Hemingway’s and Eliot’s characters are part of a community however problematic: “Everybody’s sick. I’m sick too” (Hemingway, *SAR* 23). Eliot and Hemingway allude to an incoherent experience of reality, but it is no longer a question of isolated individuals, but a common problem faced by a group of people. “He’s quite one of us” (40). In fact, both authors stress it by referring to a crowd moving around their cities. Eliot focuses on the crowd of London Bridge and Hemingway points to the crowd of urban Paris: “We went out to the Café Napolitain to have an *aperitif* and watch the evening crowd on the Boulevard” (*SAR* 21). Both Eliot and Hemingway portray the chaos of a barren urban land in which modern society is trapped.

In “The Burial of the Dead” Eliot represents a mass of unknown people who move around the city with no apparent purpose: “And each man fixed his eyes before his feet./Flowed up the hill and down King William Street,/To where Saint Mary Woolnoth kept the hours/With a dead sound on the final stroke of nine” (*CPP* 39). Amongst this mass of strange people, however, Eliot points to Stetson—“one I knew” (39)—to ask him: ““That corpse you planted last year in your garden,/‘Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?’” (39). Eliot questions the chances of anything growing in such a place. The crowd crossing London Bridge in their way to the City is trapped in a sterile land where

nothing blooms: ““Are you alive, or not [...]’?” (41). As Williams affirms, “[s]truggle, indifference, loss of purpose, loss of meaning [...] have found, in the City, a habitation and a name” (239). Eliot is quite specific in depicting that habitation where the unknown citizens live and act: “[U]p Queen Victoria Street./O City city, [...]Beside a public bar in Lower Thames Street” (45). Eliot names the streets and the places, but all these “unknown” walkers wandering around the city have no name. When he refers to London he presents a clearly defined inferno inhabited by an unspecific crowd.⁴ As Crawford argues, Eliot depicts an urban sight “to communicate a sense of horror” (47). Eliot connects this with the very distinctive sounds that conform to such a landscape. He focuses on “the sound of horns and motors” and the noisy atmosphere of “the Cannon Street Hotel” and “the Metropole” (43). In the poem Eliot stresses the correlation between the new motor engines and modern urban life.⁵ He links the rhythms of the inhabitants of the city to the urban inferno they experience. The modern crowd is “the human engine” (*CPP* 43) of the waste land.

Hemingway also depicts urban landscapes in *The Sun Also Rises*. He begins and ends the novel in Paris and Madrid respectively. Jake Barnes seems to be moderately happy with his life in Paris: “I like this town” (*SAR* 18), but he is surrounded by a crowd of people who wander around aimlessly trying to find some meaning to their lives:

⁴ Eliot refers twice to Dante’s *Inferno* in the notes of the poem. Eliot rephrases the lines 55-57 from *Inferno* iii where Dante talks about his reaction “to seeing the vast crowd of unhappy spirits” (Southam 151).

⁵ As Thacker explains, Eliot related “modernity to transport when, in 1921, he likened the music of Stravinsky’s *The Rite of Spring* to the ‘the scream of the motor-horn, the rattle of machinery, the grind of wheels, the beating of iron and the steel, the roar of the underground railway, and the other barbaric noises of modern life’” (8).

“Nothing happens to me” (20). Hemingway involves this modern crowd guided by Jake in a common search for a purpose. Hemingway juxtaposes in this pursuit urban modern life with life before motor engines: Jake is “sat [*sic*] at a table [...] watching it get dark and the electric signs come on, and the red and green stop-and-go traffic-signal, and the crowd going by, and the horse-cab clippety-clopping along at the edge of the solid taxi traffic, and the *poules* [prostitutes] going by, singly and in pairs, looking for the evening meal” (22).⁶ Hemingway considers in this Parisian scene the “solid taxi traffic” in contraposition to the “the horse-cab” (22). He reflects on the clash between the requirements of the new urban life and an old life alien to such modernization.

Jake and his friends move away from Paris. In their trip to Pamplona they use train and cars—“[t]he cab stopped in front of the hotel” (95)—but Hemingway focuses during the trip on landscapes with no sign of modern urban life: “After a while we came out of the mountains and there were trees along both sides of the road, and a stream and ripe fields of grain” (99). He refers to an “old castle” and when the group arrives at their destination, he focuses on the “walls of the city” (99) to make clear the boundaries between where “the mountains” are and the “town on the other side of the plateau” (99). It is within the boundaries of these medieval walls that Jake and his friend have an experience beyond the requirements of modern urban life. But the celebration of the ancient festival of San Fermin ends and Hemingway comes back to a city and the novel ends in a taxicab among the traffic of Madrid: “Ahead was a mounted policeman in khaki directing the traffic” (251). In *The Sun Also Rises* Hemingway, as Eliot does in *The Waste Land*, frames the experience of his characters in an urban space. As Williams

⁶ Stoneback clarifies how “[t]raffic lights were a curiosity everywhere in the 1920s” (31).

states, “the city is not only [...] a form of modern life; it is a physical embodiment of a decisive modern consciousness” (239). Eliot and Hemingway consider the machinery of modern life to reflect on a troubled modern consciousness and attempt to reverse this situation.

“The Burial of the Dead” presents a fragmented collection of voices and bits of incoherent experience: “A heap of broken images, where the sun beats” (*CPP* 38). As the poet clarifies in the notes at the end of the poem, these lines refer to Ezekiel and how he was told to preach about the coming of the Messiah to a rebellious, unbelieving people.⁷ This Biblical allusion relates to the inhabitants of modern civilization and the second coming of Christ: “Son of man” (38), who came to resolve the situation of the desolated land; but, at the same time, he questions the success of this “coming” by stressing the inability of the rebellious inhabitants to listen to the Messiah. After this event, the poem introduces “hyacinths” as a symbol of the resurrected god of fertility rites.⁸ But, again, this sign turns out to be useless: “—Yet when we came back, late, from the Hyacinth garden,/ [...], I was neither/ Living nor dead, and I knew nothing,/ Looking into the heart of light, the silence” (38). In these lines Eliot refers to the experience of the “I” as part of the “we” (38). They try to listen, they look for a sign to improve their situation, but they only find “silence” (38). Eliot twice repeats this pattern of alluding to withered symbols to recreate the situation he depicts in the “The Burial of the Dead.” After that, he introduces the figure of Madame Sosostris as some sort of random solution to the

⁷ See Southam 142.

⁸ See Southam 146.

situation. The “famous clairvoyante” arrives as a modern healer who “[i]s known to be the wisest woman in Europe” (38). She offers to all these voices some kind of assistance.⁹

By introducing in the very first section of *The Waste Land* a figure such as Madame Sosostris, Eliot offers a clue to understanding one of the main claims of the poem. The “crowds of people, walking round in a ring” (CPP 39) need a figure that unites them and their disconnected experiences. As Brooker and Bentley explain in their analysis of the poem, the figure of the clairvoyant is a contemporary debasement of the seers and oracles of myth, of which the Sibyl of Cumae and Tiresias are the most immediate examples (77). In the first section of the poem, Eliot presents a panorama of futility and chaos. Then he introduces the figure of Madame Sosostris as a way of attempting to resolve the situation. Madame Sosostris with her “wicked pack of cards” (CPP 38) seems to be a temporary clairvoyante that unifies the incoherent experience of modern society.

In *The Sun Also Rises* Hemingway introduces in Book One a corresponding figure. The character of the Count provides a temporary point of reference for Jake’s and Brett’s wandering around Paris. He offers them rides with his “chauffeur with livery” (41). He drives them from restaurant to restaurant: “Wants to drive us out to dinner tomorrow night” (41) and he is the only link amongst all their aimless movements: “‘Where did you go with him?’ ‘Oh, everywhere. He just brought me here now’” (SAR 40). The Count is a rich man and his money buys luxurious things such as champagne and cigars: “‘Yes, bring it [the wine] in,’ [...] ‘Like to try a real American cigar?’” (64). He provides them with fleeting comfort to the same extent that Madame Sosostris with her

⁹ For a broadly similar perspective on this figure, see Vickery 252.

“bad cold” (*CPP* 38) offers counsel to “the crowds of people” (39) by telling them the fortune of “the Wheel” (38). However, Eliot points out the fake orientation that this character may offer by underlining that she does not “find/ The Hanged Man” (39) in her pack of cards.¹⁰ The symbol of the hanged man represents the god killed so that his resurrection can restore the fertility of the land and its people (Sotham 151). By alluding to the absence of this card in the pack, Eliot points to the impossibility of regeneration. Hemingway also depicts the assistance offered by the Count by making Brett stress the fact that he is like the rest of the characters: “[h]e’s one of us, though” (*SAR* 40). Both Eliot and Hemingway present early in their respective works a figure that brings some sort of guidance, but it is only transitory and ultimately useless.

In the first section of the poem Eliot describes a mass of people wandering around an urban land incapable of moving beyond those circumstances. Hemingway also presents a group of disoriented souls that only find comfort in bars and alcohol. Eliot and Hemingway frame this state of affairs as a passing situation. The very first line of *The Waste Land* identifies the moment in which the poem begins as “the cruelest month” (*CPP* 37). This line highlights the condition of the land, but it also implies the temporary nature of the situation as it may change with the coming of the new season. Hemingway, likewise, focuses in the early chapters of the novel on the troubled lives of the characters to stress the barren condition of modern society: “We would probably have gone on and discussed the war and agreed that it was in reality a calamity for civilization” (*SAR* 25). Hemingway similarly involves the element of seasons as a symbol of progression. In

¹⁰ As Eliot explains in the notes of the poem, he does not refer to the Hanged Man of the Tarot lore, but “to the Hanged God of Frazer” (*CPP* 51).

Chapter One he recalls “[t]hat winter Robert Cohn went to America” (16). Then he moves in Chapter Two to a “warm spring night” (22) before finishing the novel with a hot summer night: “You could feel the heat outside through the window” (249). As Adams affirms, *The Sun Also Rises* embodies the feeling Hemingway shared with Eliot that Western civilization was dying (126). Eliot and Hemingway reflect on this feeling as a temporary state to set the rest of their respective works as an attempt to resolve such a situation. It is necessary to take into account this disordered experience to understand the project of Eliot and Hemingway in the rest of these two works.

In *Knowledge and Experience* Eliot reflected on the same modes of perceiving reality that he explores in *The Waste Land*. According to his analysis of Bradley’s theory of experience, “[t]he life of a soul does not consist in the contemplation of one consistent world, but in the painful task of unifying” different levels of experience or “discordant viewpoints” to experience a higher point of view “which shall somehow include and transmute them” (147-48). In this reflection on Bradley, Eliot ponders the possibility of a higher point of view that would allow the self to transmute the disorder of experience into a more inclusive experience or world of “absolute order” (*KE* 90). As Bradley holds in *Appearance and Reality*, “this Absolute is experience, [...] it is a whole superior to and embracing incomplete forms of life. This whole must be immediate like feeling, but not, like feeling, immediate at a level below distinction and relation. The Absolute is immediate as holding and transcending these differences” (213). So the experience of this undivided whole is not “the immediate experience” (Eliot, *KE* 31) which is previous to any intellectual distinction. As Schwartz notes, “[i]n contrast to the fragmented world of appearances, Bradley presents his notion of the Absolute, which synthesizes immediate

experience and conceptual thought into an inclusive whole [...]. The Absolute is experience, the undivided whole of immediate experience raised to a level that includes but transcends the fragmentary formulations of the intellect” (33-34). The absolute order or unity of feeling transcends the fragmentary formulations of the intellect. As Levina contends, “[t]he Absolute is the destination point of ‘our journey,’ known as ‘complete experience,’ while immediate experience is its origin, defined by ‘mere’ immediacy” (9). In *The Waste Land* Eliot reflects on the extent to which it is possible to experience this absolute order. The mythical figure of Tiresias offers an important clue to an understanding of this journey.

In the notes on *The Waste Land*, Eliot writes how Tiresias “although a mere spectator and not indeed a ‘character,’ is yet the most important personage in the poem, uniting all the rest” (*CPP* 52). The question is why the position enjoyed by Tiresias converts her in the most important figure of the poem. Tiresias appears in “The Fire Sermon” as part of the scene where the agent’s clerk and the apathetic typist have sexual intercourse. These two characters are involved in urban life and seem to be trapped in the meaningless automatism of modern civilization: “At the violet hour, when the eyes and back/Turn upward from the desk, when the human engine waits/Like a taxi throbbing waiting” (*CPP* 43). Tiresias is not an active part of this scene; but, as a witness, she has the ability to contemplate the character’s actions: “Perceived the scene, and foretold the rest-/I too awaited the expected guest” (*CPP* 44). Tiresias has the faculty of discerning the problematic experience of these two characters as she is used to walking “among the lowest of the dead” (44). Tiresias observes this “[u]nreal city/Under the brown fog of a winter noon” (43) where people behave at their core with a mechanical rhythm: “She

smooths her hair with automatic hand,/And puts a record on the gramophone” (44). Tiresias is part of the life of this metropolis, but at the same time, he is beyond this experience. The mythical figure is on two planes of experience at the same time: “I Tiresias, though blind, throbbing between two lives” (43).¹¹ As Levina illustrates, with the physical limitations of human reality erased, both of sex and temporality, the horizon of Tiresias is limitless; she has been removed from the sensuous perception of reality (130). Tiresias is a symbol of the reality that the inhabitants of the waste land cannot experience. They are not able to leave this incoherent level of experience that Tiresias observes from her privileged point of view. These characters are “apathetic, both morally and emotionally—human machines” (Williamson 142). As Brooker and Bentley argue, the characters in “The Fire Sermon” “have no sense of what is lost or denied to them” (127). The only unity or communality between the characters of the poem is that they do not have access to this “world of absolute order” (KE 90) that Eliot symbolizes in Tiresias. They ignore its existence. They are trapped in the “real world [...] full of contradictions” (90) and they do not even ponder the possibility of such absolute experience.

Hemingway explores in *The Sun Also Rises* a figure that can instructively be compared with Tiresias. Jake Barnes enjoys a privileged position from the outset of the novel. He witnesses the problems of all his friends. Through the whole novel he is a

¹¹ Tiresias is a mythical figure that has the characteristic of being a woman as well as a man. She is blind, but she enjoys the power of prophecy and long life. Thus, this figure has a duality of experience. For a further elucidation of this figure, see Southam 172-73 and Williamson 141-42. I use the pronoun “he” to refer to Tiresias under the influence of Rainey’s practice in his annotations to *The Waste Land*: “Since he had experienced the body in both sexes, he was asked by Jove and Juno to settle a dispute concerning whether men or women had greater pleasure in making love” (107).

passive observer of Brett's sexual adventures. In the legend of Tiresias, this figure gets her powers after seeing two snakes copulating in the forest and hitting them twice. Similarly, Jake witnesses some of Brett's sexual encounters, and part of his importance in the novel somehow arises from his privileged (Tiresias-like) observation of Brett. First with Robert Cohn, and later with the bullfighter Romero, Jake is there to see the fall of his friend as Tiresias is with the typist in the scene of "The Fire Sermon." Jake is a spectator who contemplates the lives of the rest of the characters. He seems to have a wisdom that makes the others listen to his advice: "If you went there the way you feel now it would be exactly the same" (*SAR* 19). But Jake is less important or empowered than Tiresias: "Undressing, I looked at myself in the mirror of the big armoire beside the bed. That was a typically French way to furnish a room. Practical, too, I suppose. Of all the ways to be wounded" (38). Reflected in the mirror, Jake contemplates himself as another element of the room. He has the capacity to observe his own problems as Tiresias does with the typist and the clerk, but Jake is incapable of mending this situation. He cannot transmute his condition in the same way that the typist and the clerk cannot move beyond their automatism. Jake is wounded.¹² He can see it reflected in the mirror, but this

¹² The nature of this wound has received a great deal of attention. In his commentary Stoneback refers to the most relevant commentaries and dissects the possible clues in the novel about Jake's wound (64-67). Fiedler argues that "Hemingway tells us that it is 'the War' which has afflicted Jake with the absurd wound [...], but 'the War' is merely a convenient tag for the failure of values and faith" (322). I agree with Fiedler insofar as Jake's wound is important in any understanding of his experiences in the novel, but I consider the physical nature of the wound a key to deciphering Jake's actions. Hemingway hinted at this in an interview in the *The Paris Review* when the interviewer suggested that Jake was "emasculated precisely as a steer" (Plimpton 230). Hemingway affirmed that "[a]ctually he had been wounded in quite a different way and his testicles were intact and not damaged. Thus he was capable of all normal feelings as a *man* but incapable of consummating them. The important distinction is that his wound was physical and not psychological and that he was not emasculated" (230). In a letter to the

vision does not offer him the possibility of moving beyond his condition. Unlike Tiresias Jake cannot occupy two levels of experience simultaneously. He is as trapped within the relational level of experience as the clerk and the typist are in *The Waste Land*, but there is an important aspect that differentiates these characters. Jake is aware of his wound while Eliot's characters are unaware of their condition.

Eliot and Hemingway present spectators that contemplate the other characters. Tiresias enjoys a privileged point of view beyond the limitations of the levels of experience in which the typist and the clerk are trapped. Jake Barnes is a victim of the very same problems he contemplates as a privileged observer.¹³ He witnesses the chaotic lives of the other characters, but at the same time he is wounded. This state makes him pursue a remedy to heal his condition.

"The Fire Sermon" depicts the mechanical intercourse of the typist with the young clerk: "The meal is ended, she is bored in caresses/[...]/Exploring hands encounter no defence/[...]/ Bestows one final patronizing kiss" (*CPP* 44). In this scene the actions of the characters become a meaningless succession of physical gestures that lead towards boredom and indifference. In *The Sun Also Rises* Hemingway pays attention to a similar

editor Thomas Bledsoe, Hemingway illustrates in relation to Jake's wound how "[i]t came from a personal experience in that when I had been wounded at one time there had been an infection from pieces of wool cloth being driven into the scrotum. Because of this I got to know other kids who had genito urinary wounds and I wondered what a man's life would have been like that if his penis had been lost and his testicles and spermatic cord remained intact. I had known a boy that had happened to. So I took him and made him into a foreign correspondent in Paris and, inventing, tried to find out what his problems would be when he was in love with someone who was in love with him and there was nothing that they could do about it" (*SL* 745). In the next section I shall reflect on the extent to which the physical nature of Jake's wound shapes the rituals he explores.

¹³ Joost and Brown compare Jake's castration to Tiresias's blindness "to the extent that it provides him with the same kind of 'second sight' that enables both the seer and the reporter to see beyond the hollow existence of their fellows in the Waste Land" (432).

use of a mechanistic action, but with rather different implications. In the relationship between Jake and Brett, spirituality becomes fruitless as a result of the repetitive declarations of spiritual love performed by Jake. At the end of Book One, he declares repeatedly his love to Brett to compensate for his inability to offer sex: “‘Couldn’t we live together, Brett? Couldn’t we just live together? [...] ‘Couldn’t we go off in the country for a while?’ [...] ‘You know I love you’” (*SAR* 62). Brett responds similarly and her words are as futile as those pronounced by Jake: “‘It wouldn’t be any good. I’ll go if you like. But I couldn’t live quietly in the country. Not with my true love.’ [...] ‘Isn’t it rotten? There isn’t any use my telling you I love you’” (62). These mutual declarations of spiritual love are a hollow set of words to the same extent that the typist’s sexual actions are an automatic pointless repetition of physical gestures. These characters are trapped in the real world full of confusions as Eliot explains it in relation to Bradley’s second level of experience. They somehow attempt to move beyond this level of experience by physical and spiritual mechanical acts respectively. Eliot and Hemingway reflect on the impossibility of overcoming such situations, but while the poet explores it from the physical perspective, the writer of fiction explores it from a spiritual one.

Both Eliot and Hemingway present their characters trapped in a “real world [...] full of contradictions” “which”, as Eliot explains in relation to Bradley’s Absolute, “gives the belief in a completely organized world” (*KE* 90). When Eliot affirms that Tiresias “is the substance of the poem” (*CPP* 52), he points out that the mythical structure offered by this figure is the only way of being in contact with such a “world of absolute order” (Eliot, *KE* 90). As Coupe notes, “*The Waste Land* is really about the need for order” (*Myth* 34-35). This is precisely what Eliot and Hemingway found in the

mythical elements of the Fisher King and the Grail legend. These two authors use these myths to involve their characters in a journey toward a “world of absolute order” (Eliot, *KE* 90). As Smith argues in relation to *The Waste Land*, this poem summarizes the Grail legend, not precisely in the usual disposition but retaining the principal incidents and adapting them to a modern setting (*T. S. Eliot’s Poetry and Plays* 70). It is necessary then to take into account the disordered experience Eliot and Hemingway depict in the first parts of *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises* respectively to understand their use of mythical paradigms as part of an attempt to offer remedies.

3. Myth and ritual

In the introductory paragraph to the endnotes of *The Waste Land*, Eliot alludes to two works. He explains that “[n]ot only the title, but the plan, and a good deal of the incidental symbolism of the poem were suggested by Miss Jessie L. Weston’s book on the Grail legend” (*CPP* 50). Eliot also recognizes the influence of Frazer’s *The Golden Bough*: “I have used specially the two volumes *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*. Anyone who is acquainted with these works will immediately recognize in the poem certain references to vegetation ceremonies” (50). As Coupe explains, “*The Waste Land* is [...] a story; and the tale it tells is a deliberate fusing and updating of two other stories—that of the dying and reviving god (Frazer), and that of the quest for the Grail (Weston)” (*Myth* 31). In *The*

Sun Also Rises Hemingway also makes use of the same mythical elements.¹⁴ These myths imply distinctive rituals. The analysis of Eliot's and Hemingway's use of those myths along with their correlative rituals will offer a better understanding of *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises* as two related, but distinctive attempts at achieving a unifying sense of feeling, experienced collectively.

Frazer's analysis of the ancient vegetation ceremonies of dying and reviving gods conforms to "the myth-ritualist theory" (Segal, *Myth* 61). According to this theory myth does not operate by itself but works along with a ritual. Frazer distinguishes between two different versions of this theory. In the first, myth tells the life of the god of vegetation and ritual enacts the myth describing his death. The ritual runs on the basis of the magical law of similarity, according to which the imitation of an action causes it to happen (Segal, *Myth* 65). In the second version of this theory, the king embodies the god. The health of the land depends on the health of the god and ultimately on that of the king. In this theory, the religious element is the belief in gods who directly affect nature. The magical element is the belief in the power to control gods through the performance of rituals.

¹⁴ Many critics have analyzed the common use of the myth of the Fisher King in *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises*. Richard P. Adams makes a direct connection between these two works and argues that Hemingway borrowed a number of the techniques used by Eliot in *The Waste Land* (123). Malcolm Cowley underlines how Hemingway's first novel "deals in different terms with the same legend that T.S. Eliot was not so much presenting as concealing in *The Waste Land*" (qtd. in Adams 123). Alan Lupack and Barbara Tapa Lupack explain how Hemingway was fascinated with the story of the wounded Fisher King whose health is tied to the fertility of the land (156). For similar perspectives, see Baker, Joost and Brown, and Flora. In his reading of the novel, Stoneback also refers to the myth of the Fisher King and reads Jake as this mythical figure. He affirms that the influence of Eliot's poem on Hemingway's novel is pervasive, but he warns against simplistic considerations of the common use of similar myths and vegetations rites (57). I move beyond this common terrain of ideas to point out the extent to which Eliot's and Hemingway's use of the mythic paradigm disposed them to explore different rituals, eventually leading them to engage with experiences of opposing nature.

Frazer sees the ritualistic enactment of the myth of the death and rebirth of the god of vegetation as the heart of this version of the myth and ritual theory.¹⁵ “Human survival depends on the vegetation, which must be continually revived” (Segal, *Theorizing* 50). The communal performance of the dying and reviving god ceremonies affects the condition of the land.

Weston engages with Frazer’s second version of the myth-ritualist theory. In *From Ritual to Romance* she argues that the medieval myth of the Fisher King and the avatar of the Grail are connected to ancient vegetation rites of dying and reviving gods. But, while Frazer focused on the correlation between the welfare of the community and the killing of the king, Weston related the renewal of the community to the improvement of the king’s health.¹⁶ Weston notes that the king and the land are bounded. The condition of the land depends on the condition of the king, and the restoration of his health relies on the retrieval of the grail through the performance of rituals: “The Grail romances repose eventually, not on the poet’s imagination, but upon the ruins of an august and ancient ritual, a ritual which once claimed to be the accredited guardian of the deepest secrets of Life” (133).¹⁷ As Coupe argues, for Weston “it is matter of whether the quester, our

¹⁵ Frazer divides all culture into three stages of magic, religion, and science. In *The Golden Bough* he focuses on the intermediate stage of religion and science. This is a stage of magic and religion combined. “Only in this in-between stage is myth-ritualism to be found, for only here do myths and rituals work together” (Segal, *Theorizing* 39). For a further explanation of Frazer three stages of culture, see Vickery and Coupe.

¹⁶ Weston connects the Grail king to Adonis and Attis, the former gored to death in the groin and the latter driven to self-castration (Segal, *Theorizing* 54). In *The Sun Also Rises* the nature of Jake’s wound is sexual, but this feature is not explored in Eliot’s poem.

¹⁷ For Levina, Weston’s thesis—that the Grail romances derive directly from ritual practices—is the only axis of coherence in the book’s discourse (111-12).

unnamed protagonist, can reaffirm the sacred link with the Grail and so cure the Fisher King, in a land which does not even know itself to be waste” (32). Eliot’s *The Waste Land* and Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* present a quester involved in the pattern of renewal inherent to the search of the grail. Their common involvement with this pattern results in an engagement with its intrinsic rituals.

According to Weston, “[t]here is a general consensus of evidence to the effect that the main object of the Quest is the restoration to health and vigour of a king suffering from infirmity” (18). Eliot and Hemingway identify the quester of the Grail with the Fisher King as he wanders around a barren territory to find the cure for his sickness in order to restore the condition of the land. This movement is shaped by two key events borrowed from the Grail story. First, Eliot and Hemingway involve their questers in an attempt at purification that is symbolized by immersion in the waters, connected to the ancient rite of death by water. Second, they face the opportunity to heal their conditions in the final stage of the journey. Eliot adopts the episode of the Chapel Perilous from the Grail legend.¹⁸ Hemingway also sets at the end of the novel a scene that symbolically could be compared to Eliot’s use of the Chapel Perilous. Eliot and Hemingway develop in *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises* respectively a pattern of reviving god, a central rite of the Grail legend. This common pattern results in distinctive conclusions about the renewal of the health of the quester; and hence, that of the Fisher King. In *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises*, Eliot and Hemingway present respectively the quester suffering from distinctive illnesses. The different nature of these wounds

¹⁸ I have decided to use the term Chapel Perilous which first appeared in Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte d’Arthur* rather than Perilous Chapel used by Weston in *From Ritual to Romance*. The first term is more widely accepted and commonly used.

conditions the final outcomes in the renewal of the health of the Fisher King and the correlative restoration of the land.

After his futile declaration of spiritual love to Brett, Hemingway involves Jake in the quest of healing his condition. After the scene of the typist and the clerk in “The Fire Sermon” Eliot also develops a pattern of renewal related to the pursuit of the Grail.¹⁹ The importance of these scenes is the direction in which Eliot and Hemingway lead their questers. After the scene witnessed by Tiresias, *The Waste Land* turns into a failed sequence of purification, in which a spiritual regeneration is unsuccessfully pursued: drowning in water in the fourth section of the poem, walking through the desert in the last. In *The Sun Also Rises* Jake too is involved in a failed regeneration. In that common movement, Eliot’s and Hemingway’s questers are imbricated in a pattern of symbolic purification and unsuccessful regeneration; a pattern that significantly is conditioned by the distinctiveness of their portrayal of the disorder depicted in the earlier parts of these two works. The key to understanding the importance of this symbolism is to bear in mind from which source of life—physical or spiritual—these characters have initially experienced their disordered experience. The character’s perspective implies an engagement in distinctive rituals connected to the ancient myth of a dying and reviving god. In Eliot’s case this movement is from the physical to the spiritual realm of life and he will allude to spiritual rituals connected to Christianity. Hemingway alternatively develops a movement from the spiritual to the physical to explore the ritual of bullfighting

¹⁹ In line 293 Eliot hints at Dante’s *Purgatory* (CPP 53). As I have previously noted in the first part of the poem, Eliot refers to Dante’s *Inferno*, so there is a progression from the inferno of the desolated land in “The Burial of the Dead” to an attempt to overcome this situation, as initiated in “The Fire Sermon.”

4. The immersion in the waters

At the end of “The Fire Sermon” the quester is in the city of Carthage: “To Carthage then I came” (*CPP* 46). In the notes on the poem, Eliot relates this line to St. Augustine’s *Confessions*: “‘to Carthage then I came, where a cauldron of unholy loves sang all about mine ears’” (*CPP* 53). Eliot locates the quester in a place where lust is at the centre of every experience, as Eliot suggests by alluding to *Confessions*. This movement in the poem leads one to consider that the essential step towards curing the infirmity of the Fisher King is to overcome the flesh and lust symbolized in that city: “Burning burning burning/O lord Thou pluckest me out/O lord Thou pluckest/burning” (*CPP* 46). Brooks and Bentley write that “The Buddha and Saint Augustine preach a similar message: Salvation involves overcoming the lusts of the flesh” (123). As Stephenson argues, beyond the burning comes a weariness with things of the world and bodily experience (qtd. in Southam 180). In “The Fire Sermon” Eliot encloses the quester in the sensuous perception of reality to allude to the necessity of moving beyond this situation in which he is imprisoned. The city of lust, Carthage, is the point of departure in the final attempt to heal his condition. As Weston makes clear in relation to the ritual intrinsic to the quest of the Grail, it is a necessary step for reaching the higher or spiritual regeneration: “[T]he Mystery ritual [of the Grail] comprised a double initiation, the Lower, into the mysteries of generation, i.e., of physical Life; the higher, into the Spiritual Divine Life, where man is made one with God” (130). The quester’s steps through the physical are part of the final stage of the journey that should lead to the higher initiation or spiritual life: “[T]he test for the primary initiation, that into the sources of physical life, would probably

consist in a contact with the horrors of the physical death, and [...] the tradition of the Perilous Chapel [...] was a reminiscence of the test for this lower initiation” (130). After the city of Carthage, in the last section of the poem Eliot leaves the quester to wander through the desert in extreme physical conditions: “Dead mountain mouth of carious teeth that cannot spit/Here one can neither stand not lie not sit/There is not even silence in the mountains” (*CPP* 47). But before this final trip, Eliot represents in “Death by Water” a ritual of purification that implies this primary initiation into the lower or physical life to be the mandatory step towards the final search for the grail. In the last two stanzas of “The Fire Sermon” and the section “Death by Water,” Eliot sets out not only the steps that should be taken by the quester in his search for the Grail, but he also relates the Grail with this moment “where man is made one with God” (Weston 130).

In the fourth part of *The Waste Land* Eliot uses water as the controlling symbol of the scene: “the deep sea swell/[...]A current under the sea/[...]Entering the whirlpool” (*CPP* 46). If this symbol is read together with the last line of the previous section: “burning” (46), it seems that Eliot wants to underline that the lust of “The Fire Sermon” is extinguished by the water of “Death by Water.” Eliot uses the rite of dying in the water borrowed from the myth of Adonis to represent the symbolic death of the sensual as the necessary previous step to the final reviving of the god. Eliot points out that this section is the beginning of the pursuit of the spiritual beyond the physical. As Brooker and Bentley argue, “[d]eath, in his sources, particularly in Frazer, Weston, and the Bible, is the prerequisite for life, and in all three, death by water is a central ritual in physical and spiritual rebirth. [...] [D]eath is an end which is a beginning” (160). The importance of this section is not only that it is a symbol of a possible rebirth, but also the way in which

it depends on the performance of a ritual. As Weston contends, the main purpose of the ritual of the freeing of the waters was to obtain wellbeing and the fertility of the land (21). The desired outcome symbolized by death in the waters cannot be separated from the ritual itself. As Vickery argues, “this sacrificial death is a purging of that which is old, corrupt, or sterile in the individual so that he may emerge with a new life” (263).²⁰ The water ritual is the prerequisite for a spiritual rebirth. Eliot sets this ritual just before engaging the quester in the last stage of the journey towards the search for the “Spiritual Divine Life” (Weston 130) symbolized in the Grail.

Hemingway also explores in *The Sun Also Rises* a ritual controlled by water as the previous step to the final pursuit of regeneration. But significantly, this pattern appropriated from the Grail story has different connotations if it is compared to the one from “Death by Water.” Eliot points to the overcoming of the physical to reach the spiritual. The symbolic death of Eliot’s ritual of the water implies a purging of all sensuality and corruption related to lust and the physical. Hemingway alternatively identifies the old, corrupt or sterile with the spiritual. Hemingway points to the overcoming of the spiritual to reach the physical. After the symbolic bath in the waters, Hemingway takes a turn absent in Eliot’s poem. Hemingway explores a pagan festival as an inseparable element of the ritual that should restore the condition of Jake as the symbolic quester of *The Sun Also Rises*. The engagement of Jake in this ritual of renewal conditions the outcome of his regeneration.

After Jake Barnes’s fruitless declaration of love in Paris, he embarks on a trip to Spain with his friends. Brett is part of the expedition. Jake tries to keep away from her,

²⁰ Vickery contends that “this purgative and purificatory process is carried out in “The Fire Sermon” and “Death by Water” (263).

but unavoidably he has to witness her relations with Robert Cohn and the bullfighter Romero. Once Jake arrives in Pamplona, the first place he visits is the cathedral:

I knelt and started to pray and prayed for everybody I thought of [...]. [W]hile I was praying for myself I found I was getting sleepy, so I prayed that the bullfights would be good, and that it would be a fine fiesta, and that we would get some fishing. (102)

As Eliot does with his quester in the city of Carthage, Hemingway leads Jake to a new place where he should take a first step in his journey to cure his condition. Eliot points out the necessity of moving beyond lust and the physical, but Jake's wound does not allow such step. Physical forms of lust are not available to Jake on account of his wound and therefore he attempts his renewal differently. When Jake is in the cathedral he realizes the uselessness of praying: "[A]ll the time I was kneeling with my forehead on the wood in front of me, and was thinking of myself as praying, I was a little ashamed, and regretted that I was such a rotten Catholic" (103). After this realization, his thoughts turn to fishing, bullfighting and the fiesta, all physical activities. As Nahal argues, it is not possible to "think of a scene in the novel where the physical action stands out as a major piece of narration" (29). In this scene in the cathedral, Hemingway presents his quester in a place devoted to performing spiritual activities to the same extent that Eliot presents his quester trapped in the city of Carthage, a place governed by lust and physical pleasures. In the temple of Pamplona, Jake wishes to feel "religious" (*SAR* 103), but he realizes that there is "nothing [...] [he] could do about it" (103). He decides to move beyond his corrupt and sterile spiritual condition to pursue a renewal through the physical. Jake undertakes the reverse path set up by Eliot in the city of Carthage. Jake is conscious of this movement away from the spiritual and he decides to immerse himself in

rites of renewal based on purely physical activities. He leaves the cathedral to embark on a symbolic immersion in the waters as a ritual of purification.

After the episode of the cathedral, Jake goes with his friends on a fishing trip to the mountains. They spend the time drinking: “The wine was icy cold and tasted faintly rusty” (SAR 126), enjoying walking in the woods: “It was a long walk and the country was very fine” (123), and fishing. During this trip Jake focuses on the performance of physical activities and he tends to ignore what troubled him earlier in the novel: “‘Were you ever in love with her [Brett]?’/ ‘Sure’/ [...] / ‘Oh, hell! Bill said. ‘I’m sorry, fella’/ ‘It’s all right,’ I said. ‘I don’t give a damn any more’” (128). He talks about his impossible love story with Brett as something from the past. He similarly dismisses his doubts about being a rotten Catholic and affirms that he has no idea what being a Catholic means: “I don’t know” (129). He prefers to focus on fishing. He tries to overcome what troubles him at a spiritual level through the performance of physical activities and, at the end of the trip to the mountains of Navarre, Jake goes through a symbolic immersion in the waters: “We found a stream with a pool deep enough to swim in” (130). As Fiedler suggests in reference to the fishing trip of *The Sun Also Rises*, “[i]t is in the trout stream of Burguete that Jake and Bill immerse themselves and are made whole again and clean” (331).²¹ Hemingway—like Eliot—uses in his novel the ritual of the water as a possible rebirth and he meaningfully places this scene just before the festival of renewal in Pamplona that Jake takes part in. As Vickery explains regarding the

²¹ Interestingly, this critic affirms that the stream of Burguete “links back to the rivers of Hemingway’s youth, the rivers of upper Michigan, whose mythical source is the Mississippi of Tom Sawyer” (331). The important aspect of this scene is the symbolic “rebirth” performed through the immersion in the waters that is a constant in American literature, as it is argued by this critic (330-332).

ritual of death by water in the ancient rites of vegetations, “[t]he day after the god’s revival was devoted to public celebration of the event, a festival of joy [...]. Every man might say and do what he pleased. People went about the streets in disguise” (Vickery 55). But, before coming back to Pamplona for the festival, Jake and his friends pay a meaningful visit to a sacred place.

After sending a telegraph to make the final arrangements for San Fermin, Jake, along with Bill and Harris, goes to the monastery of Roncesvalles. Even though “[i]t’s [a] remarkable place” (SAR 133), Bill and Harris agree that they are “not much on those sort of places” (133). Bill even compares the experience of visiting the place with fishing: “It isn’t the same as fishing, though, is it?” (133). This important scene is placed right after the symbolic immersion of Jake in the waters and just before his arrival at the fiesta. The sacred place is not simply a stop in Jake’s journey, but an important moment in which he has the option of choosing one path in his quest, but decides to take another.

Roncesvalles, with its Pilgrim’s Inn and his Royal Hospital, is on the route of the pilgrimage to Compostela which “is associated with a [...] rigorous quest for *Spiritual* renewal” (Stoneback 150, 193).²² But when Jake is with his friends “in the old chapel of the monastery” (133), he decides to go to the pub to talk about fishing before going to Pamplona for the fiesta.

²² Stoneback refers to the “pervasive pilgrimage imagery in the novel” to differentiate between the pilgrimage to Santiago and the pilgrimage to Lourdes, both mentioned in the novel (150). The latter is focused on a physical healing and pilgrims arrive there by train or buses. Alternatively, Compostela is associated with a crusading medieval spirit and the pilgrims go there on foot. Although Stoneback affirms that Jake is a pilgrim (150), it may be observed that Jake in fact travels to Pamplona by train, bus and car and ignores the route to Santiago.

In the monastery of Roncesvalles Jake has the option of engaging with a religious ritual related to spiritual renewal. Instead, he decides to go to San Fermin to immerse himself in a festival connected to a Dionysian ritual. As Idema III argues, in *The Sun Also Rises* religion no longer functions for Jake: “[T]rout fishing and bullfighting provide Jake Barnes [...] the peace he does not find in the church” (161).²³ The question is what the rites of the festival offer him that sacred religious rites do not. Jake overlooks the possibility of religious pilgrimage to pursue the restoration of his wound, but this does not imply that he rejects such quest. Jake simply does not find in religion an effective mode: “[T]he praying had not been much of a success” (212). Instead, he decides to pursue his aim through the experience of a Dionysian ritual. After the scene in the monastery, the quester focuses on San Fermin and the largely pagan ritual of bullfighting.

5. Pagan and Christian rituals on the way to the Chapel Perilous

After their common use of immersion in the waters, connected to the ancient rite of death by water, Eliot and Hemingway lead their questers to the final stage of their journeys, in which they face the outcomes of their endeavours. Eliot uses the element of the Chapel Perilous from the Grail legend in which the quester will face “strange and threatening voices” (Weston 125). Hemingway places a scene at the end of Jake’s Spanish trip that

²³ See Helbig for critics on Hemingway and religion (105). For many critics, Hemingway’s religious life plays a key role in the analysis of his works. See Nickel. In this chapter I do not analyze the confluence between Hemingway’s personal beliefs and the religious experiences of their characters. Although I do not question the influence of Hemingway’s beliefs in the creation of his characters, I am not interested in using a biographical approach in my analysis.

can instructively be compared to the episode of Eliot's Chapel Perilous. On their way towards this final adventure in their voyages, Eliot's and Hemingway's questers become involved in distinctive rituals as a result of the nature of their respective wounds. In this section I shall analyze the correlation between Jake's engagement with the pagan ritual of bullfighting and Eliot's allusion to Christian rituals, and the alternative outcomes for the healing of the quester.²⁴

When Jake returns to his hotel in Pamplona, he shakes hands with the owner and suddenly everything is about bullfighting: "He smiled again. He always smiled as though bull-fighting were a very special secret between the two of us" (*SAR* 136). This encounter presents bullfighting as a mysterious ritual in which these two characters have previously been involved, but this ritual cannot be considered apart from San Fermin in this novel. Since Jake and his friends arrived in Pamplona, "[t]he town was getting ready for the fiesta" (153).²⁵ It is within the framework of this festival that bullfighting achieves meaning for Jake. In the narration of the events in Pamplona, Hemingway confronts the

²⁴ My use of the term pagan is based on two of the entries from the OED definition: "A person not subscribing to any major or recognized religion, [...], esp. considered as savage, uncivilized etc" and "[a] follower of a [...] nature-worshipping religion."

²⁵ Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* almost had a different title. The book was published under the title *Fiesta* in Great Britain and it has been subsequently known there as such; meanwhile in the United States it has always been published under the title *The Sun Also Rises*. Other options considered by Hemingway were *Two Lie Together* and even *For in Much Wisdom Is Much Grief and He that Increases Knowledge Increases Sorrow* – a line that like *The Sun Also Rises* comes from Ecclesiastes. The latest edition of this novel published in July 2014 shows the evidence for these alternatives based on Hemingway's early notes and manuscripts of the novel. Josephs, insightfully, analyses the change of title in terms of the dichotomy between pagan and sacred rituals. He clarifies that the word *fiesta* in English has connotations of festivity while in Spanish the word has a sense of religious celebration, such as the one celebrated in honour of San Fermin (166). In Spain, the book has always been published as *Fiesta*, maintaining the religious connotation of the word.

connections between bullfighting and religion. As he illustrates in *Death in the Afternoon*, bullfights usually occur in religious fiestas in honour of various saints (Kroupi 115). Bullfights happen along with sacred religious ceremonies during the fiesta: “San Fermin is also a religious festival” (SAR 156), but Jake only gets involved in the pagan dimension of San Fermin.

“At noon of Sunday, the 6th of July, the fiesta exploded. [...] The peasants were in the outlying wine-shops” (SAR 156). Jake’s first impression of the festival is that it is wine oriented: “Now on the day of the starting of the Fiesta of San Fermin they [peasants] had been in the wine-shops of the narrow streets of the town since early morning” (156). The development of the action at the beginning of the fiesta turns around wine. Jake buys leather wine-bottles: “I’ll go get a couple” (159) and interacts with the locals because of alcohol: “[O]ne of the men at the table looked up, brought out a bottle from inside his smock, and handed it to me” (162). Jake’s perception of San Fermin connects this festival to the Dionysian rituals of dying and reviving gods. As Frazer illustrates in relation to these ancient rites:

The god Dionysus or Bacchus is best known to us as a personification of wine and of the exhilaration produced by the juice of the grape. His ecstatic worship, characterized by wild dances, thrilling music, and tipsy excess, appears to have originated among the rude tribes of Thrace, who were notoriously addicted to drunkenness (386).

In a similar way to the rites to honour this god, Jake and his friends spend the first hours of the festival drinking, as worshippers used to do in the Dionysian festivals: ““What a lot we’ve drunk”” (SAR 163). Jake also focuses on dances reminiscent of those of the ancient festivals: “Down the street came dancers. The street was solid with dancers, all men. They were all dancing in time behind their own fifers and drummers” (158). In addition,

Jake's narration also connects San Fermin to Dionysian rites when he pays attention to the worshippers of the festival. As Frazer clarifies, "Dionysus was conceived as a deity of agriculture and [...] corn" (387). According to Jake's report, in San Fermin the crowd involved in the dancing and drinking are mostly peasants, as he notes when remarking that in the first hours of the day "[m]oney still had a definitive value in hours worked and bushels of grain sold" (*SAR* 156). Jake's account of the fiesta points to a pagan ritual connected to Dionysus, but Jake also explores the religious ceremonies that take place at the same time as all this alcoholic excess: "That afternoon was the big religious procession. San Fermin was translated from one church to another" (158-59). The episode of the festival in *The Sun Also Rises* reflects meaningfully on the double dimension of the fiesta. San Fermin is a pagan, but also a sacred festival. Jake and his friends become involved in the pagan rituals, but they do not participate to the same extent in the religious ceremonies related to Christianity.

They do not take part in the Christian dimension of the festival: "In the procession were all the dignitaries, civil and religious. We could not see them because the crowd was too great" (*SAR* 159). Jake depicts the religious element of San Fermin, but he and his friends do not engage in it. They try to enter the church, but cannot: "We started inside and there was a smell of incense and people filling back into the church, but Brett was stopped just inside the door because she had no hat, so we went out again" (159). After this frustrated attempt at involvement in the sacred ceremonies of the festival, they go back to join the dancers and drinkers. From now on, San Fermin is just a pagan festival for Jake. He and his friends do not pay respect to the saint in the religious ceremony, but suddenly find themselves in a symbolic act of adoration. "They took Bill and me by the

arms and put us in the circle” (159). Brett also wants to be part of it, but “[t]hey wanted her as an image to dance around” (159). The same crowd that escorted the saint in the streets of Pamplona a while ago surrounds Brett and she becomes an object of veneration. As Fiedler argues, “Brett is surrounded by a group of *riau-riau* dancers, who desert a religious procession to follow her, set her up as a rival to Saint Fermin” (298). But Jake refuses to worship her and he does not engage in the dancing: “They were all chanting” (*SAR* 159). Jake does not see Brett as the people from Pamplona do. As Kataria argues in his reading of Brett as a priestess of love, “Pamplona dancers recognize in Brett [...] a woman who can connect them to the generative power of the masculine” (47). On the contrary, Jake sees in her a symbol of his impossibility of connecting to such power. The worshippers keep paying respect to Brett as a symbolic image of fertility: “They had Brett seated on a winecask” (*SAR* 159) and Jake leaves the place.

When Jake returns to the back room of the bar, “[e]verybody has his arms on everybody else’s shoulders, and they were all singing” (*SAR* 161). All these people refuse to go to the mass in the church. They alternatively take part in a ritual that resembles the Eucharist that is happening in the church. Hemingway reflects again on the Dionysian and Christian dimensions of the ritualistic festival of San Fermin. As Weston argues, “we can show that between [...] [the ancient] Mystery cults and Christianity there existed at one time a close and intimate union, such a union as of itself involved the practical assimilation of the central rite, in each case a ‘Eucharistic’ Feast, in which the worshippers partook of the Food and Life from the sacred vessels” (7). In the scene in the bar after being expelled from church, Hemingway presents a symbolic Eucharistic feast where people eat from a vessel: “Everybody had his arms on everybody else’s shoulders,

and they were all singing. Mike was sitting at a table with several men in their shirt-sleeves, eating from a bowl of tuna fish, chopped onions and vinegar. They were all drinking wine and mopping the oil and vinegar with pieces of bread” (SAR 161).

Communal dining and wine drinking was an integral part of Dionysian rites as much as it is an essential element of the Christian Eucharist and its eating of the bread and drinking of the wine. *The Sun Also Rises* presents a pagan and a Christian communal Eucharistic feast taking place simultaneously just a couple of streets from each other. Meaningfully Jake and his friends engage with the pagan ceremony. This scene underlines the dissociation between Christian and pagan rituals in this novel. Bullfighting should be understood as part of this dissociation in that it is also the dichotomy Jake struggles with in the Spanish trip to restore his condition.

Soon after his arrival at Pamplona, he dismisses the possibility of Christian religion succeeding in such a purpose and turns instead to Dionysian ritual. “In *The Sun Also Rises*, bullfighting represents a continuation of the cult of Dionysus” (Kataria 49). This mythical figure was a bull and Dionysian rites turned around the killing of the bull to revive this god. As Frazer explains in relation to the death of Dionysus, “[f]inally, in the form of a bull, he was cut to pieces by the murderous knives of his enemies” (388). In this novel bullfighting cannot be considered apart from its Dionysian connotation. The pagan nature of the ritual of bullfighting cannot be dismissed, as the historical attitude of the Spanish Catholic Church towards this ritual shows. As Filinich explains, “the church tried in different historical moments to ban bullfighting. It was considered a pagan cult and the catholic hierarchs forbade their believers to attend them” (112).²⁶ In Pamplona

²⁶ My translation.

Jake sees in this pagan ritual the possibility of experiencing what he could not experience in the church—something that could help him overcome his condition.

Jake has a real *afición*.²⁷ He has the necessary passion and knowledge to appreciate bullfighting as Montoya recognizes: “He always smiled as though there were something lewd about the secret to outsiders, but that it was something that we understood. It would not do to expose it to people who would not understand” (*SAR* 136). Jake is part of a community who share a passion for the ritual of the bullfighting. As Stoneback argues, this is one of the critical scenes in the novel, “confirming the bond between Jake and Montoya, rooted in love of bullfighting” (229). Jake experiences and understands the value of the feeling intrinsic to bullfights: “We often talked about bulls and bull-fighters. I had stopped at the Montoya for several years. We never talked for very long at a time. It was simply the pleasure of discovering what we each felt” (*SAR* 135). This bond is to certain degree a homosocial activity and it implies the displacement of sexuality no longer functionally available to Jake. As Strychacz affirms, Jake tries to consolidate his shaky sense of masculinity by aligning himself with Pedro Romero and the rituals of bullfighting (283). Jake is looking for feelings that he does not have access to because of his wound. The question is the extent to which bullfights are a debased or temporary substitute for the feelings Jake cannot experience.

Jake engages in the ritual of bullfighting as a spectator. He has the necessary knowledge to be part of it. As Mitchell argues, bullfighting “requires a highly sophisticated understanding of animal behaviour, adherence to very specific norms and

²⁷ *Afición* is “[w]hat the aficionado has—passion, knowledge, dedication to the entire fiesta [of the bullfights]” (McCormick 28).

procedures, and a fair degree of nerve in carrying them out” (396). Jake has an understanding of all these requirements. He is fully aware of the procedures as he shows when he explains to Brett the real experience that bullfighters should transmit to the spectators: “[S]ince the death of Joselito all the bull-fighters had been developing a technique that simulated this appearance of danger in order to give a fake emotional feeling” (*SAR* 172). Jake “has this sense of the tragedy and ritual of the fight” (Hemingway, *DIA* 9) and he is able to identify a good performance in the ring. Jake sees in Pablo Romero a bullfighter who transmits this feeling: “Romero’s bull-fighting gave real emotion, because he kept the absolute purity of line in his movements and always quietly and calmly let the horns pass him close each time” (*SAR* 171). Jake recognizes in Romero a real matador, but there is a meaningful difference between his consideration of him before and after Romero falls in love with Brett. It is necessary to reflect on this difference to decipher the extent to which the ritual of bullfighting offers Jake the experience he looks for when he arrives at Pamplona for the fiesta.

The day of the first fight, Jake watches Romero and affirms that he is “a real one. There had not been a real one for a long time” (*SAR* 168). Jake enjoys Romero’s fight and he describes how “[o]utside of the ring, after the bull-fight was over, you could not move in the crowd [...]. We had that disturbed emotional feeling that always comes after a bull-fight, and the feeling of elation that comes after a good bull-fight” (168). Jake hints at the communal dimension of the ritual of bullfighting in which the performance of the matador is carried out in front of a crowd that experience this communal feeling. As McCormick argues, this ritual derives from “the universal impulse to re-enact, to repeat through representation, a vivid emotion or successful action [...]. Ritual, then, is a

stylized acting out of something fully and emotionally desired by the community” (17-18). The first day in the ring of Pamplona Romero offers Jake this vivid emotion as a member of the crowd.

In *Death in the Afternoon* Hemingway clarifies further the nature of this “emotional feeling” (SAR 168). Hemingway underlines that the spectators are always waiting for:

the faena [the fight] that takes a man out of himself and makes him feel immortal while it is proceeding, that gives him an ecstasy, that is, while momentarily, as profound as any religious ecstasy; moving all the people in the ring together and increasing in emotional intensity as it proceeds, carrying the bullfighter with it, he playing the crowd through the bull and being moved as it responds in a growing ecstasy of ordered, formal, passionate, increasing disregard for death. (DIA 206-07)

Hemingway points to the feeling of being “out of himself” as the cornerstone of this ritual. At the same time he underlines the “ordered and formal” (207) nature of this experience. Hemingway identifies the communal ritual of bullfight with a feeling that transcends the disorder of experience. He pays attention to this ritual as a mode of experiencing the unity of feeling or “world of absolute order” (Eliot, *KE* 90) that is beyond all the contradictions and disorder of experience. Hemingway relates this feeling to the “disregard of death” (207). As Bergamín argues, “by an apparent act of play, when the bullfighter kills the bull, he is telling us that it is possible to kill death itself” (qtd. in Filinich 105).²⁸ Vickery points to this feature when he explains Frazer’s analysis of the ancient rituals framed by the killing of the bull in which the worshipper gets into closer communication with the dying god: “[T]he initiate was baptismally drenched in the blood of a bull, after which he was regarded ‘as one who had been born again to eternal life’”

²⁸ My translation.

(64). As Josephs affirms, “Hemingway clearly understood [...] that toreo was at the still center of sacred time, and that it was *still* at the center of sacred time, still part of the eternal present” (165).²⁹ In his account of bullfighting, Hemingway equates disorder with mortality and order with immortality. The fight with the bull symbolizes a fight with death and the sacrifice brings to the community a unifying sense of feeling that transcends the contradiction between “the real world” (Eliot, *KE* 90) and “eternal life” (Vickery 64). Or—to use Bradley’s terms—the community experiences the “Absolute” that “is a whole superior to and embracing incomplete forms of life” (*AR* 213). Hemingway considers this momentary feeling of “absolute order” as profound “as any religious ecstasy” (*DIA* 207) and he conditions it to the performance of the sacrifice as happens in the Dionysian ritual. As Kroupi argues, “bullfighting in Hemingway is not a substitute for religion, but rather a mirror, a way to understand the religious process that takes place within each individual, consciously or not” (114). Romero’s fight provides Jake with a real emotion similar to any “religious ecstasy” (Hemingway, *DIA* 207) that somehow restores all disorder of experience he experiences outside of the ring throughout the entire novel. Jake is a worshipper and he focuses exclusively on this feeling experienced in this communal ritual. In the first fight Jake experiences a “mythical-religious feeling of *community*” (Cassirer, *PSF* 175) that remedies all the contradictions of his experience of reality. This changes during the development of the events of San Fermin.

²⁹ Josephs uses Eliade’s concept of “sacred time” to argue that Elisade seems to be writing about bullfighting when she explains that in myths “the sacrifice, in full ceremonial action, abandons the profane world of mortals and introduces himself into the divine world of the immortals” (158-58).

The second day things are different and Brett falls in love with the young matador as Mike predicts: “‘I believe, you know, that she’s falling in love with this bull-fighter chap’” (172). After that, Jake does not fully engage in the worship of Romero’s physical performance in the ring. In the first fight, Jake identified himself with Romero and the ritualistic sacrifice of the bull because it offered him a feeling that otherwise Jake could not experience. Once Jake knows about the relationship between Brett and Romero, he cannot dissociate Romero’s performance in the ring from Romero’s sexual performance with Brett. The ritual and the sexual are simultaneously in play in Jake’s account of Romero’s behaviour in the ring:

He loved bull-fighting, and I think he loved the bulls, and I think he loved Brett. [...]. Never once did he look up. He made it stronger that way, and 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. (*SAR* 220)

Jake merges Romero’s abilities as a bullfighter and his relationship with Brett. Romero is in love with her as Jake is, but the former can culminate this spiritual love with a physical performance that the latter cannot. Jake cannot ignore that Brett is in love with Romero: “I’m mad about the Romero boy. I’m in love with him, I think. [...]. I can’t help it. I’m a goner. It’s tearing me all up inside” (187). In Pamplona, Jake pays attention to bullfighting as an attempt to overcome his physical wound and the impossibility of having sex with Brett. Once Jake cannot dissociate Romero’s physical activity in the ring from his sexual activity with Brett, the “real emotion” of the pagan ritual of bullfighting is no longer available to him.

The last fight ends and Romero culminates the sacrifice in a skilful way: “Then without taking a step forward, he became one with the bull” (*SAR* 224). The ritual is over

and Romero “leaned up against the barrera and gave the ear [of the bull] to Brett” (224). Romero executed the sacrifice of the bull in honour of Brett. As Kataria notes, “Romero thus meets Brett with the vitality and potent masculinity of a bull, the gravity and splendour of Dionysus” (52). Jake witnesses this event and the ritual becomes a reminder of his own incapability of performing in physical terms as Romero does. After the last fight of the festival, Jake does not experience the excitement and the “feeling of elation” (*SAR* 168) of the first day: “Bill was tired after the bull-fight. So was I” (225). In Pamplona, Jake has tried to remedy his condition, but the pagan ritual of bullfighting only offers him a temporary unifying sense of feeling that transcends the disorder of his experience due to his wound. The Dionysian ritual of bullfighting provides Jake only a debased renewal of his injured state. At the end of the festival the bullfighter only reminds him of his own inability to consummate his spiritual love for Brett as Romero does.

At the beginning of *The Sun Also Rises* Jake affirms that “[n]obody ever lives their life all the way up except bull-fighters” (*SAR* 18). This relates to his injured state because it is precisely what he cannot experience throughout his entire journey. Even before the beginning of the Spanish trip he aims to experience what bullfighters as Romero do. In Pamplona he immerses in the ritual of bullfighting as a member of the crowd and he experiences the unifying communal feeling intrinsic to Dionysian ritual. Initially Jake sees in bullfighting a ritual experience that for him implies the displacement of sexuality no longer available for him, but this changes when he cannot dissociate Romero’s actions in the ring from his own incapability to perform sexually with Brett. When she tells Jake about her relationship with Romero, she affirms: “I feel altogether

changed,’ [...]. ‘You’ve no idea, Jake’” (211). She is right. Jake has no idea about this feeling because he cannot experience it; neither in the ring, nor in bed. The nature of Jake’s wound is physical and he attempts to overcome this condition by engaging in the distinctive physical ceremonies of the festival. He drinks, eats, dances and watches the bullfights, but he cannot fully consummate the initiation in the ritual to Dionysus. Neither is he drenched with the blood of the bull nor does he practice sex as the worshippers did in the culmination of the ritual that implied the reviving of the god in the ancient myth of Dionysus.

“In the morning it was all over. The fiesta was finished” (*SAR* 232). Jake is unsure about what he has experienced by engaging in the pagan festival: “The things that happened could only have happened during a fiesta. Everything became quite unreal finally and it seemed as though nothing could have any consequences. It seemed out of place to think of consequences during the fiesta” (158). The pilgrimage to Pamplona has no effects, but this is in itself a consequence for Jake. He cannot remedy his condition and Brett has run away with Romero. In his Spanish trip, the Dionysian ritual of San Fermin only brings Jake a temporary experience of the desired renewal of his condition. Jake could not live the “life all the way up” (18). The pagan ritual did not offer Jake the desired healing. Similarly, Christianity is no longer an option to remedy Jake’s state as he recognizes at the end of the novel: “‘Some people have God,’ I said. ‘Quite a lot’” (249). Jake is not one of them.³⁰ Jake does not experience “a world of absolute order” (Eliot, *KE* 90) as he aimed for when he left behind his Paris life, full of contradiction and disorder.

³⁰ For an alternative reading of these words, see Vopat.

After the festival, Jake continues his trip and finally arrives alone in San Sebastian. The second day he has “coffee and the papers in bed” (241) before going to the beach for a bath. Some critics have read this symbolic immersion in the waters as a moment of recovery after the festival of Pamplona.³¹ However, the end of the novel dismantles any consideration of Jake’s renewal in his Spanish trip. When Jake comes back to the hotel from the beach he receives a telegram from Brett. She is in Madrid and needs his help. Jake decides to go there, but before leaving he writes a telegram “and sign[s] the wire with love. That was it all right” (243). Jake decides to help Brett even though he could leave her in Madrid. He decides to take the train to comfort her. When Jake arrives, he has to deal with the very same problem that he has faced throughout the entire Spanish trip. In his conversation with Brett in the Madrid hotel after leaving the young bullfighter, Jake confronts the fact that he will never be with Brett: “I went to the bed and put my arms around her. She kissed me, and while she kissed me I could feel she was thinking of something else” (245). He is still in love with her and he is still wounded.

At the end of *The Sun Also Rises* the quester is not able to find the cure for the health of the Fisher King. Sitting in a cab, in physical contact with Brett, Jake remains hopelessly in the same situation that he was in Paris before endeavouring to find a remedy for his infirmity: “Brett moved close to me. We sat against each other. I put my arm around her and she rested against me comfortably” (*SAR* 251). In the last scene of the novel, Hemingway leads Jake to confront the outcomes of his quest. Hemingway sets

³¹ Lewis argues that Jake makes almost a ritual of baptism from this symbolic bath in the beach after the disappointing end of the partly pagan fiesta of Pamplona (qtd. in Stoneback 281). Stoneback reads this scene as a secular variation on the theme of baptism to state that “Jake’s swimming serves as a culmination of the novel’s pattern of bathing imagery and as fulfillment of his need for a deep bath” (281). For further commentaries on this scene, see Daiker.

at the end of the narration, organized around events borrowed from the Grail legend, a scene that instructively may be compared to the episode of the Chapel Perilous. As Weston illustrates, once the quester arrives at the Chapel “a voice makes lamentations loud and dire” (Weston 125). Jake has to listen to Brett’s lamentations: “‘Oh, Jake,’ Brett said, ‘we could have had such a damned good time together’” (251). Jake has to deal with Brett’s words as the final statement of his inability to heal his condition: “‘Yes,’ I said. ‘Isn’t it pretty to think so?’” (251). In *The Sun Also Rises* the quester does not find the cure to rejuvenate the health of the Fisher King and undertake the renewal of the land.

In the last stanza of *The Waste Land* Eliot also depicts the Fisher King facing his failed attempt to revert his condition: “Fishing, with the arid plain behind me?/ Shall I at least set my lands in order?” (CPP 50). The king is still ill and he contemplates his decayed country. But Eliot includes the presence of a spiritual figure to reflect on the impossibility for the quester to find the cure to heal the king and remedy the situation of the land: “When I count, there are only you and I together/ But when I look ahead up the white road/ There is always another one walking beside you” (48).³² The quester walks along with a spiritual presence on his way to the Chapel Perilous: “Who is the third who walks always beside you?” (48). Eliot sets a non-physical element in the road toward the key moment in the Chapel Perilous. He relates the success of the quester’s goal to the eventual experience of this spiritual element, but this element is only an illusion.³³ Eliot

³² In the final notes of the poem, Eliot clarifies how “[i]n the first part of Part V three themes are employed: the journey to Emmaus, the approach to the Chapel Perilous [...] and the present decay of eastern Europe” (CPP 53).

³³ “The following lines were stimulated by the account of one of the Antarctic expeditions [...]: it was related that the party of explorers, at the extremity of their

refers to the road to Emmaus and the resurrection appearances of Christ after his crucifixion, but Christ is not in the final steps of the quester's journey: "He who was living is now dead" (47). There is no reviving of the god.

The presence of Christ on the way to the chapel is only a false impression. As Vickery argues, Eliot alludes to Christ and the Christian ritual of crucifixion connected to the episode of the garden of Gethsemane (264-65). Eliot points to this ritual of sacrifice: "After the frosty silence in the gardens/After the agony in stony places/The shouting and the crying/Prison and palace and reverberation" (*CPP* 47). But, at the same time, Eliot underlines its unsuccessful performance: "We who were living are now dying/With a little patience/ Here is no water but only rock" (47). Eliot relates the stony landscape of a country where people are "dying" (47) to the failed attempt at reviving Christ that "now is dead" (47). Eliot deploys a frustrated pattern connected to the ancient rites of dying and reviving god, but as happens in *The Sun Also Rises*, it does not lead to the desired outcome of renewal. The people from the stony country cannot experience the resurrection of Christ.

"What the Thunder Said" presents the failed attempt of the quester to reverse the situation of the land. As soon as he arrives at his destination he has to face how "[t]here is the empty chapel, only the wind's home" (*CPP* 49). The trip of the quester comes to an end. He has to confront the outcomes of his endeavour and he is only left with the hollow sounds of the thunder. Like Jake in the final scene of *The Sun Also Rises*, Eliot's quester has to acknowledge the "voice [that] makes lamentations loud and dire" (Weston 125)

strength, had the constant delusion that there *was one more member* than could be counted" (*CPP* 54).

borrowed from the episode of the Chapel Perilous. These sounds are the final statement of the impossibility for him to achieve the renewal.

The sounds of thunder promise an experience connected to the higher or spiritual source of life. As Eliot clarifies in the notes to the poem, the references to the three “DA” (CPP 49) sounds are related to the fable of the Thunder found in a section of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*. In this passage, God introduces three sets of messages with the syllable DA. Unfortunately these words are useless sounds for the quester as he cannot answer the questions posted by the thunder. Instead, he can only react physically to those sounds: “DA/Datta: what have we given?/My friend, blood shaking my heart” (CPP 49). Those sounds do not have the desired effect on the quester and he cannot achieve restoration and spiritual rebirth (Smith 93).³⁴ In Eliot’s poem the voice in the chapel reminds the quester of his inability to experience this moment “where man is made one with God” (Weston 130). Eliot points to a unifying sense of feeling connected to the spiritual rather than the physical, as also happens in Hemingway’s novel.

Eliot ends *The Waste Land* with an image that underlines the disorder of experience. This image reminds us of the fragmented land he depicts in the first part of the poem. Like Hemingway in *The Sun Also Rises*, Eliot finishes this work with a similar confusion to that depicted in the first sections of the poem. The end of *The Waste Land* shows the Fisher King witnessing a fragmented experience of reality that he has not been able to reverse: “These fragments I have shored against my ruins” (CPP 50). After that, Eliot confronts the disarray of this image with the harmony of “Shantih shantih shantih”

³⁴ In his notes, Eliot relates this line to the chapter on the Fisher King in Weston’s book on the Grail legend (CPP 54).

(50). By using this word in the very last sentence, Eliot reflects on a transcendent perspective that will only be achieved through a spiritual exercise, as he notes when explaining that Shantih means ““The peace which passeth understanding”” (*CPP* 54). This transcendent perspective is—using Bradley’s terms—“the Absolute” or the experience of a feeling that transcends “all differences of incomplete forms of life” (*AR* 213). Eliot aims for this feeling and relates this experience to the reviving of Christ.

According to “What the Thunder Said” the only way of overcoming the situation Eliot confronts in *The Waste Land* is through a spiritual experience. He claims to move beyond the boundaries of the material world to “come into contact with this world of absolute order” (Eliot, *KE* 90). Alternatively, Hemingway ends *The Sun Also Rises* with Jake concerned with a physical experience of reality that he hopes will overcome the disorder of his experience. In their later works, Eliot and Hemingway developed further the conclusions they outline in *The Waste Land* and *The Sun Also Rises*. In the next section I shall analyze how Eliot’s “The Hollow Men” and Hemingway’s *A Farewell to Arms* relate to the distinctive paths they point out in their reflections on a unifying sense of feeling as a way of transcending the disorder of experience.

6. After the empty chapel

In “The Hollow Men” (1925) Eliot reflects on a rotten spiritual condition as he does in *The Waste Land*; but, whereas in the earlier poem Eliot dwelt on the condition of society through the individual figure of the Fisher King, in this poem he looks at a cluster of

individuals: “We are the hollow men/We are the stuffed men/Leaning together” (*CPP* 56). Their experience of reality is meaningless: “Alas! Our dried voices, when/We whisper together/ Are quiet and meaningless” (56).³⁵ Eliot represents the meaningless of that common world of experience while at the same time alluding to the kingdom of God: “*For Thine is the kingdom*” (*CPP* 59).³⁶ Eliot depicts two worlds, the “here” and the “there” (57-58). In the former the “empty men” inhabit “the dead land” and they can only hope “[o]f death’s twilight kingdom” (58). In the latter the men can face the “other Kingdom” (57). Eliot opposes the material world to the world of the divine.

The poet depicts the hollow men “in this valley of dying stars/In this hollow valley” (*CPP* 58); but, at the same time, he points to the “lost kingdoms” where the lost unity of the “Multifoliate rose” may be contemplated beyond the “deliberate disguises” (57) of the material world. As Kwan-Terry explains, in this poem “[p]ersonal experience remains entrapped in immediate actualities and desires, unable to see beyond them, or seeing them unable to authenticate any felt sense of order” (133). In “The Hollow Men” Eliot seeks to lead the individual to the experience of some sort of order or unity. As Bradley explains in *Essays on Truth and Reality* when reflecting on the very same confrontation explored by Eliot in this poem, in the world of objects it is necessary “to understand, to make good ideally our lost unity” (*ETR* 313). When Eliot introduces the image of the rose, he alludes to the experience of this unity; but, in the world of the hollow men “‘pertual start’ and ‘multifoliate rose’ are nothing but images. Whereas some

³⁵ As Williamson notes this part indicates a church service (156). Eliot presents the secular ritual of the service as a meaningless action performed mechanically.

³⁶ For Jain, this line refers to the Lord’s Prayer, taught by Jesus to his disciples. “The three important elements in it are praise, petition, and a yearning for the coming of the kingdom of God” (209).

dare to look to the “last of meeting places” to be the image they contemplate and experience that unity, Eliot depicts modern men as unable to experience the state of consciousness symbolized by ‘the multifoliate rose’: “Head piece filled with straw” (*CPP* 56). Eliot stresses the necessity of making this lost unity an ideal to be experienced amidst desolation. Eliot defends a religious experience related to this ideal order as the only possible escape from the “Shadow” (58) in which the hollow men are trapped in the material world.

Hemingway’s *A Farewell to Arms* shares with Eliot’s “The Hollow Men” the consideration of a rotten world. At the very end of the novel Catherine confesses to Frederic before dying in childbirth: “I’m all broken. They’ve broken me. I know it now” (323), and he has to accept that: “‘Everybody is that way’” (323). While the poet refers to the ideal of the lost kingdom to overcome this situation, Hemingway focuses on the material world. In *A Farewell to Arms* Frederic Henry cannot experience God. As Idema explains, “this novel depicts the horrors of loss and separation, and abandonment, horrors that are intensified by the feeling of God’s absence” (157). Frederic dismisses religion when among the landscapes of destruction originated by war: “I had expected to become devout myself but it has not come” (*FTA* 263). When the priest of the battalion encourages Frederic to love God: “You should love Him” (72), he answers that he doesn’t “love much” (72). The priest disagrees with him: “‘Yes’ he said. ‘You do.’ [...] ‘When you love you wish to do things for. You wish to sacrifice for. You wish to serve’” (72). But Frederic does not have anything to do for. He is a deserter.

Frederic does not believe in anything anymore. Frederic has deserted from the war as a result of his disillusionment with the values he thought he was fighting for. He does

not believe in any ideal represented by an abstract word he cannot experience: “I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice” (*FTA* 184). Frederic engaged in the war thinking of those ideals, but he has heard those words so many times amidst the horrors of the war that they do not mean anything to him: “We had heard them, sometimes standing in the rain almost out of earshot, so that only the shouted words came through, and had read them, on proclamations that were slapped up by billposters over other proclamations, now for a long time” (185). He is tired of fighting for those ideals. These words are only another set of proclamations as “meaningless” as the voices of the hollow men in Eliot’s poem: “Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, and the names of the rivers” (185). Frederic confronts the abstract with the physical. He refuses to live his life according to such an abstract hollow set of ideals.

Once Frederic realizes the meaninglessness of his acts in the war, he renounces it. He is not a hero as he insists: “‘Did you do any heroic act?’ ‘No,’ [...]. ‘I was blown up while we were eating cheese’” (*FTA* 63). Once Frederic loses faith in the thing he fought for, he focuses on his relationship with Catherine: “‘My life used to be full of everything,’ I said. ‘Now if you aren’t with me I haven’t a thing in the world’” (257). As Spanier argues, it is necessary to find meaning “in a world where the traditional structures—morality, religion, patriotism—have proven hollow and empty, even ‘obscene’” (134). Frederic deserts after his awareness of this lack of meaning in his life. His love for Catherine gives sense to it: “‘You’re my religion. You’re all I’ve got’” (*FTA* 116).

Frederic cannot find any value in life apart from his love for Catherine as he recognizes when the Count asks him, “[w]hat do you value most?” (*FTA* 262) and he answers: ““Someone I love”” (262). When she dies, Frederic’s life does not make much sense. He loses everything and his existence lacks any purpose. Apart from her, life is senseless for the main character and Hemingway finishes the novel with Frederic looking directly into the hollowness of a futile experience of reality: ““There is nothing to say”” (332). Even though Frederic values life itself—““[b]ecause it is all I have”” (262)—, once Catherine is gone, he does not know how to live it. Without his love for her, Frederic has no one “to do things for,” no one “to sacrifice for” (72) as the priest of the battalion argues in relation to love for God.

In *A Farewell to Arms* Hemingway is concerned with how to live in the material world, ignoring anything beyond it. “You died. You did not know what it was about. You never had time to learn. They threw you in and told you the rules and the first time they caught you off base they killed you” (327). This reflection at the very end of the novel clearly shows Hemingway’s concern with the regeneration of experience to achieve a reality that is meaningful. As Owens-Murphy notes, Frederic and Catherine live in a world where the traditional sources of meaning are no longer effective and they attempt to forge this situation wherever they can (97). But they focus on the realm of the physical and how to live in the material world.

Frederic is constantly concerned with doing the right thing, first, in the war as a soldier and later in his relationship with Catherine. But when he does not have things to live for, his life lacks meaning. Frederic is interested in how to act in this world, neglecting any consideration beyond it. He relates his behaviour in this world to the

meaning of his existence. But Frederic finishes the novel without finding any ideal according to which to act meaningfully.³⁷ As Rudy states, Hemingway wrote *A Farewell to Arms* to evoke and provoke an experience, not to defend any position (86). This experience points to the necessity of having a code of behaviour to develop a meaningful existence. In his later works Hemingway develop further this feature to focus on moral experiences, as I shall explore in the next chapter.

7. Conclusion

My analysis of Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* concludes in four main points that I consider crucial to an understanding of the interest of these two authors in a "mythical-religious feeling of community" (Cassirer, *PSF* 175). First, Eliot and Hemingway represent a disorder of experience in a distinctive urban world. They consider this situation as a temporary circumstance to be overcome through the pursuit of a "world of absolute order" (Eliot, *KE* 90). Second, this led them to look towards mythical figures in their attempt to reach such order. They use the myth of the Fisher King along with some elements of the ancient myth of the dying and reviving god. In addition, they explore the rites tied to those myths. Third, while Eliot focuses on

³⁷ Some critics have related this code of behaviour to morals in order to understand Frederic's experiences in this novel. Lewis affirms that Hemingway reveals the ambiguity of the important moral questions in this novel (158), Martin suggests that this novel deals with the problems of ethics and moral values under modern conditions (168) and Rudy affirms that morality is more relevant than any theodicy and ideology to capture the sense of the novel (76).

Christian rituals, Hemingway's is on the pagan ritual of bullfighting. The engagement with Christian rituals disposes the poet to move beyond the boundaries of the material world. Alternatively, the writer of fiction remains trapped in the physical level of reality in the aim of a unifying sense of feeling as a way of transcending the disorder of experience. Finally, Eliot points to religious experiences as a mode of overcoming the condition of the inhabitants of the waste land. Alternatively, Hemingway looks at an experience resulting from the individual's behaviour in the material world. In the next chapter, I shall analyze the extent to which the different nature of these experiences conditions Eliot's and Hemingway's approaches towards the social world

Chapter Four

Towards Social Cohesion: Eliot's Religion and Hemingway's Politics

1. Introduction

This chapter's concern is with religious faith and political ideology in the work of Eliot and Hemingway.¹ Whereas the previous chapter examined the extent to which Eliot's and Hemingway's attraction to a unifying sense of feeling led the former to consider religious experiences and the latter to reflect on experiences resulting from the individual's behaviour in the material world, in this chapter I shall focus on how these experiences trigger Eliot's interest in religious feelings and Hemingway's interest in moral feelings. Reber depicts the difficulty of isolating precise usages for the term feeling, but he notes that "[i]n the most general, feeling refers to 'experiencing,' 'sensing' or having a conscious process" (272). In previous chapters I used the term feeling according to Bradley's concept of immediate feeling as the state that transcends the contradictions of

¹ In this chapter the use of the word ideology is based on the *OED*'s entry that defines its meaning as "[a] systematic scheme of ideas, usually relating to politics, economics, or society and forming the basis of action or policy; a set of beliefs governing conduct" (*OED*). I am specifically interested in the analysis of the correlation between the social conduct of Hemingway's characters and the political ideas confronted by the author in his work. To know more about the evolution of the different meanings of the word ideology, see Raymond Williams' *Keywords* 153-55.

the material world. In this chapter I conceptualize this term within Eliot's reflections on religious feelings as a conscious experience in which the individual is in communion with God. Alternatively, I pay attention to the term feeling in relation to Hemingway within the framework of physical experiences that make the individual experience certain feelings that Hemingway qualified as moral. Particularly, Hemingway conditions the experience of these feelings to a physical conduct performed out of a sense of duty. First, I want to explore the nature of these feelings within the framework of the distinctive experiences considered by Eliot and Hemingway. Second, I want to focus on the extent to which these feelings imply the interrelation between the individual and society. Finally, I shall analyze this relationship considering Eliot's religious faith and Hemingway's political ideology and their respective propositions for social cohesion.²

Under the influence of Bradley, Eliot considered that "[f]rom first to last, Reality is experience" (*KE* 165) and he reflected on feelings as the access to this reality. Eliot explains that "[w]e come to interpret our own experience as the attention to a world of objects, as we feel obscurely an identity between the experiences of other centres and our own. And it is this identity which gradually shapes itself into the external world. [...]" Thus in adjusting our behaviour to that of others and in cooperating with them we come to intend an identical world" (*KE* 143). The external world cannot be dissociated from the individual that experiences it. This experience and its intrinsic feelings conform to "this identical world" (Eliot, *KE* 143), collectively developed.

² In the previous chapter I used the word society in its most abstract sense, referring to the conditions in which institutions are formed. In this chapter I reflect on society in relation to a specific "body of institutions and relationships within which [...] a group of people live" (Williams, *Keywords* 291). Particularly, I analyze the correlation between the different institutions Eliot and Hemingway considered to guarantee social cohesion and the distinctive ways of feeling shared by the members of that society.

In *The Idea of a Christian Society* (1939) Eliot engages with this premise about the “identical world” (Eliot, *KE* 143). Eliot affirms that “[i]t is only in a society with a religious basis [...] that you can get the proper harmony and tension, for the individual or for the community” (*ICS* 68). Eliot reflects on the same idea he argued more than twenty years before in relation to Bradley’s theory of experience, but he looks into religion as guarantor of this “identical world” (*KE* 143) that maintains a communal experience of reality. Eliot’s engagement with religious feelings in his later poetry cannot be separated from his theoretical reflections on the experience of reality. For Brooker, “[o]n a purely intellectual level, Bradley’s idealism is a scheme that works, a scheme that in fundamental ways is consistent with the religious scheme Eliot accepted in 1927” (*Mastery* 136).³ In the poetry Eliot wrote after that year, Bradley’s “Absolute” (*AR* 213) is a fundamental element of this “identical world” (*KE* 143) that Eliot conceived as a Christian society. Eliot adopted the Christian God as the ideal that transcends all the contradictions of the material world as Bradley argued in relation to the “Absolute” (213). In his later poetry Eliot engaged with Bradley’s appeal “to make good ideally our lost unity” (*ETR* 313), but he identified this ideal unity with the divine Christ. It is necessary to take it into account to gain an understanding of his later exploration of religious feelings along with his considerations of society. One cannot be understood without the other. To decipher this correlation I will consider Eliot’s concept of “tradition” (*SP* 38) within this context as far as it is also concerned with the assumption of an ideal unity.

³ In 1927 Eliot became a member of the Church of England. For one detailed explanation of this event and its importance in Eliot’s life and work, see Gordon.

Eliot did most of his reflecting on tradition in his essay “Tradition and the Individual Talent” (1919) and in *After Strange Gods* (1934).⁴ In the former, Eliot focuses on developing a definition of a literary tradition. In the latter, along with this matter, he also offers important hints about the correlation between tradition and society. He explains that tradition deals with “what in the past is worth preserving and what should be rejected; and what conditions, within our power to bring about, would foster the society that we desire” (*ASG* 19). In these essays, Eliot frames his analysis of tradition within two key features. First, he argues that tradition cannot be something static, but rather it should be in a dynamic movement from the past to the present. He warns about the danger of “associat[ing] tradition with the immovable” (*ASG* 18). Second, he reflects on tradition as “a way of feeling” (29) intrinsic to a community. As Fabricius elucidates, Eliot argued that “any member of a living civilization is subject to a complicated network of influences that operate on the individual’s mind [...] in accordance to a specific cultural pattern developed by the chain of previous generations” (74). Individual feelings are ways of feeling developed in the past, but still working in the present because, as Eliot argues, “the truth [is] that not our feelings, but the pattern which we may make of those feelings, is the centre of value” (qtd. in Bush 82). The survival of this continuous pattern depends on the maintenance of a tradition executed generation after generation. In his later poetry Eliot focuses on religious feelings as part of a tradition that brings the experience of the divine as the cornerstone of an “identical world” (*KE* 143) that makes the experience of reality meaningful. He “believe[s] that a right tradition for us must be also a Christian tradition” (*ASG* 21) and it is necessary to take this into account to read

⁴ *After Strange Gods: A Primer of Modern Heresy* is a compilation of three conferences that Eliot delivered in Virginia in 1933.

his later poetry, focused on religious feelings, as part of Eliot's reflections on society.

Hemingway also looked at tradition, but he focused on the tradition of bullfighting. After *A Farewell to Arms* Hemingway showed in his work the necessity of finding a new ideal according to which the individual may act in the material world. He found in bullfighting such an ideal. In a letter Hemingway wrote to Edward J. O'Brian, he asks him: "Do you remember me talking one thing...about the necessity for finding some people that by their actual physical conduct gave you a real feeling of admiration [...]? Well I have got a hold of it in bullfighting" (qtd. in Josephs 153). The performance of the bullfighters in the ring offers Hemingway a feeling of admiration that he related to morals in *Death in the Afternoon*:

So far, about morals, I know that what is moral is what you feel good after and what is immoral is what you feel bad after and judged by these moral standards, [...], the bullfight is very moral to me because I feel very fine while it is going on and have the feeling of life and death and mortality and immortality, and after it is over I feel very sad but very fine. (4)

The bullfighter performs in the ring regardless of the outcome for his life. Hemingway finds this behaviour appealing and it makes him experience a feeling that he relates to such behaviour. The real value that Hemingway finds in the tradition of bullfighting rests on the fight executed by the individual in the ring no matter what may happen to his life. Death is not important for the matador. He is only focused on carrying out the physical fight. The bullfighter acts for the sake of the performance itself. The matador's duty is towards this performance, nothing else. The bullfighter has an ideal to act for and Hemingway found this "very moral" (4). Colvert contends that Hemingway attempted to reconstruct a value system on a new principle based on action; he sought to find a new morality in action (376). The tradition of bullfighting gave Hemingway the ideal he was

looking for to act in the material world. He borrowed from this tradition the consideration of an action performed out of a sense of duty as the ideal for his morality. Hemingway related the accomplishment of a duty through physical conduct to the experience of moral feelings. The understanding of these feelings is highly relevant to Hemingway's later reflections on a soldier's performance in war and his duty toward a political ideology.

My intention in this chapter is to demonstrate how Eliot's interest in religious feelings and Hemingway's concern with moral feelings conditioned their respective propositions for social cohesion. In the first section I identify how Eliot focuses on the Christian tradition as mode of guaranteeing a "way of feeling" that he discerns within the feelings experienced by the individual in the pursuit of the ideal order of the divine. I analyze the *Ariel Poems* and *Ash-Wednesday* (1930) along with the play *The Family Reunion* (1939) to reflect on the extent to which individual religious feelings bring about a common way of feeling shared by a community. In section two, I reflect on how Hemingway wrote about the tradition of bullfighting. I analyze "The Capital of the World" and "The Undefeated" to show Hemingway's interest in moral feelings intrinsic to actions performed by the individual out of a sense of duty. In addition, I read *To Have and Have Not* alongside the Kantian concept of "moral action" (Warburton 41) to reflect on Hemingway's concern with a community in which there is no common moral sense of duty apart from self-interest relating to economical survival. In the last section I analyze Hemingway's *The Fifth Column* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, alongside Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*. These works share a concern with the dyad formed by the individual and society, under the conception of an ideal whole that conditions the actions of that individual within society.

2. Eliot, religious feelings and the Christian tradition

Eliot's reflections on "tradition" show a concern with a "way of feeling" (*ASG* 29) that is in constant reference to the past and to the present. This "awareness of the past" (*SP* 39) in the present makes the individual experience merge into a way of feeling that, according to Eliot, should have "a unity of religious background" (*ASG* 18). Therefore, this section focuses on the *Ariel Poems* and *Ash-Wednesday* (1930) along with the play *The Family Reunion* (1939) to analyze the correlation between Eliot's concern with religious feelings and his reflections on tradition.⁵ The study of this relationship will clarify the extent to which Eliot's interest in these feelings cannot be properly understood without taking into account his engagement with the Christian tradition.

After the frustrated attempt at spiritual restoration depicted in *The Waste Land* and "The Hollow Men," Eliot's poetry moves towards the experience of religious feelings. In the previous poems the absence of these feelings was a result of the impossibility of overcoming the disorder of experience of the material world. In these later poems, Eliot engages with experiences beyond these limitations to confront the difficulties involved in such a process. In "Marina" Eliot talks about "[l]iving to live in a world of time beyond me; let me/Resign my life for this life" (73).⁶ In *Ash-Wednesday* Eliot explores the

⁵ The *Ariel Poems* are composed of "Journey of the Magi" (1927), "A Song for Simeon" (1928), "Animula" (1929) and "Marina" (1930). For the publication history of both the *Ariel Poems* and *Ash-Wednesday*, see Southam.

⁶ Many critics have read Eliot's work in relation to Christianity, especially the poems he wrote after 1927. My point of departure is connected to the critics Matthiessen, Moody or Grover Smith. I read the *Ariel Poems* and *Ash-Wednesday* as an introduction to Eliot's exploration of the feelings connected to the love for God. As Moody argues, the lyric force of these poems "arises from the same need to conform love to the Word" (132). I

struggles involved in the renunciation of a material world where “time is always time” and “place is always and only place” (*CPP* 66), but this exploration of self-transcendence or pursuit of an ideal order cannot be dissociated from Eliot’s embracing of the Christian tradition.

In “Tradition” Eliot demands from a poet “a continual surrender of himself as he is at the moment to something which is more valuable. The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality” (*SP* 40). A poet must undertake such a process to reach this something “more valuable” that Eliot identifies with a literary tradition. The need to overcome individual consciousness conforms to the sphere of a tradition, and in this sphere the poet is subsumed under a more important “*whole*” (38). It allows the leap in which that “something [...] more valuable” (*SP* 40) becomes a conscious experience in the individual mind, but also as part of a common experience. Eliot’s concept of tradition—and its constant interaction between past and present—implies an “ideal order” (*SP* 38) in which individual experience is simultaneously part of a collective experience. As Eliot affirms in relation to tradition, “the historical sense compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his

engage this line of argumentation with Eliot’s reflection on “tradition” (*SP* 38). Childs also develops, in broadly similar terms, this correlation; but I make a case for Eliot’s interest in religious feelings as the key element in a distinctive Christian tradition, and the extent to which it requires an elite of members that make it a conscious experience within society. Eliot’s new commitment to Christianity was clear after the publication of *The Waste Land*. He became interested in the salvation of his soul, but he was equally concerned about the fate of a society moving towards secularism (Cooper, *Introduction* 26). This concern and his membership of the Church of England made him aware of the Christian duty to defend his faith. This change of attitude led him to explore not only in his poetry, but especially in his plays, the commitment to communicate the Christian faith. His embracing of the Christian tradition made him write as a practising Christian. For a full account of how this took form in his plays, see Jones.

bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order” (*SP* 38). In the *Ariel Poems* Eliot also suggests the constant interaction between past and present in the aim for an ideal order that is beyond the self. Similarly, Eliot claims for a “surrender” of the personal to reach “something more valuable” (*CPP* 38), but this time, the “ideal order” is the divine intrinsic to the Christian tradition.

The title “Journey of the Magi” refers to the biblical story of the three wise men travelling to meet the newborn Jesus. Eliot depicts a journey towards a new beginning or “Birth” (*CPP* 69). This pilgrimage arrives at an end and the wise men face the fact that “[t]here was a Birth, certainly” (69). However, one of the three men seems not to be sure about how to handle such a realization. “We returned to our places, these kingdoms,/But no longer at ease here, in the old dispensation” (69). As Grover Smith maintains, “[t]he speaker has reached the end of one world, but despite his acceptance of the revelation as valid, he cannot gaze into a world beyond his own” (124). The poem claims for the restoration of Christianity, symbolized in the poem as a new birth, but Eliot also alludes to the difficulties of the journey within a landscapes of “cities hostile and the towns unfriendly/[...]/A hard time we had of it” (*CPP* 68). The poem emphasizes how it was “[j]ust the worst time of the year/For a journey, and such a long journey” (68). In the first of the *Ariel Poems* Eliot reflects on the Christian tradition as a continuous process in which the necessary correlation between past and present results from the pursuit of the “ideal order” (*SP* 38) symbolized in the divine Christ. The wise men represent the continuous pilgrimage towards such an ideal, but this journey is a collective experience,

as Eliot points out in “A Song for Simeon.”

In the second of *The Ariel Poems* Eliot refers to the maintenance of Christianity as a communal task that should be undertaken from generation to generation. Eliot notes that “according” to Christ’s word “[t]hey shall praise Thee and suffer in every generation” (*CPP* 70), but Simenon remains excluded from this task even though he is aware of it. He decides that “not for me the martyrdom, the ecstasy of thought and prayer” (70). As Kwan-Terry states, “Simenon does not connect with the congregation of believers” (133). Eliot uses Simenon to stress the struggles involved in such an enterprise. The suffering is intrinsic to the conquering of the divine, as Eliot underlines in “Animula” when he refers to “[t]he pain of living” (*CPP* 71). The characters in this poem are distressed because they are only concerned with “power” and “fortune” (71). They are exclusively focused on the mundane. Eliot suggests that they need to move beyond this situation to rejoin in the journey towards the new “birth” (71). They need to abandon “the drug of dreams” (71). They should engage in this pilgrimage in order to leave the “Shadow of its own shadows” (71). Eliot ends the poem by pointing to Christ who will “[p]ray for us now and at the hour of our birth” (71). According to the poem Christ is the only possibility to enable us to leave such a scene of agony. The divine is at the core of the experience of reality explored in these poems, but not all the characters are aware of it to the same extent. These poems conform to Eliot’s reflection on the renewal of the Christian tradition and the need to make it a conscious experience for the whole community, as he claimed in *Ash-Wednesday*.

In *After Strange Gods* Eliot writes that “a *tradition* is rather a way of feeling and acting which characterizes a group throughout generations; and that it must largely be, or

that many of the elements in it must be, unconscious” (29). In “The Function of Criticism” (1923) Eliot affirms that “[b]etween the true artists of any time there is [...] an unconscious community,” but he also points out that with “a conscious attempt” this community can be brought about consciously (*SP* 68-69). Eliot suggests that to a certain extent tradition remains at an unconscious level, but eventually it is necessary to make it a conscious experience. In *Ash-Wednesday* Eliot undertakes a conscious attempt to experience religious feelings buried in the unconscious of a community. He aims to “[make] this unknowing half conscious, unknown, my own” (*CPP* 72). As he wrote in “The Social Function of Poetry” (1943), “[t]he trouble of the modern age is not merely the inability to believe certain things about God and man which our forefathers believed, but the inability to *feel* towards God and man as they did” (qtd. in Smidt 173). In *Ash-Wednesday* Eliot strives for a conscious experience of religious feelings towards God, but within the framework of the Christian tradition.

In a letter written in 1930—the same year of the publication of *Ash-Wednesday*—Eliot offers to his confessor an explanation of the aims he pursues in this poem. These lines accurately clarify the sort of feelings the poet was working with at that time:

Between the usual subjects of poetry and ‘devotional’ verse there is a very important field still very unexplored by modern poets—the experience of a man in search of God, and trying to explain to himself his intenser human feelings in terms of the divine goal. I have tried to do something of that in ‘Ash-Wednesday.’ (qtd. in Bush 131)

In this attempt to clarify the value of the poem, Eliot underlines how the search for the divine simultaneously encloses individual feeling and God: “Because I cannot hope to turn again/Consequently I rejoice, having to construct something/Upon which to rejoice/And pray to God to have mercy upon us” (*CPP* 60-61). The nature of the feelings

that Eliot explores is an intense experience that emerges in “the time of tension between dying and birth” (66). God is the goal of the individual love that goes beyond the boundaries of the experience of the self. Only in the pursuit of those feelings can the self be in connection with something that is beyond the limitation of his own individual experience. The religious feelings explored by Eliot in *Ash-Wednesday* imply the transcendence of the individual consciousness to the same extent that the pursuit of the ideal order of tradition leads the individual towards something more valuable that is beyond himself. In addition, Eliot equates the aim of this ideal order with the experience of religious feelings, but always as part of a collective experience shared by the group: “Our peace in his Will” (*CPP* 67). Eliot’s reflections on religious feelings as the means by which the spiritual condition of society can be restored are inseparable from his understanding of tradition as the guarantor of a distinctive way of feeling.

The very title of *Ash-Wednesday* converges the Christian tradition with the religious feelings he was interested in. It refers to a period in which a whole body of people enacts in a religious observance to experience the awakening of these “intenser feelings” resulting from “the search of God” (qtd. in Bush 131). Ash Wednesday is the first day of Lent in which the Christian community repents their sins to be prepared for the resurrection of Christ. Eliot symbolizes in this poem the time of “waver[ing] between the profit and the loss” (*CPP* 66) to reflect deeply on this collusion. He “rejoice[s] that things are as they are” and he “renounce[s] the blessed face” (60); but he also hopes to learn “not to mock ourselves with falsehood” (67). Eliot attempts to make conscious this sense of the divine that should be rediscovered during Lent amongst the temptations of the material world.

Eliot succeeds to the extent to which he neglects “the man’s scope” (*CPP* 60) and decides to “pray to God” (61), but some of the members of the community fail because they do not engage with these religious feelings. For them the “Word is unspoken, unheard” (64). As Matthiessen argues, in the closing of the poem the individual “is momentarily forgetful of the penance of humility appointed for Ash Wednesday; for he has been lured back to the human realm of desire” (*Achievement* 64). *Ash-Wednesday* engages with the struggles involved in the experience of the divine, but it also underlines the extent to which the experience of this process will “[t]each us to care and not to care” and “come unto Thee” (67). Eliot pays attention to the process of awakening the experience of religious feelings that remained buried in the unconscious of the community exclusively concerned with the experience of the mundane. Eliot points to the necessity of making conscious the religious feelings experienced by a man in search of God, but as part of the whole body of a community.

In *The Family Reunion* (1939) Eliot deals again with the clash between the love of God and the unawareness of the divine. In addition, he explores Harry’s attempt to make conscious the divine love to his oblivious family. In a meeting at the family house, Eliot juxtaposes the members of the family who remain blind to anything beyond the material world with Harry’s awareness of a world beyond it. Eliot reflects on the extent to which the members of this family “have lost [...] [their] way in the dark” (*CPP* 291), and on how far Harry fails in his effort to revert the situation.

The matriarchal Amy defends the tradition of the physical or worldly place of Wishwood as the ideal that gives meaning to reality:

I do not want the clock to stop in the dark.
If you want to know why I never leave Wishwood

That is the reason. I keep Wishwood alive
To keep the family alive, to keep them together,
To keep me alive, and I live to keep them. (*CPP* 227)

She identifies the tradition of the family with the maintenance of the house and she focuses on it as the only mode of keeping the family together. Alternatively, her son Harry looks beyond these limits to heal the problematic condition of the family and his personal guilt for the death of his wife.⁷ They seem to be under what Harry calls “[t]he shadow of something behind our meager childhood” (273). As Agatha claims, the story of the family is about “sin and expiation” (275), and Eliot explores two different modes to reach the expiation of the sins intrinsic to the family. Amy expects to strengthen the family’s worldly domain as a mode of expiation, but her son aims for a spiritual reunification of all the members of the family (Carol H. Smith 121). Harry has “[t]hat apprehension deeper than all sense,/[...]From another world. I know it, I know it!” (*CPP* 252). He aims to move beyond the world of his family “[t]o whom nothing has happened, at most a continual impact/Of external events” (234). Harry equates the mundane world of the family house with the unimportant and he reproaches them: “[w]hat [...] [they] call the normal/Is merely the unreal” (235). He recognizes that he “was like that in a way”, but he “has just recovered sanity” (236).

Harry leaves the “very restricted area” (291) of the family house. He is ready to look beyond such a limited world to pursue the divine as a mode of achieving “expiation” (275). In this play Eliot portrays “the plight of the individual who perceives the order of God but, forced to exist in the natural world, must somehow come to terms with both

⁷ For an interpretation of the play in relation to the possible analogy between Harry’s guilt, his father’s sin and original sin, see Smith.

realms” (Carol H. Smith 31). Harry is aware of the separation between the world of the family house and the divine. He has experienced feelings intrinsic to the contemplation of such a chasm: “I felt, at first, that sense of separation,/Of isolation unredeemable, irrevocable—/It’s eternal, or gives a knowledge of eternity,/Because it feels eternal” (*CPP* 272). For Brooks, “[t]he experience of the abyss does, as Harry has said, give ‘a knowledge of eternity’” (89). In the play he is the only one who has a conscious experience of the eternal and he seeks to make his family part of this experience.

Harry is the consciousness of his family; as Amy states, “you are the consciousness of your unhappy family,/Its bird sent flying through the purgation flame./ Indeed it is possible, You may learn hereafter,/ [...] /To resolve the enchantment under which we suffer” (*CPP* 275). Maybe it is possible to reverse this situation, but Harry’s voice is unheard and the family remains alien to such a possibility. Harry claims that “the ways of divine love take precedence over the ways of human love” (Carol H. Smith 130). Harry renounces his love for Mary and he abandons the family house. Harry finally crosses “the frontier/Beyond which safety and danger have a different meaning./And he cannot return. That is his privilege” (*CPP* 284). Harry’s departure implies the rejection of a tradition based on the mundane world of the family house. He tries to make the other members of the family part of this “privilege” (284) beyond the limitations of the actual life of the house, but he fails.

The Family Reunion depicts an attempt to revive the ideal order of the divine buried in the unconscious of Harry’s family. As Cooper affirms, “Harry [...] is one of those supreme temperaments through which the divine makes itself known in the world” (*Ideology* 93), but this time Harry cannot make it a conscious experience for the others.

Eliot finishes the play hoping that they will rejoin in “the pilgrimage /Of expiation” so “[m]ay they rest in peace” (*CPP* 293). The end of this play aims for a future where the divine will be rescued from the unconscious of this symbolic community that remained attached to the tradition of Wishwood. In other works, Eliot explored further this idea pointed out in *The Family Reunion* about a privileged member of the community trying to make “come to consciousness” (*CPP* 275) this “knowledge of eternity” that “feels eternal” (272). In addition, he explored the extent to which distinctive social structures should guarantee the success of such an enterprise, as I shall analyze in the fourth section in relation to the play *Murder in the Cathedral* and the character of Becket.

3. Hemingway, tradition and moral feelings

Eliot and Hemingway deal with different traditions. While Eliot focused on the Christian tradition to reflect on religious feelings, Hemingway looked at the tradition of bullfighting. In the previous chapter I reflected on bullfighting as a pagan ritual, related by Hemingway to communal feelings that transcend the disorder of experience (see pp. 150-56). I explained how Hemingway analyzed this ritual as a mode of experiencing unity of feeling, or a “world of absolute order” (Eliot, *KE* 90) beyond all the contradictions and disorder of experience. In this section, I pay attention to the tradition of bullfighting to clarify Hemingway’s considerations of this feeling as “moral” (*DIA* 4). I also analyze the extent to which Hemingway conditioned the experience of these feelings to the execution of the matador within the parameters of the bullfighting

tradition. Like Eliot, Hemingway considered tradition as something dynamic that constantly refers to the past and to the present. He also identified in this tradition a distinctive way of feeling that he qualified as “moral” (*DIA* 4). Therefore, this section analyzes the short stories “The Capital of the World” and “The Undefeated” to decipher Hemingway’s pondering of “bullfighting” within the framework of morality. To do so, I shall consider Kant’s concern with “moral value” (Audi 403), and his reflections on acting for “the fulfillment of duty” (403), to clarify Hemingway’s consideration of the matador’s sense of duty towards bullfighting. In addition, I shall analyze *To Have and Have Not* to reflect on the extent to which Hemingway depicts in this novel a society lacking any common moral sense.

In “The Capital of the World” Hemingway presents a poor young man named Paco who works in the cheap hotel Luarca. “There were from eight to a dozen other people who lived at the Luarca and ate in the dining room, but for Paco [...] the only ones who really existed were the bullfighters” (*CSS* 29). Paco admires them even though they are only “second-rate matadors” (29) who really struggle to survive as bullfighters. Paco is charmed by their way of acting. Wolff underlines that a matador always acts according to his profession because “being a bullfighter is above your own being” (my translation, 147). The matador behaves out of a sense of duty towards this profession and the tradition it represents.⁸ Paco appreciates this value and he aims to be a bullfighter, but he only understands this endeavour to a certain extent.

⁸ See Wolff 147-49.

In his remarks about Antonio Ordóñez, the matador in *The Dangerous Summer* (1985), Hemingway offers an insightful account of the elements he values most in a bullfighter:

The first time I saw Antonio Ordóñez I saw that he could make all the classic passes without faking, that he knew bulls, that he could kill well if he wished to, and that he was a genius with the cape. I could see he had the three great requisites for a matador: courage, skill in his profession and grace in the presence of the danger of death.⁹ (18)

Hemingway identifies in this matador the three great requisites for classical bullfighting. Antonio Ordóñez is not afraid of fighting “within hooking range of the horn” (18) because he is not afraid of “the danger of death” (18). In this account Hemingway names first the courage and then the dominance of the technique, but the former is useless without the latter. Only the achievement of a “technical perfection” (17) will offer the matador grace in the “presence of death” (18). According to Hemingway, Antonio Ordóñez enjoys these three key qualities. In “The Capital of the World” Hemingway reflects on them to frame Paco’s actions in the mock bullfighting in the dining room of the pension.

Paco has courage. In the cheap hotel Paco confronts his fears, just as a matador does in a real bullring. “No, he would not be afraid. Others, yes. Not he. He knew he would not be afraid. Even if he ever was afraid he knew that he could do it anyway” (35). Paco is aware that courage is the main characteristic of a bullfighter and, in the mock bullfight at the Luarca, he acts according to this requisite intrinsic to a real matador. He

⁹ *The Dangerous Summer* is a posthumous work about the rivalry in the rings between the two Spanish bullfighters, Antonio Ordóñez and Luis Miguel Dominguín, over the summer of 1959. This work “started out as a commission for *Life* magazine” (*TDS* 9). It was published almost twenty five years after Hemingway finished it and it was edited from a seventy five thousand words manuscript (9).

constantly repeats that he is not afraid of death. Even when the other waiter holds a chair with two knives knotted to the legs of a chair to perform as a bull, Paso repeats to himself: “I’m not afraid” (CSS 35). He is careless of the danger of death and his performance conforms to the first of “the three great requisites for a matador” (Hemingway, *DS* 18). He has the first one, but Hemingway also examines the second requisite to reflect on the importance of technical skills to a bullfighter.

Even though it is an imaginary fight, Paco focuses on mastering the technique and craft of the matador in front of a visualized animal. “Standing slim and straight he made four more perfect passes, smooth, elegant and graceful” (CSS 34). Paco understands the importance of the execution and he mimics the gestures and the movements to the best of his ability. “He had done it too many times in his imagination” (25). The movements are easy with “an imaginary bull” (34) and then the other waiter, Enrique, challenges him: ““The knives are the horns. If you make those passes then they mean something”” (35). Paco accepts the challenge because he has courage. He is eager to show that he can be a bullfighter:

Running with head down Enrique came toward him and Paco swung the apron just ahead of the knife blade as it passed close in front of his belly and as it went by it was, to him, the real horn [...]. Then the [imaginary] bull turned and came again and, as he watched the onrushing point, he stepped his left foot two inches too far forward and the knife did not pass. (36-37)

The imaginary bullfight turns into a fatal outcome due to Paco’s lack of skill. He does not enjoy the second requisite of a real matador. In “The Capital of the World” Paco engages with bullfighting to the extent to which he acts courageously when he is in front of the other waiter with the knives, but his lack of technique makes this courage worthless.

Mitchell notes that “bullfighting can best be understood as an unusually dynamic variety of folk craft [...]. It constitutes a traditional body of knowledge and practices transmitted orally through something like an apprentice system” (396). Hemingway always remarked on the importance of this knowledge to advocate bullfighting as a tradition that is in constant progression from the past to the present. When he affirms in *The Dangerous Summer* that “[w]atching Antonio with the bull I saw that he had everything his father had in his great days. [...]. [But] Antonio was very much better” (17), Hemingway compares a performance from the present under the standards of the past, at the same time that he suggests an improvement in the present in relation to the past. Hemingway analyzes—as Eliot said about tradition—“the good New growing naturally out of the good Old” (*TCC* 184). Hemingway considers bullfighting as “a living tradition” (184) and he points out that the maintenance of this tradition depends on the performance of an action within certain technical parameters. As McCormick argues, Eliot wrote that “[tradition] cannot be inherent, and if you want it you must obtain it by great labour.’ The same must be said of the torero. His craft and art is in the strictest sense traditional, [...]; to master that tradition requires a great labor” (McCormick 67-68). Antonio Ordóñez is part of the tradition that he learnt from his father and he masters it through his performances in the ring.

The main character of “The Capital of the World” is only a waiter with “no father” (*CSS* 29) who did not have the chance to undertake the necessary apprenticeship to master the skills required of a matador. He has not done the required labour to be part of the tradition of bullfighting. His lack of technique deprives him of access to this tradition. As Hoffman notes, the pivotal moment of this story can be viewed as a

poignant example of what the tradition of bullfighting assuredly is not (99). Paco has courage, but he does not have the body of knowledge to perform according to the tradition of bullfighting. Hemingway underlines in this story the extent to which it is necessary to have both “courage” and “skill in his profession” to reach “grace in the presence of the danger of death” (Hemingway, *DS* 18). According to Hemingway, only the confluence of courage and skills in a bullfighter makes his performance in the ring “very moral” (*DIA* 4). Paco does not enjoy that grace.

When Paco is wounded in the fake bullfighting, he tries to behave courageously like a matador in the ring. He asks for a “rubber cup” because “[h]e has seen that used in the ring” (*CSS* 37). He tries to keep calm. “‘Don’t worry,’ said Paco, his voice sounding far away. ‘But bring the doctor’” (37). He attempts to act like a matador, but he is not. “He was frightened and he felt faint and he tried to say an act of contrition” (37). There is no “grace” in the presence of “death” (*DS* 17) in this story. There is just compassion in Paco’s death because, as Hemingway underlines at the very end of the story, “[h]e died [...] full of illusions. He had not time in his life to lose any of them” (*CSS* 38). Alternatively, in his recall of Ordóñez’s gore in *The Dangerous Summer*, Hemingway focuses on this grace intrinsic to a real matador. “Everyone saw the gravity of the horn wound and his brother, his manager and his sword handler grabbed him and tried to hold him [...]. Antonio shook them all off [...]. He went out to the bull bleeding heavily [...]. [H]e was going to kill this bull” (60). In these lines, Hemingway engages with what he called in *Death in the Afternoon* the “feeling of life and death and mortality and immortality” (4) that he qualified as “moral” (4). This feeling only takes places while a bullfighter acts with “grace in the presence of the danger of death” (*DS* 17). As Wolff

remarks, “the supreme excellence for a bullfighter is making what he has to make. He must execute his mission. He is a matador regardless of what happens” (my translation, 122). Hemingway found the execution of this mission “very moral” (*DIA* 4). Only a performance that includes a sense of duty towards the profession of bullfighter makes bullfighting moral.

Hemingway’s estimation of bullfighting as moral can be constructively considered in relation to Kant’s question of “[w]hat is a moral action?” (Warburton 41). For Kant the only acceptable motive for moral action was a sense of duty.¹⁰ “The Capital of the World” engages with Kant’s question. This story shows a character that does not understand this sense of duty. Paco dies because he was charmed by the “appearance of respectability” and “decorum” of the “second-rate matadors” at the Luarda (Hemingway, *CSS* 29-30), not because he wanted to execute his mission regardless of the consequences. Paco does not have the sense of duty towards bullfighting and, therefore, his actions lack moral value. Paco’s performance does not lead to the moral feeling that Hemingway identified in a real matador executing his duty, only to feelings of pity due to a meaningless death.

The moral value of the action of a matador depends on his performance out of a sense of duty towards the tradition of bullfighting regardless of what happens. The ideal of this tradition is the execution of a duty through the actions in the ring. As Robert N. Johnson explains, according to Kant, those actions “possessing moral worth deserve esteem; [...]. Perhaps, then, for an action to have moral worth is just for it to be worthy—in the sense of deserving—of an attitude such as esteem” (39). Hemingway does not

¹⁰ See Warburton 42.

show any attitude of esteem towards Paco's behaviour at the pension Luarca. He only points out disappointment. Hemingway emphasizes Paco's inability to be part of the tradition that would make his engagement with bullfighting worthwhile. In this story Hemingway does not reflect on the way of feeling intrinsic to bullfighting, but on the impossibility of experiencing it without deeply understanding the moral value of its traditions. As Hoffman states, "[t]he pension becomes the place where tradition breaks down and inevitably collapses" (95). Paco does not understand the ideal value intrinsic to this tradition. Similarly, in "The Undefeated," Hemingway looks again into the breakdown of bullfighting, but here he goes deeper into the reasons of this collapse.

In *The Dangerous Summer* Hemingway showed his concern about the decline of bullfighting. "After the last corrida at Zaragoza I was disgusted and decided I was through with the bulls for a while. I knew Antonio could deal with any bulls and could be one of the greatest matadors of all time and I did not want his place in history to be denied him or to be fouled up by the manoeuvres that were going on" (25). As Mandel notes in relation to Hemingway's reflections on these manoeuvres, Hemingway reacted "against the new (dishonest) bullfighters, their new (corrupt) styles, the new (dictatorial) type of management, and the ignorant and passive audiences that permitted all of this" (235). In "The Undefeated" Hemingway mingles an old matador, his corrupted manager and the public of Madrid to examine the elements that, according to Hemingway, were destroying the tradition of bullfighting.

The veteran bullfighter Manuel Garcia leaves the hospital after being seriously gored. He pays a visit to his manager Renata. The agent encourages him to quit: "Why don't you get a job and go to work" (CSS 184). Bullfighting though is all Manuel has:

“‘I don’t want to work,’ Manuel said. ‘I am a bullfighter’” (184). Finally, Manuel gets a shameful offer. He will perform in a nocturnal bullfight to kill “[w]hatever stuff they’ve got in the corrals. What the veterinaries won’t pass in the daytime” (185). The manager Renata is only concerned about the economic profit. Manuel respects bullfighting, but he is under the command of Renata and he will fight under his purely economic dictates. As Curtis states, for Hemingway this “commercialism is a cancer that even threatens the purity of bullfighting” (63). Manuel respects the purity of this tradition, but his only chance of being again part of it is accepting Renata’s rules. “‘I got to do it. [...]. I got to stick to do it’” (CSS 189) the old matador insists. However, by sticking to it, he betrays bullfighting. He takes part in the commercialism that is killing the tradition he belongs to.

Manuel asks his old friend Zurito to help him as a picador. He is reluctant. Zurito shares with Manuel the duty towards the tradition of bullfighting, but he realizes that Manuel cannot execute it properly anymore. “‘You’re too old’” (CSS 189), Zurito insists. Finally he affirms, “‘I’ll pic for you and if you don’t go big tomorrow night, you’ll quit. See? Will you do that?’” (189). He hopes that Manuel will fail and he will “cut his coleta” (190).¹¹ Zurito realizes that Manuel is trying in despair to fight again and he is aware that this attitude situates him within Renata’s careless consideration of bullfighting. It will make Manuel a dishonest bullfighter. He will be forced to trick the audience at the nocturnal fight.

In *Death in the Afternoon* Hemingway underlines the extent to which the survival of bullfighting depends on the public because “any *suerte* [...] will surely die out in

¹¹ The coleta is the symbol that says that somebody is a bullfighter, while the cutting of the pigtail means that he is not a matador anymore.

bullfighting unless the public demands that fighters perform it” (193).¹² In “The Undefeated” Manuel follows the public’s demands. He fights after a comical performance that mocks a real bullfight, but when Manuel’s turn arrives the public behaves as they did in the “burlesque” (190). They are not interested in “classic passes” that are “extremely dangerous” (*DS* 18), only in being entertained as they were by “the Charlie Chaplins” (*CSS* 190). Renata gives the public “[a]ll they want” (184) to make an economic profit. The public is only preoccupied with having fun, as with the “Chaplins” when there was “applause, prolonged applause, going on and on” (190). Manuel has no other alternative than giving the public what they ask for.

In his analysis of the evolution of bullfighting Hemingway warns that “many trick passes have been invented in which the man really passes the bull instead of having the bull pass him, or takes advantage of his passage, saluting him, in effect, as he passes rather than controlling and directing the moves of the bull. [...] [T]he public loves these tricks” (*DS* 18). In the nocturnal fight Manuel performs these tricks. “Out in the center of the ring, under the lights, Manuel was kneeling, facing the bull, and as he raised the *muleta* in both hands the bull charged, tail up” (*CSS* 200). Manuel gets “the applause from the dark plaza” (200) and carries on with his performance. Manuel’s movements deceive everybody but Zurito. When one of Renata’s men affirms ““that’s a great bull-fighter”” (200), Zurito affirms, ““[n]o, he’s not”” (200). The picador is fully aware that Manuel is not executing his duty. He is only covering his weaknesses in front of the bull. Manuel’s performance turns into a pitiful spectacle and he is eventually wounded.

¹² The word *suerte* refers to “any *lance* or *pase* or other action to the bull in the ring” (McCormick 24).

In this story Hemingway outlines how the tradition of bullfighting has degenerated into pure entertainment. He points out the extent to which the moral value of bullfighting becomes neglected under the demands of the public and the management that follows these dictates to obtain financial gain. Only Zurito realizes that Manuel also becomes part of this lack of respect for tradition. Brooks affirms that “[t]he old bull-fighter [...] is finally defeated, but only in his own terms” (8). Yes, but these terms respond to Manuel’s self-interest, not to the terms of the tradition of bullfighting. Zurito understands that Manuel prefers living as a matador and dying in the ring than cutting his pigtail, but he does not respect that. Zurito is the only one in this story who realizes that Manuel did not execute his mission as a matador. He does not offer the public the experience that Hemingway qualified as “moral” (*DIA* 4) because he follows the desires of the crowd. The public no longer values “the feeling of life and death” (4) that a real performance should offer. As Conklin explains in his analysis of the final moment of the killing of the bull, “[h]ere is the mind and emotion of the revolutionist capable of transforming the collective [...], he discovers meaning in the fight and that intense passion becomes generalized for the spectators” (166). In “The Undefeated” Hemingway reflects on the extent to which the tradition of bullfighting no longer offers this meaning intrinsic to the fight. There is no moral value in Manuel’s performance. The public does not share the ideal of acting out of sense of duty. They are not aware of the extent to which this ideal makes an action worth of moral value, as Kant argued in relation to the principle of acting from duty.¹³ There is no common sense of morality amongst the public of the ring.

¹³ For Johnson, “[i]t is only when the action is based on a choice whose principle gives

Hemingway not only considered moral feelings in relation to bullfighting and its tradition, but he also applied his concerns to society as a whole. In *To Have and Have Not* Hemingway reflects further on the lack of a common sense of morality within the community. He presents a character focused exclusively on his own survival. Harry Morgan's motivation throughout the whole novel is based on his need to sustain himself and his family: "Where's the money coming from to keep Marie and the girls?" (146). This is his duty, as he states when he claims, "[t]he hell with their revolutions. All I got to do is make a living for my family and I can't do that. Then he tells me about his revolution. The hell with his revolution" (168). Morgan does not care about any ideology. He does not believe in anything else than his family. He does not identify himself with anybody's interest. As Frederking affirms, "[h]e does not reach out for others' wisdom to determine action and there is little coordination of action. [...] Morgan does not rely on camaraderie, solidarity, or advice for guidance" (180). Morgan's lack of common interest leads him to be concerned exclusively with his own destiny and therefore ignore any common value.

Morgan puts his life at risk to perform his duty, but events systematically deny him any hope of achieving it. He struggles against people more powerful than he. As Knott explains, "[Harry] puts all politicians and rich tourists into one category, labeling them as threats to his existence" (80). They have more money and power than him and this makes his fight useless. This story divides society into those who have money and

that choice unqualified value that the action expresses an unqualifiedly good will and so has moral worth. The motive 'It is my duty' is just a stand-in for this principle, and its value is quite different from self-interest and the rest of those motivations" (42-43). In this story, Manuel acts for self-interest and therefore his actions lack any moral value.

power and those who have not. As Frederking notes, in *To Have and Have Not* “[l]ife becomes a game to negotiate individuals’ livelihoods with strategies for domination over others” (174-75). This is the only code in the society Hemingway represents in this story. As Harry insightfully states when he is involved in one of his dirty businesses, “[t]hey don’t give you any choice now. I can let it go; but what will the next thing be? I didn’t ask for any of this and if you’ve got to do it you’ve got to do it” (*HHN* 105). Harry has no chance of succeeding in this situation.

To Have and Have Not reflects on the absence of any common moral sense. The characters act out of a sense of duty towards themselves, never towards a common sense of benevolence. This makes life unbearable for the weakest. For Knott, this novel does not “provide a simple or idealized moral center from which to judge his central characters” (85). There is no moral centre in the society depicted in this novel. According to Kant, “[t]he *only* specially moral incentive that can motivate us to act dutifully [...] is the reverence or respect we unavoidable feel for the moral law” (Sullivan 139). Hemingway points out that the lack of the ideal of a moral law results in a society where fighting for individual survival is the only option.

At the end of the novel, Harry faces the failure of his struggle to offer his family a decent life. He realizes the uselessness of an individual fight against those who stole from him the possibility of giving prosperity to his family:

‘A man,’ Harry Morgan said, looking at them both. ‘One man alone ain’t got. No man alone now.’ He stopped. ‘No matter how a man alone ain’t got no bloody fucking chance.’

He shut his eyes. It had taken him a long time to get it out and it had taken him all his life to learn it. (*HHN* 225)

At the beginning of the story Harry rejects any common value beyond his own survival. These words at the end of the story alternatively point to the necessity of gathering forces. The end of *To Have and Have Not* outlines Hemingway's later reflections in *The Fifth Column* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* on the necessity of a common duty within the frame of a political ideology to achieve a common moral law that may revert the situation of injustice he presents in this novel.

4. Distinctive propositions for social cohesion

Eliot focused on religious feelings resulting from the pursuit of the ideal of the divine intrinsic to the Christian tradition. Hemingway reflected on moral feelings related to the tradition of bullfighting and the ideal of acting out of a sense of duty towards this tradition. These two authors pointed out the extent to which the experience of these feelings requires a correlation between individual and society. This led them towards reflections on a social unity in which the ideals of the self and of society become one. Eliot and Hemingway considered in their writings distinctive modes of reinforcing this correlation. Eliot praised the Christian faith: "Lord, shall we not bring these gifts to Your service?/ Shall we not bring to Your service all our powers/ For life, for dignity, grace and order," (*CPP* 111) whereas Hemingway turned to political ideology to propose a common duty towards society where "all [are] working for the same cause" (*FC* 7). Therefore, in this section I shall consider Eliot's and Hemingway's distinctive propositions for social cohesion along with F.H. Bradley's reflections about an ideal

unity or “oneness” (ES 342) in *Ethical Studies* (1876). Bradley intended to unify the particular, or personal side, with the universal, or social side, to form a whole. I consider that Eliot and Hemingway explored in their respective works a similar sort of ideal unity to Bradley’s in *Ethical Studies*.¹⁴

Bradley affirmed that “[t]o know what a man is [...] you must not take him in isolation. He is one of a people [...]. An individual man is what he is because of and by virtue of community” (ES 173-74). Bradley relates the achievement of this unity to an ideal moral value that, as he explains, “has two dialectical sides, the outer side of social institutions and the inner side of personal morality” (Nicholson 23). The inner struggle of the individual and his actions are in direct connection with the social structures he aims to construct. The personal side cannot be considered without taking into account the outer in the development of a coherent and complete social system. Eliot and Hemingway pursued such unity and they considered not only the inner side of this ideal, but also the outer side in their shared aim of a cohesive system that may condense both. Bradley noted that “[i]ndividual and community are equally real because interdependently real, the particular and the universal sides of a single whole, each presupposing the reality of the other” (Nicholson 28). Eliot and Hemingway tried to unify the two sides of the whole by deploying distinctive ideals in which the experience of the individual conforms to social cohesion, but they worked with opposed values in terms of ideals.

In a paper addressed by Eliot to an Anglo-Catholic conference in 1933, the poet stated that ‘a Christian world-order, *the* Christian world-order, is ultimately the only one

¹⁴ See Nicholson 45. My understanding of F.H. Bradley’s *Ethical Studies* owes a great deal to the analysis by Nicholson. When I use some of his clarifications in relation to Bradley’s theories in this chapter I acknowledge that use.

which, from any point of view, will work” (*EAM* 114). Despite the assertion of that Christian social order, he underlined that “[w]e do not [...] deny that society is very deeply affected morally and spiritually by material conditions” (134).¹⁵ The individual lives in the material world and he needs to deal with the actions performed in society. Eliot considered that these actions should be subsumed under a Christian point of view because “the real issue of our time” is between “the secularist—whatever political or moral philosophy they support—and the antiseccularist: between those who believe only in values realizable in time and on earth, and those who believe also in values realized only out of time” (qtd. in Douglas 57-58). In these words, Eliot looks at the two different points of view that Eliot’s *Murder in the Cathedral* and Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls* represent. Eliot and Hemingway explore a social order where the ideal of the individual and that of the community become one; but, whereas the former focuses on “values realized only out of time” to succeed in such an enterprise, the latter is concerned exclusively with values achievable in the material world.

In his reflections on an ideal moral value in *Ethical Studies*, Bradley makes an apparently contradictory statement. He presents to the individual the possibility of realizing himself by performing the duties that he has as a member of society, but always considering an ideal value beyond himself:

The basis and foundation of the ideal self is the self which is true to my station and its duties. [...] The good in my station and its duties was visibly realized in the world, and it was mostly possible to act up to that real ideal; but this good beyond is only an ideal; for it is not wholly realized in the world we see, and, do what we may, we can not find it realized in ourselves. (220)

¹⁵ This paper was published three years later in *Essays Ancient and Modern* (1936); see Kojecky 126.

According to Bradley, the ideal good is beyond the boundaries of the individual, but this ideal value is still at the core of the duties that the individual should perform in his station. Bradley contends that a man cannot be taken in isolation, but always according to his position within society. It is necessary to consider his station, but always in relation to the whole unity. "What he has to do depends on what his place is, what its function is, and that all comes from his station in the organism" (Bradley, *ES* 173). The individual cannot ignore his position as a member of society, therefore his actions cannot be alien to the outer side of the social institutions; but, at the same time, the realization of the ideal self is beyond the temporal values of those social institutions. Eliot adopts a similar argument when he affirms that:

[O]ur spiritual faith should give us some guidance in temporal matters; that if it does not, the fault is our own; that morality rests upon religious sanction, and that the social organization of the world rests upon moral sanction; that we can only judge of temporal values in the light of eternal values. (*EAM* 113-14)

Eliot proposes the subsumption of the individual under the social, but always under the necessity of an ideal that is above them. Eliot, like Bradley, relates the actions of the individual to an ideal value that should be considered under the sanctions of the social organizations, but those sanctions must be subsumed under the ideal good that is beyond those social structures.

The interaction between the individual and society under an ideal unity is also presented in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940). Hemingway, in ways which relate to Eliot's social criticism, stresses the necessary correspondence between the duty of the individual in his station and the pursuit of an ideal that is beyond the self. As Pilar jokes in reference to Robert Jordan's seriousness about the use of the Spanish word

camarada: “You art very religious about thy politics,” (*FWBT* 66).¹⁶ When the guerrilla Robert Jordan affirms: “Camarada to me is what all should be called with seriousness in the war” (66), he claims, as Eliot argued, “the obligation to improve [...] according to definitive ideals” (Eliot, *EAM* 115). The conception of the individual is always subordinate to his relation to a higher ideal. In the case of Eliot this ideal is the Christian God. In Hemingway’s case the Republic plays this role, as Robert Jordan suggests when he talks to Pablo at the very beginning of the story: “I have heard that you are an excellent guerrilla leader, that you are loyal to the republic and prove your loyalty through your acts” (*FWBT* 10). Both Eliot and Hemingway condition the action of the individual in these works under the premise of an ideal value that should reunite the inner and the outer side of that ideal whole. The actions of the individual in the social world are dictated by the nature of the ideal according to which the individual acts within his own station.

When Eliot affirms in *Choruses from “The Rock”* that “[t]he LORD who created must wish us to create/And employ our creation again in His service” (*CPP* 111), the poet is suggesting that the dyad formed by individual and society should be considered under the unity of an ideal whole, being God itself. Hemingway raises the same premise in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* by using Anselmo’s voice to reflect on the running of society under the values of the Republic once the war finishes: “If we no longer have religion after the war then I think there must be some form of civic penance organized that all may be cleansed from the killing or else we will never have a true and human basis for living” (*FWBT* 196). Eliot and Hemingway look into distinctive ideals that should

¹⁶ The Spanish word in English means comrade.

command the actions of individuals, but in this shared consideration, they describe individuality not as an end in itself, but as a tool for the enterprise of achieving the social structures that should themselves be subsumed under the unity of an ideal whole. This feature is clearly symbolized in the use that Eliot and Hemingway make of the Archbishop Thomas Becket and the guerrilla Robert Jordan respectively as martyrs for a cause beyond that of the self.

In *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) Eliot does not consider individuality as an end in itself only in relation to his duty according to God's will. In this play Eliot represents the premise he defends in his social criticism when he affirms that "[t]he conception of individual liberty,[...], must be based upon the unique importance of every single soul [...]. But unless this humanity is considered always in relation to God, we may expect to find an excessive love of created beings" (*EAM* 119). In this play the value of Thomas Becket is related to the extent to which he renounces to his own life to achieve the ideal that should command the actions of the individual in the social world. Eliot symbolizes in Becket's actions the premises defended by Bradley in his reflections on an ideal moral value; and Eliot praises these reflections in "Francis Herbert Bradley" when he affirms that:

The distinction is not between a 'private self' and a 'public self' or a 'higher self', it is between the individual as himself and no more, a mere numbered atom, and the individual in communion with God. The distinction is clearly drawn between man's 'mere will' and 'the will of the Divine.' (*FLA* 81)

In *Murder in the Cathedral* Eliot represents the main character fusing his will to the will of the Divine. As the interlude of *Murder in the Cathedral* says, "A martyrdom is never the design of man; for the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will of God, not lost it but found it, for he has found freedom in

submission to God” (*CPP* 199). As Cooper notes, this play explores “the theme of martyrdom and the logic of submission to God’s will” (*Introduction* 88). When Becket is informed of his murder in advance, he accepts it with no worries: “To meet death gladly is only/The only way in which I can defend/The Law of God, the holy canons” (*CPP* 209). *Murder in the Cathedral* represents an ideal self whose actions conform to his duties as a member of a community which submits to the unity of an ideal whole.

The exploration of an individual submitting his will to an ideal is symbolized by the figure of the guerrilla Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. As in the case of Thomas Beckett, Hemingway’s martyr is informed in advance of his death. Pilar reads his hand and “she look[s] at him without smiling” (*FWBT* 33). Jordan suspects that the woman predicts a tragic end in the blowing of the bridge, but he only affirms that he does not ““believe in such things”” (33). Then, when Pilar asks him about his beliefs, he answers that he believes only ““[i]n [his] work”” (33). In a comparable way to Thomas Becket’s steps in Eliot’s play, Robert Jordan accepts Pilar’s premonition about the fatal outcome of his mission, and he subsumes his life under the higher value of his work for the Republic. Ben Stoltzfus states that Jordan’s actions under the political ideology of communism stress “the dignity of the individual because those who are willing to die for the general good affirm a value that transcends them as individuals” (45). In comparable ways, both Becket and Jordan subsume their will under an ideal.

On same premises defended by Bradley in *Ethical Studies*, Eliot and Hemingway explored the extent to which a man realizes himself by performing his duties as a member of a community subsumed under an ideal. But, whereas Eliot affirms that his duties “rests upon religious sanction” (*EAM* 114) Hemingway turns to political ideology. Eliot’s and

Hemingway's characters undertake a similar movement in the execution of their duties. First, their identities as individuals depend on their function as a member of a community. Their individual actions are measured in relation to the cause for an ideal. Thomas Becket states: "I submit my cause to the judgment of Rome" (*CPP* 206) and Robert Jordan affirms: "But I feel nothing against it [killing people] when it is necessary. When it is for the cause" (*FWBT* 39). Second, the submission of their actions under their respective causes leads these characters to embrace social organizations. Eliot and Hemingway use the figures of their martyrs to reflect on social organizations as the mode of guaranteeing this ideal within society, but the distinctive nature of these ideals conditions Eliot's and Hemingway's different propositions in this respect.

Murder in the Cathedral presents an individual who acts according to the dictates of the Christian church. In *The Idea of a Christian Society*, Eliot clarifies that in his consideration of a Christian society he was not simply "concerned with [...] spiritual institutions," he was preoccupied with the "organization of values" (42). Eliot reflected on the extent to which the church may guarantee a society capable of a religious commitment that eventually involves the individual in the pursuit of the divine. Thomas Beckett is a member of the Christian church, the social institution that should guarantee the unity of the individual and the social under the ideal value of the divine. Eliot looked into an ideal based on values "realizable only out of time" (qtd. in Douglas 58). For Eliot this ideal unity is beyond the material world because as Bradley argues "if Christianity be brought [...] [t]he ideal here is [...] God's will" (*ES* 231). Eliot proclaims the necessity of subsuming the actions of the individual in the material world under God's will. To do so, he considers the church as the social institution to articulate this aim.

In his analysis of *Ethical Studies* Eliot clarifies that “[r]eflection on morality,’ [...] [as Bradley says] ‘leads us beyond it. It leads us, in short, to see the necessity of a religious point of view.’ Morality and religion are not the same thing, but they cannot beyond a certain point be treated separately” (*FLA* 83). I consider that Eliot followed Bradley in this reflection. Bradley affirmed that a man should be judged not by how far he has succeeded outwardly, but how far he has identified his will with God:

Here our morality is consummated in oneness with God, and everywhere we find that ‘immortal Love’, which builds itself for ever on contradiction, but in which the contradiction is eternally resolved. (*ES* 342)

Eliot, as Bradley did, defended the necessity of moving from morality to religion to judge “morality [under] religious sanction” (*EAM* 114). Eliot aims for a Christian society “in which the natural end of man—virtue and well-being in community—is acknowledged for all” (*Idea* 62). As Kojecky notes, “Eliot believed that Christianity necessarily required expression in social institutions” (130). Eliot considers the Christian church as the vehicle to proclaim this expression and warns about the dangers of ignoring it because, as Becket asserts, the temporal cannot be governed by faith in material values:

Temporal power, to build a good world?
To keep order, as the world knows order.
Those who put their faith in worldly order
Not controlled by the order of God,
In confident ignorance, but arrest disorder,
Make it fast, breed fatal disease. (*CPP* 187)

Eliot claimed that Christian faith is necessary to construct a society where “religious thought [...] inevitably proceeds to a criticism of political [...] systems” (*ICS* 42). As Cooper notes, Eliot warned against a society moving inexorably toward thoroughgoing secularism and he advocated the Christian church to be woven into society (26-31). Eliot

urged that society be regarded “under the light of eternal values” (*EAM* 114). He defended the Christian faith as the necessary mechanism for social cohesion.

In contrast, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* Robert Jordan is a revolutionary fighting for a cause that pursues temporal values. He only trusts in his own actions under the command of a political party. He is “a bridge-blower now. Not a thinker” (17), but he conditions his performance to the accomplishment of the ideal of the Republic. His duties as a soldier depend on the dictates of the communist party because “in the conduct of the war, they were the only party whose program and whole discipline he could respect” (163). Hemingway turns to political ideology for the maintenance of the ideal of the Republic: “But one thing I have that no man nor any God can take from me and that is that I have worked well for the Republic. I have worked hard for the good that we will all share later” (197). If Eliot demanded a society based on a religious pattern to achieve a good beyond the material world, Hemingway fought for imposing a political ideology to achieve social justice in the material world. Hemingway relates the accomplishment of this aim to the performance of the soldier in war. The success of Hemingway’s ideal depends on the performance of the soldier.

In *The Fifth Column* (1938) Hemingway again reflects on the ideal of the Republic, but here he represents the struggles of the individual to act in accordance with it. At the beginning of this work a Republican soldier affirms that he “came to fight for an ideal” (17).¹⁷ When this character alludes to the Republic he praises this ideal; but, at the

¹⁷ *The Fifth Column* is Hemingway’s only full-length play. It was first published in October 14, 1938 in an anthology of writings titled *The First Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories*. It was poorly received upon publication and it has been overshadowed by many of the short stories published within the same anthology. According to Kale, the play is regarded as “an anomaly in the Hemingway canon” (131) and it has garnered little

same time, this soldier struggles to sacrifice himself to achieve it: “I am not a soldier by profession” (17). Alternatively, Commissar Phillip claims that “[w]hen you put the uniform on you’re a soldier” (17). Phillip praises this uniform and the duty it implies. “The best people I ever knew died for that son [*Bandera Rosa*]” (58). He is proud of all the comrades in Madrid who are “working for the same cause” (70), and he dislikes the attitude of the soldier doubting about his duty.

When Phillip pronounces these words he seems to subsume his will under the ideal that everybody has to work for regardless of individual interests. However, this is only an illusion in Hemingway’s play because, as Noël Valis affirms, Phillip’s moral ambiguities lead him to betray the Republican ideals (20). Hemingway looks at the extent to which the physical execution of duties towards the ideal depends on the morals of the individual. As Hemingway explains in *Men at War*, “once we have a war there is only one thing to do. It must be won” (5). The success of the ideal depends on the success of the war, but the latter depends on the extent to which the soldier submits to the duties of a political ideology to fight for.

In *For Whom the Bell Tolls* Robert Jordan performs his moral duty and he acts according to the dictates of political ideology as the means of securing the success of the ideal of the Republic. Hemingway subsumes the moral actions of the individual under the norms of a political party. As Jordan reminds us, “your own death seemed of completed unimportance; only a thing to be avoided because it would interfere with the performance

critical or commercial attention. In fact, it was not until 2008 that the Mint Theater in New York City gave life to its characters; this was the first time that Hemingway’s play was professionally produced according to its original script, so in a sense it was both a revival and a first run (131).

of your duty” (235). Hemingway embraced political commitment to explore the extent to which the individual should subsume his actions under an ideal. But instead of embracing religious faith to secure this ideal, Hemingway reflected on political ideology: “I put great illusion in the Republic. I believe firmly in the Republic and I have faith. I believe in it with fervor as those who have religious faith believe in the mysteries” (*FWBT* 90). Robert Jordan embraces an ideal moral value that only is realizable in the material world: “You believe in Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. You believe in Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness” (*FWBT* 305). The pursuit of this ideal shall lead to an improvement of society because the ideal of the Republic is an ideal value “realizable in time and on earth” as distinct from Eliot’s value “realized only out of time” (Eliot, qtd. in Douglas 57-58).¹⁸

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the similarities and differences between Eliot’s interest in the Christian tradition and Hemingway’s concern with the bullfighting tradition results in five main

¹⁸ In 1937, during the Spanish civil war, Hemingway worked on a propaganda film, significantly entitled *The Spanish Earth* in support of the democratically elected Republican government. The film was co-written by John Dos Passos and Hemingway himself, and narrated by Orson Welles in English. An additional English language release was narrated by Hemingway. As Stephens illustrates, the film focuses on the countryside to show “the struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants to throw off feudal land barons and fight their way into the twentieth century” (23). The very title of the film meaningfully points out the extent to which Hemingway’s focus on republicanism, and its intrinsic value, is a result of the writer’s concern with a political ideology that is at heart social. Hemingway paid attention to a secular society rather than the anti-secularist society outlined by Eliot.

points that I consider crucial for an understanding of the distinctive propositions explored by these two authors for social cohesion. First, they both considered tradition as something dynamic that is in constant reference to the past and to the present. Second, they comparably identified tradition with a distinctive “way of feeling” (Eliot, *ASG* 29). Third, while Eliot focused on religious feelings intrinsic to the pursuit of an ideal that the Christian tradition identified with the divine Christ, Hemingway reflected on moral feelings resulting from the ideal of performing out of a sense of duty. Fourth, they focused on the extent to which the experience of these feelings implies the interaction between individual and society. Finally, this common concern led them to reflect on a social unity in which the ideals of the self and society become one.

Eliot and Hemingway considered distinctive social institutions to guarantee this social cohesion. Eliot focused on the church as a mode of securing religious faith within society. In contrast, Hemingway focused on a political party to strengthen the political ideology of the members of society. These alternative propositions for social cohesion result from the distinctive nature of the ideals they paid attention to. Whereas Eliot was committed to the necessity of subsuming the actions of the individual in the material world under God’s will, Hemingway focused on the moral value to be achieved in the material world

Chapter Five

The American Author: Eliot's and Hemingway's Late Works

1. Introduction

In previous chapters I have reflected on Eliot's and Hemingway's concerns with an "immediate" or "all-inclusive experience" (Eliot, *KE* 31) beyond the intellectual categorizations of the material world.¹ This chapter deals with these two authors' considerations of the flaws of language to express this experience, while at the same time showing that they deployed language to convey such experience in words. In particular, I reflect on the extent to which this approach to language relates them to the literary tradition of their American forebears. In an interview for *The Paris Review* Eliot recognized the inevitable connection of his work with the tradition of American literature. He declared, "[my work] wouldn't be what it is if I'd been born in England and it wouldn't be what it is if I'd stayed in America. It's a combination of things. But in its sources, in its emotional springs, it comes from America" (Plimpton 110).² Similarly, Hemingway was an American author who lived and wrote mostly away from his country,

¹ "Immediate experience" (Eliot, *KE* 31) is a term used by Eliot in reference to the philosophy of F.H. Bradley. I have fully described and engaged with this concept in the first three chapters.

² Eliot moved from America to England in 1914. He became officially a British citizen in 1927. For a detailed account of this event in his biography, see Gordon.

but the presence of America was a constant influence in his work and life.³ In a letter written in 1922 from Paris, Hemingway explains how the French capital “is so very beautiful that [it] satisfies something in you that is always hungry in America” (*LEH* 328). His homeland is the point of reference to reflect on the new experiences of his life. Hemingway would not have written about Spain, Italy or Africa in the way he did if he had not been an American. The question is then of the extent to which it is possible to articulate an analysis that recognizes Eliot and Hemingway as distinctive American authors.⁴ Therefore, this chapter focuses on Eliot’s *Four Quartets* (1943) and Hemingway’s *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) to identify the common features that connect these two authors with the tradition of American literature. The first section notes Eliot’s and Hemingway’s broadly similar mistrust of language to signify experiences alien to the mechanical categorization of reality. I situate this analysis within the

³ In his life Hemingway made several public statements about his favorite books and authors. American literature had an important presence in those statements. In *Green Hills of Africa* Hemingway praises Henry James, Stephen Crane and Mark Twain as “good writers” (26) and reflects on the American “early classics” (25). In his private library Hemingway owned titles of American classics such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry James, Herman Melville, Mark Twain and Walt Whitman. He also had a wide variety of titles about American history and culture. For a detailed list of Hemingway’s library, see Brash and Sigman.

⁴ Several critics such as Childs, Jay, Gordon (*American*), Oser or Sigg have analyzed Eliot as a distinctive American author. Childs argues that Eliot applied, in both his prose and poetry, the pattern of rhetoric and ideology inherited from his puritan ancestors. Jay pays attention to Eliot’s exposition of American philosophy in his studies at Harvard to reflect on the possible influence on his thinking by philosophers such as Royce, Babbitt or Santayana. Gordon recalls some biographical aspects of Eliot to decipher the American aspect of his poetry, particularly “The Dry Salvages.” Oser considers Eliot’s literary inheritance as well as some aspects of Puritan culture to analyze different stages of his poetry. Sigg explores how Eliot reacted against American culture and the family values of his youth and the extent to which those influenced his work. None of these critics has related Eliot’s reflections on the intrinsic correlation between language and experience and the use of the symbol of the American Jeremiah as I do in this chapter.

framework of the American Renaissance. In particular, I focus on Ralph Waldo Emerson and William James to show how their consideration of the correlation between language and experience led them to endorse the use of symbols. In the second section, I look at the symbol of the American jeremiad to analyze Eliot and Hemingway as distinctively American authors.

2. Language, Ralph Waldo Emerson and William James

The concern of this section is with how Eliot and Hemingway shared an understanding of language inherited from the American Renaissance. In Chapter One I analyzed Eliot's "objective correlative" (*SP* 48) and Hemingway's "real thing" (*DIA* 2) as similar aesthetic propositions concerned with producing an emotional experience that allies the physical and the psychological in the experience of reality (see pp. 48-51). In this chapter, I develop further this common deployment of symbolic images to reflect on the extent to which this feature related them to a distinctively American literary tradition.⁵ I position this analysis in the context of the revolt of the writers of nineteenth century America against the systems of thought inherited from the European tradition, and the use of symbols as a result of this rebellion. For Feidelson, the group of writers of this epoch constitutes a unified period of literary production, a coherent epistemological paradigm

⁵ Feidelson's seminal book on American symbolism has been a key influence on my own analysis. When I use Feidelson's ideas I specify it accordingly.

that defines American literature.⁶ I argue that Eliot's and Hemingway's concern with the correlation between language and experience can be traced back to this literary tradition. First, I focus on Emerson and his consideration of the power of language at the same time that he suspects it. Second, I pay attention to William James, because as Poirier notes, he was the point of transmission that links Emerson with the authors of the twentieth century such as Frost, Stein or Eliot.⁷ All those authors inherited from Emerson, via James, their suspicion of the dependability of language, especially in the drift of one's feelings (*Poetry* 5).

In *Nature* Emerson argues that “[e]very word [...], if traced to its root, is found to be borrowed from some material appearance” (36). He points out the correlation between language and the experience of the material world at the same time as stressing that “[t]his immediate dependence of language upon nature, this conversion of an outward phenomenon into a type of somewhat in human life, never loses its power to affect us” (36). In comparable ways, William James also alludes to this dependence when he explains that “[p]ractically to experience one's personal continuum in this living way is [...] to know what the words stand for concretely, to own all that they can ever mean” (*ERE* 26-27). Both Emerson and James point out the interdependence of language and experience, but they also warn about the necessity of restraining language to lose this power. In that respect, Emerson urged the use of symbols to prevent “words los[ing] all power to stimulate the understanding” (37). For Emerson language does not simply report

⁶ See Reising 178.

⁷ Although surprisingly Poirier does not include Hemingway among those American authors who were influenced by Emerson through James' philosophy.

reality, but creates it. Emerson advocated the use of symbols as a mode of preserving the power of language to adequately explain an experience of reality that is in continuous progress. Symbolism is a result of this consideration of reality as a reaction against the dualistic thinking opposed by the authors of the American Renaissance.⁸

In the nineteenth century the authors of the American Renaissance moved beyond the metaphysical concepts inherited from European thinking based on a dualistic conception of reality.⁹ As Emerson urged, it was necessary “to look at the world with new eyes” (54). “[He] did not suppose that the steps of intellectual history could be retraced; given the results of dualism, he tried to think through to the other side” (Feidelson 125). In “Experience” life is described as a “flux” (208) and Emerson’s vocabulary in this essay suggests progress and movement: “Everything good is on the highway” (204). Emerson appeals for a continuous action in the experience of reality to affirm that “the philosophy we want is one of fluxions and mobility” (238). In “Circles” Emerson affirms that “[t]here are no fixtures to men, if we appeal to consciousness. Every man supposes not to be fully understood” (176). Emerson focuses on process to claim the necessity of “build[ing], therefore, your own world” (55). This call of Emerson’s for process and building beyond fixed intellectual concepts is later found in

⁸ In Chapter One I analyzed the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway engaged with the theories that revolted against a dualistic conception of reality (see pp. 25-47). In particular I paid special attention to William James and his reflections on consciousness. Therefore, in this chapter I do not engage with Emerson’s and James’s considerations in that respect. I intend to focus exclusively on the correlation between Emerson’s and James’ consideration of language as correlative with experience.

⁹ For a full account of the particularities of the American literary tradition in the nineteenth century and its separation from the metaphysical values of Western thought, see Rowe 17-48.

William James and his redefinition of the real by locating it in an experience that—as in Emerson’s philosophy—is in continuous process (Kress 42). As Feidelson argues, the rejection of fixed intellectual categories of reality undertaken by American authors of the nineteenth century led toward the conception of experience as process, “[t]he only reality, therefore, lies in the process of becoming; not in the illusory permanence of guidebooks, but in the hazards of change” (180). This approach to experience as process requires a language that conveys such a continuous state of becoming, and therefore the writers of the American Renaissance advocated the use of symbols as a mode of securing this becoming. They “grappled with the problems posed by a new way of perceiving, of being in the world, a struggle which generated their overtures to symbolism” (Reising 176).

In “The Poet” Emerson notes, “all symbols are fluxional; all language is vehicular and transitive, and is good, as ferries and horses are, for conveyance, not as farms and houses are, for homestead” (195). Emerson stresses the use of language as something that denotes movement because “[w]ords are also actions, and actions are a kind of words” (185). Emerson advocates language as part of this continuous becoming that is reality. For Feildelson, the symbolism of Emerson and the other writers of the American Renaissance “was an attempt to hew out such a form in defiance of intellectual methods that denied its validity” (89-90). This consideration of language is still at play in Eliot’s reflections on language in *Knowledge and Experience* when he suggests that reality is the development of language: “without words, no objects” and “no objects without language” (*KE* 133).¹⁰ He rejects the separation between object and language to claim that the symbol should be “not arbitrarily amputated from the object which it symbolizes [...] No

¹⁰ See Lewandowski 52-53.

symbol, I maintain, is ever a mere symbol, but is continuous with that which it symbolizes” (*KE* 132). Eliot—like Emerson—advocated the correlation between language and object within experience at the same time that he also pointed to symbols to secure such interaction.

Eliot remarked on the role that language plays in the experience of reality. In *Knowledge* he affirms,

you quite underestimate the closeness with which particular words are woven into reality. [...] The object *qua* object would not exist without this bundle of experiences, but the bundle would not be a bundle unless it were held together by the moment of objectivity which is realized in the name. (*KE* 133)

Eliot underlines the intrinsic correlation between language, object and experience.

Language orders and patterns the experience of reality and the knowledge we gain from it (Cooper, *Introduction* 75). In this analysis Eliot refers to a moment of objectivity, but throughout all his poetry he questioned the achieving of such a moment through the use of language. As Prufrock complains, “[t]hat is not what I meant at all./That is not it, at all” (Eliot, *CPP* 6). He cannot find the words to convey the meaning of his experiences. Eliot presents a language that has become “shabby equipment always deteriorating/In the general mess of imprecision of feeling” (128). For Prufrock language is an inadequate manifestation of the complexities of his feelings. He cannot fix the meaning of those experiences through the use of language.

In “Burnt Norton” Eliot affirms that words “[c]rack and sometimes break” (*CPP* 121). Eliot remarked throughout his poetry how language may lose the power of moving: “The word within a word, unable to speak a word” (*CPP* 21). The awareness of this limitation positions Eliot with Emerson’s similar recognition of this flaw of language. Emerson “regarded language as potentially a trap which is liable to check us to the point

of stagnation and even decay—indeed, ‘stationariness’” (Tanner 5). However, at the same time, Emerson claimed in “The Poet” the use of language to convey fluidity. Eliot adopted this premise and in his poetry he always struggled to employ language “as vehicular and transitive” (Emerson 195).

In *Knowledge* Eliot considers the role of language in the experience of reality, but in his poetry he always looked into the experiences language cannot attain. In his poems Eliot engages with language “to realize its own potentialities within its limitations” (qtd. in Douglas 51). In “Burnt Norton” Eliot outlines these very limitations:

Words strain,
Crack and sometimes break, under the burden,
Under the tension, slip, slide, perish,
Decay with imprecision, will not stay in place,
Will not stay still. (*CPP* 121)

Eliot underlines how language cannot fix our experiences. “Words move” (121) and Eliot takes advantage of this condition. As Moody notes, “[g]etting the better of words is the essence of *Four Quartets*. Its major design is to so use words as to make them mean what is beyond words” (*Ideology* 147). For Eliot, word and meaning are continuous insofar as they become manifest in experience (Lewandowski 52). For Emerson, “[m]eaning was ‘not *what*, but *how*,’ or rather the substance via the manner, like the recapture of being in becoming” (Feidelson 130-31). Eliot assumes that “that which is only living/Can only die./ [...] /Only by the form, the pattern,/Can words or music reach/The stillness, as a Chinese jar still/Moves perpetually in its stillness” (*CPP* 121). Eliot aims at a “still point” beyond language, but he pursues it through language. He conveys in his poetry the pattern of “word and meaning being continuous” (*KE* 104). This is the stillness that “[m]oves perpetually” (*CPP* 112). Eliot claims the development of a continuous pattern

that may reach this moment that he named in his dissertation “the moment of objectivity” (*KE* 133). But he underlines that only a language creating continuously new patterns may reach it, because “[t]he detail of the pattern is movement” (*CPP* 122). Eliot moved beyond any fixity to engage with a permanent struggle with words: “Trying to learn to use words, and every attempt/Is a wholly new start, and a different kind of failure/Because one has only learnt to get the better of words” (*CPP* 128). Eliot was concerned with patterns of language in which the name and the object form a “mystic marriage” (*KE* 135).¹¹ Eliot advocated this use of language to convey experience that is continually changing.

Eliot’s consideration of language is framed within two features that relate him to Emerson’s continuous struggle with language. First, Eliot stressed the correspondence between language and object. In “Swinburne as Poet” Eliot affirmed that “[l]anguage in a healthy state presents the object, is so close to the object that the two are identified” (*SW* 127). Emerson stated that “‘in good writing, words become one with things’” (qtd. in Matthiessen, *Renaissance* 30). Second, Eliot accepted the limitations of language, but he claimed “new patterns” to move beyond these limitations. For Emerson “‘there is somewhat in all life untranslatable into language,’ yet the necessity of trying to make a translation, of approximating that reality in words, remained urgent” (Matthiessen,

¹¹ Significantly, when Eliot uses this expression in relation to symbols, he explains that it should clarify his previous example about the “imaginary bear” of a child for whom “[t]he name has terminated in an experience” (*KE* 135). As Greenham notes, Emerson also made the learning of language by children into an analogy for the creation of language in general (104). This critic compares Locke’s and Emerson’s use of this feature to argue that the latter deployed a poetic reasoning in contraposition to Locke’s pure observation. I consider that Eliot’s reasoning about language—even in a philosophical work such as *Knowledge*—is closer to Emerson’s poetic modes as his use of words such as ‘mystic’ shows.

Renaissance 41). Like Emerson, Eliot recognized that language should deal with its own limitations to pursue what is beyond language. This consideration led Eliot to underline the correlation between a “fluxional” language and a stream of experience.

In “East Coker” words are in a continual movement, they “[w]ill not stay still”, and Eliot underlines this by stressing how they “slip, slide, perish” (*CPP* 121). Eliot alludes through the use of language to a continuous experience or becoming reminiscent of William James’ remarks about language and experience when he affirms that:

[t]he word is a useful one to plunge forward into the stream of our experience. [...] It is a definitive instrument abstracted from experience, a conceptual reality that you must take account of, and which reflects you totally back into sensible realities. (*Humanism* 116)

In *Four Quartets* Eliot depicts this stream of experience because he understood that the value of words rests on their capacity to immerse the individual in a continuous experience. “We had the experience but missed the meaning,/And approach to the meaning restores the experience/In a different form, beyond meaning” (*CPP* 133). In these lines Eliot adopts James’ premise that we should “set [each word] at work within the stream of [...] [our] experience” (Poirier, *Poetry* 130). James noted this necessity when he claimed: “You must bring out of each word its practical cash-value, set it at work within the stream of your experience” (*POW* 28). Eliot understood the importance of this cash value and the extent to which it implies the correlative experience of the continuous becoming that is reality.

In “Swinburne as Poet” Eliot affirms that “[t]he bad poet dwells partly in a world of objects and partly in a world of words, and he never can get them to fit” (*SW* 127). In this statement Eliot confronts a use of language based on a separation between object and language with a language in which this detachment does not take place. Eliot proclaimed

in his criticism the language that he adopted in his poetry. Eliot deployed a language in which “symbol and that which it symbolizes [...] are continuous” (Eliot, *KE* 104). He inherited this conception of language from his American forefathers. His reflections on language and his poetry can be traced back to the same pursuit undertaken by Emerson of creating a language where object and name are one. Eliot got the cash value of a language that conveys a continuous experience of reality.

Hemingway was also part of this tradition that underlined the correlation between language and experience at the same time as dealing with the suspicion of language. In his remarks about writing Hemingway also looked at the necessary correspondence between language and object to explore the use of symbols. He questioned the capability of language to attain something that is beyond language, but this feature led him to deploy language in a mode that relates him to his literary forefathers.

In a letter written in 1925 Hemingway attempts to explain to his father the value of his work: “You see I’m trying in all my stories to get the feeling of the actual life across—not to just depict life—or criticize it—but to actually make it alive. So that when you have read something by me you actually experience the thing” (*SL* 153). In these lines Hemingway accepts the intrinsic correlation between language and experience. But in his early stories he outlined his concerns about the possibility of transmitting “the feeling of the actual life” (153) through language. In his reflections on this matter Hemingway seems to be sure about the interdependence of language and experience, but in his works he questioned the possibility of achieving fully this correlation. In “The End of Something” Nick mistrusts language throughout the entire story to convey his feelings after breaking with Marjorie. “I feel as though everything was gone to hell inside of me. I

don't know Marge. I don't know what to say" (CSS 81). He is not only unsure about his feelings, but also about his own words to convey them. Thus, he neglects to use language when his friend asks him "[h]ow do you feel?" (82) and Nick's only answer is "[o]h, go away, Bill! Go away for a while" (82). Nick cannot find the words to express his feelings and therefore Hemingway finishes the story without trying to explain them.

In "On Writing" a young Nick Adams reflects on his work as a writer to state that "[t]alking about anything was bad. Writing about anything was bad. It always killed it" (NAS 237). These words of Nick Adams are reminiscent of the apologetic sentence of Emerson in "Intellect" when he states that "if I speak, I define, I confine, and am less" (qtd. in Tanner 8). However, in spite of this recognition of the limitation of language, Emerson always proclaimed the "necessity that one must *struggle* with language in the effort to appropriate its otherwise hidden powers" (Poirier, *Renewal* 30). This Emersonian struggle with language may be also identified in Nick's words in "On Writing" when he affirms that "[i]t was a thing you couldn't talk about. He was going to work on it until he got it. Maybe never, but he would know as he got near it. It was a job for all his life" (239). In this short story, Hemingway presents a young writer who is learning how to use words in his fiction. Hemingway shows through this character ambivalence in his consideration of language and the possibility of attaining something beyond language by using it, but in later remarks Hemingway pointed to a precise mode of using language to pursue such an enterprise. He devoted his work as writer to the deployment of a use of words that relates him to Emerson within the similar parameters that also positioned Eliot under the tradition of the American Renaissance.

In *A Farewell to Arms* the protagonist complains that “[a]bstract words such as glory, honor, courage or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates” (185). Hemingway rejects abstract words to praise the use of concrete words at the same time that he identifies this concreteness with words that denote movement. This reflection is reminiscent of Eliot’s attitude towards language and his claim that in a healthy language name and object are one (*SW* 127). Hemingway advocates the similar premise defended by Emerson in *Nature* when he affirms that “wise men pierce this rotten diction and fasten words again to visible things” (37). For Emerson, the power of language depends on avoiding flabby abstraction and bonding word to object (Buell 110). So it was for Hemingway.

In *A Moveable Feast* Hemingway recalls his period of apprenticeship to clarify that his main concern as a young writer was “to make instead of describe” (156). He praises the mentoring of the American Ezra Pound, “the man who believed in [...] the one and only correct word to use—the man who taught me to distrust adjectives” (134).¹² Pound gave Hemingway the advice of avoiding the use of abstractions. As Pound wrote, “[g]o in fear of abstractions” (5)—and, specifically, the mixture of an abstraction with the concrete. This common mistake, Pound maintained, “comes from the writer’s not realizing that the natural object is always the *adequate* symbol” (5). Hemingway followed Pound’s advice of using symbols to translate the equivalence of object and

¹² It is worth noting that Pound mentored Eliot as well in the process of editing the first draft of *The Waste Land*. Eliot dedicated the poem with the Italian phrase “*il miglior fabbro*” (*CPP* 37) to him. It means “the better craftsman” (Rainey 76).

language, because as Pound claimed, “the proper and perfect symbol is the natural object, [...] a hawk is a hawk” (Pound 9).

This lesson is at the core of Hemingway’s remark about the iceberg technique in *Death in the Afternoon*:

If a writer of prose knows enough about 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 state them. The dignity of movement of an ice-berg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water. (*DIA* 192)

This remark has two features that relate the iceberg to the symbol. First, Hemingway equates the iceberg to the object that denotes experience or feeling. Second, this object that is one with language implies movement. In addition, this movement points to something beyond the very image or symbol. Hemingway’s iceberg theory is within the same parameters of symbolism. As Matthiessen notes, Emerson’s “desire for a quality of expression that cleaves to the fact and yet stands for something larger than itself, which suggests more than it can denote, led him to the symbol” (*American* 41). Even when Hemingway disliked publicly the use of symbols, it cannot be ignored that he advocated its use in his remarks about writing.¹³ Hemingway proclaimed that the name and the object should become one to plunge into an experience that is in continuous movement.

¹³ In an interview with *The Paris Review*, Hemingway affirms in relation to *The Sun Also Rises*: “I suppose there are symbols since critics keep finding them. If you do not mind I dislike talking about them and being questioned about them” (Plimpton 229). In relation to *The Old Man and the Sea*, Hemingway wrote that “there is the other secret. There isn’t any symbolism (mis-spelled). The sea is the sea. The old man is the old man. The boy is the boy and the fish is the fish. The sharks are all sharks no better and no worse. All the symbolism that people say is shit. What goes beyond is what you see beyond when you know” (*SL* 780). I consider that Hemingway neglected the critic’s interpretation of symbols, not the use of symbols in his fiction, as I argue.

Eliot's and Hemingway's considerations of language position them within the parameters explored by their American forefathers about the use of symbols. According to Eliot, "[w]e look, in a poet as well as in a novelist, for what Henry James called the Figure in the Carpet" (qtd. in Gordon, *American* 39). As Rowe contends in relation to Henry James' famous symbol, "[i]t is the process of observation as part of the creative process that *makes* a pattern in the carpet at all. The quest is the goal" (42). The goal is not to fix an experience, "but to make it alive" (*SL* 153), as Hemingway explained to his father.

Eliot and Hemingway adopted the use of symbols to create an experience that gets its meaning as a reflection of the process of symbolization itself. The symbolism inherited from "the American Renaissance expresses man's existence in an ultimately teleological manner. The quest of the poet or hero is an attempt to resolve the dualism of his condition" (Rowe 21). In the next section I shall consider the extent to which the symbol of the American jeremiad can be traced in Eliot's and Hemingway's final works. Thus, by juxtaposing in my analysis the symbol of the jeremiad with the intrinsic quest of symbolism to overcome dualism, I shall clarify the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway succeed in this quest within the context of a distinctive American literary tradition.

3. Eliot, Hemingway and the American jeremiad

This section focuses on Eliot's *Four Quartets* and Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* to question the extent to which these two authors internalized a pattern of rhetoric

inherited from the Puritan tradition, including its use of the symbol of the American jeremiad. To do so, I use the work of Sacvan Bercovitch in relation to this tradition.¹⁴ As he argues, “the search for meaning is at once endless and self-enclosed. Any possibility we propose invites a host of different possibilities, all of these inherent in the symbol” (178). Thus, I consider the possibilities he explores in relation to the symbol of the American jeremiad to deploy an analysis of Eliot and Hemingway within this framework. In particular I pay attention to four of the main features that Bercovitch considers in his study. First, I reflect on the similar sense of mission intrinsic to the patterns of the Puritan narrative tradition. Second, I pay attention to the imagery of the frontier that shapes the mission. Third, I take into account the concept of the errand as being at the core of the previous two features. Finally, I examine the promise of ultimate success and fulfillment of destiny as correlative to the American jeremiad, at the same time as reflecting on the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway convey in their respective works this sense of achievement.

In reference to the sense of mission intrinsic to the sermons of the first Puritans who arrived at Massachusetts Bay, Bercovitch notes that “[t]he American Puritan jeremiad owes its uniqueness to this vision and mode of rhetoric” (Bercovitch 9). In the last stanza of “East Coker” Eliot conveys this sense, one that simultaneously affects our

¹⁴ In recognizing Eliot as at least narratively American, Childs uses Bercovitch’s understanding of the American jeremiad. Childs’ analysis has influenced me, specifically in the use of the work of Bercovitch, but this chapter focuses exclusively on Eliot’s later poetry rather than in Eliot’s whole body of work. When I use the ideas of this critic, I specify it accordingly. Different scholars have undertaken a wide variety of work on Puritanism and the jeremiad in America. For a list of the most prominent works in that respect, see Reining 49-91.

reading of *Four Quartets* as a whole.¹⁵ Eliot points to a new terrain that should be explored by a group of men that shall succeed in this enterprise:

Old men ought to be explorers
Here and there does not matter
We must be still and still moving
Into another intensity
For a further union, a deeper communion
Through the dark cold and the empty desolation,
The wave cry, the wind cry, the vast waters
Of the petrel and the porpoise. In my end is my beginning. (*CPP* 129)

In these lines Eliot alludes to a new terrain. This stanza implies undertaking a mission of exploring something new, at the same time as stressing the communal dimension of this mission. These lines remind us of the American jeremiads and their “triumphant assertion of their destiny, migration and pilgrimage entwined in the progress of New England’s holy commonwealth” (Bercovitch 15). In addition, this stanza at the end of the first two quartets sets the confluence between “the first world” that Eliot explores in “Burnt Norton” and “East Coker” and the pursuit of “a deeper communion” (*CPP* 129) unavailable in the “deception” of the “first world” (118). This important moment in the overall design of the four quartets confronts the “the old” with “a new world” (119). It connects the first two quartets with the last two in a progression from the old to the exploration of the new. As Gordon notes, “[t]he very notion of an Old World implies a New-World perspective from which the Old World may be seen, made explicit” (*American* 44). This Puritan rhetoric may be identified in the whole structure of *The Four*

¹⁵ *Four Quartets* is composed of four different poems that were published over a period of six years. The first poem is “Burnt Norton” and it was first published in 1936. The other three, “East Coker,” “The Dry Salvages” and “Little Gidding” were written during the Second World War. The four poems were not published together in a collection until 1943.

Quartets and it offers a useful framework for reading Eliot's attention to the world he tries to leave behind in his pursuit of this "further union" (*CPP* 129).

"Burnt Norton" and "East Coker" present a world that Eliot depicts as a point of departure. Eliot moves from this "place of disaffection" (*CPP* 120) framed by a mechanical categorization of time and space to "the intersection of the timeless moment" (139). In the first two quartets Eliot pays detailed attention to an urban world spatially delimited:

Houses rise and fall, crumble, are extended,
Are removed, destroyed, restored, or in the place
Is an open field, or a factory, or a by-pass.
Old stone to new building, old timber to new fires. (123)

Eliot equates the evolution of this landscape with a progression conditioned by a mechanical conception of time or "succession" where "Houses live and die: there is a time for building/ And a time for living and for generation" (123). In this world "[i]n my beginning is my end" (129), but Eliot aims to move beyond this "world of sense" (120) and he proposes to:

Descend lower, descend only
Into the world of perpetual solitude
[...]
Internal darkness, deprivation
And destitution of all property
Desiccation of the world of sense,
Evacuation of the world of fancy. (120)

Eliot points out a mission that he frames within the abandonment of this world of mechanical "succession" (123) to reach a world of "stillness" (145) where "[i]n my end is my beginning" (129). The abandon of the old will lead to the beginning of the new, as with the colonists when they first arrived in New England.

In the *Four Quartets* Eliot moves from “the old made explicit” (*CPP* 119) to point out an alternative consideration of time in “The Dry Salvages”: “Measures time not our time, rung by the unhurried/Ground swell, a time/Older than the time of chronometers, older/Than the time counted by anxious worried women” (131). Eliot speculates about the nature of a time beyond man’s measure and he relates the experience of this time to the involvement in the mission of pursuing it: “Because we have gone trying;/We, content at the last/If our temporal reversion nourish/[...]/The life of significant soil” (137). The mission implies the aim of this “significant soil.” This soil is beyond a frontier that Eliot shapes at the end of the second quartet. Eliot uses the frontier as an element that separates the old from the new, and where Eliot outlines moments these two worlds seem to merge: “Caught in the form of limitation/Between un-being and being” (122). Eliot’s treatment of the frontier in the whole structure of the poem resembles the imagery of the American frontier that “lies at the higher edge of a free land” (Turner 3). Eliot aspires to conquer free land where “[t]he inner freedom from the practical desire” (*CPP* 119) will be available. Eliot aspires to cross the frontier beyond the material world.

In “East Coker,” just before his allusion to the “explorers” (*CPP* 129), Eliot notes that “[h]ome is where one starts from” (129).¹⁶ By referring to home as a point of departure, Eliot considers the physical boundaries or frontiers that will be crossed in “a lifetime burning in every moment” (129). Eliot reflects on material borders in an attempt to recover what the material world deprives him of. As Lobb argues, “the important thing is to accept limitation, not simply as an act of humility but because life itself is

¹⁶ Gordon notes that “East Coker is the village in Somerset from which Andrew Eliot [one of Eliot’s forefathers] set out for America in 1669” (*American* 43). Gordon hints at this event to suggest that “‘East Coker’ is a poem about family origins” (43). For an alternative consideration of Eliot’s allusion to his family history in this poem, see Oser.

limitation” (35). Eliot reflects on the limitation of the material world as a frontier that should be crossed. This frontier shapes the mission that aims to move beyond the very limits that Eliot explores in “Burnt Norton” and “East Coker.” Eliot organizes a progression within the four quartets, and by doing so, he deploys boundaries that are in a continuous flux.

In “The Dry Salvages” Eliot engages with the frontier imagery through the use of the river and the sea. He underlines that the former is “at first recognized as a frontier” (*CPP* 130) that “is the land’s edge also” (130). Eliot points to a frontier that will be crossed to enter into the new terrain of the ocean. He leaves the coast to suggest the necessity of exploring the new world. As Bercovitch notes, “the ‘American character’ was shaped by [...] ‘the fact of the frontier’” (10). This intrinsic feature of the American experience cannot be neglected in Eliot’s allusion to physical borders in the *Four Quartets*, but for Eliot this frontier is not simply a physical one: “The river is within us, the sea is all about us” (*CPP* 130). Eliot refers to a physical frontier, but he points out an interior frontier that comes along with the journey undertaken by the “explorers” (129) in their exploration of significant soil beyond the border. As Gordon notes in his analysis of “The Dry Salvages,” Eliot was attached to the American dream of self-transformation that, at the same time, was projected through the frontier imagery that Eliot identified with the Atlantic ocean and the Massachusetts’ shore as experienced by the first settlers (*American* 41). Eliot uses the imagery of the frontier in the *Four Quartets*, but for Eliot the New World is not a physical land, but a spiritual state that should be conquered by leaving behind the old world he identifies with the material world inhabited “[b]y worshippers of the machine” (*CPP* 130). As Oser notes, “the expatriate poet and High-

Churchman returned to his native traditions to set down the spiritual experience that culminated in *Four Quartets*” (107). Eliot presents a mission that achieves something beyond the frontier, but the significant soil beyond this border is not a physical land, but a spiritual state or “[a] condition of complete simplicity” (*CPP* 145) where the limits of temporal life are neglected.

In *The Old Man and the Sea* Hemingway also conveys a sense of mission, at the same time as involving the element of the frontier in the exploration of this mission. Like Eliot, Hemingway confronts two worlds and similarly uses a mechanical conception of space and time to depict one world in contraposition to the other. As Baker affirms, “[t]his short novel, in the words of Eliot, explores yet ‘another intensity’ [...]. Among the vast waters of the petrel and the porpoise, [Hemingway] seemed [...] to have found the means of establishing ‘a further union’ and ‘a deeper communion’” (293). However, to fully understand Hemingway’s exploration of this ‘deeper communion,’ it is necessary to take into account the world that Santiago leaves behind in the performance of his mission. This sense of mission also relates Hemingway’s work to the rhetoric of the American jeremiad and the Puritan narrative tradition.¹⁷

The very first line of *The Old Man and the Sea* explains how Santiago “was an old man who fished alone in a skiff in the Gulf Stream and he had gone eighty-four days now without taking a fish” (9). Significantly, Hemingway refers to time and space to set the situation of the main character. Hemingway is very specific in that respect throughout the whole story. In the first pages he underlines the material world in which Santiago lives,

¹⁷ It is not easy to delimit the concept of Puritan tradition. As Reising makes clear, many theorists have used different approaches to do so. In this section I engage exclusively with Bercovitch’s work. For an account of the different studies on the Puritan tradition and its influence on American literature, see Reising 49-74.

describing “the old man’s shack” (15) in detail. He pays attention to the spatial boundaries that frame the old man’s life: the harbour, the local bar, and the way home from the beach: “When the wind was in the east a smell came across the harbour from the shark factory” (11, 15). Similarly, a mechanical conception of time is used in a very precise way: “But remember how you went eighty-seven days without fish and then we caught big ones every day for three weeks” (10). Time is important for framing the action of fishing, but Hemingway mainly uses it when he considers Santiago’s fishing from a practical point of view: “In the first forty days a boy had been with him. But after forty days without a fish the boy’s parents had told him that the old man was [...] *salao* [unlucky]” (9). At the beginning of the story Hemingway focuses on the life of the old man and his activities on shore. Fishing belongs to this life. But Hemingway also explores fishing regardless of its fruits and it is then when he does not use time to frame the actions.

These two different considerations of fishing correspond to the two worlds that Hemingway explores in this novella. One refers to the land and the other is the sea, understood as the world beyond the frontier that Santiago crosses when he leaves the harbour behind to embark on his fishing trip: “My big fish must be there somewhere” (35). The mission will be performed in a world without specific limitations, in contrast to the clearly delimited world of the harbour. Like Eliot in “Burnt Norton” and “East Coker,” in *The Old Man and the Sea* Hemingway is very precise in outlining these two worlds, at the same time that he sets a moment where they blur before the final exploration of the new terrain.

[M]ost of the boats were silent except for the dip of the oars. They spread apart after they were out of the mouth of the harbour and each one headed for the part of the ocean where he hoped to find the fish. (28)

The old man leaves behind the harbour—a delimited spatial area—to enter into the wilderness or new dimension that contrasts with the world from which he is moving away. Hemingway juxtaposes the limited world of the land with the ocean in which Santiago undertakes the exploration of a new dimension. This moment can be read as the temporary abandonment of one world, but also as the outbreak of the performance of the mission that is being pursued in the new one. This is an important moment in the overall design of the novella because Hemingway juxtaposes the two worlds to establish the nature of the mission that old Santiago will undertake.

Hemingway also presents a mission that achieves something beyond the frontier that he uses to shape this endeavour. *The Old Man and the Sea* juxtaposes the world of the harbour where Santiago lives with the world of the sea where the old man chases the fish. Once Santiago is in the ocean he affirms that it “is the time to think of only one thing. That which I was born for” (*OMS* 40). Hemingway points out the extent to which now is the moment to focus exclusively on the performance of Santiago’s mission. When the struggle starts in the middle of the sea, Santiago and the fish become one: “Now we are joined together [...]. And no one to help either one of us” (50). His mission is not simply to catch the fish, but above all to be a fisherman. Santiago’s actions relate to those of Nick Adams in “Big Two-Hearted River” or Jake’s in *The Sun Also Rises*, but the vastness of the sea differs from the limitation of the river in the other two works. In *The Old Man and the Sea* the frontier is to be conquered by the individual as a mode of final attempt of succeeding in his performance. Santiago fishes in this story as an ultimate

fishing trip while in previous works Hemingway's characters knew that "there were plenty of days coming when he could fish" (*IOT* 156). Santiago fishes "because he is a fisherman" (*OMAS* 105) and his mission implies a self-transformation.

Santiago has already crossed the frontier and he is ready to perform his endeavour. There is a moment within the timeline of Santiago's fight in the sea when Hemingway avoids any mechanical arrangement of reality.¹⁸ This "further union" (Eliot, *CPP* 129) arises when Santiago is away from the harbour and he is immersed in the mission that implies the experience of a new dimension unavailable for him on shore:

He looked across the sea and knew how alone he was now. But he could see the prisms in the deep dark water and the line stretching ahead and the strange undulation of the calm. The clouds were building up now for the trade wind and he looked ahead and saw a flight of wild ducks etching themselves against the sky over the water, then blurring. (*OMS* 60-61)

Santiago has crossed the spatial boundaries of the land as a result of the performance of the mission he is devoted to. As Hollenberg notes, "[t]he sky, in this moment, becomes a space of signs, of nonhuman markings" (36). The mission leads Santiago to cross the spatial frontier. Similarly, during the fight, Santiago does not refer to time in the same way as he does at the beginning of the fishing trip. He does not care about a mechanical categorization of time any longer and he ignores it. The pursuit of the mission leads him to this consideration. The mission—the fishing of the fish—leads him to this new dimension. If "he stays down forever. Then I will stay down with him forever" (*OMS* 60). The endeavour of the mission offers Santiago a timeless moment while the fight with the fish is being undertaken.

¹⁸ As Sylvester accurately notes, "[t]he marlin's fight lasts exactly forty-eight hours; it is seventy-two hours, from morning to morning, between Santiago's departure and his resurgence of vitality at the story's end" (68).

Hemingway outlines a mission that leads Santiago to enter into a boundless dimension beyond time and space. The nature of this mission attains to something beyond a frontier, but it cannot be ignored that the performance of this mission depends on a physical activity. As Santiago reminds himself, “You were born to be a fisher man as the fish was born to be a fish” (*OMS* 105). He assumes the circumstances of the mission, but those condition the boundless moments intrinsic to the fight: “‘Fish,’ he said softly, aloud, ‘I’ll stay with you until I am dead’” (52). Santiago explores in the ocean a new dimension or further union—using Eliot’s words—in the world beyond the borders of the land. The fish and the old man are one while the fight takes place and Santiago experiences “a deeper communion” (Eliot, *CPP* 129) as a result of this physical performance.

Fishing in this novella symbolizes the performance of action as the only mode of moving beyond the limitations of the material world. As Baker argues in relation to Santiago, this grasp of the relationship between the temporal and the eternal is expressed in Hemingway’s fiction through the use of symbols (291). In *The Old Man and the Sea* fishing is a symbol of the pursuit of a transcendental centre to reach a unified experience of reality, but only the physical fight with the fish provides Santiago with the clash between the eternal and the temporal. The old man’s mission is a physical endeavour and it brings him an experience that may be compared to the state beyond the limitations of the material world that Eliot pursues in *Four Quartets*. Hemingway aims at a comparable state, or “condition of complete simplicity” (Eliot, *CPP* 145) where the limits of temporal life are neglected. In addition, Hemingway also outlines in Santiago’s fight a moment of stillness beyond time. When Santiago is in the sea, he refers to the past and present at the

same time that he identifies himself with the fish, in order to allude to the future: ““Never have I seen a greater, or more beautiful, or a calmer or more noble thing than you, brother. Come on and kill me. I do not care who kills who”” (*OMS* 92). The fight goes on and the old man finally manages to kill the fish:

Then the fish came alive, with his death in him, and rose high out of the water showing all his great length and width and all his power and his beauty. He seemed to hang in the air above the old man in the skiff. (94)

In this image, Hemingway confronts life to death and movement to stillness to deploy “the intersection of the timeless moment” (Eliot, *CPP* 139). But in the next sentence Hemingway writes how the fish “fell into the water with a crash that sent spay over the old man and over all of the skiff” (*OMS* 94). This moment of time beyond time is only a temporary illusion framed within the performance of the fishing.

This moment in Hemingway’s novella can be compared in instructive ways to Eliot’s, as when he writes in “Burnt Norton”:

Time past and time future
Allow but little consciousness.
To be conscious is not to be in time
But only in time can the moment in the rose-garden,
[...]
Be remembered; involved with the past and the future.
Only through time time is conquered. (*CPP* 119-20)

Eliot confronts time to timelessness as Hemingway does in the scene of the fish above the old man’s skiff, but Eliot stresses the necessity of moving beyond time to conquer it. For Cooper, “[t]he collapse of strict temporal distinctions leads to an extraordinary dilatation of consciousness beyond the confining grammars of time” (*Introduction* 97). Hemingway also deploys a similar breakup of temporal distinctions, but after that, he returns to a mechanical consideration of time to finish the story. Hemingway is condemned to remain

within the limitation of the physical world because he frames the old man's mission within the duration of his fight. The experience of this new dimension is bound to the limitations of the fishing trip and the final outcomes of Santiago's performance in the sea. In *The Old Man and the Sea* Hemingway confronts time and timeless moments in the endeavour performed by Santiago. He even tries to convey the collapse of strict temporal distinctions, but he does not achieve this experience beyond time because his mission is correlative to the very deployment of time. After the timeless moment conveyed by Hemingway, Santiago keeps struggling in the sea to return to the harbour with his catch. He continues in the errand to finish the mission that condemns him to the boundaries of the material world.

Eliot and Hemingway use the ocean where "the fishermen" sail "[i]nto the wind's tail" (Eliot, *CPP* 132) to reflect on distinctive missions. Eliot underlines the progressive nature of the voyage of the old men, because their wives "think of them as forever bailing,/Setting and hauling" (132). Hemingway also stresses the continuity of Santiago's mission. In their use of the sense of mission intrinsic to the American jeremiad, these two authors recur to another pattern that is at the core of that jeremiad. As Bercovitch illustrates, the Puritan tradition established a vision of errand that assesses continuity and change (33). Eliot's *Four Quartets* and Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* convey this sense of "*errand* [that] means *progress*" (12) and as the American jeremiad, they "attest to an unswerving faith in the errand" (Bercovitch 6). But the distinctive mission of these two authors will condition the continuity and the sense of ultimate success of this errand.

In *Four Quartets* Eliot deploys a gradual conquest of the frontier: “So here I am, in the middle way, having had twenty years—/Twenty years largely wasted, [...] /There is only the fight to recover what has been lost/ [...] /For us there is only the trying” (CPP 128). Eliot underlines the progressive nature of the mission and sets the sense of the errand at the core of the *Four Quartets*. As Konkle argues, the Puritan sense of errand implies “[a] new beginning, then, and a newly urgent sense of ending; and intermediate between these, at once linking them in time and confirming the overall design” (156). In the overall design of the *Four Quartets* Eliot constantly alludes to the new beginning that implies an end: “In my beginning is my end. In succession” (CPP 123). At the same time, this succession requires the constant pursuit or creation of new patterns that lead towards the new: “To become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern” (142). Eliot deploys a pattern to oppose time to timelessness and this pattern achieves its meaning when it is considered under the structure developed by Eliot in *Four Quartets* as a whole. “Each quartet duplicates the five-part structure of the preceding quartet and repeats the dominant themes of the sequence as a whole, [...], each quartet is the same, but different, and reconciles sameness and difference in its use of a repeated form” (Lobb 33). This pattern deployed by Eliot in the *Four Quartets* provides the whole work “with a sense of purpose, direction, and continuity” (Bercovitch 80). The creation and pursuit of these patterns are intrinsic to the nature of the errand because only the achievement of the mission will bring a sense of progress.

Eliot underlines the endless nature of the mission because “the faith and the love and the hope are all in the waiting” (CPP 127). As he affirms in *The Idea of a Christian Society*, “we have to remember that the Kingdom of Christ on earth will be never

realised, and also that it is always being realised” (qtd. in Childs 184). Similarly, in relation to the American jeremiad, Bercovitch notes that “[t]he very concept of errand, after all, implied a state of *un*fulfillment. The future, though divinely assured, was never quite there, and New England’s Jeremiahs set out to provide the sense of insecurity that would ensure the outcome” (23). Eliot embraces this sense of insecurity to stress that only the embracement of the divine will assure the achievement of the mission: “The only wisdom we can hope to acquire/Is the wisdom of humility: humility is endless” (*CPP* 126). Eliot underlines how the process of moving beyond the material world is an ongoing mission that will be never completely realized in the material world: “And right action is freedom/From past to future also/For most of us, this is the aim/Never here to be realized;/We are only undefeated/Because we have gone on trying” (136). Right action is freedom and the performance of this endeavour requires faith in the errand. In order to fully achieve this “further communion” (129) we must fully leave behind the old world.

Eliot accepts endless continuity and change as a requirement for the achievement of the mission. In contrast, Hemingway is ambiguous in the embracement of this endless progress of the errand. Hemingway explores the ongoing dimension of the mission, but he does not point to an endless performance, because Santiago’s mission implies an end. In the middle of the fight the old man affirms: “‘The fish is my friend too,’ [...] ‘I have never seen or heard of such a fish. But I must kill him. I am glad we do not have to try to kill the stars’” (*OMS* 75). In this statement, the old man clearly rejects an endless pursuit. He praises the limited nature of his endeavour and the necessity of performing it to fulfill his mission. It is significant that Hemingway includes the narration of a meaningful event during the old man’s fight with the fish. Santiago recalls “the time in the tavern of

Casablanca when he had played the hand game with the great negro from Cienfuegos who was the strongest man on the docks” (69). Hemingway tells the story of an arm wrestling and he specifies how “[t]he match had started on a Sunday morning and ended on a Monday morning” (70). He is as precise with the timeline of the event in Africa as he is with Santiago’s fight in the sea. Similarly, he underlines the importance of finishing the physical mission in which Santiago gets involved and he is particularly clear in emphasizing the result of the contend: “He had finished it” (70).

Alternatively, Eliot’s emphasis is on process rather than exclusively on the final outcome of the mission. As Bercovitch argues, the Puritans were far less concerned with the final event than with the design of gradual fulfillment (98). *Four Quartets* is a work designed within a pattern that underlines the process of fulfillment rather than stressing the final outcome. As Eliot states in the last part of “Little Gidding” “[e]very phrase and every sentence is an end and a beginning,/Every poem an epitaph. And any action/Is a step to the block, [...]/We die with the dying:/[...]/We are born with the death” (CPP 144). The rhetoric of the Puritan jeremiads is at the core of the end of the *Four Quartets*. In these lines Eliot “joined lament and celebration in reaffirming [...] the mission as the Puritan Jeremiads (Bercovitch 11). There is a continuous celebration that leads towards the final sense of achievement as a result of undertaking the mission outlined in the *Four Quartets*.

Eliot claims that “[w]e shall not cease from exploration” because at the “end of all our exploring” we will “arrive where we started/ And know the place for the first time” (CPP 145). Eliot hopes for something new at the end of the mission, and he points to this sense of fulfillment in the very last stanza of the *Four Quartets*, when he offers this

“further union” that he aimed at at the end of “East Coker.” Eliot has crossed the frontier between the old and new worlds and at the end of the last quartet Eliot describes the steps undertaken throughout the mission:

There are three conditions which often look alike
Yet differ completely, flourish in the same hedgerow:
Attachment to self and to things and to persons, detachment
From self and from things and from persons; and, growing between
Them, indifference [...]
For liberation—not less of love but expanding
[...], and so liberation. (142)

Eliot achieves liberation from the material world. He looks into “intersection of the timeless/With time” that “is an occupation for the saint—/No occupation either, but something given/And taken, in a lifetime’s death in love” (136). Eliot equates the “still point” to the “death in love” of the “saint” (136). In “Little Gidding” Eliot overcomes the limitations imposed by the “the knowledge derived from experience./ The knowledge imposed a pattern, and falsifies” (125). In the last quartet, Eliot reaches “[t]he only wisdom we can hope” (125). As Moody affirms, “*Four Quartets* systematically subverts and inverts ‘normal’ humane values. Its wisdom is the negative wisdom of humility; its love is concerned only to conceive the Word heard in humble submission to death, and its history would record nothing but the deaths in that Love of saints and martyrs” (154). Eliot aims at the union of the eternal and the finite, the timeless and the temporal that is only actualized in love towards God.¹⁹

In *The Old Man and the Sea*, Santiago identifies himself with the mission of being a fisherman to the same extent that Eliot embraces the mission of loving God. Only the struggle of Santiago to catch the fish may offer the old man a broadly similar experience

¹⁹ See Blamires 120.

as the one pointed out by Eliot in a “lifetime’s death in love” (*CPP* 136). As Taylor notes, the old man’s attitude equates to “the value of the heroic individual taking the greatest risk in order to achieve the greatest fulfillment” (qtd. in Eddins 73). After the fight with the fish Santiago claims: “But man is not made for defeat,’ he said. ‘A man can be destroyed but not defeated’” (*OMS* 103). Only the struggle, the constant fight in the sea gives meaning to his experiences in the sea. Santiago experiences a sense of fulfillment, but his mission is condemned to end while Eliot’s mission of love towards God implies the endless “stillness” (*CPP* 121) beyond the contradiction of the material world.

It is remarkable how in *The Old Man and the Sea* the powerful image of the fight between the marlin and Santiago does not move beyond the proper limitations of the timeline of Santiago’s experience and the spatial boundaries of his life. Hemingway’s narrative form condemns the symbol of Santiago and the fish—“we are joined together” (50)—to remain within the boundaries of the pattern of the story. The writer of fiction frames Santiago’s failed attempt to embrace an experience beyond time in a literary form conditioned by the limited lineal plot. Alternatively, Eliot’s final symbols of union at the end of the *Four Quartets* move beyond time and space to reach “the stillness/Between two waves of the sea” (*CPP* 145). Eliot uses poetry to move beyond the frontier he outlines in these poems, because as he states, “the poet is occupied with frontiers of consciousness beyond which words fail, though meanings still exit” (qtd. in Oser 111). As Douglas claims in relation to “Burnt Norton,” “[it] enacts, insofar as it can, a process of awakening to the meaning of an intuitive experience” (95). For Eliot, there is a

meaning unattainable through the use of words in his poetry. There is meaning beyond death—the material world—because “my end is my beginning” (*CPP* 129).

In contrast, in Hemingway’s final symbol there is no meaning beyond Santiago’s performance, but only dreaming in an endless experience. As Grimes notes, “[t]he main thing that remains is the dreaming [...]. The main thing that remains is a mode of perceiving and being that provides access to life without borders, truly wild territory, undescribed, and hence unlimited” (*Lions* 64). But it cannot be ignored that the journey of the old man finishes within the same boundaries where it starts. There is none of Eliot’s boundless experience as Santiago returns to the world he fails to leave behind in his frustrated attempt of reaching a life without borders. For Hemingway there is no meaning after death.

Physically exhausted in his shack up the road, the main character of *The Old Man and the Sea* sleeps under the gaze of the young boy: “Up the road, in his shack, the old man was sleeping again” (127). The journey of the failed fishing trip reaches its end and Hemingway presents the consequences of the physical fight performed by the old man in his battle with the big fish. The old man has not succeeded in his enterprise. Again, Hemingway explores in his fiction the impossibility of moving beyond the intellectual categorization of reality; and, hence, time and space. He finishes the story with a symbol of defeat: “The old man was dreaming about the lions” (*OMS* 127). Like all Hemingway’s characters, old Santiago remains trapped in the physical realm and condemned to the eternal dream of an experience of stillness beyond the limitations of the material world. In contrast, in the very last line of *Four Quartets* Eliot offers a symbol of harmony: “And the fire and the rose are one” (*CPP* 145). The poet reaches the desired

moment of spiritual communion beyond the self. He overcomes the limits imposed by the categorization of reality to experience the silence and stillness of God.

Simultaneously, Eliot's and Hemingway's final symbols represent both the pursuit and the final outcomes of their shared mission to attain a unity of experience. For Rowe, the symbolism of the American Renaissance depended upon a movement toward a transcendental centre (21). In their late works Eliot and Hemingway kept moving towards this centre, just as their literary forefathers did. In *Four Quartets* Eliot succeeds in this movement and presents a final symbol of unity. In contrast, Hemingway's symbol presents the frustrated attempt to reach such unity of experience.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has established the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway may be considered as distinctive American authors. To do so, I focused on their shared understanding of language inherited from the American Renaissance. First, I considered their reflections on the correlation between language and the experience of reality at the same time that they mistrusted language to convey experiences beyond a mechanical categorization of reality. This awareness of the limitations of language led them to the use of symbols inherited from their American literary forefathers. The second section analyzed the extent to which Eliot and Hemingway internalized the patterns of rhetoric of the Puritan tradition and its intrinsic use of the symbol of the American jeremiad. I identified how Eliot's *Four Quartets* and Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* deployed a sense of

mission intrinsic to the American jeremiad, and went on to explore the extent to which they shaped this mission through similar use of the imagery of the frontier. Finally, I reflected on the sense of fulfillment they conveyed in their respective works in relation to accomplishment of their distinctive missions. I concluded that Eliot succeeds in moving beyond the frontier of the material world while Hemingway remains trapped within these boundaries.

Conclusion

In Hemingway's "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" (1936) Harry is dying under the shade of a mimosa in the African wilderness. He recalls through different flashbacks moments of his life. He recollects scenes from Paris as a young writer and scenes related to the First World War. Hemingway relates Harry's experience of these events to Harry's work as a writer:

*He had seen the world change; not just the events; although he had seen many of them and had watched the people, but he had seen the subtler change and he could remember how the people were at different times. He had been in it and he had watched it and it was his duty to write of it.*¹ (CSS 49).

Hemingway points out the correlation between Harry's experience of all these changes and his fiction as a result of those changes. He suggests that Harry's work—to use Eliot's expression—"is a document of its time" (SW xi). Hemingway and Eliot were part of the world that the protagonist of "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" recollects in the last moments of his life. These two authors also experienced this world of change and they conveyed it in their respective works. In this thesis I have shown how Eliot's and Hemingway's works were similar but contrasting attempts to make sense of this world of experience in the early twentieth century.

At the beginning of this inquiry, I reflected on a cultural and philosophical paradigm from the turn of the twentieth century that I noted was at the core of Eliot's and Hemingway's early works. These two authors conveyed the lines of thinking that emerged from theories praising an original flux of sensuous experience beneath the

¹ Italics in original.

rational forms that organized daily existence. By using the theories of William James and Henri Bergson, I have shown the extent to which Eliot's and Hemingway's early characters were involved in a flow of experience in which the inner life clashes with the requirements of the outer world. These two authors explored a similar idea of the self in which two levels of experience are identified with two levels of corresponding consciousness. This reflection on a fragmented experience of reality led them to deploy images to represent an experience in which the dissociation between these two levels of experience disappears.

I have noted how Eliot and Hemingway engaged with the distinction between rational abstraction and flux of sensation, as explored in the theories of James and Bergson, and the extent to which this distinction led them to adopt Modernist poetics. Eliot's "objective correlative" (*SP* 48) and Hemingway's "real thing" (*DIA* 2) responded to this attempt to recast the inner and the outer world in a unity of experience through the use of images in their works. Critics had previously pointed out the similarities between Eliot's and Hemingway's deployment of images, but the lines of inquiry I have expanded in that respect were not fully developed by those critics.² I have established the correlation between Eliot's and Hemingway's aesthetic propositions and the pursuit of a sensuous flow of experience beyond the limitations imposed by the intellect. Thus, the analysis of some of Eliot's and Hemingway's images as a representation of temporary immersions of the individual in a flow of experience has indicated the attraction of these two authors to a primitive state of mind beyond an intellectual categorization of reality.

² I have named the most relevant critics in that respect in Chapter One (See p. 50).

Eliot and Hemingway felt attracted by a sensuous experience of reality that was at odds with both the industrial modernization inherited from the nineteenth century and the necessity of adopting the requirements of a civilized life in a distinctive urban world. These two authors attempted to convey a primitive state of mind, and they explored in their early works the idea of neglecting a civilized world to embrace sensual experiences at the expense of the intellect. Eliot's Sweeney poems and some of Hemingway's early stories such as "The Battler" demonstrate the common attraction of these two authors for this sensuous experience of reality, but also show their consideration of the primitive as a dangerous allure. Through the analysis of these early works I have noted to what extent Eliot and Hemingway internalized the parameters of thought promoted by the debate around the concept of the primitive in the early twentieth century. By using Babbitt's part in this debate and his critique of a civilization that was "sentimentalizing the primitive" (*MFC* 24), I have shown Eliot's and Hemingway's ambivalent consideration of this state of mind. This conflicting involvement with the primitive resulted in a questioning of the world they lived in. Similarly, Eliot and Hemingway reflected on the necessity of collective modes of experience, which they considered absent in the society of the early twentieth century, in order to restrain the tendency of the individual towards the satisfaction of the primitive sensual instincts.

In the first part of this dissertation I showed how Eliot's and Hemingway's early works were a product of the war of ideas in which the key thinkers of the period were involved, in relation to the clash between the original flux of sensations and the instrumental conventions that shape ordinary life. Chapter One and Chapter Two set the

parameters to comprehend the distinctive paths that these two authors explored to unify this fragmented world of experience in their late works.

Many critics have examined to an extent the commonalities between Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. In Chapter Three I engaged with all those previous critics and their common analysis of Eliot's and Hemingway's use of ancient myths as a mode of reflecting on the disorder of contemporary experience. This was my point of departure in the third chapter. I noted, however, how this commonality disposed these two authors to explore different rituals, and the extent to which this difference eventually conditioned their later reflections on the possibilities of overcoming the disordered experience of reality. I clarified how Eliot and Hemingway identified rituals as collective experiences, to argue that while Eliot's exploration of the myth of the Fisher King disposed him to focus on Christian rituals, Hemingway's use of the same myth conditioned him to pay attention to pagan rituals. Eliot and Hemingway deployed "the mythical method" to give "significance" to the experience of modern society (Eliot, *SP* 177), but this ground led them to alternative terrains in their later works.

I have shown how Hemingway's engagement with the pagan ritual of bullfighting resulted in his concern with a physical level of experience to attain unity. Alternatively, Eliot's engagement with Christian rituals led him to focus on a spiritual level of experience. These two contrasting concerns with the physical and spiritual realms of life respectively triggered in Eliot an interest in religious feelings and in Hemingway an attraction to moral ones.

In Chapter Four I deciphered the extent to which the distinctiveness of these feelings led Eliot to embrace the Christian tradition as a mode of experiencing the ideal

unity of the divine, while Hemingway focused on the tradition of bullfighting in service of his aim of an ideal of performance in the material world undertaken out of a sense of duty. Eliot and Hemingway reflected on the experience of these feelings as a mode of securing social cohesion. To do so, they proposed alternative social orders where the ideal of the individual and that of the community become one. Eliot looked into values realized only out of time and defended the Christian faith as the necessary mechanism for social cohesion. In contrast, Hemingway paid attention to values achievable in the material world and embraced political ideology to defend these values.

Eliot and Hemingway aimed at an ideal unity that remained at the core of their final attempts to move beyond the disorder of experience explored throughout all their works. I have shown how they conveyed, through the use of language, distinctive feelings in their respective works to experience such unity, but they always questioned the success of this endeavour.

In the discourses that Eliot and Hemingway delivered when they were each awarded the Nobel Prize, both authors focused on the limitations of language to convey feelings. Eliot affirmed that "the expression of one's feelings calls for resources which language cannot supply."³ Eliot pursued throughout all his work the unified sense of feeling beyond the contradictions of the material world, but he was aware of the limitations of language to express such experience. Hemingway explained how "[f]or a true writer each book should be a new beginning where he tries again for something that

³ Eliot's speech at the Nobel Banquet at the City Hall in Stockholm, December 10, 1948.

is beyond attainment”.⁴ Chapter Five analyzed this mistrust of language to convey an experience that is beyond attainment. I noted how Eliot and Hemingway adopted the use of symbols intrinsic to the American literary tradition to prevent this flaw of language. I indicated how Eliot and Hemingway internalized in their late works a pattern of rhetoric inherited from the Puritan tradition and its use of the symbol of the American jeremiad. I concluded that Eliot succeeded in moving beyond the frontier of the material world while Hemingway failed in this mission.

From their earliest works, Eliot and Hemingway reflected on an “all-inclusive experience outside of which nothing shall fall” (Eliot, *KE* 31). These two authors pursued a unified sense of feeling to overcome a dissociated experience of reality. They confronted the same problems throughout their shared journey, but they covered alternative paths to reach different conclusions in their common enterprise. Eliot reached this unity of experience through endless love of the divine. Alternatively, Hemingway remained in a physical level of experience performing endlessly physical activities. He remained trapped in the eternal dreaming of the transcendent because, as he confessed to 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” (qtd. in Josephs 153).

My methodology has been to arrange a textual interplay between these two writers. Both have inspired extensive critical attention individually. Eliot’s and Hemingway’s works have been, and continue to be, the subject of study in many areas. It has also been revealing to study the works undertaken by many critics who have analyzed

⁴ As Hemingway was unable to be present at the Nobel Banquet at the City Hall in Stockholm, December 10, 1954, the speech was read by John C. Cabot, United States Ambassador to Sweden.

these writers together. From my point of view, these two authors are more alluring when they are considered within a wider scope in which their communalities and differences can be pondered. Examining the texts of one partly through the lens of the other has resulted in revealing reflections and readings.

It is important to bear in mind that these readings are not definitive. For instance, I have provided a previously unavailable perspective to see these authors as occupying two poles of a dissociated experience of reality. In the same way, there are also other methodologies that can be adopted when studying them. One methodology I rejected is the biographical criticism that relates the author's life and thought to his works. Traditionally, Hemingway's life has played an important role in the criticism of his fiction. I considered that it was necessary to move beyond this approach to articulate an analysis of the textual interaction of his works with those of Eliot in a terrain of common ideas. However, I acknowledge that this may be a valid point of departure for further research. I have also not chosen the influence route, because even though there are communalities in how they deployed language in their works to convey experience, it is difficult to prove to what extent Hemingway looked at Eliot's poetry as a possible model for his fiction. The fact that they were writing in different genres makes this approach even more challenging to develop.

The expectation is that this thesis will serve as a stepping-stone for further research. One aim of this work has been to show how Eliot and Hemingway tried to attain a unity of experience, yet altogether in contrasting ways. I hope that my research has raised awareness of this issue. There are a number of directions in which academic work on this topic could be further developed from here. I am personally interested in

focusing at how both authors were differently perceived in their time. It would be necessary to take the overlooked road in this research of biographical criticism to decipher why the poetry of Eliot was considered high literature while Hemingway's fiction was labeled as low literature, even though both authors engaged with similar concerns. Some critics have pointed out this issue without developing it further. Poirier, for instance, articulates this consideration when he compares Eliot's and Hemingway's literary apparatus:

Ideally, that is, the apparatus of Eliot or Joyce functions the way bullfighting or boxing functions metaphorically in Hemingway [...]. The apparatus therefore probably deserves, though still on the other side of a bookishness that Hemingway does not require, the same kind of pretend-casualness of response. (*Renewal* 106)

This passage underlines the misconception of reading Hemingway and Eliot as two opposed authors within a contemporary literary landscape. To understand this position it would be necessary to take into account not only the works of these two authors but also the public image they had, along with how their works were perceived by their readers.

Eliot and Hemingway appreciated the literary value of each other's works, ignoring the distinction between high and low literature. The former stated that, "Mr. Hemingway is a writer for whom I have considerable respect; he seems to me to tell the truth about his own feelings at the moment they exist" (qtd. in Curnutt 41). Hemingway also expressed his admiration towards the work of Eliot when he considered him "a damned good poet and a fair critic" (*SL* 701). Eliot's and Hemingway's judgments are made by exclusively considering the literary value of their works, as opposed to the public images of these writers or the personal dislike that Hemingway shows when he affirmed that Eliot "can kiss my ass as a man and he never hit a ball out of the infield in his life" (*SL* 701). Alternatively, public and critics have traditionally chained Eliot's and

Hemingway's works with the struggle in the field of cultural production that labels these two authors as high and low literature. This is definitely a road worth pursuing.

In 1937 Eliot wrote in *Criterion* that “[p]eople are only influenced in the direction in which they want to go, and influence consists largely in making them conscious of their wishes to proceed in that direction” (*IMH* 385). In this dissertation I have not looked at the possible influence that these two writers had on each other, but questioned the extent to which they proceed in distinctive directions that converged and diverged within a common order of experience. Eliot's poetry and Hemingway's fiction cohere with each other within the significance of the mutual relationship of their respective works. It is the coherence of this relation that has offered an enriching understanding of Eliot and Hemingway because, as the former claimed, “[n]o poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone” (*SP* 38).

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