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**A FAREWELL TO GENDER NORMS:
NON-HETERONORMATIVE CHARACTERS IN
ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S WRITING**

*A Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Liberal Studies*

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Mary Welsh Hemingway recorded a diary entry in 1953 in which Hemingway, affectionately known as "Papa," is giving a mock interview to a fictitious reporter from a fictitious magazine, "Recondite." In this interview, the imaginary reporter asks a series of provocative questions:

Reporter: Mr. Hemingway, is it true that your wife is a lesbian?

Papa: Of course not. Mrs. Hemingway is a boy.

Reporter: What are your favorite sports, sir?

Papa: Shooting, fishing, reading, and sodomy.

Reporter: Does Mrs. Hemingway participate in these sports?

Papa: She participates in all of them.

Reporter: Sir, can you compare fishing, shooting and cricket, perhaps with the other sports you practice?

Papa: Young man, you must distinguish between the diurnal and nocturnal sports. In this latter category sodomy is definitely superior to fishing..."

(How it Was 425, 368-369).

Despite Mary's assertion that this diary entry is one of "Papa clowning," readers cannot help but wonder if there is truth in these replies. By all accounts, it is true that Hemingway enjoyed "shooting, fishing, and reading," so what then should readers make of his inclusion of sodomy as a "favorite sport?" This thesis will examine this question through biographical and textual evidence through examples of personal influence that appear as non-heteronormative characters and plots in Hemingway's short stories and novels.

Like other modernist authors (T.S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein), Hemingway often used personal experiences, family, and friends to inspire his short stories and novels. Frequent topics in Hemingway's writing included private passions like hunting and fishing, and traumatic events like WWI and the Spanish Civil War, in which

he served as an ambulance driver and war correspondent, respectively. In addition to these, Hemingway employed personal and less well-known experiences and desires from his life as sources of inspiration. These secret desires and experiences included non-heteronormative behaviors like sexual gender-swapping, androgyny, fetishism, bisexuality, and possibly homosexuality. Some of these behaviors were observed in friends and close acquaintances, while others belonged to Hemingway himself. During his life, heterosexuality was widely believed to be the only normal and natural expression of sexuality. In this context, the term "non-heteronormative" is used to identify behaviors that do not adhere to expressions of traditional sexual and gender identity.

Hemingway masked these feelings and experiences in his public life, hiding them behind a hyper-masculine persona. Privately, he observed, discussed, and experimented with these behaviors with his friends and wives and transferred those experiences to print using a writing technique that he named the "iceberg theory." Hemingway's iceberg theory was a minimalistic, almost coded writing that he employed throughout his career, especially when dealing with sensitive subjects like non-heteronormative behaviors. Utilizing this writing technique, he would write with intentional gaps in the text, leaving room for reader interpretation. Hemingway described this process in a 1954 interview with George Plimpton in the *Paris Review* as follows:

You can be sure that there is much more there than will be read at any first reading and have made this; it is not the writer's province to explain it or run guided tours through the more difficult country of his work. I always try to write on the iceberg principle, and there is seven-eighth of it underwater for every part that shows (Plimpton 7, 10).

Hemingway's use of this technique enabled him to suggest and imply sensitive and controversial topics without actually naming them, thus allowing for alternative explanations. In his early writing, this technique was advantageous with non-heteronormative behaviors as it avoided directly identifying them. Later in his career, Hemingway would employ this technique less frequently with non-heteronormative topics, writing with much greater frankness and clarity. Perhaps his attitude about these topics softened with age, or he never intended to publish those works, as the most explicit examples were published posthumously.

This thesis will examine the people and events that influenced the non-heteronormative behaviors in Hemingway's personal life and how those influences and behaviors were transferred into characters and stories in his writing. Hemingway was a prolific author with a career spanning decades. His oeuvre is extensive; however, the focus of this thesis will be exclusively on the characters and stories that portray non-heteronormative people and events. Just as he did with hunting, shooting, fishing, and war, Hemingway returned to non-heteronormative topics and characters throughout his career. People will say Hemingway wrote about fictionalized non-heteronormative events because, as an author, a broad array of topics would have been necessary to sustain a decade's long writing career, so any similarities are just coincidences. Like hunting and fishing, I believe that he repeatedly returned to non-heteronormative themes because it was easier, more authentic, and more believable to write about that with which he had not only an interest but experience.

I examined biographies and articles to identify non-heteronormative events in Hemingway's personal life and compared them to non-heteronormative events in his

writing, his contemporaneous writing and the stories and novels written years later. My focus was limited to those Hemingway short stories and novels with non-heteronormative characters and plots. In this comparative process, I was able to identify non-heteronormative influences through similarities in events, people, places, and even language. Examining these events in Hemingway's life and writing is a relatively new field of study, with most of the research on this topic published in the last two to three decades. Several of the most prominent scholars in this field of study have published entire books on the subject with detailed, in-depth analyses and an array of causes and conclusions. I will highlight a few of the most relevant aspects of their findings pertaining to my focus of non-heteronormative influences.

Mark Spilka, in his book *Hemingway's Quarrel with Androgyny*, credits Hemingway's boyhood reading list, and his mother's penchant for presenting him and his sister as belonging to the same gender during their adolescence as significant contributors to Hemingway's non-heteronormative behaviors. Hemingway's boyhood reading list consisted mainly of British literature, which Spilka claims contained "opposing, yet overlapping strands of feelings about manhood from Victorian profeminist and imperial fictions" (Spilka 6). Craik, Burnett, Bronte, Marryat, Kipling, and Masefield are six Victorian authors that Spilka asserts demonstrated conflicted feelings about manhood during Hemingway's adolescence (Spilka 6, 7). These male and female authors shaped Hemingway's views about sexual norms which corresponded roughly to the conflicting messages that he received from his parents in their peculiarly British and androgynous home. Spilka gives additional credit to the "Fauntleroy craze" of the 1890s that also helped blur the lines between male and female definitions of manhood. Spilka credits

(and blames) Hemingway's mother, who often dressed him as the female twin of his older sister, and his father, who tried to raise him "as the frontier scout that he always wanted to be" as contributing significantly to Hemingway's gender confusion (Spilka 331). He claims in part that the combination of gender blurring literature coupled with parents that presented strongly opposing ideals of what it meant to be a "boy" left an indelible "androgynous" impression on a young Hemingway that stayed with him throughout his life.

Scholar Carl Eby in his book *Hemingway's Fetishisms*, embarks on a comprehensive analysis of the psychology of Hemingway's sexuality and gender identity. Eby contends in part, that Hemingway's non-heteronormative behavior is the result of major psychosexual disorders. Eby thinks that Hemingway's mother caused "trauma" with her "twinning and gender flipping" of Hemingway that "profoundly disturbed the formation of his early ego, gender identity, and body image," resulting in his gender disorder (Eby, *Fetishism* 167; Rohy 5). The psychosexual disorders resulted in Hemingway becoming a sexual fetishist with exhibited transvestic behavior that highlighted the "significance of a bisexual split in his ego" (Eby, *Fetishism* 13; Rohy 5). Eby recognizes the hair fetish and gender-swapping sexual encounters throughout Hemingway's literature as irremediably pathological (Rohy 2). In fact, Eby calls *The Garden of Eden*, "transvestic pornography" that "helps us understand the part perversion plays in Hemingway's creativity (Eby, *Fetishisms* 245). Eby credits both the transvestic and fetishistic behaviors to "improper gendering" and the bisexual "split" indicates a "profound confusion about gender identity (Eby, *Fetishism* 191; Rohy 5). Eby's analysis relies on Freudian analysis of ego psychology that regarded homosexuality and

transsexuality as mental illnesses that could be cured by the reconciliation of the individual to social mores (Rohy 5). Eby frames Hemingway as a “would-be transsexual.” However, by clinging to his masculinity, he never fully becomes a transsexual because he could never “get comfortable with his feminine identity,” or recognize his biological sex as a mistake (Rohy 6).

Nancy Comley and Robert Scholes’s book *Hemingway’s Genders*, explores how Hemingway was “fascinated by sexual metamorphoses.” They contend that Hemingway’s characters are fascinated with sexual metamorphoses because Hemingway was fascinated with sexual metamorphoses (Comley & Scholes 59). They explore the correlation between ancient Greek plays, Mozart’s music, and a comic opera provide more sinister interpretations of Hemingway’s choice of the word “Papa” as a nickname, possibly belying some hidden emotional damage. Comley and Scholes find clues to hidden anguish and turmoil in Hemingway’s writing that result from his efforts to interpret the limited images of women that were available to him growing up in the culture of his emasculating mother (Lehman-Haupt 2). The authors assert that the most successful representations of Hemingway’s fictional women result from his use of attributes generally coded as male (Comley & Scholes 145). In addition to this, they argue that Hemingway also writes about male characters complicated by femaleness. They claim Hemingway may have seen homosexuality and lesbianism not as the combination of both genders but rather as the excess of one gender’s attributes over the other (Comley & Scholes 146). They do not assert that Hemingway was a homosexual, but rather that he was far more interested in these matters than first thought and

recognized them as complex issues to be treated with sensitivity (Comley & Scholes 146).

Debra Modellmog's book *Reading Desire* posits Hemingway's sexual identity as located somewhere between the tensions of the homosexual and the heterosexual. She finds that recent critical and biographical content constitutes an "overdetermined effort to maintain a conventionally masculine and heterosexual Hemingway" (Moddemog 7). She argues that Hemingway's biographers and critics have been unwilling or unable to break from conventional societal codes to re-examine Hemingway. In doing this, they are able to re-examine Hemingway without insinuating that he might have been "transgendered" or "queer" (Moddemog 35). Modellmog contends that the critic's desire can shape their portrayal of the subject. This tendency comes from the critic's participation in a particular sexual system, perhaps the dominant one, and the desire to refrain from reforming the dominant order. She argues that the tendency to safeguard Hemingway's masculinity has resulted in accepting the ambiguously and vague term "androgyny." Modellmog asserts that this term neutralizes any sexual component of Hemingway's upbringing and negates the possibility that he may have harbored any homosexual desire (Linde 7). Modellmog does not assert that Hemingway was gay, but she does not recoil from the possibility, and she freely admits that "her Hemingway is gayer and queerer than most Hemingway's" (Linde 7). Modellmog attempts to identify where we might find Hemingway's desire if we strip away the heterosexist notions and prevailing societal constructs that others have used as a guide to reading him.

In Kenneth Lynn's biography *Hemingway*, Lynn credits and largely blames Grace Hemingway for most of Hemingway's gender confusion. He writes that Grace is likely

the reason for the recurrent themes of transsexuality and incest in Hemingway's writing because of the turbulent relationship with his mother, whom Lynn calls "the dark queen of Hemingway's world" (Delistraty 3). Lynn analyzes Grace's obsession with making Hemingway the same sex-twin of his older sister. He suggests that this obsession is an attempt by Grace to heal wounds that she suffered competing with her brother during her childhood (Linde 6). As an adolescent Hemingway was simultaneously dressed as a girl but often instructed to act like a boy. Lynn argues that "caught between his mother's wish to conceal his masculinity and her eagerness to encourage it," it is not surprising that Hemingway was anxious and insecure (Lynn 41; Delistraty 3). Thus according to Lynn, the Hemingway myth of indisputable masculinity is shattered. Lynn sees Hemingway's "outbursts" of masculinity as a sign of anxiety over a gender role that he was expected to fulfill (Linde 6).

Many Hemingway scholars like Mark Spilka, Carl Eby, and Kenneth Lynn place a good deal of the influence (and blame in some cases) for Hemingway's non-heteronormative behaviors on the adolescent same-sex "twinning" of Hemingway and his sister Marcelline by their mother Grace (Spilka 8; Eby 89; Delistraty 8). Others credit Hemingway's gay friends, Gertrude Stein and Sydney Franklin for influencing the non-heteronormative examples in his writing (McNamara 1; Dearborn 119). Scholars Nancy Comley, Robert Scholes, and Debra Modellmog attribute these behaviors in part to Hemingway's fascination with sexual metamorphoses and they recognize transgender possibilities (Rohy 2-3). I do not disagree with these experts, but my examination more narrowly identifies individual people in Hemingway's life and directly correlates their influence through similarities in events with specific instances of non-heteronormative

characters, behaviors, and plots in his writing. In other words, who directly influenced these behaviors in Hemingway's writing, when, and how?

I will argue that the person with the most significant influence on the non-heteronormative characters in Hemingway's writing (apart from Hemingway himself) was his WWI commanding officer Jim Gamble. Gamble entered Hemingway's life at a formative and vulnerable period for the young man, and his influence would have a resounding impact throughout Hemingway's career. Other people most responsible for influencing non-heteronormative themes in Hemingway's writing were his parents, Grace, and Clarence (Ed) Hemingway. I don't believe their influence resulted predominantly from their treatment of Hemingway as other scholars contend (except for Grace as the possible source of Hemingway's hair fetish), but rather from the negative examples they set for him as a married couple. In Hemingway's writing, Mary Welsh Hemingway provided a great deal of non-heteronormative subject matter through her participation in their gender-swapping lovemaking and her willingness to indulge Hemingway's hair fetish. Several of Hemingway's wives may have participated in gender-swapping sex with Hemingway, and we know that several of them indulged his hair fetish. Mary stands out because of the frankness with which she addressed non-heteronormative subjects in her biography and diary. She participated in the posthumous publication of several of Hemingway's more controversial works. Finally, Hemingway himself created the most non-heteronormative material for his writing through desires, fetishes, and sexual experimentation. Hemingway drew from personal experience as a source of inspiration throughout his career, and writing about non-heteronormative behaviors was no exception. His interest in hairstyles and colors and gender-swapping

sexual fantasies have been documented in his marriages and throughout the pages of many of his novels and short stories. Hemingway had three notable gay friends, Gertrude Stein, Sidney Franklin, and Glenway Wescott, inspiring minor homosexual characters in his writing. Although not a focal point in this thesis, their inspiration is worth mentioning. Despite personal friendships with Hemingway (for a short time at least), their influence resulted in mostly pejorative depictions of homosexuals. This thesis will examine the impact of these people on Hemingway's life by highlighting the non-heteronormative characters and stories in his writing that directly correspond with their influence.

This thesis will argue that James Gamble, Grace Hemingway, Ruth Arnold, Gertrude Stein, Glenway Westcott, Sidney Franklin, Mary Welsh Hemingway, and Hemingway himself served as influences for the non-heteronormative characters and plots in Hemingway's short stories and novels. Through a comparative analysis of letters, contemporaneous notes, biographies and diaries, I will demonstrate that their interactions with Hemingway resulted in specific textual examples of their direct influence on his writing.

The Impact of Jim Gamble

In this chapter, I will examine the impact of James (Jim) Gamble, who entered Hemingway's life when the young author was particularly impressionable, inexperienced, and vulnerable. During and immediately after WWI, Hemingway's friendship with his America Red Cross commander Jim Gamble led to a great deal of speculation about the nature of their relationship. This chapter explores how the relationship between the two men provided Hemingway with the plots for short stories, inspiration for several characters, and engendered some bitterness in Hemingway that would resurface years later in a letter to a friend.

As America entered WWI in 1917, a young Hemingway was chomping at the bit to get involved in the action. Poor eyesight kept a young Hemingway from serving in the US military, so he joined the American Red Cross, which had recently begun sending ambulances and drivers to the Italian front and for whom Hemingway's eyesight was not an obstacle (Meyers 11). Hemingway arrived at the Italian front in June 1918; he was eighteen years old. Near the Piave, the Red Cross had established several rolling canteens that provided coffee, candy, and tobacco to the Italian soldiers at the front. Hemingway was chosen to man these canteens under the command of a field inspector named Jim Gamble. Jim Gamble was an American graduate of Yale who had studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art before settling in Florence as a painter just before the war (Brenner 5). At 36 years old, he was twice Hemingway's age, and as Captain, he was Hemingway's superior, but the two men quickly became friends. In a letter to his parents

in 1918, Hemingway described Gamble as "a great pal of mine" (Meyers 30; Letters Volume 1 131; Brenner 4).

On July 8, 1918, Hemingway's legs were severely wounded during a trench mortar explosion. Not only was Gamble there to comfort Hemingway before his surgery, but he was practically his only visitor during a five-day hospital stay in Treviso. Needing additional care, Gamble arranged for Hemingway to get on a hospital train to Milan and accompanied him on the grueling 48-hour journey. Hemingway would later remark to Gamble, "that trip to Milan from the Piave had all the bad parts smoothed out by you. I didn't do a thing except let you make me perfectly comfortable" (Dearborn 60). After the war, in late December 1918, Hemingway accepted an invitation from Jim Gamble to join him at a villa that Gamble was renting in Taormina, Sicily. Gamble paid for all of Hemingway's expenses during their sixteen days together at the villa in Taormina (Brenner 5). According to Hemingway's biographer Mary Dearborn, some scholars have speculated that the two experienced a homosexual relationship. However, speculation about a homosexual relationship is just that, as little is known about their time together in Taormina. Hemingway bragged to a friend that he had seen little of Italy beyond his bedroom because a hotel hostess had stolen his clothes and "kept him to herself for the week." Biographer Mary Dearborn credits the hostess story as bravado because she claims the young Hemingway was too inexperienced for such a feat (Dearborn 69).

In the year or so after Taormina, other invitations of holidays from Jim Gamble would follow, including trips to Portugal, Italy, the Gamble family home in Pennsylvania, and a two-month holiday in the Canary Islands (Dearborn 69). Hemingway rejected all of these offers, but one proved almost irresistible. Jim Gamble offered to finance an

extended stay for Hemingway in Europe for a whole year, where Hemingway could focus on his writing. After the mortar explosion, Hemingway's first love, Agnes von Kurowsky, his nurse in Milan, dissuaded Hemingway from accepting Jim's offer. Agnes had witnessed an earlier incident of presumed attraction by an older man to Hemingway in the Milan hospital. She equated that scenario to what was happening with Jim Gamble. She later remarked, "My idea was to get him home because he was very fascinating to older men. They all found him very interesting" (Brennen 5). Agnes went on to say about her attempt to get Hemingway away from Jim Gamble, "Leaving Europe wasn't easy to do because the man liked him very much and had money." Agnes remarked that if Hemingway had taken Jim's offer, "he wouldn't have to worry about a thing," and she feared that if she had broken things off with Hemingway at that time, she would "start him off on that European tour" (Dearborn 70). Agnes's statements suggest a mutual desire between Hemingway and Jim for companionship, so strong that intervention was presumed necessary to keep them apart. Because of her correlation between Jim Gamble's affection for Hemingway and that of the older man in the hospital in Milan, Agnes thought Gamble had interests beyond mere friendship, a position with which I tend to agree. We can only speculate whether Hemingway had the same interests, but his letters to Gamble after returning to the states make a compelling case for reciprocation.

Back in the states, one of the first letters Hemingway wrote was to Jim Gamble, bemoaning how he missed being in Taormina with his friend (Dearborn 75). In retrospect, it is easy to see why this written correspondence between Hemingway and Jim Gamble raised many eyebrows. Some view Hemingway's letters to Jim as love letters

because of the romantic language and scenes. Hemingway writes to Jim in March of 1919:

When I think of Taormina by moonlight and you and me, a little illuminated some times, but always just pleasantly so, strolling through that great old place and the moon path on the sea and Aetna fuming away and the black shadows and the moonlight cutting down the stairway back of the villa (Dearborn 69).

Hemingway continued, "Every minute of every day I kick myself for not being in Taormina with you." The letter mentions men the two had met while there and romanticizes their time together. Hemingway lamented that his regret of not being in Taormina now makes him ill (Dearborn 69). He tells Jim that the thought of not being in Taormina with his friend drove him to drink in his room, "where I pour out a very stiff tall one and...think of us sitting in front of the fire...and I drink to you chief. I drink to you" (Dearborn 75). However, even though Agnes von Kurowsky ended her relationship with Hemingway in a March 1919 letter, Hemingway continued to receive and refuse offers from Jim Gamble (Dearborn 77). Curiously, now free from Agnes's influence, Hemingway still refused to take Jim Gamble up on his offers. Hemingway and Jim never saw each other again, but the two men maintained an intimate friendship through letters. Finally, in 1920 Hemingway was dating a woman that would later become his first wife, Hadley Richardson, when he received another letter from Jim Gamble. Gamble was heading to Europe in early January and invited Hemingway to join him for plans that, according to Jim, "can be formed according to your wishes." Gamble asked if Hemingway had been writing? If he was married? In Hemingway's immediate reply, he says, "I would rather go to Rome with you than heaven, but am broke." He said he was not married twice in the cable, and he scratched it out twice. Hemingway wrote to Hadley

that he may be going to Rome on Tuesday to benefit his career, only to admit that he did not have a career but still may go (Dearborn 102). Ultimately, Hemingway would again refuse Jim Gamble's invitation, even though he may have viewed it as a shortcut to success – an opportunity that he would later belittle and condemn a fellow writer for not passing up.

In recent years, some Hemingway biographers like Mary Dearborn and Jeffrey Meyers have reassessed the relationship between Hemingway and Jim Gamble with a critical eye toward the exact nature of their relationship. Dearborn relies heavily on letters between the two men, and I will demonstrate later that Meyers mistakenly misattributes a story from *Death in the Afternoon* to Gamble (Dearborn 69, 75, 102; Brenner 6).

Understandably, some people think that Jim Gamble's interest in Hemingway went beyond the desire for platonic friendship. There are Gamble's repeated invitations for Hemingway to join him on holidays in Rome, Pennsylvania, the Canary Islands, the year-long stint in Europe, and of course the sixteen days they spent together in Taormina, among others. There is an obvious longing for each other's company that is expressed in written correspondence that often seems romantic if not poetic: "I think of us sitting in front of the fire," "When I think of old Taormina by moonlight and you and me, a little illuminated some times [sic] ..." and "I would rather go to Rome with you than heaven" (Dearborn 69, 75, 102). The suspect nature of the relationship is bolstered by later admissions of Agnes von Kurowsky that "Hemingway was very fascinating to older men" and by his first wife Hadley Richardson, who would admit that she was also aware of Hemingway's attractiveness to men (Brenner 5; Dearborn 102).

Some will say that the Italian holiday, the repeated invitations for other holidays together, the effusive correspondence, and the suspicions from some of their contemporary friends are convincing evidence of a more than platonic friendship between the two men. However, all of this is circumstantial evidence at best. There is no concrete evidence that Jim Gamble was a homosexual. Jim Gamble married in 1926, and although his brief and childless marriage ended in 1929, his niece, with whom he lived during much of his widowhood during the 1930s and 1940s, recalls nothing odd or unconventional about her uncle or his sexual behavior (Brenner 6). One explanation could be that Hemingway was a dynamic personality, full of energy and a unique zest for life that made him attractive to men and women. Agnes von Kurowsky echoed this sentiment when she said to an early Hemingway biographer Carlos Baker, "Men loved him, you know what I mean." Baker's interpretation of these comments was that "there was something about Hemingway's personality that elicited a kind of hero-worship." However, the possibility exists of another interpretation, that men were sexually attracted to him. His first wife, Hadley, said, "He was the kind of man to whom men, women, children, and dogs were attracted" (Dearborn 69). It appears that Jim Gamble was undoubtedly attracted to Hemingway, but no one can be certain of the extent of that attractiveness. As to the reciprocity of those feelings by Hemingway, compelling evidence supports and denies that possibility.

Hemingway did send mixed signals about his feelings toward Jim Gamble. He wrote effusive letters to Jim, but he often spoke of Agnes in those same letters (Dearborn 75). Ultimately, Hemingway refused all of Gamble's offers to holiday together after Taormina. Why had Hemingway not taken Jim up on his offers once his relationship had

ended with Agnes? Did he know something about Jim that made him uncomfortable, or had he decided to stay in the states and focus on his career? Why would Hemingway twice scratch through the response that he was not married in a cable to Jim Gamble? (Dearborn 102). Not answering that question seems more of an attempt to prevent Jim from knowing that he was still uncommitted. If he wanted Jim to know that he was still single, he would have said, "I am not married," instead of not answering at all. In 1920 a final invitation for a Roman holiday with Jim Gamble would cause Hemingway some consternation even though he had started dating the person who would become his first wife, Hadley Richardson.

Hemingway again declined Jim's offer, but he waited until the last possible minute, suggesting that the decision to stay with Hadley or go with Jim was a real dilemma. Hemingway's biographer Mary Dearborn suggests that Hemingway's conscious decision to follow a "more conventional life course" (Dearborn 102). Some will say that Hemingway's continued refusal of Jim's invitations for the two of them to holiday together suggests that Hemingway was not interested in spending time alone with Jim Gamble. I would argue that the desire on Hemingway's part was strong enough for him to be tormented with temptation over the offers. Based on the evidence, the possibility exists that Jim Gamble may have had more than a platonic interest in the young Hemingway. Understandably, people would question the intentions of a thirty-six-year-old man who repeatedly offered to finance holidays abroad with a nineteen-year-old. Nowhere in the correspondence is the offer from Jim to Hemingway also extended to Hemingway's then girlfriends. Regardless of Hemingway's true feelings for Jim, it could be said that he encouraged Jim's interest through his effusive letters of longing and his

intentional omission of facts about the status of his love life. Hemingway was obviously conflicted by several of Jim's offers, and I would argue that the possibility exists that Hemingway was experiencing some emotional trauma concerning an internal heteronormative conflict. Some will argue that Jim's niece ruled out the possibility of his homosexuality due to his marriage; however, it was not uncommon for homosexual or bisexual men to marry women throughout the twentieth century as options for alternative lifestyles were limited and generally unaccepted.

The truth about the exact nature of the relationship between Hemingway and Jim Gamble will likely never be completely known. However, it is clear that Jim Gamble had a profound impact on young Hemingway. After all, Jim was with Hemingway during a time of significant and impactful change in the young man's life; during his first trip overseas, through the horrors of war, his severe wounding, and subsequent months-long recuperation. Jim was also there when Hemingway met and fell in love with Agnes von Kurowsky and possibly, as some have speculated – during his first homosexual encounter. The impact of this particular friendship would reverberate through Hemingway's work for years to come. Jim Gamble directly influenced several of Hemingway's characters and stories in the years that followed their time together. The first example of this direct influence is in a short story titled "A Simple Enquiry." The similarities of circumstances between "A Simple Enquiry" and the relationship between Hemingway and Jim Gamble make a compelling argument for direct influence.

Hemingway's short story "A Simple Enquiry" was likely written in 1926 or just before (Hemingway mentioned it in a letter to his editor Maxwell Perkins in November 1926). However, Hemingway waited to publish it until 1927, when he included it in a

collection of short stories called *Men without Women*. The story takes place in an Italian military command hut in late March during WWI (Nolan 1) (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 246). A nineteen-year-old male orderly named Pinin is summoned by his older commanding officer, a major in the Italian army, and is interrogated by the major to determine his sexual proclivity (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 551). Here are the first clues that Hemingway refers to his time in Italy during WWI under the command of Jim Gamble. We know that both the war and Jim Gamble had huge impacts on a young Hemingway, and *A Simple Enquiry* takes place in an Italian command center during the war with an older commanding officer summoning his nineteen-year-old orderly. Jim Gamble was not only Hemingway's commanding officer in Italy, but at 36, he was twice the age of eighteen-year-old Hemingway when they met in Italy on July 1, 1918. Hemingway was wounded a week later, on July 8, just days before he turned nineteen (Meyers 30). At nineteen, Hemingway was the same age as the orderly Pinin in *A Simple Enquiry*.

The subsequent conversation could be a fictionalized interpretation of the relationship between Gamble and Hemingway during their holiday together in Taormina, as some scholars have suspected homosexual interest or relations during this period. In the story, the major is lying on his bed when the young orderly Pinin enters his room, and asking Pinin if he has "ever been in love?" "In love – with a girl?" First, the major asks if Pinin has ever been in love, then he quickly clarifies, "In love with a girl?" This clarification is a possible assumption of homosexuality by the major of Pinin. Pinin replies with the deceptive answer that he has "been with girls," The major quickly points out the distinction by saying, "I did not ask you that. I asked if you had been in love –

with a girl?" Author Charles Nolan suggests that Pinin's response shows that he either resents the personal nature of the question or is trying to hide something (Nolan 1). When Pinin replies, "yes," the major asks, "You are in love with this girl now? You don't write her, I read all of your letters." Pinin responds, "I am in love with her," "but I do not write her." The major has now refined his questions beyond the general to a specific girl and then back to the general (Nolan 1). The changing direction of his questions from general to specific "girl" suggests that the major is trying to poke holes in Pinin's story. The major clarifies, "You are sure of this?" Pinin replies, "I am sure." The major presses, "And you are quite sure that you love a girl?" This thesis suggests that the point of conception of this story coincided with the holiday in Taormina because like Pinin, Hemingway would have only recently met and fallen in love with the nurse Agnes von Kurowsky.

The Major's enquiry is possibly a modified synopsis of the conversations that one might imagine taking place between Hemingway and Jim Gamble during this time, or at the very least, what Hemingway might have deduced about Jim's thoughts of his falling in love with his first true love - Agnes. The major then asks Pinin, "And, that you are not corrupt?" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 551-552). Corrupt in this context is meant to mean homosexual (Kawada 39). Pinin responds, "I don't know what you mean by, corrupt," to which the major responds, "All right, you needn't be superior" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 552). Does Nolan wonder if Pinin's tone suggests that he shares the then accepted view of homosexuality as inferior? Is his tone acknowledgment of his commanding officer's sexual preferences? Or is the Major's overreaction due to defensiveness? (Nolan 1). Pinin's response is interpreted here as a

genuine unfamiliarity with the term or an act of ignorance to conceal the truth about himself. The Major's response as one of feigned outrage to subdue Pinin by forcing him to realize that he has insulted his superior.

A young Hemingway would have likely understood what was meant by "corrupt" at this stage of his life, and we know from his writing where he may have gotten the notion of heterosexuality as "superior." We would later learn that by 1926 Hemingway would have told friends Gertrude Stein and William Smith, among others, that he was fully aware of homosexuality and that he had had negative encounters with homosexual men. In Hemingway's *A Moveable Feast*, he recounts a conversation about homosexuality with Gertrude Stein in Paris in the early 1920s.

Hemingway says that "Miss Stein thought I was too uneducated about sex and I must admit that I had certain prejudices about homosexuality since I knew its more primitive aspects" (MF 27). Hemingway recounted to Miss Stein that when he was recuperating in the hospital in Milan, an "old man" would bring him alcohol and "behaved perfectly until one day I would have to tell the nurse never to let that man into the room again" (Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* 29). In a later version of this story (one of many), Hemingway strikes the man with a bedpan, so the details of this story remain debatable, calling into question its authenticity. Miss Stein replied, "Those people are sick and cannot help themselves and you should pity them." Hemingway then asks her about a writer they know, presumably of the same proclivity, and she responds differently, "He's vicious, he's a corrupter and he's truly vicious." Stein then claims that this unnamed author "corrupts for the pleasure of corruption" and should not be pitied. Recognizing the disparity in Miss Stein's reactions, Hemingway asks why he should pity

the man in Milan, "was he not trying to corrupt me?" Miss Stein asserts that he could not have corrupted a boy like Hemingway; he was just "an old man who could not help what he was doing. He was sick and he could not help it, and you should pity him"

(Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* 29-30). The exchange with Miss Stein provides the genesis for Hemingway's logic that homosexuals could "corrupt" heterosexuals and why the major asked if Pinin had been "corrupted." Miss Stein's reactionary dichotomy about responding to different types of homosexuals is a recurring theme in Hemingway's writing; in some works, Hemingway takes a passive, almost sympathetic approach to the topic. In others, his reaction is quite harsh.

Pinin's response to the Major's rebuke about superiority is sheepish as he is described as looking at the floor. "The major looked at his face, down and up him," as one might do in a covetous way (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 563). The Major proceeds now "not smiling" with two elliptical questions: "And you don't really want – [?]" "That your great desire isn't really – [?]." After each question, we are told that "Pinin looked at the floor." The fact that Pinin is said to look down at the floor three times in rapid succession suggests his uneasiness with the line of questioning. Pinin's impassiveness conceals the truth in the Major's questions or is the only viable sign of contempt he can exhibit toward a commanding officer (Nolan 1). I suggest the repeated attempts to flush out Pinin's true sexuality by continually questioning what he "really want's and truly desires" recalls a parallel to Jim Gamble's repeated invitations for Hemingway to join him on holidays – are you sure of what you really want? Truly desire? Pinin's lack of a response to the major about what he really wants represents Hemingway's lack of response to Jim's question about his current marital status when

Hemingway twice crossed out that he was not married in his cable response to Gamble. The major is then said to lean back on his ruck-sack, "relieved" and "smiling" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 563). Charles Nolan suggests that the Major's relief comes from not dealing with the complications accompanying a liaison with his orderly (Nolan 1). The major then says, "You're a good boy," repeating, "You're a good boy Pinin. But don't be superior and be careful someone else doesn't come along and take you" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 552).

According to Nolan, the repetition of the advice "not to be superior" suggests that Pinin was trying to project an air of heterosexuality and that he was superior to the major or homosexuals in general. Pinin's silence, like Hemingway's, could also represent simple non-commitment to a particular position. The repetition of the phrase is another reminder of the pecking order of the relationship and the implied subservience that comes with it. The Major's use of the phrase "someone else" seems to confirm the Major's homosexuality (Nolan 1). The "someone else" line appears as a reminder to Pinin that the major did not exercise his authority which could have included sexually assaulting Pinin if he so desired, but that someone else may not exercise the same control. Pinin is described as standing still beside the bunk to the Major's cautionary advice. The major, with hands now folded on the blanket, says, "Don't be afraid, I won't touch you. You can go back to your platoon if you like. But you had better stay on as my servant. You've less chance of being killed" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 563).

Some have argued that textual clues suggest the major was masturbating during his interrogation of Pinin. Changes in the Major's body position before and after the enquiry indicate the major may have been involved in some physical activity while Pinin

was in the room. The major is lying on the bunk with his head resting on the rucksack when Pinin enters, and he is said to lean his head back on the rucksack after the enquiry, indicating that he was sitting up while Pinin was standing beside his bunk. Also, the Major's inability to complete his questions when he grills Pinin about his sex life, "And you don't really want -?" "That your great desire isn't really - ?" supports the possibility that he is otherwise occupied (Tanimoto 5). Hemingway scholar Gerry Brenner writes that the pauses merely indicate the Major's homosexuality (Brenner 198). All of this is taking place while Pinin is standing next to the Major's bed, and he is described as repeatedly looking at the floor while the major is said to be looking "up and down him," at his face and hands (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 563).

Pinin's refusal to maintain eye contact by repeatedly looking at the floor indicates his discomfort with either the questions or the physical activity taking place. Finally, after this exchange, the major is described as smiling and relieved as he puts his head back down on his rucksack. We are not sure if the relief is physical or emotional, but some have suggested that without touching Pinin, the major has masturbated to orgasm (Tanimoto 5). The actual masturbation is implied in the story, representing the underwater portion of Hemingway's iceberg principle. We know that the major did not touch Pinin because when he said to Pinin, "I won't touch you," he does not add "again" or "anymore" (Tanimoto 5). The fact that the major felt it necessary to reassure Pinin that he would not "touch him" suggests that something was occurring that would give Pinin reason to believe that he might be touched. Something must have been happening that made Pinin feel threatened on some level, enough so that the major felt compelled to

reassure him that he was safe. This line supports the interpretation that the major was engaged in some behavior (we do not know exactly) that would alarm Pinin.

The major then says to Pinin, "You can go back to your platoon if you like. But you had better stay on as my servant. You've less chance of being killed" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 563). Here, Pinin benefits from staying with the major, just as there was an implied benefit to Hemingway's writing career if he had taken Jim Gamble's offer of an expense-free year in Europe to focus on his writing. As Pinin leaves the Major's room, he is instructed to "leave the door open on your way out" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 564). This directive indicates the door was closed during the enquiry because an adjutant was sitting in the adjacent room, and the major wanted privacy. Why the need for privacy? If the Major's questions were to ascertain if Pinin had a girlfriend, there would have been no need for privacy.

In typical Hemingway style, simple sentences like "don't worry, I won't touch you," and "leave the door open when you go out" are packed with significance as they suggest the possibility of many different interpretations. These short statements allow for the possibility that the exchange was more than an innocent conversational enquiry between two men, in much the same way as Hemingway's crossing out "I am not married" was in his written response to Jim Gamble's enquiry. As Pinin left the room, the adjutant noticed that "Pinin walked awkwardly as he crossed the room and out the door. Pinin was flushed and moved differently than he had moved when he brought the wood in for the fire" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 564). Charles Nolan suggests that Pinin's "awkward" walk, his being "flushed" and moving "differently" are simply the result of his being under pressure or embarrassed at the thought of being a homosexual.

Or possibly because he is upset at being propositioned or because his sexuality has been discovered (Nolan 1).

Some have argued that Pinin is "flushed" and walking "awkwardly and differently" because some sexual act has occurred. Pinin is flushed because the sight of the major masturbating has given him an erection which has resulted in his "awkward" walking and "flushed" appearance (Tanimoto 6; Eisuke 51). Again, Hemingway could have easily suggested that Pinin was obviously embarrassed when he left the room. However, the coded language of his iceberg theory, which gives much detail without really giving any, opens the door to many additional and less wholesome interpretations. In light of Hemingway's history with non-heteronormative topics in his writing, the theory of Pinin's arousal cannot be completely ruled out. According to Nolan, the adjutant is described as "smiling" when he notices Pinin's awkward walk out of the room, suggesting that the adjutant knows about the Major's proclivities. The adjutant's smile is one of superiority because he likely knows what has just taken place, and he is enjoying Pinin's discomfort or the knowledge that Pinin is gay (Nolan 1).

If the adjutant has concluded that Pinin is gay due to his awkward walk, as Nolan suggests, this will support the theory that Pinin leaves the Major's room with an erection. The story concludes with the major alone in his room after Pinin's departure wondering to himself, "The little devil, I wonder if he lied to me" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 564). If Pinin did have an erection, this would undoubtedly cause the major to question whether Pinin was lying about being in love with a girl, and it would "satisfy" the Major's curiosity about Pinin's proclivity. A possible interpretation of the Major's questioning of Pinin's truthfulness about his sexuality is akin to Jim Gamble's repeated attempts to get

Hemingway to go away with him after that first trip to Taormina. After the Taormina trip, Hemingway was eager to return to the states to prepare for his marriage to Agnes von Kurowsky. There is no doubt that Hemingway discussed Agnes with Jim because he was newly in love with her when he and Jim went to Taormina, and he later mentions her in a letter to Jim from the states. Despite Hemingway's confessions of love for Agnes, not unlike those from Pinin, Jim Gamble still repeatedly tries to get Hemingway to commit to another holiday alone with him. After Hemingway's admission of love for Agnes, the repeated invitations call to mind the doubt that the major exhibits of Pinin's true proclivity at the end of "A Simple Enquiry." Of course, this story, not unlike Hemingway's real life, is ambiguous enough about the sexuality of the participants to leave the interpretation of actual events up to the individual reader.

Many Hemingway scholars have concluded that "A Simple Enquiry" is about homosexuality. Some of Hemingway's friends appear to have reached the same conclusion, and even Hemingway himself may have given a tacit acknowledgment of that fact. Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes define the story "A Simple Enquiry" as an "introduction into homosexuality" (Comley & Scholes 129). Furthermore, even though Hemingway may not have ever come out and said that "A Simple Enquiry" was a story about homosexuality, we have clues that he left in letters that make a strong case for his unspoken acknowledgment. In a letter to F. Scott Fitzgerald in November 1926, Hemingway writes that he "has had a grand spell of working," and that I "have two other stories that I know [I] can't sell so am not sending them out – but will go well in a book" (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 231).

According to Hemingway scholar Charles Nolan Jr., by this time in his career, Hemingway would have known that specific topics were unacceptable for publication in magazines, so he would have to wait to include them in a collection (Nolan 1). In writing to editor Maxwell Perkins in February 1927, Hemingway listed several stories to be included in a collection called *Men Without Women*, including "A Simple Enquiry," which Hemingway casually describes as "a little story about the war in Italy" (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 246). Nolan says that there is nothing "simple" about "A Simple Enquiry," and he describes it as "dealing overtly with homosexuality" and as a "complicated" exploration of human relationships (Nolan 1). Hemingway may have recognized this fact, at least in part, in a letter to F. Scott Fitzgerald dated September 15, 1927. In the letter, he describes how he came up with the title for the book of stories called *Men Without Women*, of which "A Simple Enquiry" is a part, "I called the book *Men Without Women* hoping it would have a large sale among the fairies and old Vassar Girls" (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 260). Poet and friend Archibald Macleish alluded to homosexuality in "A Simple Enquiry" and summed up its brilliant use of the iceberg theory in a letter to Hemingway. Macleish wrote, "Its [sic] in your real manner, a fine cool, clean piece of work, sure as leather, & hard and swell (Brenner 199). Macleish continues with a perfect description of Hemingway's iceberg theory, "Ten things 'said' for every word written. Full of sound like a coiled shell. Overtones like the bells of Chartres. All that stuff you can't describe but only do - & only you can do" (Brenner 199). An argument can be made that "A Simple Enquiry" is not about homosexual themes at all, but rather a mundane glimpse into the dullness of military life, or of an officer's interest in the wellbeing of the men in his charge, or as Edmund Wilson has suggested, the

"demoralization of army life." I agree that the story is about homosexuality; otherwise, what is the point of the story? Hemingway is not known for writing pointless tales; in fact, his success as an author comes partly from layering his stories with meaning and unspoken subplots that lie just below the surface (iceberg principle). That is the beauty with Hemingway; you are not entirely sure of his point at the end of the day.

I concur with many scholars that "A Simple Enquiry" deals with homosexual themes. I assert that it is not altogether implausible to assume that Hemingway's time with Jim Gamble may well have provided the basis for the main characters, if not the general plotline. After all, the story takes place in Italy during World War I, a place of significant impact on a young Hemingway and where he first became acquainted with Jim Gamble. The character Pinin is nineteen years old, the same age as Hemingway, shortly after he met Jim Gamble. Gamble was an older superior to Hemingway during the war, just as the major was an older superior to Pinin (although Gamble held the rank of Captain). There are parallels between Pinin's assertion that he is in love with a woman, the Major's repeated questioning, and Hemingway's proclamation of love for Agnes first and later Hadley, and Gamble's repeated invitations for Hemingway to join him alone on holidays abroad.

Furthermore, the suspicions of both Agnes von Kurowsky and Hadley Richardson (at the time, or in hindsight) of Jim Gamble's motives and possible proclivity all add up to a case for influence between Hemingway and Jim Gamble's time together during the war and immediately after as the basis for the storyline of "A Simple Enquiry." Of course, there are other theories about the source of inspiration for "A Simple Enquiry."

Hemingway biographer Wirt Williams has suggested that O'Hara's "Over the River and

"Through the Woods" is a possible source. Charles Nolan Jr. thinks that D. H. Lawrence's short story "The Prussian Officer" is a more likely source (a connection first made by author Sheridan Baker). Nolan notes that Hemingway stated in his book *A Moveable Feast* that he often read Lawrence (Nolan 1). However, "The Prussian Officer" diverges into a story about murderous revenge; the central plot is similar in that a Captain feels sexual tension toward his orderly and occupies his time to prevent him from dating a young woman. Although the exact origins of "A Simple Enquiry" are not known, Charles Nolan Jr. concedes that the story's roots may lie in Hemingway's experience (Nolan 1). Indeed, Mr. Nolan is correct in assuming that Hemingway's personal experiences served as a basis for the story. However, the personal experience that served as the basis for this story was possibly his interactions with Jim Gamble. Some will argue that Hemingway was already acquainted with homosexuals, as he described to Gertrude Stein in *A Moveable Feast* and that any one of them could have served as the inspiration for this story. However, the story takes place in northern Italy during WWI, which is the same time and place in which Hemingway met Jim Gamble. Also, the ages and ranks of both men correspond almost perfectly to those of the major and Pinin. These similarities suggest that Hemingway used Jim Gamble as the inspiration for *A Simple Enquiry*.

Gamble's Influence Continues

The relationship between Hemingway and Jim Gamble had a broader impact on Hemingway's writing than just "A Simple Enquiry," It influenced situations and characters in "The Mercenaries," "*The Sun Also Rises*," *Death in the Afternoon*, and *A Farewell to Arms*.

"The Mercenaries" is a short story written by Hemingway in 1919 but not published until 1985. It is about an interrupted love affair between a man and a woman in Taormina immediately after the war. Chronologically the story was written right after a young Hemingway returned to the United States from the war and his post-war holiday with Jim Gamble. In March of that same year, Agnes von Kurowsky wrote to Hemingway that she was engaged to another man (Dearborn 77). In the story, an army captain named Perry Graves tells two men about a love affair he had with a woman in Taormina. Understandably, Hemingway would have chosen to return to Taormina as the setting for this story since he had just spent the previous Christmas there with Jim Gamble. However, in this version, the couple that enjoys a romantic time in Taormina is not two men, but a man and a woman. Since Hemingway recreates the same settings and timeframe as his real-life holiday with Jim Gamble of Italy and then Taormina, Sicily, immediately after the war, it is entirely possible that he used Himself and Jim Gamble as the inspiration for the characters in this story as well. However, in "The Mercenaries," he changes the sexes of the main characters to that of a man and a woman. We know now that Hemingway used his real-life experiences as inspiration for his work. We also know

from books like *The Garden of Eden* that he would convey personal non-heteronormative experiences in his real life through fictional characters in his writing. We also know from Hemingway's letters that he was acutely aware of the marketability of stories based on the subject matter. At this early stage of his career, unlike his later career with *The Garden of Eden*, he was not willing to write about personal non-heteronormative experiences.

The main character Perry Graves is given the same rank of Captain in the story as Jim Gamble had with the Red Cross when he commanded Hemingway. Perry Graves describes his behavior as less than noble when he says, "I was an officer, but not a gentleman" (Hemingway, "The Young Hemingway" 2). Could this line be a reference to Jim Gamble? It certainly describes the major in "A Simple Enquiry," which I assert was based on Hemingway's experience with Gamble. Just as with Hemingway and Jim Gamble, Perry Graves travels through Italy after the Armistice. In the story, Perry meets a woman and deceptively claims to be someone other than she thinks he is, and he agrees to accompany her to Taormina. Is Hemingway telling us something about Jim Gamble using his iceberg technique? Perry justifies all the deceptive answers he gives the woman to maintain the ruse. Was Jim Gamble's offer of an all-expense paid year with Hemingway in Europe solely to benefit a young Hemingway's fledgling writing career, or was Mr. Gamble justifying his deception to conceal the truth?

The character Perry Graves then goes into great detail about sharing that evening's dinner with Taormina women. He describes the preparation of each dish and course in succession in great detail, including the wine and the dessert. Perry describes the ambiance of the atmosphere in Taormina in the same almost poetic, effusive language as

Hemingway used in his March 1919 letter to Jim Gamble about their time together in Taormina. Perry describes the scene as "and the moon making all of the shadows blue-black and her hair dusky and her lips red. Away off you could see the moon on the sea and snow up on the shoulder of Aetna Mountain" (Hemingway, "The Young Hemingway" 2). The language used by Perry is strikingly similar to that used by Hemingway in his letter to Gamble, "When I think of old Taormina by moonlight and you and me, a little illuminated sometimes....and the moon path on the sea and Aetna fuming away and the black shadows of the moonlight" (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 21). Perry then describes that the woman and her husband did not get along so well and that he was "somewhere [sic], I don't care much" (Hemingway, "The Young Hemingway" 2). I assert that the woman's husband in this story was inspired by Hemingway's first love – the nurse Agnes von Kurowsky, whom he had met while recovering from his war injuries in a hospital in Milan. When Hemingway was in Taormina with Jim Gamble right after Christmas 1918, he had just seen Agnes for the last time on December 9 (Dearborn 68). After that final meeting, Agnes transferred to Treviso, Italy and Hemingway vacationed with Jim Gamble in Taormina before returning to the United States. In the story, Perry Graves and the woman are in Taormina when she comments that her husband (Agnes) is "somewheres [sic]" and that she doesn't care much. Hemingway and Jim Gamble's trip to Taormina came days after Hemingway's last meeting with Agnes von Kurowsky on December 9, 1919. By the time Hemingway had written *The Mercenaries*, later in 1919, his relationship with Agnes had likely already ended, which might explain the nonchalant attitude of the woman in the story toward the location of her husband while she was enjoying herself in Taormina.

If Hemingway used the time and location of his holiday with Jim Gamble as the setting for this story, it is reasonable that he would also add the other central figure in his life at that time – Agnes von Kurowsky. Since we are assuming that he changed the sex of the character representing himself to a woman for marketing purposes, it makes sense that he would then change the sex of the Agnes character to a man (the jealous husband) for continuity. We already know via his letters to F. Scott Fitzgerald and Archibald MacLeish that Hemingway was acutely aware of his audience and what it took to make a story marketable at that time so that these character edits would be perfectly justifiable to him (Nolan 1). Later in this thesis we will also examine how Hemingway's mother Grace Hemingway randomly changed the sexes of Hemingway and his sister Marcelline to present them as same sex twins during the first few years of their lives. So, it does not strain credulity that Hemingway would later use this technique in his writing.

In the story, the jealous husband, Il Lupo, barges in and catches the two lovers at breakfast and is described as "the dashing, handsome, knock-em dead Wolf full of righteous wrath" (Hemingway, "The Young Hemingway" 2). We know that Agnes von Kurowsky later expressed suspicion of the relationship between Hemingway and Jim Gamble and that she actively plotted to keep them apart, so the phrasing of "righteous" in this context seems apropos (Dearborn 70). In contrast, Perry Graves is described as "homely," but there "was something about him that she liked." Agnes had remarked once that when Hemingway was with Jim, he wanted to do "all sorts of wild things – anything but go home" (Dearborn 70). Perry Graves and Il Lupo standoff over the woman in the story, and Perry Graves wins, but the woman goes back with her husband (Hemingway, "The Young Hemingway" 3). The standoff between Jim Gamble and Agnes von

Kurowsky ended with Gamble temporarily winning the trip to Taormina, but he was unsuccessful in convincing Hemingway to remain in Europe with him for an entire year.

According to Mary Dearborn, perhaps Agnes agreed to the Taormina trip as the lesser of two evils and that Hemingway might have accepted the invitation of the year abroad had she not convinced him otherwise (Dearborn 70). Hemingway would return to the United States after Taormina, where he would wait for Agnes to join him so that they could be married. The woman in the story clings to her husband's neck when she returns to him, but as Perry Graves looks back, her eye "flickered" at him over her husband's shoulder – "Maybe it was a wink, maybe not" (Hemingway, "The Young Hemingway" 3). Hemingway would receive a letter from Agnes on March 7, 1919, ending their engagement and relationship (Dearborn 77). The story concludes with Perry Graves saying, "Wolf, hell no, he was a coyote." Although Hemingway had chosen Agnes over the possibility of a year in Europe with Jim, the possible wink in the story is the perfect example of Hemingway's iceberg theory of writing. Was the wink intended for Jim Gamble, as suggested? Hemingway's effusive letter to Jim where he wished he was back in Taormina with him was sent from the States after Hemingway returned to wait for Agnes. In the letter, Hemingway says, "I kick myself for not being at Taormina with you. It makes me so damned homesick for Italy and whenever I think that I might be there and with you" (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 21). Agnes was the reason Hemingway denied Jim's request to remain in Europe, and then she broke up with him in a letter only two months later. These events explain why "she" might be described as a "coyote" instead of a "wolf."

Of course, some will say that Hemingway merely used the location of Taormina because he had recently been there and that the characters were simply made up with no real human inspiration. Moreover, they may claim as further evidence that Hemingway was not in the habit of changing the sexes of real people for his stories. He changed the situation in Taormina from his own experience of two men being there together to that of a male and female couple. We know this because Hemingway used the same time frame, immediately after the war, the exact location, and almost the same verbiage to describe the place he had used in his letter to Jim Gamble. However, since we know Hemingway experimented with androgynous behavior in his personal life, and he wrote rather openly about it in his fiction, it is plausible that he first experimented with this by safely changing his personal experience to that of a woman in his earlier writing. Also, there is no record of him ever returning to Taormina on another occasion, and, logically, he would include in the story the other figure that was central to his life at that time – Agnes von Kurowsky. If this was a story inspired by other people or simply created by Hemingway, he could have chosen any location in Italy or the world. This interpretation makes sense because Hemingway disguised personal experiences with fictional characters, used people and places as the inspiration for stories, and wrote 7/8 of the story below the surface. Even with doubt that the characters are those of Hemingway, Gamble, and von Kurowsky, the fact remains that Jim Gamble introduced Hemingway to Taormina, and that is the setting of the affair in "The Mercenaries."

Jim Gamble's influence on Hemingway's writing certainly continued. However, I cannot entirely agree with those that believe him to be the source of inspiration for a story about a homosexual man in *Death in the Afternoon*. More likely, the inspiration for that

story lies with a man who visited Hemingway in the hospital in Milan while he was recovering from the mortar explosion. Hemingway Biographer Jeffrey Meyers suggests that a passage in Hemingway's book *Death in the Afternoon* about a friendship "ruined" by homosexual desire is also inspired by Jim Gamble. Myers attributes the passage to an experience between Hemingway and Gamble:

The friend, who was a little older, he had met only recently, but they had become friends and he had accepted his friend's invitation to come abroad as his guest. His friend had plenty of money and he had none and their friendship had been a fine and beautiful one until tonight. Now everything in the world was ruined for him (Meyers 40).

Of course, there are similarities in this passage between Hemingway and Jim Gamble, but there is no evidence that this specific scenario played out between the two men. Yes, Jim Gamble was almost twice Hemingway's age, he did invite Hemingway abroad with him, and he did have more money than Hemingway – at least at that particular time. The only time Hemingway traveled with Jim Gamble recreationally was from Northern Italy to Taormina, Sicily, and they were technically "abroad" when they took that trip. Gamble invited Hemingway abroad after that, but Hemingway never accepted. There is also no evidence of a sudden break or change in their friendship, and the two exchanged warm and congenial letters several times after their trip to Taormina. If anything happened that "ruined" things for Hemingway and Jim, he never expressed it to anyone. He maintained a friendship of written correspondence with Jim for many months after returning to the states. He even briefly seriously considered joining Jim on another trip to Italy just before

his marriage to Hadley Richardson. Vacationing together again is not something one would consider with someone they thought had "ruined everything in the world" for them.

Hemingway scholar Gerry Brenner accuses Meyers of manipulating the text in *Death in the Afternoon* to arrive at his libelous conclusions about Gamble. Brenner calls Meyer's assertion a flagrant imputation that the passage refers exclusively to Gamble (Brenner 6). Similarities exist, but they are just that, and without further evidence, it is a stretch to assume that Hemingway experienced this disillusionment with Jim Gamble. I would argue that Hemingway was more likely referring to an older man that used to visit him in the hospital in Milan. Hemingway recalls the incident to Gertrude Stein in *A Moveable Feast*, about an old man who came to the hospital bearing gifts of Marsala, or Campari and who "behaved perfectly, and then one day I would have to tell the nurse never to let the man into the room again" (Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* 29).

Hemingway lamented that he did not know well brought up people acted like that, and he describes that he explained to him that he was not that way and "gave him a bit of the bowl next to his bed," and the Englishman "left in tears" (Dearborn 69). An argument can be made that *A Moveable Feast* is not a reliable source. It was published posthumously with edited versions by Mary Hemingway and Hemingway's grandson Sean Hemingway, and Hemingway's memory was not as credible at this stage of his life. In fact, his version of the story about the Englishman changed over the years. Perhaps the most accurate version is the contemporaneous one in a 1918 letter, but I will argue that none of the versions offer Jim Gamble as a credible source. The Englishman, like the person in the story, was older, and he and Hemingway had only recently met. Also, this relationship

ended abruptly and changed "everything" for Hemingway in that it altered his perception of how people "acted." However, some will say that a distinction can be drawn since Hemingway says in the *Death in the Afternoon* story that the friendship was fine and beautiful until "tonight." In contrast, the Englishman behaved perfectly until "one day." So, the difference in the time of the occurrence of each event could rule out the Englishman as the source. However, Hemingway is not specific about when he struck the Englishman, only that it was during the "day" that he told the nurse never to let the man back in his room. In a letter to his mother in 1918, Hemingway identifies the man as a fifty-year-old Englishman named Mr. Englefield who "behaved perfectly." In a subsequent letter to Charles Poore in 1953, Hemingway describes the same man getting aroused at witnessing Hemingway's wounds being changed and to whom he had to explain that he "was not that way" (Brenner 6). This letter seems to vindicate Gamble as the source. Also, since Hemingway's relationship with Jim Gamble did not come to a sudden, abrupt end, the story about the Englishman seems the more likely source for the *Death in the Afternoon* story than Hemingway's experience with Jim Gamble.

I believe the impact that Jim Gamble had on a young, impressionable Hemingway was so profound that it resonated in the lives of his characters for many years. Gamble's influence can be seen in the character of Rinaldi in Hemingway's 1929 book - *A Farewell to Arms*, which was published almost a decade after the two men met. The book mirrors Hemingway's life in many ways. The most notable similarity is that the story is about an American medic named Frederic Henry, serving in the Italian Army during WW, who meets and falls in love with his nurse Catherine Barkley while recovering from wounds in an Italian hospital. According to a book by Hemingway's brother Leicester Hemingway,

Hemingway's first love and real-life nurse Agnes von Kurowsky served as the inspiration for Catherine Barkley (L. Hemingway, *My Brother Ernest Hemingway* 45). In the novel, Frederic's friend and roommate is an Italian surgeon named Rinaldi. Many Hemingway scholars believe that the character Rinaldi is based on a fellow hospital patient Capt. Enrico Serena. Captain Serena was recuperating from injuries in the Milan hospital when Hemingway arrived, and he was a rival for Agnes's affection. According to entries in her diary, Agnes recognizes and rebuffs the Captain's interest and advances (Sanderson 44-45). The character Rinaldi also expresses an interest in the Agnes-inspired character of Catherine Barkley, but if Captain Enrico Serena truly inspires him - this is where the similarities end. The object of Rinaldi's genuine affection in the novel is Frederic Henry, not Catherine Barnes. Just as I assert that Jim Gamble served as the inspiration for the Major in "A Simple Enquiry," Hemingway litters *A Farewell to Arms* with clues that he is also the inspiration for Rinaldi. The speech patterns and actions of the major and Pinin in "A Simple Enquiry" are strikingly similar to those of Rinaldi and Frederic Henry in *A Farewell to Arms*. These similarities fit a familiar pattern in Hemingway's writing, as he is sourcing the people and places that had the most significant impact on him as inspiration. It is only logical that if he is staging this novel back in Italy during WWI, with the main character as a wounded ambulance driver recuperating in a Milan hospital, and with a nurse that Hemingway admitted was inspired by Agnes von Kurowsky, that he would also use as inspiration the other influential figure in his life at that time – Jim Gamble.

Upon their first meeting in the novel, Lieutenant Rinaldi greets Frederic with a kiss (the first of many attempts), to which Frederic responds with "Oughf" (Hemingway,

Farewell to Arms 10). It would not be uncommon for an Italian man to kiss another man as a greeting, although Hemingway does not specify where "he put his arm around my neck and kissed me" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 10; Cohen 3). Perhaps more telling is Frederic's response to the kiss with a word used to express discomfort. A friendly greeting or not, Frederic appears uncomfortable with the gesture and sets boundaries. The fact that Frederic reacts with disdain at the attempted kiss by Rinaldi suggests that the kiss is more than brotherly and is somehow "tainted" (Cohen 2). Another telling clue of Gamble's influence is that last among the list of cities Frederic mentions to Rinaldi that he had recently visited is the little Sicilian town in which Hemingway and Jim Gamble spent their Christmas holiday together – Taormina. Since a lot of what Hemingway writes is coded as a feature of his iceberg theory of writing, we must wonder about the significance of the inclusion of this little town in a story about a man whom many believe has more than a platonic interest in his roommate. As Rinaldi pumps Frederic for details about the women he met on his travels, Frederic admits that the best of his "beautiful adventures" was in "Milano," which Rinaldi claims "because it was first" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 10). In Milan, Hemingway met his real first love, Agnes von Kurowsky, providing another clue that he is real-life sourcing details about that specific time in his life for this story. Rinaldi then asks the first of a series of probing and oddly specific questions reminiscent of those that the major asked Pinin in "A Simple Enquiry;" "How did you feel?" "Did you stay all night?" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 10). It was almost as if those questions were to gauge Frederic's interest in the encounter. Rinaldi immediately dismisses the encounter as "nothing" and attempts to distance Frederic from it by noting that the beautiful girls are "here."

Hemingway then adds a passage that is textbook "iceberg theory" as it seems to convey so much more than just chronological ages and friendship,

I took off my shirt and my tunic and washed in the cold water in the basin. While I rubbed myself with a towel I looked around the room and out the window and at Rinaldi lying with his eyes closed on the bed. He was good-looking, was my age and he came from Amalfi. He loved being a surgeon and we were great friends. While I was looking at him he opened his eyes (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 11).

I would argue that none of the specific details of looking at him with his eyes closed, rubbing himself with a towel, noticing that he was attractive, and getting caught admiring his beauty were added to the novel as filler. As Hemingway's friend Archibald MacLeish said about Hemingway's writing, "Ten things 'said' for every word written" (Nolan 1). Frederic later notices that Rinaldi's "hair shone" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 15). Hemingway's attention to the fact that Frederic noticed Rinaldi's shiny hair is a personal "tell" of Hemingway's, as he associated hair with sexual attraction in both his real life and in his fiction to a fetishistic degree. A few pages later, when Frederic first meets Catherine Barkley, he will tell her, "you have beautiful hair," and that he likes it "very much" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 17). Later in this thesis, I will examine Hemingway's hair fetish by highlighting numerous personal and textual examples.

Hemingway does not adhere to events precisely as they happened in real life. He adjusts the plot to make Rinaldi first attracted to Miss Barkley before he recognizes with some dismay that there is an attraction between Miss Barkley and Frederic. There is no indication that Jim Gamble was ever attracted to Agnes von Kurowsky, but this change is

an insignificant detail as further evidence supports this thesis. What is noteworthy is the recognition by Rinaldi that Frederic and Miss Barkley are attracted to each other. Rinaldi enquires about Frederic's date with Miss Barkley, after which he says "insulting things" and laughs (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 24). Some would say that Rinaldi is bitter that Frederic has taken his girl. I would argue that Rinaldi's bitterness is generated from jealousy toward Miss Barkley as he will denigrate relationships throughout the novel. The idea that Rinaldi is jealous of Miss Barkley is reinforced because Rinaldi repeatedly uses little terms of endearment toward Frederic; he repeatedly refers to him as "baby" and once as "little puppy" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 24, 28).

Frederic's nickname for Rinaldi is "Rinin," a name very similar to the orderly in "A Simple Enquiry" who was known as "Pinin" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 35). Here Rinin is the name of the Gamble-inspired character, while Pinin was the name of the Hemingway-inspired character in Enquiry, but the similarity is striking. Just as with Miss Barkley and Rinaldi's initial attraction, this character-altering technique is typical of Hemingway's writing style. Another example of Rinaldi's affection for Frederic occurs when he cares for Frederic when he is drunk, escorting him to the British nurse's villa; however, Rinaldi declines an invitation to join Frederic, saying, "I like the simpler pleasures" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 35). Just exactly what the "simpler pleasures" are is characteristically undefined by Hemingway. What we know is that Rinaldi devotedly looks after his intoxicated friend, escorts him to the villa, and then waves off a night with the ladies. As Frederic approaches the villa, he turns around to see Rinaldi "standing watching me" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 35). This behavior is hardly condemning by itself, but a pattern emerges when taken as a whole. Again, a simple line

intentionally placed by Hemingway of Rinaldi standing and watching Frederic packs a whole plethora of possible explanations. I would argue that in light of the terms of endearment for Frederic, the caring attention to his needs, and the repeated denigration of his relationship with Catherine, this gaze represents an unrequited longing.

When Frederic is wounded by a mortar shell and taken to the hospital, he has a visitor – Rinaldi. According to Hemingway’s biographer Mary Dearborn, after Hemingway was wounded by a mortar shell and taken to the hospital in Treviso, "Jim Gamble was his only visitor" (Dearborn 59). A concerned Rinaldi rushes into the hospital room, bends down and kisses Frederic, and calls him "baby," a term he will repeatedly use throughout this visit (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 54-55). Frederic's condition shakes Rinaldi, and he says, "You must forgive me for talking so much, baby. I am very moved to see you so badly wounded" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 55). Rinaldi pours Frederic a glass of cognac and asks him, "Tell me baby, when you lie here all the time in the hot weather don't you get excited?" When Frederic responds that he does "sometimes," Rinaldi says he "can't imagine lying like that. I would go crazy." In light of Rinaldi’s feelings toward Frederic, the word “excited” becomes charged with sexual innuendo. Of course, it could also simply be a synonym for “stir- crazy” in this context.

What exactly Hemingway means by the word "excited" we cannot be sure, but the conversation quickly turns to an accusation of homosexuality. Rinaldi follows up with laments about how much he misses Frederic as a blood brother and a roommate, and he then says that he suspects Frederic and the priest are a bit gay (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 56). After Rinaldi says that he suspects Frederic is a little gay, he then says, "and really you are just like me underneath." Frederic objects to the comparison, and Rinaldi

says, "Yes, we are. You are really an Italian. All fire and smoke and nothing inside. You only pretend to be American. We are brothers and we love each other" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 57). Rinaldi then disparages Catherine Barkley and the nature of her relationship with Frederic when he says, "What would a man do with an English woman except worship her? What else is an English woman good for?" A pattern emerges whereby Rinaldi appears threatened by Frederic's relationship with Catherine and the priest.

Rinaldi accuses Frederic of being a "little gay" like the priest, and then he says that he and Frederic are just alike. He then belittles Frederic's relationship with Catherine as insignificant and meaningless. Rinaldi says there is very little difference between a good girl like Frederic's and a whore. Frederic then responds by accusing Rinaldi of being "Uninformed, Inexperienced, stupid from inexperience" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 57). Is it not difficult to imagine this conversation between Hemingway and Jim Gamble about Agnes von Kurowsky? Rinaldi finishes the argument by saying, "We won't quarrel, baby. I love you too much. But don't be a fool." Why is Rinaldi so upset by Frederic's relationship with Catherine? Some scholars believe that it shows a level of commitment that Rinaldi is incapable of making, which reminds him of his shortcomings (Cohen 1). I would argue that it could simply be that Rinaldi is jealous of Catherine and feels threatened by their relationship. Rinaldi claims that he is saying this for Frederic's good and that he is just trying to save him from trouble (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 57). However, Rinaldi could be doing this for "his" own good by trying to keep Frederic for himself and by preventing the trouble that he thinks will surely come from a relationship that is doomed from the start. Rinaldi concludes the conversation by saying

to Frederic, "You're a good boy." This phrase strengthens the link to Jim Gamble because it is verbatim from the major in "A Simple Enquiry."

The phrase "good boy" is precisely what the major said to Pinin in "A Simple Enquiry" when Pinin left the Major's interrogation without admitting that he was gay. Hemingway scholar Charles Nolan said that the major in "A Simple Enquiry" confirmed his homosexuality when he said that Pinin was "A good boy" (Nolan 1). The major said to Pinin two times, "You're a good boy," and then, "But don't be superior and be careful some one [sic] else doesn't come along and take you," and he dismissed Pinin from the room (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 552). Here, Rinaldi says to Frederic, "You're a good boy," and "don't be a fool," and Rinaldi leaves the room. Rinaldi then reiterates to Frederic that they are "the same," and he asks Frederic to kiss him good-by (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 57). Frederic can feel "his breath come toward me," and Rinaldi says, "I won't kiss you if you don't want, I'll send your English girl." The pattern here closely mirrors that of "A Simple Enquiry" when the major says to Pinin, "Don't be afraid, I won't touch you. You can go back to your platoon if you like" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 552).

Rinaldi asks Frederic to show him the scar from his leg surgery, and when Frederic says that he will have to remove his pants, Rinaldi responds, "Take your pants off baby. We're all friends here" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 138). The addition of Frederic's objection to having to remove his pants seems curious in this context; after all, they had previously shared a room as roommates, and Rinaldi was, in fact, a doctor. Hemingway, perhaps inadvertently, had given the scene an erotic undertone when he writes that when Rinaldi bent down to examine the knee, Frederic "looked at the top of

his head, his hair shiny and parted smoothly" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 139). We know from biographers Mary Dearborn, Carl Eby, and others that Hemingway had a hair fetish. Many believe the character Frederic, like many Hemingway protagonists, is based on Hemingway, and his acknowledgment of Rinaldi's shiny and parted hair gives the encounter a subtle hint of eroticism in the form of sexual tension between the two men (Dearborn 24, 157; Eby 5, 11). Rinaldi then shows Frederic that he has kept his toothbrush glass "to remind me of you." He says that Frederic's toothbrush glass reminds him of Frederic cursing harlots and trying to clean his conscience with a toothbrush every morning. Rinaldi tells Frederic, "Kiss me once and tell me you are not serious." Frederic responds that he never kisses Rinaldi, and Rinaldi's reply is, "I know, you are a fine good Anglo-Saxon boy" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 140). Again, when the kiss is refused, the response is that Frederic is a "good boy."

Many Hemingway scholars agree that the major in "A Simple Enquiry" was a homosexual and that his enquiry was to determine his orderly's proclivity. The conversation between Frederic and Rinaldi in *A Farewell to Arms* mimics that of the major and orderly almost verbatim. Frederic feels happy to see Rinaldi again, and he admits to himself, "He had spent two years teasing me and I had always liked it. We understand each other very well" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 140). Rinaldi begins to question Frederic in the same posture and with the same questions that the major used to question Pinin, "Are you married? He asks from his bed. I was standing against the wall by the window." Frederic replied, "Not yet." The question, "Are you married?" is the exact question that Jim Gamble asked Hemingway in a letter and to which Hemingway curiously crossed out his answer in the response. "Are you in love?" asked Rinaldi.

"Yes," came the reply. "With the English girl?" asked Rinaldi. "Yes." "Poor baby. Is she good to you?" Rinaldi shot back. "Of course." "I mean is she good to you practically speaking?" asked Rinaldi. "Shut up," shot Frederic. "I will. You will see I am a man of extreme delicacy. Does she--?" asked Rinaldi. Frederic replied, "Rinin, I said. Please shut up. If you want to be my friend, shut up." Frederic goes over to the bed and sits down beside Rinaldi. Rinaldi was holding his glass and looking at the floor. "You see how it is, Rinin?" said Frederic (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 141). This line seems odd in this context, as if Frederic feels terrible for telling Rinaldi that he is in love with this woman.

Rinaldi is grilling Frederic about a woman and if he is in love with her and if she does ----?, and he leaves the word blank exactly the same way Hemingway wrote the interrogation questions from the major to Pinin, "And you don't really want ----? That your great desire isn't really-----?" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 552). In the following sentence, Rinin is described as "looking at the floor" for a second time. Again, this exact language is used in "A Simple Enquiry" when the narrator tells us that after each query, "Pinin looked at the floor" (Nolan 1). Frederic then stops the enquiry as inappropriate, and Rinaldi confesses that he is "jealous maybe." Frederic insists that he is not, and Rinaldi responds, "I don't mean like that. I mean something else" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 141). What way could Rinaldi mean? This exchange between Frederic and Rinaldi is Hemingway's iceberg theory in full force.

I suspect that the statement has several meanings, not the least of which, in light of the homoerotic nature of their relationship, is that Rinaldi is, in fact, jealous of Catherine getting to marry Frederic. Rinaldi then laments that he does not have many married friends, especially if "they love each other," because he is seen as "the snake of

reason." Frederic corrects him that the apple was reason (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 141). Here Hemingway is referencing the biblical story of Adam and Eve, and although he depicts Rinaldi as confused about the meaning, he is portraying him as the figure of temptation to married couples. Rinaldi says he hasn't any married friends, "not if they love each other." Cryptically Rinaldi then says to Frederic, "I love you baby. You puncture me when I become a great Italian thinker. But I know many things I can't say. I know more than you" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 141). Clearly Rinaldi has secrets that he does not feel comfortable enough to share with Frederic. Rinaldi then tells Frederic, "But you will have a better time. Even with remorse you have a better time" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 141). Rinaldi referenced Frederic's remorse after he spent time with prostitutes, but his reference of remorse comes on the heels of a conversation about marriage. Rinaldi could suggest that being married, even a loveless marriage with remorse, is better than his alternative lifestyle.

Rinaldi then admits that he is only happy when working, and "he looked at the floor again" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 142). Now Rinaldi has looked at the floor three separate times in this conversation about relationships and marriage, the exact number of times that Pinin looked at the floor during the enquiry in "A Simple Enquiry." Charles Nolan Jr. suggests that Pinin looking at the floor was a sign of his impassiveness in concealing the truth (Nolan 1). Rinaldi is clearly uncomfortable with a conversation about marriage, especially the marriage of Frederic, so his impassiveness, as exemplified by his "looking at the floor," I would argue, is concealing his true feelings about Frederic.

Some will say that Rinaldi is a playboy for whom marriage and a structured life are not options. Based on my interpretation of the text using Hemingway's iceberg theory,

Rinaldi may realize that marriage is not possible because of his true desires. Rinaldi then tells Frederic that he only enjoys two other things besides work, "one is bad for my work, and the other is over in half an hour or fifteen minutes. Sometimes less." Frederic replies, "Sometimes a good deal less." Rinaldi then says, "Perhaps I have improved, baby. You do not know" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 142). How would Frederic know that sometimes Rinaldi's lovemaking sessions last "a good deal less" than fifteen minutes? Rinaldi's response about the possibility of improving his lovemaking suggests that Frederic possessed some intimate knowledge about its inadequacy at one time. Perhaps it is because of their time together in the brothels, but Hemingway characteristically does not make that clear and leaves open the possibility for alternative interpretations. These intimate and specific details about Rinaldi's lovemaking seem at odds with the same conversation in which Frederic shuts down Rinaldi's questions about whether or not Frederic and Catherine were sleeping together. One argument could be that Frederic did not want to give lurid details about the woman he now loves. I would argue that it is just as plausible, considering Rinaldi's behavior toward Frederic, that Frederic suspected Rinaldi had ulterior motives for his questioning, not unlike the major's motives when he questioned Pinin in "A Simple Enquiry." Rinaldi ends the conversation when Frederic says that Rinaldi is "proud of his defects." Rinaldi, it is assumed, understood what Frederic meant by that statement because he replied, "We'll stop, baby. I am tired of thinking so much" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 142).

Further evidence of Rinaldi's secret desire for Frederic presents itself in the form of rage at the notion of Frederic and Catherine together. When Rinaldi cannot convince Frederic that marriage is not the ideal situation, he gets drunk and, I would argue – flies

into a projection-fueled rage against the one man he accused of being a homosexual like Frederic. Rinaldi faces the inevitable that Frederic will be with Catherine, and he proposes a toast to her, "I shall never say a dirty thing about her." He then says that maybe he will get an English girl too, and he suggests they go and eat "while my mind is still pure." Rinaldi then gets drunk and starts to assault the priest verbally. Rinaldi tries to bait the priest by attacking saints, but he has no help from the others, and he responds, "I want to make Frederico happy. To hell with you priest!... to hell with you, to hell with the whole damn business" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 144). The next passage in the story suggests that Rinaldi thinks he may have syphilis, which could account for his agitated and aggressive mood (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 145).

However, it is telling that immediately after it became clear that Frederic was committed to Catherine, Rinaldi gets drunk and lashes out at the priest, whom he accused along with Frederic of being a little "that way." The priest is described throughout the novel as frequently touching Frederic and exhibiting enough affection toward him that Rinaldi accused the two men of sharing homosexual desires (Moddelmog, "We Live in a Country" 5). I would argue that it is not syphilis that upset Rinaldi, but rather the realization that he will never be with Frederic, so he is projecting toward the other man he suspects is gay. Judith Fetterley suggests that Rinaldi despises Catherine because she impedes the simple friendship between the two men. However, when Frederic rebuffs Rinaldi's sexual advances, Rinaldi lashes out most violently against the relationship between Frederic and Catherine (Cohen 5). I believe that there is enough textual evidence to suggest more than a "simple friendship" between the two men, but that the true nature of their relationship lies buried in the layers of the iceberg theory.

Of course, the possibility exists that we should take Rinaldi at face value, ignore the iceberg theory in this case and interpret his actions precisely as they appear, like those of a brothel-going heterosexual male who happens to be the product of an overly expressive Italian culture. Author Michael Reynolds suggests that Rinaldi offers Frederic a "brotherly kiss that Frederic does not accept" (Reynolds 251). Scott Donaldson argues that Frederic and Rinaldi's nicknames for one another (Federico and Rinin) only demonstrate "how close the two 'war brothers' are." He recognizes that the nickname "baby" is suggestive, but he fails to explore any homoerotic connotation. Reynolds dismisses Rinaldi's gestures of physical affection toward Frederic, and Frederic's responses as simply symbolic moments highlighting the novel's themes of spirituality and sensuality (Donaldson 152-153; Cohen 2). However, Peter Cohen discounts the argument that Rinaldi's expressions are simply the result of his expressive Italian culture and not of a desire between men because he sees Rinaldi's attempt to transfer his beloved Catherine to Frederic as a way to eroticize the male friendship. This idea derives from Eve Sedgwick's 1985 book *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, in which Sedgwick describes feminist anthropologist Gayle Rubin's theory "that the use of women as exchangeable, perhaps symbolic property for the primary purpose of cementing the bonds of men with men" (Cohen 3; Sedgwick 25-26). I would argue that Rinaldi's attempt to transfer Catherine to Frederic could be seen as a bonding exercise between heterosexual men. However, since I assert that Rinaldi had homosexual desires toward Frederic, Sedgwick's theory seems less applicable in this case.

I would argue that the friendship between Rinaldi and Frederic is more complex than that of "war brother" or "expressive Italian culture" and that there is an element of

homoeroticism between the two men. Since the character of Rinaldi is based, at least partly, on Jim Gamble, there is the familiar pattern of muted desire toward Frederic, the character based on Hemingway. World War I, Italy, his injury, Agnes von Kurowsky, and Jim Gamble were all hugely significant influences on a young impressionable Hemingway. Evidence of this lies in his repeated sourcing of them as material for his novels and short stories, and *A Farewell to Arms* is no exception. In the novel, Hemingway returned to Italy in World War I, and he based the character of Frederic on himself. Hemingway repeated the personal events of his wounding in a mortar explosion and his falling in love with his nurse Catherine, whom we know from his brother Leicester, is based on Agnes von Kurowsky. I would argue that Hemingway would not have recreated all of those critical early events, people, and influences without including the other significant figure in his life at that time – Jim Gamble. Many questions have been raised about the relationship between Hemingway and Jim Gamble. Hemingway dealt with the complexity of their friendship in one of the few ways available to him at the time, with his iceberg theory of writing. Hemingway did what we know he has done several times; he changed the character slightly to mask the exact and controversial circumstances. He then employs the iceberg theory to leave a tantalizing trail of hints about what might have transpired without ever saying it explicitly. In *Rinaldi*, Hemingway found the perfect Jim Gamble substitute; he fits chronologically within the time and place, is very close to Frederic, is a witness to the developing relationship between Frederic and Catherine, and serves as an antagonist toward the development of that relationship while making suggestive and coded statements of desire toward Frederic. In typical Hemingway fashion, the specifics of the character are altered to

conceal the truth, and Rinaldi is portrayed as an Italian surgeon who is described as a womanizing playboy committed to bachelorhood. Jim Gamble's influence was far too significant during this chapter of Hemingway's life for him to be the only character from that period omitted from this story when so many other details match so perfectly.

JIM GAMBLE AND GLENWAY WESCOTT

Jim Gamble's influence would indirectly inspire another homosexual character in one of Hemingway's works, Robert Prentiss in *The Sun Also Rises*. I believe Hemingway uses projection from his relationship with Gamble to express Jake Barnes's derision toward the minor gay character of Robert Prentiss. Robert Prentiss is based on a real-life acquaintance of Hemingway's named Glenway Wescott (Rosco 1). Remember, Jim Gamble had tempted Hemingway with an all-expense-paid trip through Europe for a year with time to travel and focus on his fledgling writing career, a trip that Hemingway reluctantly refused (Dearborn 70). Hemingway rejected the offer, but Gamble would repeatedly make it, and Hemingway, with great deliberation and temptation, would end up repeatedly refusing (Dearborn 71). Jim would invite Hemingway to join him at his place in the mountains in Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania, where Hemingway could bring his typewriter, and they could enjoy the beauty of springtime with "practically nobody" around to disturb them. Hemingway would once again decline the offer. Another offer followed in 1920 for Hemingway to join Jim in Italy for five months in Rome. Hemingway was busy writing and editing at the time, and the offer seemed ideal. Hemingway wrote to his fiancé Hadley Richardson that things were "all up in the air" and that he might be leaving on Tuesday for five months of writing in Rome under ideal conditions. Hemingway ultimately did not go, but he was so conflicted about the decision that he did not decide to decline until the very last minute (Donaldson, *Paris Husband* 10-11). Hadley had written to Hemingway about the trip, "Jim Gamble sounds great if you like him so," to which Hemingway replied, "Jim Gamble is great, and I love him a

lot. But not like I love you" (Donaldson, *Paris Husband* 11). Hadley was questioning why Hemingway would prefer to be with Jim instead of her, and Hemingway sensed her suspicion because he felt the need to distinguish between his loves for each of them.

Glenway Wescott was a writer who was part of the Paris clique of the 1920s, of which Hemingway was a member, along with Gertrude Stein and F. Scott Fitzgerald. Westcott's novels included *The Grandmothers* and *Pilgrim Hawk*, and he would later gain fame as a central figure in New York's artistic and gay communities (Rosco 1). Wescott's later work with famed sex researcher Alfred Kinsey would lead to breakthrough findings on homosexuality (Rosco 1). Even though Hemingway was extremely close to leaving his girlfriend behind to accept Gamble's offer of an all-expense-paid trip to Europe to focus on his writing, he did not hesitate to criticize Wescott for doing precisely the same thing. In a letter to friend Bill Smith in 1925, Hemingway bashes homosexuals and specifically Wescott for using his proclivity to advance his writing career. In the letter to Bill Smith, Hemingway writes:

In them occupations a male competes agin [sic] the homosexual in his worst and most malignant form. And when a male competes against a fairy on his own grounds he loses out on acct. the fairy will do stuff to get on that a male is barred from. Unfortunately a male runs up agin [sic] them in the practice of literature. Ferinstance [sic] there is a guy named Glenway Wescott who was going to Chicago University and engaged to some girl. Along comes a rich buggar and Glenway and he fall in love. The goil [sic] is forgotten. She had no dough. The rich guy had. Glenway goes to Europe, comes back, the guy finances him. Glenway sucks his way into the Dial and they's [sic] full page eulogies on him in

N.Y. Times. and he's nothing but a faker boid [sic]. But the Royal Road to quick Literary success is through the entrance to the colon. Gaw [sic] it disgusts a male. There's a homosexual clique that make a guy overnight. Once in with the begging pooblic [sic] he's made. They're organized like the Masons – only not really organized but everybody knows everybody else. It's funny too. I've fought 'em like hell (Wapshott 23).

I would argue that this letter reveals resentment stemming from the fact that Wescott took advantage of an offer similar to the one made to Hemingway by Gamble. According to Hemingway, it had apparently paid off for Wescott in terms of his literary career. Some will say that Hemingway was not singling out Wescott because he frequently exhibited a harshness toward homosexuals and homosexuality in his writing. Biographer James Mellow writes:

In the thirties, his views on writing and writers were blunt and often vulgar in print and private, all part of his effort to stress his masculine pursuits in the literary world, particularly among the New York Intelligentsia. He would pepper his published texts and letters with slurring references to homosexual writers" (McNamara 1).

Mellow is correct in that Hemingway did project a hyper-masculine persona in public, and there is plenty of documented evidence of his harshness toward homosexuals. However, his letter to Bill Smith exhibits particularly fierce vitriol directed specifically at Westcott. Despite this example, it is worth noting that Hemingway was not consistently cruel toward homosexuals.

In direct contrast to this harsh attitude toward homosexuals, Hemingway could also treat the subject with delicacy and empathy. Hemingway's friend Bill Bird recalled a train trip that he took with Hemingway in which the author suggested that a homosexual experience might be worth having (McNamara 1-2). Like his life, Hemingway's work reflects the complexity of handling homosexuality, and it is often clear that he has a particular empathy toward gay men (McNamara 2). Despite Hemingway's often contradictory treatment of homosexuals, his harsh treatment of Westcott was personal. Hemingway resented Westcott's taking the "shortcut" to literary success that he had ultimately rejected. However, insult was added to injury when Hemingway's mother, Grace Hemingway, was featured in an article in Hemingway's hometown paper – the *Oak Park News*.

In the article, Grace Hemingway is described as "this very jolly woman laughs at the pessimism of these young writers and expresses the same belief that the pendulum is swinging back to normal." Hemingway's response was sourly toned "No doubt, Grace wished her son Ernie were Glenway Wescott or some highly respectable Fairy Prince with an English accent and a taste for grandmothers" (Spilka 44). According to Hemingway scholar Mark Spilka, Grace wanted Hemingway to be like a fellow expatriate, Glenway Wescott, whose book *The Grandmothers* had appeared to critical acclaim in 1927. Hemingway had satirized Wescott in *The Sun Also Rises* a year earlier as a "rising novelist from New York by way of Chicago with some sort of English accent" and feminine affectations (Spilka 45).

In *The Sun Also Rises*, a group of gay men appear at the dancing-club *bal musette* in the Rue de la Montagne Sainte Genevieve and begin to dance. The *bal musette* was a

famous gay Parisian nightspot in the 1920s and 1930s, and its use as a setting in *The Sun Also Rises* shows the extent to which the author was familiar with the gay scene in Paris at that time (Nissen 46). In the bal musette, we are introduced to Robert Prentiss (*Sun Rises* 27). Watching the gay men dance, the protagonist Jake Barnes says, "I was very angry. Somehow they always made me angry. I know they are supposed to be amusing, and you should be tolerant, but I wanted to swing on one, anything to shatter that superior, simpering composure" (*Sun Rises* 28). After a brief conversation with Robert Prentiss, Jake Barnes excuses himself from the table because "I just thought perhaps I was going to throw up" (*Sun Rises* 29). Jake Barnes's contempt for Robert Prentiss induces him to almost vomit, which is the same reaction of Hemingway toward Glenway Wescott (the character on whom Robert Prentiss is based). In his letter to Bill Smith, Hemingway wrote about Wescott's route to literary success, "Gaw [sic] it disgusts a male" (Wapshsott 23). Clearly, Hemingway did not care much for Wescott. His treatment of Robert Prentiss in *The Sun Also Rises* only amplifies this point, but why such harsh treatment toward a man who took advantage of an offer that Hemingway almost accepted himself? In the novel, Jake Barnes' gay-bashing of Prentiss is possibly the result of bitterness over an opportunity that Hemingway missed, and Wescott accepted. It may also be old-fashioned masculine posturing that Hemingway felt was needed after the swirl of innuendo regarding Jim Gamble's offer in the first place.

Many scholars believe that Barnes' loathing of Robert Prentiss results from frustration over his inability to consummate his relationship with Lady Brett Ashley, while gay people like Prentiss waste the ability due to their homosexuality. I agree that this interpretation is certainly a factor in the vitriol between the two characters. However,

I contend that based on his letter to Bill Smith, Hemingway, unlike the character Jake Barnes, had personal reasons to portray Robert Prentiss unfavorably.

Hemingway is quite harsh in his treatment of Robert Prentiss, but as we have seen, this is not always the case with his gay or gender-fluid characters, especially those that were inspired in some way by Jim Gamble. Perhaps a more nuanced view of Hemingway's attitude toward homosexuals is needed in light of this. Hemingway's homophobic outbursts may differ from his characters and narrators (Nissen 46). Axel Nissen writes in "Outing Jake Barnes" that, "One could argue that while Hemingway takes a minoritizing view of homosexuality in his public pronouncements, he takes a universalizing view in his fiction" (Nissen 47). As Comley and Sholes have noted: "the result of this is to counters the kind of statement often made by Hemingway himself or by one of his characters that it is easy to tell homosexual males by some quality they all have in common" (Comley & Sholes 107-108). Hemingway had great affection for Jim Gamble, but he resented a missed opportunity from Gamble that could have advanced his career. Hemingway accused Wescott of taking advantage of a similar offer, so he based the character of Robert Prentiss on Wescott and felt free to unleash his vitriol toward the man by attacking his proclivity.

Hemingway's treatment of homosexuals and homosexuality was nuanced indeed, and this is partly the result of Jim Gamble's tremendous influence on young Hemingway and Hemingway's genuine affection for him. Hemingway clearly understood the implications of accepting Jim's offer and even of the offer being made in the first place. We know this partly because of his need to clarify to Hadley that he "loved Jim in a different way," and in later comments by both Agnes and Hadley that they suspected

more of Mr. Gamble's intentions. Jim Gamble's presence in young Hemingway's life was undoubtedly monumental. Gamble was Hemingway's commanding officer during the war, his friend and parent figure offering during Hemingway's life-threatening injury and lengthy recuperation, as well as a proposed patron of his writing career immediately after the war. So great an impact did this period have on a young Hemingway that he returned to it repeatedly as the inspiration for his novels and short stories. In his writing, he frequently used Italy during WWI as inspiration, as well as his injury and recovery, the cities and towns he visited, and the people he met along the way. Although Hemingway would often change the names and specific details of these "real life" inspired characters, the truth about their identities would usually emerge over time.

The treatment of these inspirational people, places, and events became more complex due to the sensitive nature of writing about homosexuality or sexual fluidity in the 1920s and 1930s. Jim Gamble was hugely inspirational in "A Simple Enquiry," "The Mercenaries," *A Farewell to Arms*, and *The Sun Also Rises*. However, due to the sensitive nature of their relationship and the literary constraints on Hemingway at that time, he did not use direct association but somewhat disguised Gamble's influence through his iceberg theory of writing. After all, why would Hemingway include all of the significant, influential people and places during his life at that particular time and omit the one person who was as influential as any other and for whom he held in great esteem? I would argue that he did not, but the influence is disguised in characters that struggle with non-heteronormative desires. Some would say that Hemingway was simply writing about places and experiences with which he was familiar. That is why he repeatedly returned to Northern Italy, WWI, his war injuries, and Taormina in his writing, and that they had

nothing to do with Jim Gamble's non-heteronormative influence. I would argue that familiarity is precisely why he returned to the themes of non-heteronormative behaviors with characters inspired by Jim Gamble because those were also the things, like the locations, with which he was intimately familiar.

Although I argue that Jim Gamble was the greatest personal influence on the non-heteronormative characters in Hemingway's writing, the person that wielded almost as much influence as Gamble was Hemingway's mother, Grace. I will demonstrate that the greatest impact of her influence came not from her treatment of Hemingway, as some scholars contend, but rather from the way she lived her life. One possible exception to this claim is that her treatment of an adolescent Hemingway is probably responsible, or at least greatly contributed to the establishment of his hair fetish.

THE COMPLICATED CASE OF GRACE

Hemingway's mother, Grace Hemingway, and her close companion Ruth Arnold played pivotal roles in influencing non-heteronormative characters and stories for Hemingway. Hemingway had a complicated love-hate relationship with his mother based mainly on her behavior toward his father. Two gay friends, Gertrude Stein and Sidney Franklin would also serve as influences on Hemingway's writing during this time, but I believe their influence paled compared to Grace's. Grace, Ruth, Gertrude and Sidney had a profound influence on Hemingway's life. However, their influence resulted in stories and gay characters that were decidedly pejorative.

As one might expect, Hemingway's mother, Grace Hemingway, had a profound influence on her young son Ernest, although not always a positive one. Grace and Hemingway had a volatile relationship that started with obsessive doting and ended with resentment, blame, and estrangement. This thesis focuses on real-life events resulting from stories about homosexuality and non-heteronormative behavior. We will examine how Grace Hemingway directly influenced several of her son's stories with homosexual characters and how she influenced a fetish that recurs throughout his writing in the context of same-sex attraction or androgynous behavior.

Grace's contentious and bitter relationship with Hemingway serves as the inspiration for at least the dialogue in his short story "Mother of a Queen," published in a book of short stories titled *Winner Take Nothing* 1933. I would argue that Hemingway's resentment for his mother is why the story was written, despite differing opinions about

its origin. Hemingway would later reflect on many issues with his mother, Grace. Perhaps the first outward appearance of distress in their relationship happened in July of 1920 on the night of Hemingway's twenty-first birthday. Grace and her husband had been concerned that summer that Hemingway had no direction and was wasting time on trivial pursuits and hobbies. The final straw came after Hemingway embarked on late-night excursion with some of his younger siblings and some neighbor children that resulted in Grace expelling him from their home (Dearborn 90). Grace wrote Hemingway a long letter excoriating his penchant to draw on his mother's "bank account" of love and make few deposits (Dearborn 90). Hemingway would write to his friend in August of 1920 that his mother was looking for an excuse to "oust" him from the family and that she had "hated" him since he objected to her spending money on a new cabin instead of for college for his younger siblings (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 37). Hemingway blamed his mother for his lack of a college education and for contributing significantly to his father's suicide in 1928 (Dearborn 93). As a young man, Hemingway would develop mixed feelings about his mother's apparent dominance in the household and later apprehension about how his mother challenged traditional sex roles (Dearborn 24). Grace expressed disgust with her son's behavior, particularly his writing about the disreputable subject matter and language, and that he had divorced his first wife (Dearborn 92). As the relationship between Hemingway and Grace deteriorated, his father, Ed, would maintain contact with Hemingway even when Grace refused (Dearborn 92).

Interestingly, despite all of the bitterness between them, Hemingway would write to his mother after his father's suicide and offer to support her with \$100 a month for the following year until he could set up a trust that would care for her and his two minor

siblings (Dearborn 273). Years later, Hemingway would admit to a friend that his feelings toward his mother started to change once he recognized her poor treatment of his father; only then did he stop loving her. Hemingway would depict his father as a henpecked man, totally dominated by an overbearing wife. He claimed she was a woman of "terrible selfishness and conceit," who had emasculated his father, ultimately leading to his suicide (Dearborn 27). Grace Hemingway died in 1951. He wrote to his sister, who had been caring for their then senile mother, that he was sorry that he had not participated in her physical care but that he could not have her in his presence (Dearborn 541). After his father's death, Hemingway told friends, "I hate her guts, and she hates mine." According to Dearborn, Grace showed no conventional feelings toward her adult son and often openly expressed her resentment (Dearborn 542). Hemingway did not attend his mother's funeral.

The short story "Mother of a Queen" is about a matador labeled as a "queen" by his manager because he refuses to pay back borrowed money and the bill for his mother's perpetual care in the cemetery. His failure to pay the cemetery bill results in casting his mother's bones onto a public burial heap. Hemingway claims in a letter to his editor in November of 1933 that this story and others written at that time were written as told to me "absolutely as they happen...word for word" (Selected Letters 400), but scholar Charles Nolan Jr. asserts that dialogue, structure, and other aspects of the work are all from Hemingway (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 400; Nolan Jr. 90). There are some similarities between events in the story and actual events in Hemingway's life. For example, we know Hemingway's mother was not dumped in a public grave. However, the callous feelings that Paco exhibits toward his mother mirrored those of Hemingway

toward Grace, certainly after his father's suicide. The story opens with the statement, "When his father died he was only a kid, and his manager buried him. But when his mother died, his manager thought they might not always be so hot on each other" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 703). Ed Hemingway took his own life in 1928 when Hemingway was 29 years old, and Grace Hemingway died in 1951 when Hemingway was 50 years old. The manager in the story buried the father "perpetually," meaning permanently, but he only buried the mother for five years (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 703). This detail coincides with Hemingway's feelings for his parents. He held his father in great esteem, believing him to have been the victim of his mother's tyranny, and he ultimately loathed his mother. Paco assures Roger that he will take care of the perpetual care payment because she is his mother, and he wants to do it. At the writing of this story, Hemingway had established monthly payments for his mother's care, despite his growing animosity toward her. Similarities of facts between Hemingway and Paco, especially those surrounding the parent's burials and the son's feelings toward them, are noteworthy but not what is most interesting about this story.

The fundamental similarity between the story and Hemingway lies much deeper below the surface in the realm for which Hemingway designed the "iceberg" technique of writing. Roger informs us in the opening paragraph that "they were sweethearts; sure he's a queen, didn't you know that" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 703). Roger's derogatory term "queen" will be used again toward Paco (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 709). However, in typical Hemingway style, we are never told for sure the exact nature of the relationship between Roger and Paco, other than the labels given to them by Roger. Paco only identifies the relationship as one of friendship when he asks Roger,

"aren't we friends?" and later says, "We are good friends" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 706, 708). Many Hemingway scholars believe that the two men are in a homosexual relationship. However, like much of Hemingway's writing, he intentionally omits words so that the reader can form their own opinion. Paco is labeled a "queen" by Roger in a fit of anger because Paco has refused to repay the money that he has borrowed. Roger furthers the case that they are homosexuals when he attacks Paco with derogatory and stereotypically homosexual slurs by claiming that he pretends to be straight to "fool people" and that this effort is meaningless to those that "knew anything about him." He also claims Paco is a spendthrift with a concern for personal appearance, associating with a "punk" (a derogatory term for homosexual during Hemingway's time), and calls him a fake, a "bitch" and a "motherless bitch" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 703, 705, 706, 708, 709). We know that when Hemingway wrote this story between the fall of 1931 and the summer of 1932, Hemingway had already had a lengthy conversation with Gertrude Stein about the wickedness of homosexual men. Hemingway had, by then, made derogatory statements about gay men in his letters and novels, so imbuing this attitude in Roger would not have taken a great deal of artistic liberty on Hemingway's behalf (Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* 22-25).

When examining this story, Hemingway scholars tend to focus on which character the story is actually about and who is the "Queen" in the title, Roger or Paco? The real question is, why was it written in the first place, why did Hemingway go back to the gender-questioning or homosexual storyline, and why did he select this particular title? This story fits a pattern of Hemingway returning to gay or gender-fluid characters and stories. Perhaps there is a potential clue in a story about a gender-fluid man who

potentially disguises his proclivity and has unresolved feelings about his mother.

Hemingway scholar Scott Donaldson thinks the story "has no real point other than to illustrate the author's scorn for the 'mincing gentry.'" He bases this theory on the "virulent scorn" that Hemingway has expressed toward homosexuals in his letters and fiction (Donaldson 182 -183; Nolan Jr. 90). Hemingway scholar Kenneth Lynn sees the piece as a blistering attack on Grace Hemingway. He calls it "a revolting expression of a famous man's resentment at having to send a woman he hated a monthly allowance" (Lynn 408; Nolan Jr. 90). Many biographers believe there is no more profound reason for the story than Hemingway simply wrote a story told to him by close friend and gay matador Sidney Franklin. Franklin, it is believed, relayed this story to Hemingway as it happened to a fellow gay matador named Jose Ortiz (Frumkin 35). I believe that they are all correct, but there is possibly a deeper, more complicated psychological aspect to the origin story that is only possible with the benefit of hindsight. Yes, Hemingway had issues with his mother, and he probably resented supporting her. He is on the record numerous times belittling homosexuals in public and private, and he was friends with at least one gay matador, Sydney Franklin, but all of this seems too obvious and easy for Hemingway.

The interesting dynamic is not that Hemingway writes about scorn for a mother or a closeted homosexual, but instead that he included a story with both aspects together. Based on post mortem biographies about Hemingway (including one by his fourth wife Mary), his letters, interviews with friends, wives, and ex-wives, we now know that by 1932, Hemingway had likely experimented with androgyny, bisexuality, gender-swapping role-playing with several of his wives. It is also possible that by this time he had experimented with homosexuality with Jim Gamble (Spilka 9; Dearborn 69). I

believe his interest in this topic, and this story goes beyond speculation that he simply wrote a story told to him in order to satisfy demand for material for his book. He could have told the same story without the questionable sexual relationship between the main characters and a derogatory slur in the title. However, then it would not be an indictment against homosexuals as Roger says, "There's a queen for you. You can't touch them. Nothing. Nothing can touch them" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 709). In light of this, it is possible that the author could have been questioning his sexuality and working through those issues in the pages of his fiction. His sexual confusion might explain some of the vitriol exhibited toward homosexuals and his seeming fascination with non-heteronormative behaviors, and why he returned to this theme repeatedly. Knowing that Hemingway often wrote in a coded language where words are omitted, and knowing his habit of writing about personal experiences, every word, story, and character becomes subject to deep scrutiny. Each word, character and story becomes an investigation into who the author truly is and what he is really about.

Knowing Hemingway's feelings toward his mother and knowing what we now know about his gender-fluid, non-heteronormative bedroom habits, and his vitriol toward homosexuality, it is possible that on some level, Hemingway was subconsciously hinting at an alternative possibility for the "queen" in the title. The core of this story would have appealed to Hemingway on two levels; subconsciously, it would represent the criticism of his mother and his secret passion for aberrant sexual behavior. We know that Hemingway thought of his own sex life as having "dark" and even homosexual elements because he once said that his transsexual son Gregory had "the biggest dark side in the family except me." Also, his fourth wife, Mary Hemingway's diary, had an entry about their gender-

swapping in bed that included "Papa's definition of buggery: 'Sodomy when practiced by those who are not gentlemen'" (Tramontana 4, 12).

Grace Hemingway's influence continued even more directly in Hemingway's short story called "The Sea Change," about how a lesbian affair threatened to destroy a relationship. Hemingway never credited his mother as the inspiration for this story; he credits Gertrude Stein, but there are striking similarities between the plot and an episode in his mother's life, which lends to the theory of Grace as an unnamed influence. The Hemingway family rarely discussed the episode with Grace, even amongst themselves, so publicly calling attention to it as a source of inspiration would have been unthinkable.

Ruth Arnold had come to live with the Hemingways as an au pair in 1906; Grace Hemingway was thirty-four, and Ruth was fifteen. Letters between the two women depict an affectionate relationship; Ruth calls Grace "Sweet Muv," and Grace calls her "Boofie" (Dearborn 81). In 1919, even though the Hemingway's already owned a summer cottage on Walloon Lake in Petoskey, MI., Grace Hemingway hired a builder to construct her own Grace Cottage. According to Hemingway's biographer Mary Dearborn, Grace's husband Ed Hemingway objected to this plan because he feared its intended use would be a refuge for Grace and her "intimate friend" Ruth Arnold (Dearborn 81). The summer of 1919 found Ed Hemingway back in Oak Park, IL, while Grace stayed at the cabin in Windemere with Ruth and the children claiming the separation was needed for Ed's "mental attitude." Grace wrote that summer that her "dear blessed children" needed her, as did "the dear faithful Ruth, who has given me her youth and her loyal service for these many years." Grace curiously added, "No one can take my husband's place," and she included a margin note, "unless he abdicates to play at petty jealousy with his wife's loyal

girlfriend" (Dearborn 81-82). Subsequent letters between Grace and Ed Hemingway that summer make it clear that Ruth Arnold was banned from the Hemingway's Oak Park home (Dearborn 81-82). When Grace employed her daughter Marcelline to see if she could get Ruth reinstated into the house, Marcelline said, "But dad acts so insane on the subject, that I told her I couldn't for a while." That August, Ruth wrote to Grace, "I want to stand with you physically, mentally and spiritually." In another letter she said she had been thinking about Grace Cottage all day, picturing herself in various rooms, "and then into your bedroom with the four-poster picture [?] bed which makes one long for bedtime." Being away from the Oak Park house was hard enough, "but I could never give up you or your love." She continued, "I wish I could do your hair and stroke your forehead as I enjoy doing each night that I could. Remember, I am loving you" (Dearborn 82-83). In a letter dated June 9, 1919, Hemingway asks his father if he knows what his mother is up to regarding her cottage and thinks the whole thing is silliness. Later Hemingway would recall the episode as "selfishness" on his mother's part. In 1920 it became apparent to both Grace and Ruth that some residents of Petoskey had been talking about them the previous summer. They worked to avoid a repeat performance as Ruth stayed away as long as Ed Hemingway was in Petoskey (Dearborn 83).

According to Mary Dearborn, the Hemingway family maintained almost complete silence about Ruth Arnold until Grace died in 1951. Ed Hemingway committed suicide in 1928, and four years later, in 1932, Ruth Arnold and her four-year-old daughter from a brief marriage in 1926 came to live with Grace Hemingway in River Forest. Grace seemed to omit any mentions of Ruth in subsequent letters to her children even though the two women now lived together full time. Dearborn writes that it is impossible to

know what the Hemingway children thought of the relationship between Grace and Ruth and that it is uncertain if Hemingway and his siblings saw the relationship as a lesbian one. However, she says Ed Hemingway clearly did (Dearborn 85). Dearborn writes that Hemingway saw the construction of the cottage as a betrayal of his father but that he seemed to focus on the financial burden (Dearborn 85). However, we know from Hemingway's son Patrick Hemingway that Hemingway agreed with his father in considering his mother's relationship with Ruth Arnold to be homosexual. Patrick Hemingway recalls that his father had forbidden him from visiting his grandmother Grace because she was "androgynous." This restriction seemingly resulted from Grace's relationship with Ruth Arnold (Moddelmog, *Reading Desire* 32). Hemingway author Debra Moddelmog writes that "Hemingway's understanding of this concept (androgyny) was ambiguous but included homosexual attraction, a usage that can be found in some writings on sexual inversion in the late nineteenth part of the twentieth century" (Moddelmog, *Reading Desire* 32).

With all of this in mind, it is difficult to imagine that this chapter in the Hemingway family could not be seen as an inspirational source for "A Sea Change," a story about a woman leaving her boyfriend for another woman. The story was written just three short years after Ed Hemingway's suicide. A suicide for which we know Hemingway credits his mother with much of the blame. The "Sea Change" is written from the male protagonist's consciousness, making it a story about how the woman's lesbian affair impacts him (Tanimoto 10). The story written from this perspective makes sense, especially when Hemingway accused Grace of emasculating her husband Ed (Dearborn 27). In "A Sea Change," the woman is leaving her boyfriend, whom she claims

to "love very much," with the promise that she will "come back if you want me" (CSS 676). We know that Grace spent a large part of the summer of 1919 in the cabin with Ruth while Ed was back in Oak Park, but Grace returned to Ed, who subsequently banned Ruth from the premises (Dearborn 81-82). The woman in the story says, "You're a fine man and it breaks my heart to go off and leave you," and "I know it's all wrong. But I'll come back I told you I'd come back. I'll come back right away" (CSS 676, 678). Grace Hemingway saw her separation from Ed in the summer of 1919 as needed for his mental well-being, and she described needing to spend time with her children and her loyal friend Ruth. She felt as if she and Ed needed the time away to rediscover themselves, Ed to calm his mental anguish and she perhaps, to get some quality time with a woman with whom she obviously felt very strongly. Ed and Grace Hemingway's separation that summer mirrored the one in "The Sea Change," in which those characters also describe a needed break to rediscover themselves. In the story, she leaves to explore her lesbian relationship while he is left to examine his own sexual identity in the wake of this separation. We know that Ed Hemingway felt threatened by Ruth Arnold because he banned her from his home, and we know that he considered Ruth's relationship with Grace to be of a homosexual nature (Dearborn 85).

"The Sea Change" then diverges from the parallel between Grace and Ed Hemingway. It focuses on the change that the separation and the lesbian affair have had on the man's sexuality and sexual identity. Although Grace and Ruth inspired the concept for the story, this part of the story seems to draw more inspiration from Hemingway himself than from his parents. Hemingway's experiences with same-sex relationships, his alleged relationship with Jim Gamble, and alleged menage a trois with his first wife and

soon-to-be second wife, could conceivably have caused him to question his sexuality, as it did Phil in "The Sea Change." It is worth noting that authors like Gloria Diliberto, in her book *Hadley*, allege that a menage a trois occurred between Hemingway, Richardson and Pfeifer, but other authors like Dearborn are skeptical. We do not know the full effect of Grace and Ruth's relationship on Ed Hemingway other than Hemingway's claim that it emasculated him, but it is safe to assume that an event like this would cause Ed to question his manhood. However, in "The Sea Change," many scholars believe that when the woman leaves Phil for another woman, he realizes his homosexuality. Phil characterizes his relationship with the woman prior to her leaving as one of "vice" and "perversion," suggesting that they have experimented with non-traditional sex acts. Hemingway author Sheldon Norman Grebstein suggests that the character's heterosexual relationship is just as "corrupt" as the homosexual one for which she is leaving him, hinting at the man's general degradation. Joseph DeFalco interprets the story as one of Phil's acceptance of his own "abnormality." Others have suggested that Phil's acceptance of his "vice" is the acceptance of his homosexuality or that the story is about Phil's heterosexual identity crisis that has eroded his sexual identity (Tanimoto 10). There is no indication that Ed Hemingway struggled with homosexual feelings; however, we know that those thoughts occurred to Hemingway. Hemingway experimented with androgyny both before and after "The Sea Change" was written, and we know that he subsequently experimented with gender-swapping during lovemaking. Hemingway's comment to a friend about "trying homosexuality" and the dichotomy of his gay-bashing to friends and sympathizing with homosexuals in his novels and short stories indicates some time spent

contemplating the subject. All of this suggests a shift in inspiration from Grace and Ed to Hemingway for at least the latter half of the story.

Hemingway mentions in a letter to Edmund Wilson in 1952 that the story was inspired by Gertrude Stein and resulted from a lengthy conversation that he had with her regarding lesbian attraction (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 795). Gertrude Stein was, in fact, a lesbian and a close friend of Hemingway's during the 1920s, and she undoubtedly educated him about lesbianism during their association. However, two things about "The Sea Change" make me doubt the attribution to Ms. Stein. First, the story is written from the perspective of the man Phil; we are never even given a name for his girlfriend; she is referred to throughout the story as "the girl." The story's plot appears to be the impact of the lesbian affair on the man – Phil, which has nothing to do with Klein. The woman in the story, the lesbian element, is used as a catalyst for recognizing a change in the man.

Since we know Hemingway thought the relationship between his mother and Ruth Arnold was questionable, that the relationship negatively impacted Ed Hemingway, and that Hemingway later blamed his mother for emasculating his father through a variety of means, this seems the more plausible source of inspiration than Ms. Stein. Secondly, Hemingway's attribution of the story to Ms. Stein instead of to the strife between his parents and Ruth Arnold makes sense because, as Mary Dearborn writes, "The Hemingway family maintained an almost complete silence on the subject of Ruth Arnold until Grace died in 1951" (Dearborn 84). Hemingway wrote "The Sea Change" in 1931 while Grace and Ruth Arnold were still alive and only a few short years after Ed Hemingway's suicide. Hemingway would not have been keen to publicly display the family's dirty laundry. In a letter to his friend Grace Quinlan in 1920, Hemingway refers

to his mother's building a separate cottage for herself (and Ruth Arnold) as "fambly stuff [sic]," writing, "All fambls [sic] have skeletons in their closets. Maybe not the Quinlans but the Steins (coincidentally a reference he used for the Hemingway's and himself years before he knew Gertrude Stein) have heaps" (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 37). In this context, giving Gertrude Stein credit for the story was convenient, socially acceptable, and a partial truth at best. Grace's influence would continue as many scholars attribute her obsession with the cut and color of an adolescent Hemingway's hair as the genesis of his life-long hair fetish. I will demonstrate in the following chapter that Grace may have been partly responsible for establishing this fetish, but its manifestation in his life and writing is a lot more complex.

THE HEMINGWAYS AND HAIR

The last two examples that we will examine of non-heteronormative behaviors in Hemingway's life that filtered into the pages of his fiction were his hair fetish and experiments with androgynous sexual role reversal. These things often occurred together, and I believe that Hemingway is their true source of inspiration. The hair fetish often, but not always, precipitated a session of androgynous role play. Sometimes the hair fetish exemplified bi-sexual, or homosexual acts, or desires. Sometimes the androgynous sexual role reversal included pegging or the anal penetration of Hemingway by his wife, digitally or with an object. Hemingway had a hair fetish, and he enjoyed sexual role play and indulged these fetishes with his wives in ways that are well documented. These experiences with his wives informed the stories and characters of his fiction. Some will speculate on the source of these fetishes, but their inspiration in his fiction came directly from Hemingway's secret desires and sources of pleasure.

We know that Hemingway indulged his hair fetish with all four of his wives, and like so many other examples in Hemingway's work of art imitating life, it is no coincidence that it frequently appeared in his writing. According to Mary Dearborn, Hemingway would create exotic scenarios involving hair color and style with sex in which all four of his wives would participate. With his first wife, Hadley, they would enact a scheme whereby he grew his hair out until they both had the same hair length. In early drafts of *A Moveable Feast*, his memoir about life in Paris with Hadley, he writes of their discussions about the look and feel of their gender-nonconforming haircuts and of

the effects on their sex life – which they referred to as "secret pleasures" (Dearborn 24) (Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* 182-192). The new edition of *A Moveable Feast*, with chapters added by his fourth wife Mary and his grandson Sean Hemingway, highlights the role of Hemingway's hair fetish in his first marriage, suggesting that he was acting on it with a willing Hadley in Paris (Dearborn 136). This behavior is clearly seen in his novels. In *A Farewell to Arms*, Hemingway writes about Frederic Henry's hair fetish as he watches Catherine Barkley get a haircut, "Catherine was in the hairdresser's shop. The woman was waving her hair. I sat in the little booth and watched. It was exciting to watch, and Catherine smiled and talked to me, and my voice was a little thick from being excited" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 237). Catherine says that she will cut her hair and "I'll be a fine new and different girl for you," to which Frederic responds, "I think that will be exciting" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 247). Also, in *A Farewell to Arms*, Hemingway portrays the episode in which he and Hadley grew their hair the same length by having Catherine suggest that Frederic let his hair grow a little longer. She says, "and I could cut mine and we'd be just alike only one of us blonde and one of us dark" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 243). Catherine goes on to say, "I want you so much I want to be you," to which Frederic responds, "You are, we're the same one" (Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms* 243; Dearborn 484). Like many others in Hemingway's writing, this passage highlights the androgyny that often accompanies the hair fetish.

The effect of sharing the same haircut and becoming indistinguishable harkens back to Hemingway's "twinning" days with his older sister Marcelline. For several years as adolescents, their mother Grace forced them to wear matching outfits and haircuts and presented them as belonging to the same gender. The "twinning" hair theme continued in

Hemingway's novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* after Robert Jordan asks Maria to have her hair shaped so they look alike, and Pilar remarks that they look like brother and sister. Robert and Maria repeatedly tell each other, "I am thee and thou art me" (Dearborn 484). In Hemingway's story "The Last Good Country," based on a real-life episode from Hemingway's childhood, the protagonist's sister cuts her hair and tells him, "It's very exciting. Now I'm your sister but I'm a boy too" (Dearborn 484).

Dearborn notes that Hadley was not the only Hemingway wife with whom he indulged his hair fetish. In the summer of 1926, Pauline Pfeifer joins Hemingway and Hadley in the south of France, where they spent their days lying in the sun. Hemingway would draw on this time when the women were darkly tanned with close-cropped boyish hair lightened by the sun as inspiration for his book *The Garden of Eden*. In the novel, before David and his wife Catherine are joined by her friend Marita, the pair spend their days swimming and tanning in the sun, lightening their hair and even cutting it so that they look almost identical. However, the novel portrays David, Catherine, and Marita in a three-way sexual relationship, which Dearborn doubts ever occurred between Hemingway, Hadley, and Pauline (Dearborn 223). The book *The Garden of Eden* takes place on the Riviera in Le Grau-du-Roi, where Hemingway and his second wife Pauline honeymooned in 1927. Catherine cuts her hair to match her husband in the book, and the two repeatedly cut and dye their hair (Dearborn 484). The repeated hair-dying escapades between Hemingway and Pauline are well documented in letters written at that time detailing the quest for the perfect shade of blond for both of them. According to Dearborn, Hemingway would painstakingly catalog the different shades of hair color with obvious erotic pleasure. He and Pauline would relay their hair coloring details by letter to

their friend Jane, "whose blond hair seemed to have set off their sex play (Dearborn 328). Hemingway and his fourth wife, Mary Welsh, also acted out sexual fantasies regarding haircuts and color. Hemingway admitted that writing about Mary's hair and color excited him tremendously. In fact, according to Dearborn, his letters about her hair were "pornographic" (Dearborn 137). Mary was blond, which was extremely attractive to Hemingway, perhaps another example of Grace's influence as she repeatedly prized blond and red hair to a young Hemingway and Marcelline. Mary's short and boyish haircut represented the androgyny that Hemingway also found extremely appealing, and her hair became his total obsession. Mary admitted in her memoir that when she first arrived at Hemingway's Cuba home, she had her hair dyed blond as a present for Hemingway. Noting Hemingway's ecstasy over the result, she wrote, "Deeply rooted in his field of aesthetics was some mystical devotion to blondness, the blonder, the lovelier, I never learned why" (Dearborn 501).

Although there are numerous examples of Hemingway's hair fetish appearing in a heterosexual context, evidence of bisexual attraction and homosexual identity from the same fetish is also apparent throughout Hemingway's writing. We know from the clinical insights of Dr. Phyllis Greenacre, "that the history of many fetishists shows marked disturbance with some evidence of bisexual identification becoming manifest at four or five years of age" and that hair was "employed to disavow and affirm gender identity" in the Hemingway household (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 97, 108). So, it is not surprising that Hemingway's hair fetish transcends sexual boundaries and appears in his writing with homosexual overtones. In Hemingway's memoir *A Moveable Feast*, he writes about noticing F. Scott Fitzgerald's handsome face with repeated emphasis on his hair, "Scott

was a man who looked like a boy with a face between handsome and pretty. He had very fair wavy hair, a high forehead, excited and friendly eyes" ... "This should not have added up to a pretty face, but that came from the coloring, the very fair hair and the mouth" (Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* 134). Not only did Hemingway notice other men's hair, but so did many of the characters in his writing. Particular attention is paid to noticeably attractive men with hair that "shone," or was "sun-streaked." In *A Farewell to Arms*, Frederic Henry describes lieutenant Rinaldi as "good looking" and says, "He was dressed, wore his black boots and his hair 'shone'" (Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* 11, 15). In *The Sun Also Rises*, the bullfighter Pedro Romero is described by Jake Barnes as "The best looking boy I have ever seen," and "a good looking kid" and a "fine boy" whose "black hair 'shone' under the electric light" (Hemingway, *Sun Rises* 167). In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the protagonist Robert Jordan is described as "tall and thin, with 'sun-streaked' fair hair..." (Hemingway, *Bell Tolls* 104). In *Islands in the Stream*, Thomas Hudson is described as "a big man, and he looked bigger stripped than he did in his clothes" who was "very tanned and his hair was faded and 'streaked' from the sun" (Hemingway, *Islands* 539). In chapter 10, Roger is described as having visible back muscles moving under his shirt as he put his arms on the bar, and "in the dim light of Bobby's, his skin showed very dark, and his hair was salt- and 'sun-streaked'" (Hemingway, *Islands* 243). Just as with his description of F. Scott Fitzgerald in his memoir *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway, in these examples, first recognizes how attractive the men are, followed by the almost ever-present comment about their hair, giving these hair fetish episodes a homoerotic undertone.

The final instance of the hair fetish appearing in Hemingway's writing with homosexual undertones is the frequent appearance of desire for women with "boyish" haircuts and the association of wavy hair with gay men. We know that Hemingway liked his wives to have short, close-cropped hair, and essentially, all of them wore their hair that way at one point or another, with the possible exception of wife number three - Martha Gellhorn. Hadley and Hemingway made sure that their haircuts were identical, both were short and close-cropped, and Mary's cut and color became almost an obsession (Dearborn 136, 466, 482). There is an obvious attraction to women with short "boyish" haircuts that is apparent with Hemingway's wives and transfers into the pages of his fiction. Hemingway's attraction to the look and feel of a "boy's" hair on a woman might suggest a latent bi-sexual or homosexual desire. This idea is bolstered by the fact that the fetish knows no gender limits, and its appeal for Hemingway's characters is the same with men and women. Dearborn says, "Hemingway seems to have been specifically aroused by the back of the neck of a woman with a boyish haircut" (Dearborn 135). As Hemingway says about his wife Hadley in the new edition of his memoir *A Moveable Feast*, "I brought my right hand up and felt her neck smooth and the hair thick against it under my fingers that were shaking" (Dearborn 136). In Hemingway's short story "Cat in the Rain," the wife asks her husband if he thinks it would be a good idea if she grew her hair out? The husband "looked up and saw the back of her neck, clipped close like a boy's. I like it the way it is." She replies, "I get so tired of looking like a boy" (Hemingway, *Complete Short Stories* 301-302).

Hemingway's desire for a "boy's" haircut on a woman is exemplified in the characters of several more of his novels. In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the look, feel, and

texture of Maria's short hair is written about no fewer than six separate times in the novel (Hemingway, *Bell Tolls* 436, 438, 439, 454, 473, 814). In *The Sun Also Rises*, Brett Ashley is described as "damned good-looking "..., and her hair was brushed back like a boy's" (Hemingway, *Sun Rises* 29-30). In *The Garden of Eden*, Catherine Bourne returns to the table, and "her hair was cropped as short as a boy's." She says to David, "Feel how smooth. Feel it in back. You see, that's the surprise. I'm a girl. But now I'm a boy too..." (Hemingway, *Garden Eden* 14-15). In the same novel, David and Catherine are at the hair salon, and David says to Catherine, "It couldn't be more of a boy's haircut." Catherine then encourages David to get the same haircut "only shorter," and he agrees to let the coiffeur lighten it (Hemingway, *Garden Eden* 80-82).

In his writing, Hemingway also seems to attribute wavy hair and henna hair dyes on men as a sign of homosexuality. In *The Sun Also Rises*, Brett Ashley enters the bar with a group of gay men, and Jake Barnes notices, "I could see their hands and newly washed, wavy hair in the light of the door." He thought it worth repeating because, in the same paragraph, he said, "As they went in, under the light I saw white hands, wavy hair, white faces..." (Hemingway, *Sun Rises* 28). Similarly, the use of henna hair dyes on men is also a sign of homosexuality. In *Death in the Afternoon*, a newspaperman recounts a story of staying in a hotel and getting drawn into the quarrel of a presumed homosexual couple in the next room. He pacifies the pair only to have the fight resume later in the evening with continued sobbing by one of the men. Many scholars believe this story is about the "corruption," or indoctrination of homosexuality from one man to another. The story concludes with the noticeable transformation of the indoctrinated younger man. The last time he was seen by the storyteller, he was at a café with the man with whom he had

been quarreling and was "wearing tailored clothes, looking clean-cut as ever, except the younger of the two...had had his hair hennaed." The "hennaed hair" was the tell-tale sign of the homosexual transformation, and the newspaperman described it as the "wow to the end of the story" (*Death in the Afternoon* 272). Hemingway scholars Robert Scholes and Nancy Comley describe a fragmentary manuscript from Hemingway's time in Paris in the 1920s in which a young man is sitting in a barbershop asking for a permanent wave. The man tries to avoid the stares of the man in the next chair, whom he assumes is a pimp, only to revise his presumption and say that he was "Just an upsidaisy." "Because I am here myself. Just like an upsidaisy." According to Comley and Scholes, "these haircuts and dyeings are public signs of changes in sexuality" (Comley and Scholes 90).

An argument can be made that since Hemingway and some of his characters are attracted to "shiny," "sun-streaked," dyed, or "hennaed" hair on women, and since the "boy's" haircuts that expose the back of the neck are also mostly admired on the necks of women, then they cannot be considered non-heteronormative behaviors, or possessing homosexual undertones. In *A Farewell to Arms*, Frederic notices that Catherine "had taken her hat off and her hair 'shone' under the light" (Hemingway, *Farwell Arms* 128). In that same novel, Frederic notes, "It was dark outside and the light over the head of the bed 'shone' on her 'neck' and shoulders" (Hemingway, *Farwell Arms* 211). Responding to Hemingway's concern for Hadley's hair prior to their marriage, Hadley reassured him that "she was washing it in a Castile shampoo, drying it in the sun." Dearborn writes that Hadley's hair was critical for her attractiveness (Dearborn 137). In the sketch from *A Moveable Feast* called "Secret Pleasures," it is Hadley's smooth, exposed neck that gets Hemingway's hands "shaking" and prompts him to say "something secret" (Dearborn

136). As with the shiny hair and the specific styles, the henna dying part of the fetish was also noticed and appreciated on women. In *The Garden of Eden*, David and Catherine both experiment with dying their hair with henna, or bleach, which mirrors the behavior of Hemingway with Hadley, Pauline, and Mary (Dearborn 125-137).

However, I would argue that the very fact that Hemingway articulates in his real life and his writing that he finds the cut, color, style, and texture of hair equally attractive on women and men is enough to suggest non-heteronormative behavior on some level. After all, what does noticing that Pedro Romero's hair "shone under the electric light" add to his description and the story? The same applies to writing about being attracted to a "boy's" hairstyle on a woman. If you are sexually attracted to a feature generally associated with your sex, does that not convey homosexual or at least bi-sexual desire on some level? The fact that he writes that "hennaed" hair is enough to identify someone as homosexual when Hemingway himself was dying his hair with henna, and then perhaps recognizing the significance of the change – makes up excuses for how it "accidentally happened" is pretty illuminating in my mind. It is as if he is writing about these things not to enhance his fiction but to satisfy some deep-seated urge or need within himself. It is almost as if he were writing about himself in a secret code hidden in plain sight.

Many scholars believe that Grace Hemingway's "twinning" treatment of an adolescent Hemingway and his older sister Marcelline would develop the life-long hair fetish that Hemingway exhibited in real life. Consequently, they believe that Grace was ultimately responsible for the hair fetish repeatedly surfacing in the characters of his fiction. Marcelline explains in her memoir, *At The Hemingway's*, "Mother often told me she had always wanted twins, and that though I was a little over a year older than

Hemingway...she was determined to have us be as much like twins as possible" (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 89). Grace dressed Marcelline and Hemingway in infant frocks and initially gave them both Dutch-length hair cuts. When Hemingway received his first boy's haircut, Grace made sure Marcelline received a boy's cut, too (Spilka 290).

According to Marcelline, Grace always dressed her and Hemingway alike at Oak Park in gingham and soft lace tucked dresses with hats, and at the cabin on the lake, they wore matching overalls. Later they each wore a belted blouse over tunics that she described as a "sort of compromise boy-girl costume" (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 89). Marcelline and Hemingway were forced to alternate between being dressed as girls and boys in those early years (Dearborn 22). A young Hemingway had blonde hair, while Marcelline's was brown, but their haircuts were identical. Grace made no secret of the fact that she always prized hair that was blond or any shade of auburn (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 89).

Grace held Marcelline back for an extra year of kindergarten so that Hemingway could catch up, further enhancing the "twin" image. They even had matching toys, dolls, and guns (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 92). When Marcelline's Dutch boy haircut grew out unevenly, she trimmed it with a friend and faced severe retribution from Grace, who exclaimed, "I want you to remember this for the rest of your life" (Dearborn 24).

Sometimes Hemingway's hair was cut short and boyishly; at other times, it was long and cut into a shoulder-length bob to match his sister Marcelline's (Dearborn 22).

Dearborn claims that it is impossible to assess the full impact of the androgynous clothing and hairstyles on Marcelline and Hemingway, with what she assumes were periods of both pleasure and embarrassment. However, all of this took place with the accompanying apprehension of the ways his mother was challenging traditional sex roles,

both with her children and in her marriage (Dearborn 24). Hemingway would later view her dominance in the household with very acrid feelings. Hemingway scholar Mark Spilka sees these episodes as the reason "hairstyles became the observant Hemingway's lifelong measure of female manipulations, androgynous twinings, and arrangements of the heart and breasts and loins" (Spilka 290). In addition to preferred hair colors, Mary Dearborn credits Grace's emphasis on preferred cuts and styles, contributing significantly to Hemingway's hair fetish. Grace would emphasize the curve of a curl or the exposed spot at the nape of the neck, highlighted by the specific cuts and styles that she had given to Marcelline and Hemingway (Dearborn 24). We know from several examples in Hemingway's work that his male protagonists are attracted to the exposed necks of women with "boys" haircuts.

Hemingway scholar Carl Eby also gives Grace's over-emphasis on hair much credit for developing Hemingway's hair fetish. Eby states that the fetish often stands in for the "missing" imaginary female penis (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 87). Freud acknowledges that although this explanation is possible, it is not always the case. Freud claims that with the institution of the fetish, "some process occurs which reminds one of the stopping of memory in traumatic amnesia...it is as though the last impression before the uncanny and traumatic one is retained as a fetish" (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 88). Freud's theory bolsters Eby's claim that Grace's over-emphasis on "twinning" Hemingway's hair with his sister manifested as a traumatic experience for him. Freud acknowledges that fetish objects can be chosen for other reasons. However, Hemingway scholars Kenneth Lynn and Mark Spilka agree with Eby that Grace's influence was instrumental in developing this fetish in a young Hemingway (Eby, *Hemingway's*

Fetishism 88). An essential aspect of the function and significance of the fetish is its symbolic detachment from the penis. As Eby explains:

Hair was a ready-made hypercathected symbol in the Hemingway household employed to disavow and affirm gender identity, to negotiate masculine and feminine identifications, and to maintain and deny a symbolic union with the object of primary identification – *to function, that is, precisely like the fetish object* (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 88).

The matching hairstyles of Hemingway's youth equated Hemingway with his castrated sister, thus hindering the formation of a stable body image and ego, and served as the primary cause of his preoedipal anxiety. Hair served as the symbol of identity and a substitute phallus to ward off castration anxiety. Hair was a symbol intimately linked to Hemingway's childhood, evoking memories of his early identification with his sister, and his mother's power to feminize and masculinize him. Throughout his fiction, Hemingway uses the female character's fetishistic feminization of the male characters as a symbolic representation of his feminization and the emasculation of his father by his mother (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 108). During the phallic period, at four or five years of age, many fetishists show evidence of bisexual identification (Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism* 97).

Grace Hemingway's use of hairstyles and clothing to alternate the masculinization and feminization of a young Hemingway could have destabilized his sexual identification at a crucial period of development. Carl Eby indulged in intensive psychological studies with similar results on this subject. Some will say that if Grace Hemingway "twinned"

both Hemingway and his sister Marcelline with alternating male and female clothing and hairstyles, why then did Marcelline not develop a hair fetish? Of course, there is far less documentation about the life and works of Marcelline Hemingway Sanford, but I found nothing to indicate that she also had a hair fetish. According to Dr. L. F. Lowenstein, M.D., most fetishists are males; the fetish tends to begin during adolescence or even before, and it usually persists throughout the individual's life (Lowenstein 135-136). Dr. Lowenstein notes that "mothers play an important part in serving as fetish objects for males. Such feelings originated in early traumas related to the mother in the case of males, who have a greater need for fetishes than females (Lowenstein 140).

Freud explained that fetishes could form for various reasons. However, I believe Grace Hemingway is partly responsible for the development of Hemingway's hair fetish due to her overemphasis on the cut, color, and style of hair of her two oldest children during their "twinning" phase. The fact that fetishes most often occur in males and are generally established during adolescence and remain with an individual for a lifetime following an adolescent establishment gives further credence to Eby, Freud, and others that attribute Grace as a possible fetish source. (Lowenstein 135-136). However, I believe the person who influenced the hair fetish examples in Hemingway's writing was Hemingway himself. The textual examples result from the behaviors that he enjoyed with his wives and went beyond a garden-variety hair fetish to include the possible expression of latent bi-sexual and homosexual desires. As I have shown, several of the hair fetish examples exhibited by characters in Hemingway's novels and short stories are those of same-sex attraction. Eby noted that many fetishists show evidence of bisexual attraction.

In Hemingway's personal life (as well as in some of his fictional textual examples), the fetish appears to have taken on those characteristics.

An argument can be made that Hemingway's personal fetishistic behavior was not bisexual, or homosexual because it involved his wife. However, Hemingway's hair fetish was often a component of gender-swapping love-making sessions with his wife that involved him fantasizing about her as a boy. The fantasy involved the look of a boy's haircut and also the tactile element of the "boy's" hairstyle, the use of a male name for his wife and a female name for himself and sometimes even the possible penetration of him by her. All of these things are evidenced in Hemingway's personal life, and they appear in the pages of his novels and short stories. Fantasizing about one's wife as a boy during love-making does not prove that one is bisexual or homosexual. However, it certainly suggests bisexual or homosexual fantasies. All fetishists do not share this feature of Hemingway's fetish as many find arousal from simply seeing, or touching hair. Grace's treatment of Hemingway may have triggered the hair fetish, but I believe there were some deeper issues at play with Hemingway for which the hair fetish was only a component. Since this thesis is about the people who influenced non-heteronormative behaviors in Hemingway's writing, Hemingway gets the influential credit for textual examples of hair fetishistic behavior. As far as we know, Hemingway did not witness or learn about hair fetishes from someone else. There is plenty of biographical evidence to support his own hair fetish. I believe the examples of hair fetishistic behavior that are exhibited by the characters in Hemingway's writing reflect not just a hair fetish but are a component of and were influenced by more profound and more complex desires of Hemingway. As I have demonstrated with my examples, Hemingway influenced his own

textual examples of hair fetishistic behavior based on his own experiences. The psychological root of those fetishistic desires is better left to medical experts like Dr. Lowenstein and authors like Carl Eby.

ANDROGYNOUS ROLE REVERSAL

No thesis examining the sources of influence for Hemingway's non-heteronormative stories and characters would be complete without mentioning the role that his androgyny and sexual role reversal had on his writing, especially his later writing. I touched on this topic in the last chapter. Just as with the hair fetish, I assert that Hemingway's personal behavior was the inspiration for the androgynous role-reversal love-making that we see in his texts. This topic has been covered extensively in the last few decades, most notably after the posthumous release of his novel *The Garden of Eden*, which many experts believe is a thinly veiled version of Hemingway's sexual escapades. Others have done a better job of elucidating the psychology behind these behaviors in Mr. Hemingway, so my interest lies in the similarities between Hemingway's personal experience with this topic and the examples in his writing. Many have argued that the adolescent "twinning" of Hemingway and his sister by Grace Hemingway is the reason for his androgynous behavior since the hair fetish often preceded or accompanied those episodes. I will argue that the androgynous sexual role-playing episodes that appear in the pages of his books *The Garden of Eden* and *True at First Light* were inspired by the love-making sessions between Hemingway and his fourth wife Mary Welsh. Support for this

theory can be found in her diary and his fictional memoir – *True at First Light*. The real-life love-making sessions, as well as the textual episodes were simply the fulfillment and expression of Hemingway's secret desires, for which he had only two outlets of expression – the privacy of his bedroom and cloaked behind the pages of his fiction.

Hemingway and his fourth wife, Mary, had an active and imaginative sex life that involved not only the hair fetish in the form of constant experiments with cut and color but also fantasy-filled love-making sessions involving gender-swapping role play and possibly even sodomy. Mary kept a diary about an African safari the couple took in late 1953 and early 1954 that is housed at the Kennedy library and contains some explicit passages about the couple's sex life. Although often ostensibly in jest, there are specific references to the couple's androgynous behavior and sodomy. Hemingway added some entries in the diary in which he refers to himself as "Mary's girl," and Mary as his "boy." Another entry by Hemingway establishes a "new names department," where he renames himself "Kathrin Hemingway" and Mary as "Peter Mary Welsh-Hemingway." In another episode, Hemingway shaves his head like a "Kamba girl." However, at the same time, he flirts with a Kamba girl named Debba and possibly even sleeps with her while Mary is in Nairobi (Eby, "Sodomy and Transvestic" 2) (Mary Hemingway, *How it Was* 424). The diary identifies androgynous behavior and possibly even extra-marital relations, but it also sheds light on even more intriguing non-heteronormative behavior like male sodomy.

Sodomy first appears in a journal post by Mary on November 3, in which she quotes "Papa's definition of buggery: 'Sodomy when practiced by those who are not gentlemen.'" This passage is followed a few lines later with her description of an

afternoon nap, "which turned out to be a love-feast, love-fest, love fiesta," which was followed later that night with "a bigger, happier, lovelier, love-fest-feast" (Eby, "Sodomy and Transvestic" 2). Perhaps the most famous portion of Mary's diary is the mock interview that Hemingway wrote on December 19, 1953, while they were on safari in Africa. I alluded to this entry at the opening of this thesis. The interview was for the imaginary magazine that Hemingway called "Recondite," and it was reprinted in Mary's autobiography *How it Was* as follows:

Reporter: Mr. Hemingway, is it true that your wife is a lesbian?

Papa: Of course not. Mrs. Hemingway is a boy.

Reporter: What are your favorite sports, sir?

Papa: Shooting, fishing, reading, and sodomy.

Reporter: Does Mrs. Hemingway participate in these sports?

Papa: She participates in all of them.

Reporter: Sir, can you compare fishing, shooting and cricket, perhaps with the other sports you practice?

Papa: Young man, you must distinguish between the diurnal and nocturnal sports. In this latter category sodomy is definitely superior to fishing.

Reporter: Sir, I've heard much of this sport.

Papa: Let us speak no further of it.

Then he had an afterthought. What about Gomorrah?

You mean what we say to each other mornings? I asked.

End of interview (M. Hemingway, *How it Was* 425).

In this passage Hemingway identifies Mary as a "boy" and then tells the reporter that they participate in sodomy. Not sodomy of a woman, or performed on a man by a woman, but rather sodomy with Hemingway and someone he identifies as a "boy." Of course, Mary Welsh Hemingway was not a boy. However, Hemingway wants to imagine her as one in this diary entry, and other entries in her autobiography. These diary entries offer a glimpse into Hemingway's secret desires.

It is also interesting that Hemingway lists sodomy with hobbies for which his participation is well documented like, shooting, fishing, and reading. In fact, he identifies sodomy as the preferred sport among the group. What are readers to make of its inclusion? This diary entry proves nothing by itself, but Mary's diary, in conjunction with Hemingway's handling of this topic many times in his writing certainly builds a strong circumstantial case for his participation. Hemingway scholar Valerie Rohy asserts that in Mary's diary entries, Hemingway borrows from Gertrude Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, in which Stein writes her autobiography as a mock autobiography of Toklas. Rohy claims that the autobiography of Mary Welsh Hemingway is the autobiography of Ernest Hemingway, especially in passages like the mock interview with the imaginary reporter from the December 19 entry (Rohy 13). Some will claim that Hemingway was only having fun and that the mock interview was not meant to be taken seriously. However, as Rohy points out, the reporter's invention as interlocutor gives Hemingway the cover to pretend to own his gender and desires, something that, up to this point – he had only been able to do in fantasy. The interview is also a bold endorsement of sodomy and gender-swapping (Rohy 14). When writing, Hemingway's iceberg theory and his judicious word economy invites us to question his choice of "Recondite" as the

name of the imaginary magazine to which he granted the interview. Recondite means “difficult or impossible for one of ordinary understanding or knowledge to comprehend: of, relating to, or dealing with something little known or obscure” (Merriam Webster). I would argue that at this point in his career, Hemingway was an accomplished, seasoned author with a broad vocabulary. Therefore, since he was referring to gender-swapping and sodomy, his naming the magazine “Recondite” was absolutely intentional.

In *How it Was*, Mary quotes Hemingway as saying, "She has always wanted to be a boy and thinks as a boy without ever losing any femininity... She loves me to be her girls, which I love to be, not being absolutely stupid" (M. Hemingway, *How it Was* 426). Mary goes on to quote Hemingway's justification for this behavior:

Mary has never had one lesbian impulse but has always wanted to be a boy. Since I have never cared for any man and dislike any tactile contact with men except the normal Spanish *abrazo* or embrace which precedes a departure or welcomes a return from a voyage or a more or less dangerous mission of attack, I loved feeling the embrace of Mary which came to me as something quite new and outside tribal law.

Hemingway continues, "On the night of December 19th we worked out these things, and I have never been happier (M. Hemingway, *How it was* 426). Hemingway claims in this excerpt not to like "tactile contact with men," but as we have seen, he enjoys the tactile feeling of a boy's haircut and the resulting “boyish” look of the exposed neck that it creates on a woman.

Some might say that Hemingway, like his character Brett Ashley, was trying to expand the acceptable boundaries around hairstyles and gender. Others might argue that Hemingway was a narcissist that simply enjoyed a texture similar to his own. I would argue that the look and feel of a "boy's" haircut on a woman is a technicality that psychologically justified his sexual arousal as an identifying heterosexual. After all, he was a hyper-masculine man who was attracted to women with attributes that even he ascribed to the male sex. The fact that Hemingway feels compelled to distinguish between Mary looking and feeling like a man when she embraces him and his vocal distaste for the embrace of men, suggests to me that he was troubled enough in his own mind to verbalize a distinction. Rohy sees this second diary entry as "closer to psychological realism, in the form of a literary confession signed and dated by its author." Rohy insists that the passage should not be taken literally, but she describes it as lying "somewhere between private contemplation and public avowal" (Rohy 15).

I agree that these are public confessions by Hemingway cloaked in the cover of jest. In this second passage, he confesses to having homosexual impulses while claiming not to be a homosexual. Why? He seems anxious to get these feelings and acts out, out of him, off of his conscience and into the world, perhaps to normalize them for his peace of mind. Maybe this was the most he was capable of as a married "heterosexual" famous man in 1950s America. He toyed with bold confessions of non-heteronormative behavior in Mary's diary because he knew it had an audience of two. Still interested in pushing these ideas, Hemingway's technique to get them out to a broader audience was to employ the technique that he had always used, disguise them in the behaviors of characters in his fiction or through a mock interview. He accomplished this early in his career without

explicitly naming the acts via his iceberg technique. Later the more graphic depictions relied less on the iceberg technique but on the relative safety of the camouflage of fiction.

This episode between Mary and Hemingway is undoubtedly the inspiration for similar episodes in several of Hemingway's novels. Even though it is not explicitly identified as such, many scholars believe that Hemingway's definition of "buggery" and his entry of the mock interview in Mary's diary are both referring to the sodomy of Hemingway by Mary. It is believed that this act is repeated in print in Hemingway's novels, *True at First Light*, *The Garden of Eden*, *Across the River and into the Trees* and *Islands in the Stream*. In these later works, Hemingway seems to have largely abandoned the "Iceberg Theory" that he employed so adroitly in his early works, leaving less doubt about what is transpiring in these novels. As Hemingway scholar Carl Eby describes, "What is more fully censored by symbolization in the early fiction appears almost baldly and without any symbolization at all in the later works." Eby assumes that Hemingway was reserved with his erotic fantasies in the 1920s and 1930s because they likely remained vague or unconscious at that time. However, he claims that Hemingway put them into actual practice in the late 1940s and 1950s, where they informed his fiction with greater audacity (Eby, "He Felt the Change" 4). However, these later novels maintain enough of Hemingway's writing style to still leave plenty of room for interpretation, even in the face of more blatant description.

True at First Light is a blend of travel memoir and fiction directly influenced by Hemingway and Mary's 1953-54 African safari and posthumously published in 1999. The book compresses the five days in Mary's diary from December 16th to 21st into a single day. It is during this period that we see the entry containing the mock interview about

sodomy, as well as the entry about of the New Names Department where Mary and Hemingway change their names to "Peter" and "Kathrin." Another entry from this time states that Mary "always wanting to be a boy" and Hemingway "always wanting to be a girl." The sodomy is written in the following way:

After a while Miss Mary came to bed and I put the other Africa away somewhere and we made our own Africa again. It was another Africa form where I had been and at first, I felt the red spilling up my chest and then I accepted it and did not think at all and felt only what I felt and Mary felt lovely in bed. We made love and then made love again and then after we had made love once more, quiet and dark and unthinking and then like a shower of meteors on a cold night, we went to sleep (Hemingway, *True at First Light* 421; Eby, "He Felt the Change" 3).

These lines in the *True at First Light* manuscript at the Kennedy library say clearly in Hemingway's handwriting, "I felt the 'old' splitting up my chest," not "I felt the 'red' splitting up my chest." The word "old" was edited out, either intentionally or accidentally, but its inclusion suggests a familiarity of experience for Hemingway (Eby, "He Felt the Change" 3). Also, the implication of sodomy is specifically mentioned to have occurred three times in this passage, which is the exact number of times that Renata performed it on Cantwell in *Across the River and Into the Trees*. Here Hemingway describes Mary as presumably sodomizing him as feeling "lovely" in bed. It is this very term, "lovely," that he suggests is lost by Catherine or himself after she sodomizes David in *The Garden of Eden*, "goodbye my lovely girl, goodbye" (Hemingway, *Garden of Eden* 18).

The Garden of Eden, published posthumously in 1986, focuses on the physical and emotional changes that occur with a young couple honeymooning in the French Riviera and Spain when another woman is introduced into the partnership. Some believe the location inspired Hemingway in the novel because it is where he honeymooned with Pauline. Others feel that the "presumed" sodomy of the protagonist David by his wife Catherine was rooted in Hemingway's personal sex life. The novel's sex scenes, not unlike Mary Welsh Hemingway's diary entries, focus on haircuts, styles and colors, androgyny, gender-swapping, and sodomy. As a prelude to a love-making session, Hemingway once again endows his fictional characters with his fetishes in the novel. The back of Catherine's neck is used as an aphrodisiac for David when Catherine says, "feel the back of my neck," and David responds, "Oh it feels so wonderful and good and clean and new" (Hemingway, *Garden of Eden* 17). The transfer of personal fetishes and desires from Hemingway to his characters continues in the most famous scene in the novel, which many believe clearly demonstrates the sodomy of David by Catherine:

He had shut his eyes and he could feel the long lightweight of her on him and her breasts pressing against him and her lips on his. He lay there and felt something and then her hand holding him and searching lower and he helped with his hands and then lay back in the dark and did not think at all and only felt the weight and strangeness inside and she said, 'Now you can't tell who is who can you?' 'No.' 'You are changing,' she said. 'Oh you are. You are. Yes you are and you're my girl Catherine. Will you change and be my girl and let me take you?' ...In the night he had felt her hands touching him...and she had made the dark magic of the change again and he did not say no when she spoke to him and asked the questions and he felt the change so that it hurt him all through and

when it was finished and they were both exhausted and shaking and she whispered to him, 'Now we have done it. Now we have really done it' (Hemingway, *Garden of Eden* 17, 20).

In light of Mary's diary entries, there can be little doubt that Hemingway was writing about Catherine sodomizing David. Phrases like Catherine was "searching lower," "he helped with his hands," he felt the "strangeness inside" that "hurt him all through" and he had "changed" and was now her "girl Catherine," seem to offer few alternative explanations. Hemingway always leaves room for interpretations but most scholars agree that these passages are a very watered down version of the iceberg theory.

The pain that David experiences seems physical; however, he also experiences a traumatic emotional transformation. After this episode, David says, "Let's lie still and quiet and hold each other and not think at all, he said and his heart said goodbye Catherine goodbye my lovely girl goodbye and good luck and goodbye" (Hemingway, *Garden of Eden* 18). This passage portends the end of both of them as the people they were before the "transformation." I would argue that in light of this new experience, he refers to the death of the "old" David and the "old" Catherine and their relationship as it had been up to this point. Saying "goodbye Catherine, goodbye my lovely girl" suggests that Catherine is no longer "lovely" after the sodomy episode; something about her has fundamentally changed for the worse after that experience. Since David is now Catherine, he could also be saying goodbye to himself as Catherine, as if that transformation is gone forever, or he could be saying goodbye to the "lovely" aspect of himself, which is now ruined by sodomy. Later in the novel, David says to Marita about homosexuals, "I always

tried to understand and to be fair. We've always had them and I'm never rude unless I have to be. But they give me the creeps" (Spilka 310). David's attitude toward homosexuals would undoubtedly justify his opinion about losing his "loveliness" after performing a homosexual act. Because Hemingway was always so intentionally economical with his words, whatever "Catherine" is leaving is undoubtedly significant because David says "goodbye" to Catherine four times in that sentence. The *Garden of Eden* text about David now being called "Catherine" and Catherine changing her name to "Peter" justifies the case for Mary's diary as a source of influence. The passage mirrors Hemingway's diary entry about the "New Names Department" in which he christens himself "Kathryn" and his wife "Peter" (Eby, "He Felt the Change" 2).

In *Across the River and Into the Trees*, we get another more subtle description of male sodomy. In the novel, Cantwell's digital stimulation of Renata is described as his "ruined hand" searching for "the island in the river with the high steep banks" (Hemingway, *Across the River* 153). Renata then offers reciprocation, "Don't you know how a woman feels? Don't you really know?" Renata then says, "Guess now....And please wait until we have gone under the second bridge" (Hemingway, *Across the River* 154; Eby, "He Felt the Change" 2). Renata does something to Cantwell three times that she fears might "hurt" him. This passage suggests some sort of penetration which leaves Cantwell wondering, "Where is the island now and in what river?...But then he stopped thinking and he did not think for a long time" (Hemingway, *Across the River* 155; Eby, "He Felt the Change" 2). Eby asserts that Cantwell is momentarily transformed into a woman, and he now knows "how a woman feels." He offered further evidence of Cantwell's sodomy when Renata asked, "I want to be like you. Can I be like you a little

while tonight?" Then in the gondola, Renata says, "Please hold me very tightly so we can be a part of each other for a little while," and then she says, "I'm you now" (Eby, "He Felt the Change" 2).

The familiar pattern of androgyny and sodomy of a male by a female continues in *Islands in the Stream*. Jan begins to cut Hudson's hair, and she says, "now we'll be just that same...And now I've started to get all the things I've wanted." Jan says, "Now kiss me and be my girl," to which Hudson questions, "I didn't know you wanted a girl." Hudson complains that he does not know how to be a girl and that he does not think this is good for Jan. Jan insists that her "girl has to be a boy." Then Hudson "felt weak through the base of his spine to his chest and back again. But the weakness was concentrated forward from the base of his spine...He felt weak and destroyed inside himself" (Eby, "He Felt the Change" 2). Jan gives a recommendation that is familiar in each of these episodes of male sodomy when she says to Hudson, "Lie back and don't think about anything (Eby, "He Felt the Change" 2).

Nancy Comley and Robert Scholes's book *Hemingway's Genders* takes a more liberal and forward-thinking attitude about Hemingway's sexual exploration – calling it his "fascination with sexual metamorphoses." Comley and Scholes see Catherine and David's behavior as breaking taboos, both cultural and religious, even though such transgressions are linked to darkness and madness in the manuscript. The couples seek forbidden knowledge, with the men usually being led by the women and always remaining a little leery (Comley and Scholes 59). Debra Modellmog also sees Hemingway's sexual endeavors as possibly homosexual and generally positive. Modellmog breaks from most scholars by allowing for Hemingway's possibility of being

a homosexual. Modellmog views the uncharacteristically explicit scene in *The Garden of Eden* as undoubtedly one of Catherine sodomizing David. She points to a crossed-out phrase in the original manuscript describing that David feels "something that yielded and entered." Modellmog claims that what "yielded" was David's sphincter, and what "entered" was Catherine's fingers or some other object (Fantina 10). While recognizing the difference between gender identification and sexual orientation, she insists that instead of defending Hemingway against transgender possibilities, those possibilities should be recognized and engaged with the current ideas of gender in transsexual theory (Rohy 3; Modellmog, *Reading Desire* 3).

Despite Hemingway's uncharacteristically less ambiguous text in these examples, there is still some room for interpretation because the act of male sodomy is not directly named. In typical Hemingway fashion, he and Mary do not specify the non-heteronormative details of their love-making, but rather mention them in jest. They use the same coded language of the iceberg principle that Hemingway often employed in his writing with sensitive topics. Because of this, an argument can be made that the diary passages were indeed in jest, and the coincidental episodes in his fiction were just that – fictional. However, most scholars agree that there is little doubt that male sodomy is occurring in these passages. Based on the autobiographical context from Mary's diary, the text from *True at First Light*, and the long history of Hemingway's fascination with non-heteronormative behaviors, it seems entirely plausible that his personal sex life with Mary served as the inspiration for the episodes of sodomy in his fiction. Many scholars saw textual incidents like these as biographical evidence (Rohy 1). Mark Spilka's book *Hemingway's Quarrel with Androgyny* relates Mary Hemingway's diary entries about

gender-swapping and sodomy to similar passages in *The Garden of Eden*. Spilka argues that Hemingway's fictional cross-dressing reveals a "psychic wound of androgyny" (Rohy 1). Hemingway was undoubtedly fascinated with androgyny and, at times, even obsessed with it, especially regarding haircuts and color and gender-swapping during sex. His fiction provided the perfect outlet for him to mainstream these feelings and experiences, simultaneously shielding himself from direct association and criticism. As I have demonstrated, Hemingway's work was full of real-life non-heteronormative desires and experiences that made their way into the pages of his fiction. The similarities found in these many examples are too numerous to be dismissed as coincidence, mainly when supported by an eye-witness and first-hand accounts. There is no better example than the striking similarities between the gender-swapping, sodomic love-making that occurred between Hemingway and Mary in *True at First Light* and *How it Was*, and those described in the pages of *The Garden of Eden*, *Across the River, and into the Trees* and *Islands in the Stream*.

CONCLUSION

Hemingway was interested in many things during his life. He was curious, intelligent, an adventure seeker, and an explorer. Perhaps this combination of traits fueled his fascination with women, war, hunting, travel, deep-sea fishing, boxing, and bullfighting, to name a few. As a result, he returned to these topics frequently in his writing, just as he did in his personal life for enjoyment. In addition to enjoyment, he returned to these topics because he was curious about them, and familiar with them. This thesis demonstrates that the same could be said for his continued return to non-heteronormative themes in his writing. Like women, war, hunting, fishing, and bullfighting, he wrote about characters that exhibited non-heteronormative behaviors because this topic also interested, challenged, and entertained him. He recognized the importance and truthfulness that emerged in his work when he wrote about that with which he had an interest and was also familiar.

The familiarity in Hemingway's case came from family members like his mother Grace and friends and acquaintances like Jim Gamble, Gertrude Stein, Ruth Arnold, Sidney Franklin, and Glenway Wescott, and his own personal desires, and experiences. Grace Hemingway's dominant personality as a wife and mother, her unusual child-rearing habits with Hemingway and Marcelline, and her exceptionally close friendship with Ruth Arnold, all served as inspiration for Hemingway's non-heteronormative characters and stories. As his mother, her influence would have been profound during his early life and as a result, directly or indirectly continuous throughout his adult life. Jim Gamble entered

Hemingway's life at a particularly formative period in which he would have been particularly vulnerable. Away from home for the first time, in a foreign country, fighting in a world war, and at the tender and impressionable age of eighteen, it is only natural that the older commanding officer and friend would be seen as an inspirational figure to a young Hemingway. The extent of that inspiration is apparent from the letters between the two men, contemporary accounts from friends who knew them at the time, and Hemingway's stories based on his life during that period. Gertrude Stein, Sidney Franklin, and Glenway Westcott were homosexual friends of a young Hemingway when he lived abroad. Gertrude, Sidney, and Glenway educated Hemingway about homosexuality through their friendships, their lives, and their stories. Mary Welsh Hemingway was Hemingway's fourth wife and the one to whom he was married the longest. Of all of his wives, Mary documented the most about their personal lives, particularly their non-heteronormative sexual relations. Her influence is captured in contemporaneous notes and from books she authored and edited. Finally, Hemingway's secret desires and fantasies served as perhaps the greatest inspiration for his non-heteronormative characters and stories, as fetishistic, bi-sexual, and gender-swapping behaviors from Mary's diary are littered throughout many of his novels and short stories. Am I suggesting that because of his interest in, and experience with non-heteronormative behaviors, Hemingway was gay? No, the purpose of this thesis is not to make assertions about the sexuality of Hemingway, or anyone else for that matter. The purpose is to better understand the connection between the people and events in Hemingway's personal life and the subsequent influence they had on the non-heteronormative characters in his writing.

It is clear from biographies, friends, Mary's diary, and his letters, short stories, and novels that Hemingway had conflicting feelings about sexuality and gender. Defining "heteronormative" behavior was a lot easier during Hemingway's life in the first half of the twentieth century; today the borders of that definition have become significantly eroded. The question of one's "sexuality, "sexual preference, or gender" is less relevant today than during Hemingway's time. During the period in which Hemingway wrote, there were societal expectations regarding sexuality. We know from his letters that he was acutely aware of the threshold of tolerance of his audience concerning these topics. In order to earn a living as a commercially successful author, Hemingway handled non-heteronormative topics with the obscure language of his iceberg theory. Hemingway employed this technique with many topics throughout his writing career, but it was particularly useful when dealing with issues as controversial as gender identity and sexual behavior. The question remains, why take a chance? Why write about these risky topics, even if you plan to protect yourself with vague language and insinuation through omission? Why not stick to "safe" topics like hunting and fishing, women and war?

Interestingly, he adroitly managed to do both simultaneously. He was able to work non-heteronormative characters and behaviors into innocuous stories about hunting, fishing, war, and relationships with women. I argue that he was conflicted emotionally about these behaviors in himself and others and had very few outlets available to attempt to normalize them. He chose to deal with these feelings through sexual experimentation with his wives in the privacy of his bedroom, and through the fictional characters in his writing with the aid of the iceberg theory. Publishing these stories without the obscurity of the iceberg theory would have been professional suicide. However, he relied on that

technique less and less in his later works and wrote with much greater detail and candor. Hemingway did not publish his books with the most graphic representations of non-heteronormative behaviors during his life, they are only known through the posthumous publication by his wife Mary and several of his relatives.

Clearly, the impulse to convey non-heteronormative characters and stories outweighed the risks in Hemingway's mind because he kept returning to these topics. In light of the recent trend of re-examining all of Hemingway's works with a critical eye toward non-heteronormative and gender non-conforming themes, which took root after the publication of *The Garden of Eden*, I would like to think that the normalization of these behaviors was one of his goals. A thorough examination of Hemingway's oeuvre would render this theory doubtful because he upholds traditional male stereotypes and accepted patriarchy more often than not, and frequently participates in gay-bashing.

Some of Hemingway's desires and actions appear to have bisexual or homosexual components; however, I do not think Hemingway thought of himself as "gay." I believe the narcissist in him would work hard to normalize his non-heteronormative behaviors for his own peace of mind, even if it meant inadvertently benefitting an entire group of people with whom he did not necessarily identify, and often ridiculed. He was repeatedly compelled to address these topics, and his benefit seems as good a reason as any. I hope that intentionally or not, having these topics highlighted and re-examined by the millions of people who read his works every year will make Hemingway partly responsible for encouraging a cultural paradigm shift regarding heteronormative behavior, sex, and gender. After all, he was writing about the idea that sexuality and gender could be fluid when few people would dare to entertain such an outlandish concept. Hemingway

demonstrated and documented in his writing that non-heteronormative feelings and behaviors could exist even in the most outwardly masculine or feminine, people and his popularity as an author would guarantee that these “radical” notions would reach an audience of millions.

One cannot help but wonder what Hemingway’s stories would have looked like if they were written today? What would Hemingway the man have been like as a contemporary figure? I suspect that he would be a vastly different person, one that was free to be whatever he wanted to be and who could express his sexuality openly and with many variations. The iceberg theory was employed partly from necessity, but it is fascinating to consider Hemingway’s stories without the societal guardrails. We start to get a glimpse of this more “liberated” Hemingway in his later works like *The Garden of Eden*, which are written with much more sexual candor, but I wonder if a contemporary Hemingway would have the same impact as the interpretive mystique diminished?

There are similarities between Hemingway's writing and the Socratic Method. His repeated challenges of accepted sexual norms, and his use of the iceberg theory force you to question what you have just read, and your long-held beliefs about sexuality and gender. Eventually, you reach a state of aporia, and begin to accept the possibility of other options. Perhaps in time, Hemingway’s writing will be credited with bringing as much attention to gender fluidity in the first half of the twentieth century as he did to Paris, bullfighting, and Key West.

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