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Hemingway Drunk: A Study of Prohibition, Medico-Legal Rhetoric, and The Autonomy of Masculinity

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HEMINGWAY DRUNK: A STUDY OF PROHIBITION, MEDICO-LEGAL
RHETORIC, AND THE AUTONOMY OF MASCULINITY

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses a combination of medical humanities, queer public theory, and literary analysis to showcase the uniquely American connections between alcoholism and masculinity in the literature of Ernest Hemingway. By situating both Hemingway and his characters within the medico-legal rhetoric of modernism's famous Parisian Jazz-age, which occurred at the same time as American prohibition, I reveal changes in white American men's relationships with gender, bodily autonomy, and the patriarchy that are often overlooked due to Hemingway's publicly constructed masculine persona. My work provides new queer interpretations of *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) and the posthumous *Garden of Eden* (1986) divorced from Hemingway's masculine persona and critical of how celebrity and scholarship impacted the public reception of these novels and American masculinity as a whole. Through my analysis, I forward a new, uniquely American concept in the masculine gender performance I call the *autonomy of masculinity*.

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INTRODUCTION

Prohibition is a unique marker in American history that effectively changed the habitus of a nation overnight; or rather, that is how it may appear. Prohibition was in effect from January 17, 1920 to December 5, 1933 and banned the sale and production of alcoholic beverages in all 50 states. Prohibition was preceded by the equally important American Temperance movement, a collection of groups which advocated for alcohol abstinence using a combination of medical and legal rhetoric. The different societies that composed the Temperance movement, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and Anti-Saloon League, published their messaging about alcohol through multiple forms including public school education, medicinal pamphlets, large-scale marches, and public protests. These all had a wide-ranging effect on public opinion about alcohol, for some it was a way to solve the increasing violence of American society, for others it represented an attempt to infringe upon not only their right to drink but also make money off of alcohol through production, distribution, and marketing.

Michael Warner, whose theories presented in *Publics and Counterpublics* will be used throughout this thesis, is among a number of scholars who makes light of the growing change in attitude towards alcohol in America leading up to the eighteenth amendment. Like Warner, prohibition researcher Michael Andrews showcases how public saloons were a site of community and inspiration while simultaneously seen as a detriment to society, and how their removal impacted invention patents. These encroachments on the public sphere by Temperance ideas and rhetoric fundamentally restructured how business and creative endeavors were discovered and invested in, therefore establishing the connections of Temperance literature and alcohol to finances. The Temperance movement expounded on the message that alcohol was indicative of ruin, propagating it within their circles of public sphere influence, while also

destroying the ability to make money off of alcohol through legislation and textual publication I will showcase further into the thesis. Women had been kept out of the public sphere and the financial responsibility of a family often weighed on the man of the household, because of this the impact the Temperance connection of alcohol and finance was especially impactful on conceptions of what it meant to be a good American man. One of the most popular disseminations of this rhetoric was “addiction literature” (Warner 281)

Warner’s essay, “Whitman Drunk”, focuses on how Walt Whitman influenced such a drastic change with his temperance literature. Illuminating the queer undertones within Whitman’s “addiction literature” such as his novel *Franklin Evans* (281). Warner postulates that “modern bourgeois culture,” including the Temperance movement, “gets a lot of things done” by connecting appropriate masculine “integration” with “capital and temperance” and “disintegrative”, meaning queer and effeminized identities, to “alcohol, sexuality, time, death, the city, ... shame, singing, and pleasure” (280-281). This is because literature and fiction are two of the only effective methods of subtle and wide scale dissemination of rhetoric prior to the internet. Because of the Temperance movement’s stance on how gender should be presented both publicly and privately, the literature they propagated is instrumental in instilling hegemonically enforced gender stereotypes. This understanding is crucial to showcasing how the impact of such a rhetoric impacts the differentiating and otherizing non-cisheteronormative identities. Reading Whitman’s novels of addiction rhetoric within the context Temperance’s positioning of proper “integration” and being subjected to it pedagogically as young American men within the widespread influence of the Temperance movement were at the time, any “scenes of self-abandonment conjure up the necessity of self-mastery”, a mastery that is associated Temperance ideals of alcoholic abstinence (281). As the context of Temperance was forgotten, “addiction is

replaced by a character flaw: ‘weakness of resolution and liability to be led by others’” within new editions of Whitman novels such as *Fortunes of a Country Boy* (278). The addiction rhetoric of these novels which was once directly linked to Temperance’s notions of alcoholism and financial failure systematically gets swapped out with the general ideas of male subjugation, which is the bourgeoisie model to further otherize men who were not physically, emotionally, or traditionally masculine, reinforcing the idea that to not be dominant and in control is to not be an adequate man. Warner’s essay goes on to showcase the ways Whitman’s rhetoric about alcohol had larger implications on the substance’s connection to the individual. Warner’s poetic analysis of Walt Whitman’s *Song of Myself*, emphasizes how his poetry “reconfigures conventions of Temperance fiction in number of ways that are equally relevant to the valuation of sexuality” (289). Whitman achieves this through his transcendentalism that Warner suggests “imagined non-state association as called into being by desire, by contemplative recognition, by the imperfect success of selfing”, in doing so Whitman escapes the “modern ideology that interprets gender difference as the form of self-other difference” (283, 289). Based on the dichotomy of Whitman’s public influence of alcohol perception afforded to him by the Temperance movement and the resistance of traditionally integrative masculine traits in his poetry, Warner proposes the “addiction rhetoric of the novel becomes both the other of self-contemplation and a limit to the responsabilizing language of self”, which poses the question of where societal and economic pressures come into play in regulating and manifesting publicly constructed gender performances.

It is thus my assertion that wherever there are examples of traditionally masculine “integration” like the ones constructed and propagated by the Temperance movement juxtaposed with “disintegrative tendencies” it gives the reader an opportunity to insert themselves into the

story (280). Accordingly, I argue all American men have this ability to experience some of the same emotions that might have been oppressed or repressed due to the uniquely American ideals of self-mastery and individualism that were heavily influenced by Temperance literature. To provide evidence for this argument I will take a look at the “addiction literature” of one of America’s most prominent masculine authors during prohibition (281). Highlighting how author and reader alike are able to invoke the power of “the other of self-contemplation” to escape the Publicly constructed ideals of the American Man (289).

This thesis will apply this assertion to the literature of Ernest Hemingway, a modernist figure famous for his connections to alcoholism and hyper-masculinity. By doing so, I will reveal how Hemingway’s addiction rhetoric and its connections to queer and effeminized identities have been both erased and forgotten as audiences of today lose the contexts of prohibition and base their interpretations in the misleading, inaccurate, and misunderstood construction of his masculine public persona.

Throughout the remainder of the introduction, I will contextualize the historical, theoretical, and medico-legal understandings of gender relations to alcohol within America. I will extend rhetorical scholar Jenny Edbauer’s work on ecologies. Edbauer extends Warner’s work to theorize the idea of an “*affective ecology*,” which “recontextualizes rhetorics in their temporal, historical, and lived fluxes” rather than as a static, fixed points of language history (Edbauer 9, emphasis original). I take up the idea of “*affective ecology*” to trace how the impact of Hemingway’s literature “with the dimensions of history and movement” between the public’s he was published in and the counterpublic he was part of, have and continue to impact gender performance in the public and private spheres (Edbauer 9, emphasis original). Additionally, I will describe the structure of the thesis, offering summaries of chapter one, which will focus on

Prohibition and how it blurred the divisions of American public and private with latter emphasis on that blurring process's global impact, and chapter two which will highlight what Hemingway's literature say's about these societal changes.

Alcohol's Place in American Life and Literature: Historical Perspectives

When prohibition was passed many wondered how it would affect the writing of American authors. In 1919, The *New York Times* published the article "Must We De-Alcoholize Literature? How Shakespeare, Rare Ben Jonson, Robert Burns, and Omar Khayyam Will Sound if They Are Revised to Fit Those Sober Days Soon to Come" (Qtd. In Drowne), showcasing how deeply ingrained drinking was in not just American literature, but literary history across countries and time periods. American literature unsurprisingly, given the black-market trade of alcohol that this thesis will explore in chapter one, stories about and including alcohol were still published and in steady supply under prohibition such as F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, and Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. in 1923 Hemingway went as far as to state, "A man does not exist until he is drunk", which is something that his literature heavily reflects and serves as this thesis's declaration of Hemingway's definitive link between alcoholism and masculinity (Okrent 206). David M. Earle notes how Hemingway since the 1940's has been constructed as a male role model and how his "popular representation" of stereotypical and traditionally masculine traits have influenced American hyper-masculinity (4). Earle's book *All Man!: Hemingway, 1950s Men's Magazines, and the Masculine Persona* focuses on the tail end of Modernism and how the pulp and tabloid men's magazines constructed the image of Hemingway in post-World War II America. This paper will read Hemingway's literature that exemplifies addiction rhetoric divorced of the valorization of these masculine traits conflated with alcoholism and instead within the medical, psychological, and societal conceptions about

the substance as they were understood in the jazz-age period Hemingway was writing in. by doing so I propose that Hemingway's alcoholism, and the subsequent effects it had on both his and his literary character's gender performance's, in had in conjunction with how his publicly constructed masculine persona has been a model for ideal American masculinity, has become indoctrinated as an expected trait of the American masculine persona.

It is important to understand the Hemingway was not in America during all of the prohibition. Hemingway lived in Paris from 1921 till 1927 returning to Toronto in 1923 for the birth of his child. Because he was being published globally Hemingway was writing for a public, he was not always a part of. His experiences and accessibility to alcohol as an expatriate writer were far different than those of an average working-class American. Hemingway and his fictional character's freedom from the laws of Prohibition, with as simple a change as location, allowed his readers the same "other of self-contemplation" offered in Whitman's Temperance literature (Warner 289). At the same time, they served Hemingway's own contemplation about what American masculinity was and how it impacted the relationship between men and women, but without impacting his own public image.

The main difference in regard to public opinion of the Temperance movement as compared to that of prohibition was the American public's political attitude and the new state-imposed restriction of citizen's bodily autonomy. Literary Scholar, Peter Marks, offers that there was "no place for radicals and liberals in 1920s America", because of the First Red Scare which painted the left as disloyal (857-858). Temperance, along with authors such as Walt Whitman who supported it, was typically thought of as being more progressive and leftist. Many calling for "reform in other areas," such as "an end to slavery, more rights for women, and more education for children" (Blumenthal 19). This association helps to explain how the defiance of

the 18th amendment would be perceived as conservative, maintaining a previously held right and resisting the state control over the body. While Hemingway's depictions of the Parisian Bar scene in *The Sun Also Rises*, serve as an antithesis to the speakeasies of the American south in terms of glamor, both establishments through their association to alcohol served as "*counterpublics*" to the American "*Public*".

The depictions and rhetoric of alcohol addiction Whitman portrays were perceived by the public as a forewarning of self-destruction given the direction of the country and its drinking habits. The message is intentional as it calls to question "Voluntarism" promoting the idea that abstaining from drink was only "perceived as valuable *because* voluntary", in other words, because it was an individualistic choice (Warner 276). In Prohibition alcohol abstinence is no longer voluntary but enforced by the federal and state legislation. Hemingway, whose excessive use of alcohol, both in his personal life and writing, were in opposition to these state-imposed restrictions of bodily freedom. Okrent states that "the original constitution and its first seventeen amendments limited the activities of government, not citizens. Now there were two exceptions: you couldn't own slaves and you couldn't buy alcohol" (3). Both of these amendments are important as they pertain to white men in America in the connections to control of bodily autonomy. While Hemingway's work was not intended to act as "propaganda" for the public sphere audience he was writing to through magazines and novels, my analysis suggests that his rhetoric and themes emboldened and reinforced the defiance of Prohibition because of the unique counterpublic to counterpublic conversation taking place in the public sphere. Warner notes how these counterpublics are sometimes referred to as "subaltern counterpublics" which places them in the "subordinate status" toward the public they oppose, "some youth-culture publics or artistic publics, for example, operate as counterpublics, even though many who participate in them are

‘subalterns’ in no other sense” (Warner 57). Taking this definition of counterpublic and applying it to the modernist circles of expatriate writers such as Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein, and Ezra Pound who lived in Paris during the 1920’s, showcases how the intentionality of their subversive “counterpublic” themes and rhetoric have been glossed over and misinterpreted when read in within the modern publicly constructed view of their work, which doesn’t account for the change in rhetoric toward male alcoholism or the nuances of queer non-cisheteronormative gender expressions in modernist literature. The connections of modernism and queer literature will be further discussed in chapter two.

Medical Humanities and Addiction Rhetoric: Theoretical and Medio-Legal Perspectives

What I find particularly interesting about this “*affective ecology*” is the ways in which medical humanities can now be applied to determine the physical and psychological effects alcohol had on the writer (Edbauer 9, emphasis original). Scholars within the Medical Humanities have begun asking, “how might the methodological and intellectual legacies of the humanities intervene more *consequentially* in the clinical research practices of biomedicine – situating accounts of illness, suffering, intervention and cure in a much thicker attention to the social, human and cultural contexts in which those accounts, as well as the bodies to which they attend, become both thinkable and visible?” (Fitzgerald and Callard 35). This thesis does exactly that by situating Ernest Hemingway in the context of his time, firstly as a person suffering from the detrimental effects of alcoholism, then adding the pressure of being an influential writer in the public gaze. One magazine stated that *The Sun Also Rises* had “more consistent notices than almost any recent work of fiction” (Baird 1) showing his popularity. However, Earle tells us that Hemingway was “tortured by his own fame” (23). Because of his use of alcohol both as a coping mechanism for this fame, as well as a topic in his fiction Hemingway’s own public conception

was directly linked to the public conception of alcohol as he was the “other of self-contemplation” for the American public (Warner 289). Applying this back to Earle’s connection of Hemingway to the popular front through pulp magazines, he points out how Modernism studies conversations around little magazines overlooks how Hemingway’s rhetoric impacted the “Subaltern Counterpublics” of America’s illegal alcohol trade as well as the artistic counterpublic of 1920’s expatriate writers in Paris (Warner 57).

Alcohol in Hemingway’s community of expatriates and artists was “prized for its ability to reveal new creative insights, and heroic drinking has long been part of the artistic persona,” and “[r]ather than being seen as a sign of personal failing, alcoholism is taken as evidence of artistic integrity” (Beveridge and Yorston 646). This heroic drinking given the context of Hemingway’s drinking communities and his popularity in the states attests to how the medical counterpublics on both continents now valued something different than medical health. Former US senator George Norris noted, “This kind of fierce protracted drinking has now become universal, an accepted feature of social life instead of a disreputable escapade” (qtd. in Okrent 206), much the same as it was for Hemingway in Paris. The blatant disregard for the illegality and health risks associated with alcohol during this time is what started the “zeitgeist of self-determination”, Understanding Hemingway’s contexts of drinking and his addiction rhetoric serves to explain how “patient autonomy replaced beneficence as the primary ethical principle guiding medical decision making in the United States during the last century” (Lau 1).

Women’s Role in Prohibition

Along with prohibition’s change of laws came a change in the relationship to both the American public and private spheres. Micelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, a second wave feminist, claimed “that the gendering of public and private helped to explain the subordination of women

cross-culturally” (Warner 32). Warner provides context for this by stating “private meant domestic spaces and functions, and public referred to contexts in which men spoke and made decisions for the community” (32). This line of thinking it’s essentially masculinist and was criticized by women’s rights movements but, with further research provided by Jean Bethke Elshtain, tracing the divide further back to ancient Greek literature, she offers that “the dichotomy between the private and public is central to almost two centuries of feminist writing and political struggle; it is, ultimately, what the feminist movement is about” (qtd. in Warner 32). With understanding the history of these gendered concepts and their relations to labor by means of domestic work, the counterpublic of America’s illegal bars blur gender norms the same way it blurred private and public spaces.

While some women were advocating for their own rights through organizations such as the anti-alcohol WCTU in the public sphere, demanding “Equal Pay for Equal Work”, women in illegal speakeasies and Blind tigers were as much a part of the counterpublic as the men and children (Okrent 117, Blumenthal 70-71). Women’s labor in these contexts attest to what Zaretsky calls the “‘public’ nature of the ‘private’”, showing how the family and domestic space, thought of as essentially female ideas given Rosaldo’s theory, now had to be rethought when domestic work is linked to alcohol as it showcases the “internal connections that exist between the family and the economy” that was already present (Qtd. in Warner 34).

The Dichotomy of Gender Expression In a Public

Returning to the idea of Hemingway and his characters as “other[s] of self-contemplation” (Warner 289) in the counterpublic communication between the ex-pats and their international audience, with the added fluctuation in public and private sphere in America, novels like *The Sun Also Rises* reflect insecurity in the masculine persona. Jake Barnes’s

incapability for sexual performance leaves him powerless in his relationship with Lady Ashley, resembling the “weakness of resolution and liability to be led by others” (Warner 278), which would have replaced the idea of addiction in Whitman’s rhetoric. Hemingway however, mentions “alcoholic drinks of one kind or another ... on more than half the pages of *The Sun Also Rises*” (Okrent 205) in a positive context. Alcohol and communal drinking displayed in the novel take place in the public sphere, not the private like America, but both the European and American counterpublics had “men and women [that] were drinking together outside the home, at events where dinner wasn’t served” (207). This new freedom for women to enjoy themselves enough to “flirt, dance ..., and gossip” show that Jake’s drinking more as a coping agent for his war-related injury and romantic rejection rather than the cause of that rejection. American men once held the complete domination of the public sphere, but with the advancements of rights that women made in the wake of prohibition drastically altering the public conception of a “man” in relation to their indulgence of alcohol, Hemingway navigates his own addiction and relationship with women through his fiction. Much like Whitman, this original context of these stories has been lost and are influenced by current public conceptions of Hemingway as a historical figure, not an artist of his time.

I will use an interdisciplinary investigation of medical humanities regarding Alcohol and autonomy, Rhetorical analysis based on “Publics”, and literary historical approaches to look at Hemingway’s work in and surrounding the prohibition era. Applying medical data about alcohol, both modern and from the 1920s to published and original manuscripts of his short stories, “Up in Michigan”, “Indian Camp”, “The Killers” and the memoir *A Moveable Feast* to determine Hemingway’s relationship to alcohol in his early years in Paris. Then using *The Sun Also Rises* and *The Garden of Eden*, I further develop the understand of its effects on creativity, sexuality,

and stress had one the author in the context of prohibition. This method provides insight into Hemingway's personal relation to masculinity and alcohol divorced from his post World War II construction. This research to add to and extend debates within Hemingway studies, modernism studies, addiction studies, feminist criticism, and identity politics.

Structure of Thesis

While the current discussion of public spheres and addiction has accounted for the 19th-century rhetoric it's intentional as "the idea of commissioning fiction as propaganda had been part of the public strategy of the Temperance movement since 1836" (Warner 276), there is a gap in understanding of how it leads to Alcohol's link to the uniquely American hyper-masculinity seen post-WWII. The novel context of prohibition and what alcohol represents, as well as how it affects the body, in that time are often overlooked in Hemingway and queer studies and would provide new insights into the 20th-centuries effect on a change in gendered divisions of labor, class relations, the influence of the State on bodily autonomy. Applying Warner's theoretical framework of "Publics and Counter-Publics" to my research of medico-legal rhetoric about alcohol in America and the Expat Literature of the 1920s, this thesis seeks to determine the effects of addiction and public sphere constructions of Hemingway as a "Man"; thus, providing readings based in queer theory and the Medical Humanities of *The Sun Also Rises* and the controversial Post-Humorous *The Garden of Eden*, given each texts connection to alcohol and identity.

CHAPTER 1: AMERICAN PROHIBITION'S GLOBAL IMPACT ON GENDER

January 16th, 1919 began one of the most important and highly contested shifts in American freedoms since Lincoln issued the Emancipation proclamation in 1863. January 16th, 1919 was the day that the 18th amendment was ratified by all but 4 states. The already growing tension between those fighting for prohibition such as the WCTU and anti-saloon league and those who opposed it reached its fever pitch. *The Evening World* a New York magazine wasted no time in delivering their opinion of the amendment the day that it was ratified, stating

The framers of the constitution thought they were laying the foundation for the government of a free people. What would have been their feelings had they been told that one day a special kind of fanaticism would find a way to use their work for the purpose of its particular limitations of personal freedom upon every man and woman of the United States! (18).

The Evening World's rhetoric here mirrors that of the majority of the country who thought that the amendment was an overreach of the federal government that not only limited their personal freedoms to drink but impacted the social and economic fabric of the entire nation.

Section one of the eighteenth amendment reads as follows: "After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited" (§1). This allowed for that intent on drinking past the end of the year to stockpile their supplies for the impending ban. Those who could afford it bought liquor in bulk and as the supplies began to dwindle "prices of available bottles shot up in the 'undercover' market" (Blumenthal 60). This "undercover" or backdoor sales process of alcohol would continue to be seen throughout the rest

of the year leading up to the ban. This is one of the first major changes that we see in the organization of public sociability and how it impacts private finance. The Saloon, which was once a profitable business model for both manufacturers and distributors, as well as a gathering place for the community, was now relegated to the underground with fines and possible jail time attached to anyone wanting to participate in what was formally the modus operandi of cross-class interaction.

This chapter will provide historical and theoretical information about how American prohibition caused a global disruption in relation to alcohol and its function in public discourse. My goal is to illuminate how the different perceptions alcohol and its surrounding rhetoric have, with attention to temporal and spatial distance, influenced reception and interpretation of Hemingway's jazz-age literature. Through this work, I will make a case for the role that differences in the public, private, and counterpublic interactions and overlap have in disguising and the queer undertones of Hemingway's addiction rhetoric.

Alcohol in Public Organization and Private Finance

Prohibition caused a drastic change in how people socialized, especially given their class distinction. Economist Michael Andrews, notes that while coffee and tea houses were the meeting place of intellectuals in Europe, American intellectuals had "that role ... filled by taverns and saloons" (9). Andrews draws attention to the role that the informal setting of taverns and Saloons played in inspiring and promoting creative invention. German philosopher Jürgen Habermas agrees about the social importance of informal settings such as saloons, Habermas going as far as to state that, "coffee houses, salons and related private contexts of sociability in which argument and discussion take place" were vital to the rapid social and technologic advances the prior two centuries (qtd. in Warner). This will become pivotal in understanding

prohibition's role in disrupting the Public and Private Spheres. Andrews goes on to say, "In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, saloons served the same social functions that taverns had in earlier eras, particularly for the working class" (9). After Prohibition was passed many of the saloons which had previously allowed for this informal interaction within the working-class community were closed down and those interactions could no longer take place.

This quite obviously is the Public sphere encroaching upon the rights of the Private, interestingly upon their ability to be in and operate in the Public. In order to subvert this, the ownership and communities built around this private cultural staple of sociability in America: the saloon, had to become a counter-public to that which fundamentally inhibited their ability to discuss and become conscious of themselves, not only as individuals but, as a class and community. Michael Warner states in *Publics and Counterpublics* that "a public can only produce a sense of belonging and activity if it is self-organized through discourse rather than an external framework" (70). By getting rid of saloon's, the bourgeoisie cut off one of the only direct connections working-class discourse communities had to engage and come to their own conclusions about the condition of the public outside of formalized public spaces such as their employment's. The external framework of the Federal government was extremely disconnected with the wishes and needs of the working class and created the laws with the interest of bourgeoisie control rather than effective communal policy making. Warner continues to say that "externally organized frameworks of activity, such as voting, are and are perceived to be poor substitutes" (70). By juxtaposing the lack of resources, ways of engaging, and influencing the public that the working class were afforded with the opportunities that interest group involved in the Temperance movement had to influence public discourse outlets (i.e. newspaper, magazines, pamphlets, and more) it is easy to see the disparities. Temperance and prohibition groups also

had the added benefit of governmental lobbying which effectively showcases the divisions in organizational method's employed by the upper class to deny access to the lower class both alcohol and the related class sociability that the saloon enabled. Warner also says that this "disruption or blockage in access to a public can be so grave, leading people to feel powerless and frustrated" (70), as many were by the blatant dismissal of their communities, businesses, and livelihoods. To add insult to injury financial journalist Karen Blumenthal notes that "to the middle and upper class, who could afford to buy their own liquor and bring it home, the saloons were nothing but a breeding ground for riffraff and crime" (49), which is one possible reason the amendment passed despite general public outrage. The question that arises from this is the legitimacy of the claims each side makes against the other. These classist questions continue to appear throughout the period as each socio-economic differentiation had their own ways of producing and acquiring alcohol.

Interestingly, within more urban and diverse environments, such as Washington D.C. and New York lawmakers, instrumental in shaping Public sphere opinion, and passing these laws that so disrupted the private ability of the consumers, manufacturers, and distributors of alcohol still turned to the now illegal working class producers for their booze, The result of which thus transforms the once-thriving business model of the saloon, and the communities that it created around it, into that of a "subaltern counterpublic" that is supplying the bourgeoisie public with the product they denied to the proletariat (Warner 57). A great example of this was how the President in office during the first years after the prohibition, Warren Harding, was known to disregard the prohibition and continued to drink up until the year of his death in 1923, only stopping because of the "importunate pleadings of his wife, Florence" (Okrent 227). Harding's successor, Calvin Coolidge, continued his streak of lax prohibition enforcement only enforcing

one serious crackdown which led to “thirteen bottles of liquor and thirty-seven cases of beer – barely enough to keep a self-respecting speakeasy stocked for a weekend” (229).

Tensions between alcohol production and interest in public health stem from infringements of the state into the property rights of citizens. As production of Alcohol was now illegal those who had access to a legal supply (i.e. doctors, pharmacists, and industrial workers) began illegally selling or prescribing alcohol for a profit. Those who had previously run businesses like saloons had their former customers stolen by interest in public health twice, once on the initial banning of alcohol and again when public health institutions had the means to illegally sell it.

Hemingway, who lived in Paris throughout the early years of prohibition was not subjected to the same fears of transgression about his drinking as his fellow countrymen. This freedom of both fear and access to alcohol, linked to state control of bodily autonomy and class-connections within American public discourse, has interesting implications in the context of the “the other of self-contemplation” that will be expanded upon in chapter two (Warner 287).

Transatlantic Differences in Perception of Alcohol

There is no mistaking the drastic differences in attitude towards alcohol between the American public and the vast majority of European Publics, with only a few Nordic countries and the Soviets ever enforcing multi-year non-wartime national prohibitions. France, the home of Hemingway for the purposes of this thesis, was especially noted for the increase in alcohol consumption and tourism following the end of World War 1. With the explosion of the cocktail, stemming from Paris, across Europe, the personality and distinctness of drink orders represented a level of individuality and artistry for those within Modernist circles. Going to get a drink and running into a fellow acquaintance or friend was extremely common as *The Sun Also Rises*

exemplifies in its early chapters, it is at these informal settings that so much of the action of the stories take place. This is true of Hemingway's personal experience as reflected in *A Moveable Feast* running into Characters such as Ernest Walsh, Wyndham Lewis, and F. Scott Fitzgerald at different bars and drinking socials hosted within fine Parisian apartments. While drink and places to enjoy it in public became scarce in America, European parties and restaurants continued and expanded the use of alcohol in everyday life.

The Temperance Society of America was largely instrumental in promoting literature in the form of pamphlets and educational material relaying the financial, moral, and health related risks involved with Alcohol consumption. While there was an English Temperance movement, and a general Temperance question concerning Europe, the strategies and influence of such could not rival that of a single group in the states, that organization being the WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Union). The WCTU was at the heart of having the 18th amendment passed with their focus on the detrimental association of alcohol and the family, pointing to how men abandoned their families, became abusive, or passed away from over drinking as justification of Prohibition. One famous historical character associated with the WCTU was Carrie Nation who in June of 1900 believed she had been divinely "commanded to smash saloons" (Blumenthal 35). Nation's radical methodology of destroying saloons with a hatchet in order to raise awareness for her issue is our first link in women's role of reestablishing the "public" and "private" spheres during the pre-WW1 era.

The ASL (Anti-Saloon League), an organization in support of Temperance, was another key player in the push for prohibition. While the women of the WCTU took on the public face of the movement hosting marches and demonstrations such as Nation's smashings, the men of the ASL took the backdoor legal route. The ASL pushed to get Temperance and prohibition policies

to be introduced to the floor through committee, while the WCTU drummed up public support and propaganda. This partnership was first along religious lines as both organizations have a Christian origin, however it was continued because of the WCTU's connection to the suffrage movement. Daniel Okrent, a prohibition historian claims, "the social revolution that was the suffrage movement would bring the Prohibition movement to the brink of success" (62). The connections between the two movements are entirely clear, with many suffragettes getting their training and vigor for social reform from Temperance organizations, even the famous Susan B Anthony "entered political life as a Temperance worker" (63).

During the 15th International Congress Against Alcoholism held in Washington, DC, U.S.A. from September 21-26, 1920, it was brought to attention that if alcohol was banned then alcoholics would turn to other drugs such as morphine and cocaine to "for suppressing unpleasant feelings" (109). The presenter of this information was Dr. August Ley, a Belgian doctor of psychiatry, believed that "such people", referring to those who used drugs to cope with their emotions "will always be the exception" and are not the focus of implementing "Restrictive or prohibitory measures" (109). Instead, the focus is on the everyday person attempting to curb the crime he claims is caused by the "World War alcoholism" which "explains often how peaceful and refined men could be transformed into barbarous and inhuman beings, who would murder and commit unheard-of atrocities" (107). Dr. Ley also took this time to throw France under the bus wheels of international moral criticism when he compares Belgium's rate of alcoholics that turn to cocaine and morphine to that of France, stating "At Paris, where since long years cocainomaniacs and morphinomaniacs are so often met, the liquor traffic is free" (109). This is a decidedly pointed jab at France's lack of Temperance and prohibition policy. In the very next presentation of the congress, a speech on the "Nervous and Mental diseases in their

relation to alcoholism” was made by a French man named Dr. Paul Maurice Legrain where he started his address with:

I am before you as a representative of the prohibitionists in France, small in number, but powerful in influence. In France the fight against alcohol is very difficult on account of the great protection of wine. The problem of alcoholism in France will be solved when the wine question is solved. Some of our French temperance leaders have thought wine and beer are hygienic beverages, the platform is solely a government platform, and prohibitionists in France do not stand in front on account of that fact. (110)

While Dr. LeGrain overstates the influence of the French Prohibitionists, the idea he mentions of a “hygienic beverage” was popular among the European Temperance movements but opposed by hard bent antialcoholics. A distinction is made between that of beer and wine, deemed “hygienic”, and hard distilled liquors like gin and rum maintaining harsh social scrutiny.

Dr. Jean Metil, the secretary of the national league against alcoholism in 1920, cites “Total Prohibition in America and Finland, and the fear that the French antialcoholic societies will undertake a step in the same direction,” for bringing about a “union of all the alcoholic forces in France”(161), aiding in the difficulties of establishing their own support for anti-alcohol legislation. This international dialogue and how it informed the strategies of the alcohol industry is a defining characteristic of the time period and overlaps in being a synchronous characteristic of Modernism. The back and forth in transatlantic dialogue spoke to more than just legislation recommendations, but also influenced culture, class, gender presentations and roles in new and eclectic ways.

While in America alcohol was clearly made into a women's issue it never reached that distinction among Europeans and definitely not among the French. When comparing this

heightened reliance on women to bring about prohibition to what was happening in regard to women and alcohol in Europe, we can see how these diametrically opposed attitudes towards drink resulted in similar outcomes but in the different spheres. As women carved out a space for themselves within the public sphere in America, European women altered the private.

Research on the drinking habits of women in Europe during this time are extremely scarce as alcohol consumption was decidedly a male activity, with “Working-class women [being] widely portrayed as the victims of male alcoholism” rather than alcoholics themselves; because of women’s role in the American Temperance and prohibition, internationally “middle-class women were cast as the hope of Temperance societies” even though in France “in both hospitals and asylums, women were treated for alcoholic disorders” (Prestwich 322). While for men drinking was something to be done in public with the possibility of private consequence, women’s drink was done at home with the hope that it never came out publicly. Patricia Prestwich, one of the few researchers on female alcoholism and author of study about female alcoholism in Paris states that there is a “tendency in France (and elsewhere) to portray women’s drinking as the opposite of men’s” and notes how much of what is *known* about women’s drinking habits comes from “cultural anxieties about ‘women’s nature’” (321, emphasis original). This “tendency” to ascribe gender stereotypes or gender norms was flipped on its head with the advent of World War One and American women's advancements in the public sphere. Prestwich points out that during the First World War there was a “brief period of alarm about a purported increase in women’s consumption of alcohol while their husbands were absent at the front” (322). This period (like so many others) does not account for unmarried women, queer women, or other non-heterocis combination of identities. Since there is such a lack of medical data concerning women and their drinking habits we can come to our own conclusions about the

traits and characteristics of women who drink through their representation in popular literature of the time. Hemingway may seem an inappropriate author to attempt this with as he is generally seen as a quintessentially male author and popular culture has painted him as a misogynist, however it is the goal of this thesis to take this popular public construction of his identity and contextualize it within the time and space he was living in, in addition to his own battle with alcoholism. Combining this historical context with a literary biographical approach as compared to his public popular construction reveals Hemingway's complex and nuanced relationship with the changing gender norms, his own gender identity, and how masculinity is learned and passed down.

CHAPTER 2: MODERNISM'S RELATION TO QUEER IDENTITIES

Modernism thrived on the disruption and challenge of public opinion through the heavily influential review publications and its "Little Magazine" culture, and as literary criticism within academia and mass culture publications (at the time and throughout the years) have promoted similar cishegemonic interpretations it is easy to see how, "for a time a lot of modernist-era writing simply did not qualify as modernist at all, and most of the best and most intriguing literary voices of the era were particularized, dismissed as too popular, or relegated to other literary categories" (3). This insight is the foundation for understanding the complex conversations Modernist writers were having in reaction to each other's work, while still trying to sell their work and make a living in the newly global Jazz-age economy.

Hemingway, by his own account, had "certain prejudices against homosexuality since [he] knew its more primitive aspects" (Hemingway, "*A Movable Feast*" 28). His perception of these so called "primitive aspects" was formed by his upbringing and childhood experiences with men who committed homosexual acts. Hemingway's rhetoric when recounting those times reflects that of someone who has experienced trauma. He tells Gertrude Stein that "when you are a boy and moved in the company of men, you had to be prepared to kill a man, know how to do it and really know that you could do it in order not to be interfered with" (28). This is a very harsh and violent attitude to have grown up with, it implies that children, particularly young boys, had to always be on guard for a possible sexual assault in Hemingway's home region of the Midwest. Hemingway also adopts a very individualistic mindset in regard to this threat. He makes it his own responsibility to avoid assault, stating "There were certain situations you could not allow yourself to be forced into or trapped into" (28). This reveals an aspect of masculinity that Hemingway holds to be important: self-reliance, or in temperance rhetoric self-mastery.

Hemingway here shows that he would blame himself (and in effect any other young boy) if they found themselves in an exploitative situation. Stein attempts to stifle this world view by offering “But you were living in a milieu of criminals and perverts” (28) placing the blame where it should be, on the adults. Stein is attempting to dissuade Hemingway from his homophobic prejudice, likely given her own sexuality and relationship with Alice B. Toklas.

The relationship between Hemingway and Stein showcased in *A Moveable Feast*, as well as other modernist figures such as Ezra Pound, James Joyce, and F. Scott Fitzgerald sets up an interesting paradigm of the types of authors that became canonized within modernism.

Hemingway within “*transcriptions of handwritten drafts of false starts for the introduction*” says “This book is fiction. But there is always a chance that such a work of fiction may throw light on what has been written as fact” (230). This notion that *A Moveable Feast* is fiction is consistent throughout all of these drafts. I interpret Hemingway’s throwing of “light on what has been written as fact” is in fact a resistance to his popular construction as an author (230, emphasis original). The memoir prominently features addiction and instances of questioned masculinity, such as when Hemingway assuring Fitzgerald of his penis sizes in the bathroom of a bar after drinking “wine at lunch” (161-162). As established in chapter one, the novels that made Hemingway famous during the jazz-age such as *The Sun Also Rises*, were received within the context of each transatlantic public’s conceptions of alcohol. The conceptions of alcohol at the time of release of *A Moveable Feast* in 1964 are much closer to the ones today and lack the connections to masculine state-resistance that alcoholic consumption represented in prohibition. This change is a part of what, Jamie Hovey, a modernist scholar, tells us was a critical “closeting of modernism's queerness that began with the canonization of some of its writers,” such as Hemingway and Fitzgerald, “at the expense of most of its writers went hand in hand with

contemporary and later critical rejection of modernism's feminine aspects” (3). She goes on to point out how “Homosexuality, lesbianism, femininity, effeminacy, and the personal served as linked terms defining a decadent perversity that a more virile, normal, and heterosexual 'modernist' impersonality could position itself against” (3).

Hemingway's constructed figure of masculinity—including but not limited to being a serial monogamist, big game hunter, heavy drinker of hard liquor, and displayer of ingrained self-reliance—was instrumental in the proliferation of his texts both in the Americas and Europe. In America, after the publication of *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway's first novel and the catalyst for his ascension to public sphere fame, he represented a subversive form of masculinity which opposed the one propagated by the state. Both Hemingway the public figure and his popular literary characters refuted the form of masculinity advocated by the Temperance and anti-alcoholic interest groups. Having full autonomy over his life without the American government depriving him of his ability to drink, or make money in association to alcohol, Hemingway acts as the “other of self-contemplation” for his fellow American Men imagining the glamorous European hotels, bars, and parties described in his novels, as compared to the dingy and unsafe speakeasies of they were forced to operate out of. While in Europe audiences received the work as a reaffirmation of their lifestyle and revealed in the picturesque and violently accurate descriptions of both their cities and country-sides. The difference the in the two public's perception by means of the transatlantic literary exchange enabled by modernism helped perpetuate what literary scholar David Ward called a “romanticization and coalescence” of Paris and its connection to alcohol “into a literary movement of the expatriate ‘Lost Generation’ of the 1920s” (423).

While Ward has a much more cynical view of Hemingway than I do in this thesis his comment about romanization and homogenization are pertinent to how Hemingway's constructed masculinity manifests itself in the public consciousness even after his death. The popular construction or romanization that of the jazz-age period is what Hemingway is trying to "throw light on" (Hemingway, "A *Moveable*" 230).

The short stories I chose to analyze in the following three sections all take place in America and were written prior to the release of *The Sun Also Rises*, however they reveal some of the key characteristics of Hemingway's constructed masculinity and serve to expand our "affective ecology" of alcohol and masculinity to include the private beliefs of Hemingway and how they affected his public gender performance (Edbauer 9). I analyze "Up in Michigan", "The Killers", and "Indian Camp" in order to establish my idea of the *autonomy of masculinity*, which I define as the flawed belief of superiority and subsequent domination of the white American male body in cultural and medical discourse. I demonstrate how the *autonomy of masculinity* originates and gets passed down due to its relevance in text, and how Hemingway resists its corrupting nature within his novels *The Sun also Rises* and *Garden of Eden*.

"Up In Michigan" Analysis

"Up in Michigan" is a story that Hemingway had published in 1923. It was one of the first stories that he worked on when he got to Paris. In his Memoir *A Movable Feast* he recalls how Gertrude Stein called the piece "*Inaccrochable*" (25, emphasis original), most likely because the story centers around the rape of a young woman named Liz by a man named Jim. The rape itself is fueled by hard liquor. Near the onset of the story, Jim carries his "four-gallon jug" into the house and lets "some of the whiskey [run] down his shirt front" as he walks from his wagon back to D.J. Smith's home, where Jim takes his meals since he has moved to

Michigan from Canada. D.J. Smith is Liz's employer, and she sees Jim extremely often because of this. According to the narrator "Liz likes Jim very much", She likes his "Mustache", "how white his teeth were when he smiled", and that the "hair on his arms was black (Hemingway, Up in Michigan 25). Here Hemingway is making clear the masculine attributes that Jim has and emphasizing that Liz is attracted to those features. This becomes important in mapping out the attributes and traits Hemingway himself values in a Man.

As the story progresses so does Jim's level of inebriation. During dinner the narrator tells us that "Jim Began to feel great. He loved the taste and the feel of Whiskey" (28), showcasing the effects of alcohol on his confidence and perception of ability. As this "great" feeling takes over Jim, Liz becomes possessed by powerful feelings as well. Her longing for Jim becomes apparent to the reader when it is revealed that "she wanted to take the way he looked up to bed with her" (28), immediately following this she gets more than she was anticipating from him. He comes into the room where she is reading and "puts his arms around her" in such a way as to cup her "erect nipples under his hands" (28). This is initially greeted with consent and even excitement, as Liz notes "He's come to me finally. He's really come" (28), and she eagerly joins him on a walk to the warehouse by Lake Michigan. It is in the warehouse the actual rape takes place.

I will not detail or speculate how the rape takes place as it serves no purpose, however, what is important is the words Hemingway uses to describe Liz's demeanor as opposed to Jim's only a page ago. After the incident Liz pushes Jim's lumbering drunken body off of herself because she was "so uncomfortable and cramped", Hemingway goes on to describe her as "cold and miserable" and feeling that "everything was gone" (29). The "gone" feeling is left up to interpretation, it could mean her virginity, her budding romantic interest in Jim, or maybe just

how her soul feels. During the dinner scene, Jim while being possessed by the “great” feeling of alcohol noted how glad he was to have a “comfortable bed and warm food”. The rhetoric Hemingway uses for Liz is the exact opposite that he uses to describe Jim’s thoughts while he is drinking, contrasting how the effects of the alcohol on each of their evenings. The “gone” feeling even has its own opposing image through the lines “He had another drink” and “The men ate seriously” (28) which illustrate how *full* he would be of alcohol and food. With these differences we can see that Hemingway, whether he was aware of it or not, was making rhetorical social commentary on how alcohol was affecting men, and how it transversally affected women through the man's actions, by means of the rhetoric of how he describes the emotional state it leaves each party in.

Finding this connection was crucial for the rest of the analysis because it shows that Hemingway, while having the freedom and leisure of drinking as he pleased in Paris, was still occupied with the issue of alcohol and how it affected the people of America, particularly his home region of the Midwest. This story also shows the unhealthy connections to power and entitlement that alcohol caused in men during the time period. In the next story, I will showcase how Hemingway’s literature explores these connections of alcohol and masculinity in one of his most important short story characters: Nick Adams.

“The Killers” Analysis

Another story from this era that reflected the same violent tendencies associated with alcohol was “The Killers” published in Scribner's magazine in 1927 and later released in Hemingway’s collection of short stories *Men Without Women*. This story is a part of the Nick Adams stories, who is a returning character in many of Hemingway's short stories. Scholars have noted the similarities in Nick and Ernest’s lives and point out how Hemingway's personality

reflects in Nick. Knowing this we see Nick as an “other of self-contemplation”, for Hemingway to navigate his own emotions and thoughts about prohibition and its impacts (Warner 289).

Similar to “Up in Michigan”, “The Killers” lacks clear details, and much of the backstory of why what happens ends up happening is left up to the reader’s imagination. When the two suspicious men, who are supposed to be the namesake *Killers*, show up at the diner where the main action takes place their immediate goal is to establish dominance over the staff and patrons as they wait for their prey. They are there to kill a Swedish boxer they know comes there for his meals.

The main “Killer”, Al, does most of the talking, while his companion Max agrees with his sentiments. Before “The Killers” reveal their nefarious intentions and tie up Nick and the African American cook of the diner, Sam, Al asks the owner of the diner if they’ve “got anything to drink?” to which George, the owner, responds “silver beer, bevo, ginger-ale”; however, this answer doesn’t satisfy Al and he asks, “I mean do you got anything to *drink*?” (Hemingway, “The Killers” 130). The emphasis on drink implies that Al is referring to alcoholic drinks, which would make sense being seven years into the ban, meaning that there was time for the networks of the underground alcohol trade to take root. Given the setting of the story—the Chicago suburb of Summit, Illinois—prohibition gangsters like Al Capone¹ would be largely influential for the fictional Al and make him comfortable asking this question.

After Al tests the waters of the town’s relation to organized crime with his simple question and realizes it is lacking, he and Max shed their disguises of patrons and adopt the violent nature of the criminals they are. They establish their power in the situation through

¹ Al Capone may also have been the inspiration for the name and character traits we see in Hemingway’s fictitious Al.

demeaning and discriminatory language, calling Nick “bright boy” and Sam the N-word in order to project an aura of superiority and control. The patronizing rhetoric of the suspected gangsters here parallels that of the language used against African Americans and immigrants who were excluded from the realm of alcohol even before the eighteenth amendment. The rhetoric reinforces the idea that Nick and Sam, like children, lack the agency or autonomy to resist the gangsters’ control, both in the current situation of the diner and their widespread influence in the region due to the illegal alcohol money lining their pockets. This is a part of the peculiar post-industrial shift I believe signifies the transition of the American ideal of masculinity from the frontier cowboy to the inner-city gangster. While this story serves to show how the violence of prohibition manifested and the tensions they create, in the larger canon of the Nick Adams stories, this is a pivotal moment for Nick in his enculturation of the “American Man.”

The connections of physical domination and control don’t end for Nick here. In an earlier period of Nick’s life, he witnesses a traumatizing event that fundamentally shapes his conceptions of his body in relationship to others in terms of authority and power. This serves to expand the affective ecology of the masculine traits that feed into both Hemingway’s construction and well as how they have been progressively incorporated into the larger American masculine persona.

“Indian Camp” Analysis

Another Nick Adams story, “Indian Camp”, further develops the idea of these stories being a commentary on the pedagogy of American masculinity. This story features Nick as a young child rather than the teenager he appears as in “The Killers”. “Indian Camp” centers around Nick and his father. In this story Nick learns from the masculine authority figure of his father, who is also a medical doctor, the ways in which bodies and have relations to each other,

and the connections of power his white male body has within the time he is living. When Nick learns these connections the patriarchal pedagogy of “self-other difference” is completed, and with it the foundation of American white men’s self-perceived superiority (Warner 289). The father-son duo, in addition to Nick’s uncle, are called to the Native village to assist in a birth. After crossing a lake in a small wooden boat, they enter a small and crowded hut where Nick watches his father assist a Native American woman giving birth. Nick’s father does a great job of underplaying the severity of the moment, initially telling him that the lady is “very sick” rather than pregnant (55). When the birth is happening, he reveals “his lady is going to have a baby, Nick” to which Nick replies “I know,” to which his father says, “you don’t know,” which is reminiscent of how the Gangsters exerted their dominance given the link of the masculinity to authoritative power. In the same way that “The Killers” gangsters gained their control with their capacity to bestow or take away life, so does Nick’s father. Since Nick’s father in the unique position of both the doctor and his paternal figure his words about the body hold intense weight over. Nick is dealing with the complex emotions and questions childbirth would invoke in a pubescent boy, and once again it is the omission or assumed information Nick gathers from these authoritative masculine figures, and the experiences he has with them that inform his masculine performance. The traits and attitudes Nick picks up on and assimilates into his masculine identity through the physical actions and way other bodies are spoken about are more important than the actual words these masculine figures actually say to him. It is because there is “no good model [of masculinity] in sight, this story’s take on masculinity seems open-ended, if not openly critical” (Hardy 75). What Hardy points out here has often been left out of Hemingway scholarship in order to promote and adhere to his publicly constructed masculine persona.

It is with this lens that the rest of Hemingway's work can be read: not as an affirmation of the patriarchy but as a questioning, a constant poking and prodding at the edges of masculinity which are known to be negative but never acknowledged. Because of the serialized nature of the Nick Adams stories, both audiences and Hemingway as the writer, we're able to watch Nick become defined by his experiences growing up. The character development enabled by the serialization and the unique progressive perspective of a *boy* becoming a *man* can be traced by identifying the where, why, and how of Nick's basis for his conclusions about the world. The best example of this is the conclusion that Nick comes to at the end of *Indian Camp* due to his father's impersonal and dehumanizing language about the other, non-white male, bodies. Experiencing the immense gravity of life and death Nick sees his father help deliver life into the world through birth while at the same time seeing the father of that same life being born commit suicide. Nick "in the early morning on the lake" heading home from the Native American village, "felt quite sure that he would never die" (Hemingway, "Indian Camp" 59) after he and his father had a conversation about the rates of male and female suicide. The reason that Nick feels this way is because throughout the story his father has distanced himself, and by extension, Nick, physically, rhetorically, and socially from the community he is supposed to be helping. Nick does not see what is happening to the Woman giving birth or the father that commits suicide as possibilities he will have to experience. Instead, he sees it as his father's work, all of the humanistic lessons that can be learned here are replaced with the scientific and medical impersonality with which a white Doctor would treat a Native American woman at the time. Nick's father brags that his operation is "one for the medical journal ... doing a caesarian with a jack-knife and sewing it up with nine-foot, tapered gut leaders" (58), which showcases how little he cares about the lives at stake in the operation. He continues to drive in the dehumanization

and impersonality by saying it was “and awful mess to put you through” (58), something Hemingway scholar Sarah B. Hardy notes is “an ‘awful mess’ in which two bodies - one female and one male - were subjected to forms of violence that resulted in both life and death,” at his father’s hands (74). It is this “awful mess” where the lines of life and death, male and female, powerful and the subjugated, become so blurred as to allow for the assurance that Nick “would never die” (59).

I call this uniquely American conception of mortality the *autonomy of masculinity*, a thought process in which American men, specifically white American men, have removed themselves from the realities of their body’s physical needs and material impact on other bodies. Because of the impersonality of the sciences and medicines that was characteristic of the time, the superiority that the patriarchy and American racism instilled within white men, with the added layer of white men being in the chief positions of medical authority, represented by Nick’s father, it makes sense that a young white boy like Nick Adams would conclude that the brutal “jack-knife” c-section and the suicide that it inspires could never happen to him. Being the child he is, he hyperbolizes his conclusion, thinking himself immortal. I argue that the autonomy of masculinity is a trait characteristic in the life cycle of all Hemingway’s male characters but is sometimes unlearned or overcome in the course of the narrative, and those are the characters I will be focusing on in the following sections.

In “The Killers” and “Indian Camp”, Hemingway reveals how the performative and the complicated nature of how White American masculinity’s negative attributes become distilled and passed on to the next generation. In the next section, I will detail how the autonomy of masculinity carries over from boyhood into adulthood when coupled with the emboldening and confidence-inspiring qualities of alcohol.

“The Sun Also Rises” Analysis

The Sun Also Rises gives us our most important character for understanding Hemingway’s initial reaction to the drastic change Prohibition and Suffrage caused in the relationship between men and women, not only in America but globally. Jacob Barnes, also referred to as Jake, is the sexually impotent veteran that offers an “other of self-contemplation” (Warner 289), for both Hemingway and his audience, that embodies a very different form of masculinity than that of Jim from “Up In Michigan”. The novel centers around Jake and the band of interesting ex-patriate characters he comes into contact during his European holiday from France to Spain. His relationship, or lack thereof, with Lady Brett Ashley create interesting cravats to explore Hemingway’s reaction to the changing public and private spheres. Jake’s lack of sexuality, and consequent inability to be sexually dominant the way Jim is, allows for a multilayered metaphorical castration that extends past the character’s physical mutilation and combines with his alcoholism to create what Todd Onderdonk calls the “Hemingwayesque artist” (62).

Onderdonk also points out that Jake “like his creator, ...served in the war and is a journalist, outdoorsman, tennis amateur, and bullfighting aficionado,” as well as bringing to attention that Jake was “named Hem in drafts until the final stages of the novel's composition” (62). While this is by no means evidence to claim the novel is auto-biographical, with the idea of the “other of self-contemplation” coupled with my analysis of “The Killers”, we can see the novel as a reaction or rather a personal exploration of a gender presentation in fluctuation. Whereas The Nick Adams stories represent the pedagogy of masculinity from *boy* to *man*, *The Sun Also Rises* presents a man who has to re-learn what it means to be a *man* in the midst of both great societal changes, and his own personal/bodily change.

Onderdonk cites Frontierism, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Imperialist rhetoric of high modernisms as sponsors for the masculinity tropes we come to expect in Hemingway's work, his contemporaries such as Stein, Eliot, and Pound for the most part must be credited for the artistic valorization of impersonality between artist and their work that permeated male modernist conversations. As, like most things in this time period, the novel was popularly gendered female due to its audience and the popularity of authors like Jane Austen during World War One (Harman 146). High Modernists created their own take on Whitmanesque transcendentalism, changing once key feature, the self in relation to society. Where Whitman wanted to transcend not only the physical but the constraints that society places on a body through their inscriptions and roles, the impersonality presented by Stein and others attempt to make "the sufferings that an artist might endure" because of being in a public, that can value or devalue the work of the artist, the means of such transcendence; becoming lost in the work and the struggle for a Gertrude Stein's inspired idea of a "masterpiece" in the same way a scientist or lawyer struggles for their findings is "part of this justification that modernists amplified in their quest for legitimation, for a cultural affirmation simultaneously professional and masculine" (Onderdonk 63). High Modernists concerned with the masculinity of writing were attempting to lift the novel and the profession of being an author or writer out of the perceived feminized hole public perception placed it into. They attempted to achieve this by raising the craft of authorship to empirical and objective standards rather than artistic subjective ones.

Onderdonk, correctly, holds off on lumping Hemingway and *The Sun Also Rises* with the other high modernists mentioned, though his depiction places Hemingway as the "aesthetic acolyte of Stein and Pound in Paris before writing *The Sun Also Rises*" (66). Where I believe Onderdonk's analysis suffers is his denial of Hemingway's appeal to mass audiences, stating "his

[Hemingway's] biographies document a man who had little interest in being one of the many" (66). But, in light of what David M. Earle points out regarding how Hemingway's career was directly connected and influenced by the cheaper mass-published pulp magazines as detailed in his book *All Man!: Hemingway, 1950s Men's Magazines, and the Masculine Persona* Onderdonk's claim lacks validity. This section, with the connection to mass media established by Earle, and the medical understanding how Hemingway's own alcoholism to be established, will showcase how these two factors also played a part in his exploration and construction of "Hemingwayesque" masculinity outside of the traditional modernist scholar's examination of tightly knit cliques of modernist authors and artistic philosophy, to a more humanistic account that places "thicker attention to the social, human and cultural contexts" surrounding Hemingway's alcoholism in response to Public recognition (Onderdonk 62; Fitzgerald and Callard 35).

This thesis borrows Onderdonk's term of the "Hemingwayesque" to apply to both the characters and the artist but sees it not as one that can "wrest truth and literary meaning from his humiliation" which inherently continues the rhetoric that femininity is something to be ashamed within modernist discourse, like Hovey pointed out. Instead, I propose that Jakes struggle showcases someone who has come to terms with and exemplifies the damaging and equally corrupting powers of the patriarchy for both men and women in their work (Onderdonk 66). With major advances in the Feminist movement during recent years, such as the #MeToo movement, the Women's March, and a record number of women legislators holding US office, the focus should change from what women are able to do (which is anything they want or try for) to what men are unwilling to do, understand the negative aspects of their gender performance. Jake Barnes for audiences both of Hemingway's jazz-age as well as today's modern one provides

a road map, an “other of self-contemplation” (Warner 289), towards living without the patriarchal form of masculinity the Public has constructed and enforced. Rather than applaud Jake for being able to accept his “feminization” and continue the arbitrary binary of gender this thesis focuses on the *Humanization* the “Hemingwayesque” character experiences when shedding the societal or “public” ascribed gender roles that keep them subject to Onderdonk’s idea of recovering from masculine humiliation.

Jake, because of his castration, is left in gender limbo. This limbo, while it pertains to Jake and his own perception of identity, is more importantly perceived by others who are unsure of how to navigate his lack of traditionally masculine attributes, many of which Hemingway exemplified in his short stories. The sexual domination and physicality that are the hallmarks of Jim’s character in “Up In Michigan” are not only lacking but cause a direct impact on his life in both the public and private spheres. Jake is unable to secure the affection of Lady Brett Ashley because of his impotence, this makes their personal private relationship quite awkward and difficult, but the knowledge of their difficulties within the friend group which leads Lady Ashley’s Austenesque elopement with Pedro Romero at the end of the novel, causes most the internal and external tension for Jake.

Hemingway, even while using Jake’s perspective, lays out rhetorical hints to the psychological impact of Jacob’s alcoholism in conjunction with his war injury. When Jake meets Georgette who is “*Poule*,”² at a bar he ends up spending the evening with until he runs into Lady Brett, he entices her to leave the bar after each has a glass of “Pernod” with him by saying “well ... are you going to buy me a dinner?”, which is a joke newly enabled by the changes to the public and private sphere and women’s drinking discussed in the first chapter, a reversal of the

² Poule means “young promiscuous girl” in English.

gender roles that, at one point would be absurd, but is now seen a progressive and flirtatious given the post-war, post-suffrage, post-18th amendment, non-American setting (Hemingway, *The Sun* 22-23). This is the first time in the novel Jacob make a rhetorical attempt at resisting patriarchal norms however, he quickly returns to the comfort of male authority when he thinks to himself, “with her mouth closed she was a rather pretty girl,” implying that her value to him lies in her appearance and not her conversational companionship in addition to implying the idea it is feminine to listen and masculine to speak. After this they leave the bar to a restaurant while in the taxi Georgette “looked up to be kissed” which Jake calmly denies by “put[ting] her hand away” (23). This denial offends Georgette a bit and she say's “never mind” to which Jake responds with a playfully but intended ignorance by saying “what’s the matter? You sick? ... Everybody’s sick. I’m sick too” (23). This sickness is left to interpretation of the reader but there is a heavily sexual implication tied to it given the failed attempt at romance and her earlier description as a “*Poule*.” What Georgette, and anyone not familiar with the entirety of the novel, would assume is that the sickness is some sexually transmitted disease such as chlamydia or syphilis. As we progress through the night out on Paris represented in this chapter, and the novel as a whole, we start to understand that this sickness, that Jake proclaims to be universal, is actually a struggle with alcoholism and gender dysphoria. The psychology of *Alcoholism and Human Sexuality* offers us an explanation of alcohol's impact on identity and sexuality that we can apply to the novel and reveal a medical metaphor and strengthen the idea of the “other of self-contemplation” (Warner 289).

Psychologist Gary Forrest states in *Alcoholism and Human Sexuality* that,

The psychological factors that contribute to the impotence of the alcoholic are complex, interrelated, and varied. Performance anxiety, concerns about penis size,

irrational learning and conditioning experiences in the realm of human sexuality, castration anxiety, unresolved hatred and rage for women, fears of intimacy, and apprehension centering around the issue of control are a few of the more common psychological factors that contribute to the impotence of the alcoholic. (40)

While neither Jake or Hemingway possess all these qualities, I want to point out the ones that they do have and especially the ones I believe they share in context of Warner's "other" (289). Hemingway reflected the idea of "irrational learning and conditioning" in "Indian Camp", highlighted by Nick's belief he'd be immortal given his *autonomy of masculinity*. As I established in the three short story analyses, the basis of the immortality belief comes from the othering of non-white male bodies and a perception that, medically, what is done to those bodies cannot happen to White Men, which also suggests an idea of self-perceived superiority to the otherized bodies.

Jake, who has been in World War One and seen the mutilation, death and violence inflicted indiscriminately and among some of his closest companions and most importantly himself, finally understands that the violence that White Men have been able to freely inflict on others can also be inflicted upon themselves. But to accept this reality would be to challenge a fundamental understanding of himself and his gender as a whole. In essence it would create an identity crisis. Forrest extends this observation by stating that,

Alcoholics, in part, drink alcohol in order to neurotically manage sexual and identity problems. Alcoholism creates sexual and identity conflicts. Sexual and identity conflicts can help create alcohol addiction. These clinical issues are paradoxical and poorly understood by professional behavioral scientists, the lay community, and alcoholics as well. (13)

The paradoxical nature of this quote leaves it in the same realm as the age of question of the chicken and the egg; however, in the context of *The Sun Also Rises* both the issues of identity crisis and alcoholism arise from the same catalyst Georgette calls “that dirty war” (24).

Georgette's word “dirty” is especially interesting as it once again carries with it the perverse and sexual connotations that “sick” did. Hemingway chooses to have her say this specific word after Jake explains that he was “hurt in the war”, which serves as the connection to the sexual aspect of the identity problem. And all of this was caused by the initial convergence at a bar and shared glasses of “pernod,” cementing how alcohol expedites and intensifies the sexual identity crisis (24).

The only reason Jake picks up Georgette in the first place is because in the chapter before he has been drinking throughout the day with Robert Cohn, who is the novel's main masculine antagonist, and Jake's rival for Lady Brett's heart. Jake describes Cohn as “not so pleasant to be around” because of his newfound confidence and the realization that “he was an attractive quantity to women, and the fact of a woman caring for him or wanting to live with him was not simply a divine miracle” (16). Robert Cohn represents the epitome of the masculine author type Stein, Eliot, and Pound were searching for and he comes off as cocky, pompous, and pretentious because of it; Robert Cohn is a true embodiment of the *autonomy of masculinity* who revels in the validation of the public and the economic success it enables, when “the publisher praised his novel pretty highly and it rather went to his head”, in addition to the private ego boosting of “several women [who] had put themselves out to be nice to him” while in New York, Cohn decides to leave Frances the woman he's been with for four years. Jake who is involuntarily single because of his impotence and without the prospect of great public success like Cohn, understandably feels emasculated. Cohn has a freedom of choice in his sexual partners in a way

that Jake does not because Cohn does not have the same feelings of physical or sexual inadequacy and thus does not experience the “castration anxiety” his actions help to perpetuate in Jake (Forrest 40). These feelings that are spurred by Jake’s knowledge of Cohn's situation and their meeting, which includes alcoholic drinks, at the start of chapter two gives rise to the action of picking out Georgette, Forrest supports this claim by stating that “alcoholics drink alcoholically in order to feel adequately male or female” (192).

Since Jake was feeling emasculated, metaphorically and physically castrated, due to the compounding factors of the war injury that left him impotent, Cohn’s masculine successes, and his increasing blood alcohol level, he unconsciously seeks to pick up a “*poule*,” who happens to be Georgette, to prove to himself that he even could. To validate his masculinity, by means of romantic or sexual conquest, to himself. Unsurprisingly, this method does not work and only deepens his shame and confusion, as he ends up leaving Georgette at the party, he meets Lady Brett at, with the group of men Brett originally arrived with. When Brett asks Jake why he brought Georgette he tells her “I don’t know, I just brought her” when she insinuates, he is a romantic he says “no, bored” showcasing how “alcoholics are pre-consciously and unconsciously anxious over the issues of identity, adequacy as a person, and sexual adequacy” (Hemingway, “The Sun,” 31; Forrest 192). Jake, like his author and inspiration, is (if not completely, moderately) unaware as to the motives behind his actions and resorts to alcoholism throughout the majority of the novel as “a disastrous attempt at a self-cure of an unseen inner conflict” (Forrest 192).

Onderdonk’s model of the novel places’ emphasis on the relationship of multiple identities and he argues that the hierarchy of these identities, which include sexual, ethnic, racial, and more, in relation to constructing the white masculinity that enables the *Autonomy of*

Masculinity, is the central focus and progressor of the novel's societal commentary. His idea situates white masculinity as a reactionary identity that that validates itself in its differentiation and self-perceived superiority to other identities, where anything that deviates from the expected attributes of sexual and physical domination, public authority, and lack of copious alcohol consumption, because his essay's namesake: "Bitched." What is particularly interesting is that the performance is that it is not dependent on the biological sex of the body performing it. The "homosocial" interactions of white men are a constant comparison of each other's masculinity, in which traits are "gendered to accord with a division between males and inauthentic males, where to be "less male" in any sense is to be "like a woman" (70). The distinction of "inauthentic males" has more to do with whether or not an individual is presenting the "traditional markers" of "masculine authority" than the actual presence of male genitalia (71). When white women, such as Lady Brett, started to embody these masculine traits their bodies became a new site for the perception, conception, and most importantly critique of previously held and valorized aspects of white masculinity. In contrast to Onderdonk's "feminization" of white men in modernity, which center's white men as victims after losing a long-held superiority (which they never actually lost) and their struggle coping with that loss, I propose that what actually occurred was a masculinization of women. As I noted in chapter one, women were working toward equal footing with men in the public sphere, exemplified by the WCTU, Suffrage, and their participation in the black-market alcohol trade. It then makes sense that white men, whose identity is largely based on the self-constructed and enforced differences in autonomy between themselves and those they have otherized and arbitrarily gendered as women, would perceive the woman's gain as their loss as it is aspects of the public sphere were no longer solely reserved for them and thus not traditionally dominant.

Lady Brett is the most obviously masculinized woman within the novel as she has “hair brushed back like a boy’s,” is a serial non-monogamist (like Hemingway himself), and even possesses the bourgeoisie title of “lady” which carries with it an air of superiority and authority (Hemingway, *The Sun* 30). Because alcoholism and masculinity have been so closely related, proven by how the prohibition question arose from alcohol’s impact on men’s behavior towards women, negative attributes that manifest as a result of the identity crisis alcoholism causes and/or the attributes that arise in response to the trauma caused by alcoholic men, has been wrongly attributed and, even more horrifically, assimilated into American masculinity as a whole rather identified and treated as symptoms of an addiction and mental illness. Within the complicated upheaval of gender norms that happened in during Prohibition and Suffrage, and counter-cultural modernist mecca of a location like Paris in relation to the transatlantic culture exchange I believe that these misattributed traits of masculinity, which are in fact alcoholic in origin, we’re also adopted into Modernism’s white femininity in order to effectively participate in a public traditionally gendered male.

Lady Brett Ashely is the most independent and self-reliant female character within the novel, which affords her both social and sexual autonomy to romantically jump between Jake, Robert Cohn, and Pedro Romero, thus putting her in a traditionally masculine position of domination over these men. The new aspect of individualism and choice that Lady Brett has access to, due to the changes and blurring of gender norms in the public and private sphere during prohibition and suffrage, it would be easy to assume that Lady Brett would be revealing in the sexual freedom that her proximal autonomy of masculinity enables, similarly to one of her standby concubines, Robert Cohn. However, the reality is much different as she so memorably pleads to Jake at the end of chapter three “Oh, darling, I’ve been so miserable” (32). This is

because Brett, inspired by the new norms of modernity and coupled with her alcoholic coping of grief due to losing her husband in World War One, mistakenly believes that having multiple partners and participating in sexual conquest will make her happy, in the same way it is thought to make men happy. Unfortunately, what she never learns is that this behavior is alcoholically motivated and is the same attempt to relieve the anxieties “over the issues of identity, adequacy as a person, and sexual adequacy” that Jake attempts by picking up Georgette (Forrest 192). Both Jake and Brett are attempting to give the masculine appearance of sexual domination which neither are emotionally, psychologically, or consciously equipped to successfully navigate or enact.

Onderdonk believes that “for Hemingway to assert masculine authority, that is, he must disavow dominance -especially physical and sexual dominance- in favor of traits he suggests are more epistemologically adequate to modern conditions” (71). While I think the latter half accurate in its call to “disavow dominance” I disagree with the idea that Jake’s “epistemologically adequate” traits are too way to “assert masculine authority” (71). I do not see Jake’s struggle with identity as a feminization but a neutral *Humanization* outside of the gender binary. Jake, by releasing his desire to exert “physical and sexual dominance” over Brett and accepting that she leaves with Pedro Romero, frees himself of the need to perform inauthentic masculinity in sexual competition with other males, while also freeing himself of his traditionally position of feminized subjugation as a rejected sexual partner to the masculine Brett.

Western culture has demanded the link between sexuality and gender to be Cisheteronormative in order to enforce the cisheteropatriarchy, dependent on the ability of cis-men to exert control over and materially provide for cis-women, where each role is determined by the genitalia and assigned at birth. Because of this, Jake who has been both physically

castrated due to the war and societally castrated in his feminization by other masculine figures such as Cohn and Brett are seen, in relation to the American public conception of a man, as a case of lost masculinity, humiliation, and non-cisheteronormative transgressions. This continues the polarization and gendered division of the public and private spheres that posture feminization as the antithesis white men's subjectively *true* masculinity.

However, privately, counter-publicly, and transcendently Jake has removed himself from the constant power struggle of the gender binary by internally separating his unique semi-androgenous "Hemingwayesque" performance, which showcases a fluidity of gendered traits that were ascribed publicly, by others, from his personal and private view of himself and his actual sexuality (Onderdonk 66). The historic conflation of gender identity in dictating normative and transgressive sexualities has been one of Western cultures largest failures as it wrongly assumes that personal gender identity not only influences but dictates who that individual is allowed to be attracted to. Jake's feminization by these masculine characters wrongly tries to bring his sexuality in line with his publicly ascribed gender of woman, even though the two have little to do with each other than how they relate to naming and categorization of non-cisheteronormative sexualities and gender presentations. By doing so, they cause Jake to question his emotions and position in relation to their superior masculinity: Brett by being sexually dominant, and Cohn by being physically. It is only after Brett runs away with Pedro after similarly being beaten up by Cohn, can Jake see that the competition with them is meaningless, as they are caught in a constant cycle of being feminized and trying to re-masculinize themselves comparatively to the others. By breaking free of this cycle of public gender performance dependence, Jake affirms to himself he is still heterosexual, despite the doubt his feminization inspires, before going to save Brett in Madrid. Onderdonk sees Jake's heterosexual realization as

a negative metaphor about “the male disempowerment and benighted romanticism in modern heterosexual relations” (85).

This analysis does not account for the alcoholic influence upon sexuality and identity and how the “male disempowerment” Onderdonk speaks of are contingent upon the alcoholic traits, such as physical and sexual dominance, that have plagued heterosexual relationships for so long it required the eighteenth amendment. It is only in modernity, where women had public access to alcohol and interactions with men while under the influence of alcohol, that men too could feel the damaging effects that alcoholism can inflict upon their relationships, in the same way that women had in the years leading up to the Temperance and prohibition movements. Jake going to Madrid to help Brett after she gets rid of Pedro, is not doing so in attempt to reclaim some form of masculine authority from or over Brett. Instead, because he has come to his own conclusions about his gender presentation and sexuality independently, justified intrinsically instead of by publicly constructed gender roles, Jake arrives to help his alcoholic friend with genuine and *Humanized* care. He can finally do this after coming to an understanding of his own Identity, breaking free of the gendered competitions and complications the clouded the relationship previously. This claim is supported by interruptive rhetorical analysis of Brett and Jake’s final conversation in the last chapter.

Brett is unaware that Jake has freed himself from her feminization/re-masculinization loop, and unsuccessfully and uncomfortably tries to re-exert her masculine sexual authority of Jake. She does this by kissing him when he meets her but Jake notes how “while she kissed me, I could feel she was thinking of another. She was trembling in my arms. She felt very small”, cementing how she has lost her physical and sexual control through her diminished authority and size (Hemingway, “*The Sun*” 245). When they go out for lunch Brett once again attempts to exert

control, but in a metaphor, only perceptible in light of the connections this paper makes between alcoholic traits disguised as masculine ones. After Jake order's two bottles of *rioja alta* Brett tells him "don't get drunk jake ... you don't have to", as if to truly say, 'Please Jake, don't reinstate your own masculinity and emasculate me this is all I have to feel sexually adequate' (249). Jake, who has transcended Brett's gendered cycle of self-destruction, and suggestively his own alcoholism, responds "I'm not getting drunk ... I'm just drinking a little Wine. I like to drink wine" (250). Jake's subtle remarks here hold immense weight when read in context of alcoholism's connection to domination. Jake is "not getting drunk;" he is not overindulging. Instead, he exerts a Whitman-like "Voluntarism" in abstaining from complete hedonistic excess, the opposite of what would be characteristic of a one clinging onto the hubristic indestructibility that the autonomy of masculinity enables (Warner 276). It is similarly voluntaristic of Jake to relinquish control and cease his romantic pursuit of Brett rather than being forced to by the societal impacts of her imposed feminization. Jake, by choosing to go to Madrid and abstaining from indulging in Brett's flirtatious remarks Jake showcases the same Temperance-esque virtues of self-denial that spare both himself and Brett from their alcoholic gendered power struggle.

Taking alcohol as the metaphorical stand in for masculine traits that alcoholic traits have been conflated with, Jake's comment about only "drinking a little" can be read, not as his reclamation of the shattered parts of a broken, alcoholic, masculinity that is perpetuated throughout the novel, but as a remodeling of the overbearing, drunken, and damaging masculine dominance Jake has struggled to escape from or enact himself. Instead of continuing to subscribe to the outdated and dehumanizing constraints of traditional masculine gender performance, Jake finds his way into a more subtle, virtuous, "hygienic", independence. A performance that more

accurately fits the gender fluid mosaic of masculine, feminine, and “epistemologically adequate” traits that constitute his character (Executive Branch 110; Onderdonk 71).

“*The Garden of Eden*” Analysis

The Garden of Eden was started in 1946 but published posthumously in 1986, twenty-five years after Hemingway’s suicide, and well into the “popular adoption of Hemingway’s persona of masculinity” as propagated by men’s magazines of the 50’s and 60’s (Earle 20). In light of Hemingway’s “larger-than-life persona in these tabloid articles” it makes sense that this novel, which explores androgyny, lesbianism, non-monogamous relationships, non-cishetrnormative gender performances, and a much more apparent and dangerous alcoholism than that seen in *The Sun Also Rises*, would be not be released until after his death in order to spare himself further torment as Hemingway was “tortured by his fame in the 1950’s, even though he was complicit in its construction”(23). While this novel was not written or released in the jazz-age 20’s like the other stories analyzed so far it is the spiritual successor to the same themes and ideas. This novel showcases how Hemingway’s interpretation of the blurred Public and Private sphere changed and developed further into modernity.

The two main characters of *The Garden of Eden* are David and Catherine Bourne, who are a newly married American couple who start their honeymoon in Paris and make their way throughout France and Spain, similar to the flow of travel in *The Sun Also Rises*. The couple’s domestic felicity disappears rather quickly after Catherine says “I’m going to be changed” only three weeks into their marriage; the change is met with resistance by David, and Catherine then states “It’s for you. It’s for me too. I won’t pretend it’s not. But It will do something to you. I’m sure but I shouldn’t say it” (Hemingway, “*The Garden*” 12). The change that Catherine is

referring to is her gender performance which, because of the arbitrary linking of gender and sexuality, definitely did “do something” to David’s identity and performance as well.

The first change is a physical one and is what cements the performance as both public and private. Catherine cuts her hair extremely short and states that she is “a girl”; however, she continues, “But now I’m a boy too and I can do anything and anything and anything” (15). This line showcases that Catherine is acutely aware of the privileges and freedoms that men have, and the ones women do not. Catherine understands that the autonomy of masculinity affords her husband more control in their marriage if they subscribe to cisheteronormative ideals, and as Catherine believes she is non-cis and is confirmable non-hetero she constantly challenges traditional gender performances by masculinizing herself and feminizing David but maintains the cisheteropatriarchal dynamic of domination and subjugation. Since David and Catherine are both alcoholics, who drink constantly with and in between every meal, the issue of physical and sexual domination becomes increasingly central to their marriages ultimate collapse.

Catherine does not emasculate David in the same way that Brett does Jake, instead of denying sexual intercourse or and posturing her masculine authority against his in the public sphere, Catherine keeps her masculinization and her attempted feminization of David confined to their private relationship. The first time that Catherine becomes a boy she asks David “Please love me David the way I am. Please understand and love me” (17), showing that she has long felt like this and it is not just in response to their heterosexual relationship (although it may have been a catalyst for her queer realization). Because Catherine, and the rest of western culture, continue to assign sexuality based on gender performance and she sees herself as a boy. It thus makes sense, at least in her mind, that in order to keep in line with alcoholically reinforced gender norms she must feminize David. Catherine believes she must fully assume the publicly

constructed masculine persona, which includes alcoholism and dominance, in order to authentically, or rather traditionally exert her masculine dominance over him. Catherine seeks to have complete sexual and financial control over David in the same way American men had previously had such control over women before prohibition and suffrage. She is not subtle, but has a masculine directness and aggressiveness, declaring “you are changing ... 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?”, this puzzles David and when he says “you’re Catherine” she replies “No. I’m Peter. You’re my wonderful Catherine ... you were so good to change ... please understand” (17).

Unsurprisingly, at this point, David does not understand and for the first half of the novel is, similarly to Jake, left in gender limbo. In this case because he holds onto his masculine domination in the public sphere, while not fully accepting but experiencing his feminization in the private. It is only when Marita, the foreign beauty that falls in love with both David and Catherine, enters the story can it become clear to the reader that Catherine’s male identity of Peter, and its subsequent effect on David, is an escape from the reality of her lesbianism. Marita meets the couple in a café where she asks who cut Catherine’s hair so short, after giving her the name of the coiffure and her departure David and Catherine both note how “handsome” she was (91). This leads to Catherine going with Marita to get her haircut and bringing her back to her and David’s hotel room afterwards, thus enabling the complicated 3-way relationship to begin. After Marita checks into the same hotel and agrees to stay with the couple for some time Catherine orders David and Marita to kiss, which only serves to make her jealous as she revels after the kiss that “This morning I stopped the car on the long clear stretch and kissed her and she kissed me and, on the way, back from Nice too and when we got out the car just now” (110). The ensuing jealousy and bitterness of the alcoholic couple’s competition to exert sexual dominance

over Marita scares her away and she runs out of the room crying. The competition was alluded to earlier in a private conversation of the couple about Marita. David asks, “but whose girl is she?” to which Catherine replies “don’t be rough. She’s nobody’s” (100), which showcases the initial differences in how comfortable each member of the couple is in displaying dominance or claiming sexual control over Marita. However, when Marita surrenders herself to both David and Catherine by saying “I can be your girl, if you ever want one, and David’s too,” she places herself in the position of the feminine subjugated to Catherine’s masculine dominance, thus giving validity her lesbian romantic interest in her (105).

David wants Marita to leave and for the relationship to remain only between him and Catherine, but since this is the first lesbian encounter Catherine has gotten to actually participate in, she cannot pass up her opportunity to explore this aspect of her identity. Catherine tells David “it started with us and there’ll only be us when I get this finished ...I have to. Ever since I went to school all I ever had was chances to do it and people wanting to do it with me. And I never would and never did. But now I have to (114). With these lines Catherine showcases how she has long been struggling with her sexuality. Connecting Catherine’s question about her sexuality with her alcoholism, it is apparent that she has had to suppress an aspect of herself, an aspect so central to her identity that its neglect leads to an alcoholic identity crisis, which manifests in her masculine identity of Peter and her aggressive outburst and fights she begins starting with David.

It is not so much that Catherine “is” a man but that she has learned and tries to personify the traits of men both American culture and Hemingway, were taught to value and perform in order to be an adequate male, such as being dominating, rich, and aggressive. In replicating these traits and forcing David into the feminine role that comes with all of the disadvantage’s patriarchy forces upon women. David is given the opportunity to see how masculinity’s

domineering aspects operate through a lens not afforded to traditionally masculine hero's but is common of the "Hemingwayesque" protagonist, which is in the subordinate position. Catherine is trying to transplant David's autonomy of masculinity from him to herself by means of her masculine gender performance and the feminized one that she attempts to have David perform. Brazilian Educator and Marxist theorist Paulo Freire explains why Catherine must continue to enforce the gender binary even in the face of her obvious queerness when he says, "during the initial stage of the struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or 'sub-oppressors.' The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped" (45).

Applying Freire's idea of oppression to women and their changing position in society during modernity based on how Temperance and suffrage work afforded them space in the Public sphere, these accomplishments can be marked as the "initial stage of the struggle," where women are seeing material and societal benefits from their organization and advocacy of their rights. Catherine, in the face of liberation from the gendered spheres that oppressed her and other women for so long, becomes a "sub-oppressor" by continuing to proliferate the oppression that gender norms enforce, but only switching the position of oppressor and oppressed. Catherine finds herself in the same existential situation that many American women have experienced, living under the maxim of "all men are created equal" and not being a man. Freire continues to expand upon the concept of "sub-oppressors" explaining that "Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors" (45). Freire uses "men" in this case to mean free men, or the non-oppressed, which compliments the idea of bodily freedom implicit in the *autonomy of masculinity*. Catherine believes, because she was raised in the mindset of the oppressed and had it intensified by American freedom maxims that did not include her, the way to escape the

masculine oppression of femininity is to fully reject said femininity and assume the popularly constructed masculine persona, which includes imparting upon other's the oppression she herself seeks to escape.

The gendered power struggle between David and Catherine ultimately ends in their separation, but not before Catherine exerts her control over David in a way that impacts him both privately and publicly. David writes about Africa that acts as a subplot woven throughout the *Garden of Eden*, Catherine decides, out of jealousy of David's public success as a writer, to burn all his manuscripts including the story. Catherine is jealous and critical of David's success as a writer throughout the entire novel. She resents that she does not have complete control over David and how he has a public identity outside of their private relationship. In an argument (which in every instance in the novel is preceded by alcoholic beverages) about the reception of David's last novel, Catherine uses his public recognition as an insult calling him "You clipping reader", and following it up with "why should I shut up? Just because you wrote this morning? Do you think I married you because you're a writer? You and your clippings (Hemingway, "*The Garden*" 39)". This is Catherine's alcoholically fueled exercise in masculine control. She acts in this way because wants David to be entirely dependent on her as she is financially his superior due to the death of her parents and her large inheritance. She sees no reason for him to continue writing and engaging in the public sphere as she, in the traditionally masculine role of economic control, provides for their lifestyle. When David begins writing again, she tells him "when you start to live outside yourself ... it's all dangerous. Maybe I'd better go back into our world, your and my world that I made up; we made up I mean" (54). This world she speaks of is an escapist fantasy from the reality of women's oppression and her lesbianism, where she can inflict the same oppression on her forcibly feminized husband, attempting to transform him from a publicly

recognized author into a private domestic housewife, switching their positions in the oppressor-oppressed dynamic. Catherine's subjects David to the "dehumanization" of the oppressed and thus does not value his actual identity or human experience, his body which has been gendered to belong to "men" is only valuable to her as a site to affirm her reversal of oppressive masculine traits (Freire 43). The real reason she asks, "Do you think I married you because you're a writer?" is because she didn't (Hemingway, "*The Garden*" 39). Catherine married David because she believed that she could make him conform to her fantasy, and when he doesn't, the alcoholic and masculine competition for control destroys their relationship and more importantly David's writing, his symbolic attachment to the public sphere and his masculinity.

Leading up their final blowout Catherine tells David "you aren't hard to corrupt and you're an awful lot of fun to corrupt" this is because, based on her internalized misogyny and homophobia, she believes she has corrupted David with feminine traits and thus removed and inherited his *autonomy of masculinity* (150). David responds to this with "you ought to know" placing the blame back on her and implying that in actuality, she herself has been corrupted, by the oppressive alcoholic masculine traits she valorized and strived toward (150). In her alcoholic jealousy-inspired power grasp Catherine could only manage to exert control in the private sphere of their domestic relationship by forcing David into feminization and introducing and exacerbating Marita's place in their marriage. Catherine extends this masculine control she has afforded herself through her sexual domination and financial superiority over David to his public figure by destroying every story except for the one about herself. The narcissism, aggressiveness, and subsequent denial of creative and financial freedom the Catherine imposes upon David in this instance is disturbingly reminiscent of the ways in which American men have and continued to deny women free and complete access to the public sphere, their own bodily autonomy, and

financial independence. It is only in the post-jazz-age modernity, after the great calamity of the First World War, Prohibition, Suffrage, and later progressivism that women's "existential situation" begins to make a significant stride towards equity (Freire 45). Cementing this connection between the historic men and Catherine are shared traits of alcoholism and masculine dominance, both of which required action by the feminized, manifesting in prohibition and impending divorce respectively.

Conclusion and Discussion

Throughout this thesis, I have built an "*affective ecology*" of historical, medical, theoretical, biographical, and literary information (Edbauer 9). In the first chapter, building off of Warner's analysis of Walt Whitman's Temperance literature, I analyzed the ways in which alcohol has manifested itself into the American culture, specifically drawing attention to its effect on the relationship between men and women, as well as the public and private spheres. Following that assertion into modernism and the post-World War I era, a period characterized by its globality, I showcased the influence of America's relationship with alcohol on the international community. Because alcoholism was a matter of "public" health and primarily concerned American and European white men, the prohibition question was gendered as a male issue, leaving female alcoholism and how it manifested at the time up to popular literature rather than the scientific research afforded to white men.

In the second chapter, through Jamie Hovey analysis, I establish the tendency of modernism and its surrounding scholarship to promote and ascribe to cisheteronormative authors and interpretations, especially male authors such as Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Eliot, and Pound. Throughout time the canon of traditional modernist literature and scholarship has given way to a romanticization of the masculine expatriate alcoholic lifestyle, ascribing to the

cisheteronormative structure that affords them a place in public consciousness. Because of this interpretively limited scholarship and Hemingway's publicly constructed "*Masculine Persona*" that was lifted to hyper-masculinity by tabloid and men's magazines, his questioning and navigation of the new and unique performance of American masculinity under prohibition has been mistaken by the popular front as affirmations and endorsements of a flawed alcoholic masculinity (Earle). A form of masculinity that continues to serve the institutions of patriarchy that propagated them in oppression and dehumanization of feminine and queer identities. Highlighting the medical and psychological impact of alcoholism on sexuality and gender identity coupled with Hemingway's own alcoholism and that of his character's, I situate both himself and his characters within their alcoholically fueled identity crises, which are only worsened by participation in the public sphere. Applying Warner's concept of the "other of self-contemplation" to the stories I chose to analyze, Hemingway's characters represent for both himself and his audience a milieu of traditionally gendered traits that are becoming increasingly obsolete into modernity, manifested in non-traditional bodies and gender performances (289). By navigating these complex relationships and situations Hemingway creates for his characters they can come to their own non-binary and epistemologically sound gender performance, something that I hope he also achieved for himself, but that seems unlikely given his prolonged battle with alcoholism and the knowledge of how his public reputation intensified those feelings and his condition, ultimately leading to his suicide in 1961.

I propose that the literature of Ernest Hemingway and other modernists who have been canonized as cisheteronormative authors and left out of queer interpretation, due to the "closeting of modernism's queerness", act as cite to explore how American Prohibition and it's trans-Atlantic influence was a catalyst that propelled women into the public sphere in such a way as

that they had to adopt and expound on the masculine traits which afforded them that position under the culturally gendered separation of Public and Private (Hovey 3). In *The Sun Also Rises* and *The Garden of Eden*, Hemingway showcases that in their assimilation of masculine traits women did not free themselves of patriarchal domination, but instead adopted the negative alcoholic traits that it valued, continuing the discrimination and devaluing of femininity even when presented in of non-cishetero or queer gender expressions, becoming “sub-oppressors” (Freire 45). This analysis particularly pertains to white women of first and second-wave feminism, movements which largely ignored and even denied advocacy for women of color, trans-women, and lesbians.

It is thus my belief that modernism blurred the traditionally gendered public and private spheres in such a way that allowed white women to inherit the *Autonomy of Masculinity* transforming it into an *American Autonomy of Whiteness*, which could similarly be called white supremacy: the cultural and medical domination of the cishetero-white body. During this blurring process, felt globally due to the “sense of totality, bounded by the event[s]” of World War I and Prohibition, arose that allowed the overlapping the “Subaltern counterpublics” of expatriate writers, writers of color, and queer writers, to make their way into mass-scale public discourse (Warner 66, 57).

I believe the blurring and counterpublic infiltration I propose occurred in modernism is partially responsible for the increasingly connected, global, and progressive society that we see moving into our current era. It is only as global society moves into postmodernism, a period of challenging the traditional hegemonic norms of Western society and exemplified by the rise of intersectional Critical Race, Feminist, Postcolonial, and Queer Theories, that academia has been able to look back to the literature of the last century and acknowledge the ways in which non-

white and non-cisheteronormative identities existed and navigated the intersectional cultural institutions of systemic oppression. This thesis therefore extends such academic conversations by offering a medical humanities analysis of two traits that act as enablers for the continuation of white supremacy: the *Autonomy of Masculinity* and the *Autonomy of Whiteness*. This thesis poses questions about the intersections of race, sexuality, and gender within traditionally masculine texts and artforms that modernist, sociological, and anthropological scholarship have long left ignored. It achieves this by identifying and detailing *how* the *Autonomy of Masculinity* and the *Autonomy of Whiteness* materially and psychological impacted both those who have been afforded such traits, as well as those who haven't. It is my hope that by understanding how these systems of oppression have continued to manifest and get pedagogically passed down, as exemplified in the Nick Adams stories of "Indian Camp" and "The Killers", that we can challenge, intervene, and overcome our inherited power disparities. Finally, able to *Humanize* our way to make a more free, equitable, and inclusive society.

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