

**Ernest Hemingway and East Asia:
Japanese and Chinese Influences on His Writings**

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Abstract

Although a large number of studies have been made of Ernest Hemingway's relationships with different regions, countries, and races, East Asia and its peoples have been largely neglected by scholars. This dissertation aims to demonstrate the connections between Hemingway's life and writings and East Asian countries through cross-cultural and comparative literary study. In other words, this is an attempt to show how the writer was involved in and influenced by politics, wars, and people in East Asia, specifically in Japan and China, by examining his fiction and nonfiction writings.

Hemingway's connection with East Asia was most closely related to wars and migration, which were conspicuous in his time. Hemingway frequently showed interest in the Russo-Japanese War and revealed admiration for aspects of Japanese culture in his introduction to a war anthology. He enlisted in the Italian army in World War I and wrote *A Farewell to Arms*, in which he illustrated complexities of individual nationalism and unreliable international alliances by depicting a protagonist's hostile attitude toward Japan, which was fighting on the side of the Allies. In the early 1920s, Hemingway met Japanese artists in Paris, which helped him to assume the role of a professional writer of literature at that time and to write *The Garden of Eden* in his late years. During the Great Depression, Hemingway wrote *To Have and Have Not*, where he depicted the identity crisis of the poor white in relation to the flow of illegal Chinese immigrants into the U.S. and slumming tourism in Chinatowns. Hemingway filed reports on the Second Sino-Japanese War from China, and his experience of propaganda policy of the Kuomintang at this time became the beginning of his thought about a true writer. After World War II, Hemingway referred to "Hiroshima" and in *Across the River and into the Trees*, he included atomic jokes which reflected the impact of the introduction of nuclear weapons on him as a "battle-field writer." These intersections of Hemingway with Japan and China indicate how politics, wars, and people in East Asia influenced his life and writings.

Abbreviations

<i>ARIT</i>	<i>Across the River and Into the Trees</i>
<i>BL</i>	<i>By-line Ernest Hemingway: Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades</i>
<i>CSS</i>	<i>The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigia Edition</i>
<i>DIA</i>	<i>Death in the Afternoon</i>
<i>DLT</i>	<i>Dateline: Toronto: The Complete "Toronto Star" Dispatches, 1920-1924</i>
<i>DS</i>	<i>The Dangerous Summer</i>
<i>FC</i>	<i>The Fifth Column and the First Forty-nine Stories</i>
<i>FTA</i>	<i>A Farewell to Arms</i>
<i>FWBT</i>	<i>For Whom the Bell Tolls</i>
<i>GHOA</i>	<i>Green Hills of Africa</i>
<i>GOE</i>	<i>The Garden of Eden</i>
<i>GOEm</i>	<i>The Garden of Eden manuscript</i>
<i>IIS</i>	<i>Islands in the Stream</i>
<i>iot</i>	<i>in our time.</i>
<i>IOT</i>	<i>In Our Time</i>
<i>Letters 1</i>	<i>The Letters of Ernest Hemingway Vol. 1. 1907-1922.</i>
<i>Letters 2</i>	<i>The Letters of Ernest Hemingway Vol. 2. 1923-1925</i>
<i>Letters 3</i>	<i>The Letters of Ernest Hemingway Vol. 3. 1926-1929</i>
<i>MAW</i>	<i>Men at War: The Best War Stories of All Time</i>
<i>MF</i>	<i>A Moveable Feast</i>
<i>MF-RE</i>	<i>A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition</i>
<i>MWW</i>	<i>Men Without Women</i>
<i>NAS</i>	<i>The Nick Adams Stories</i>

<i>OMS</i>	<i>The Old Man and the Sea</i>
<i>Poems</i>	<i>Complete Poems</i>
<i>SAR</i>	<i>The Sun Also Rises</i>
<i>SL</i>	<i>Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917-1961</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway</i>
<i>T AFL</i>	<i>True at First Light</i>
<i>THHN</i>	<i>To Have and Have Not</i>
<i>TOS</i>	<i>The Torrents of Spring</i>
<i>TSTP</i>	<i>Three Stories and Ten Poems</i>
<i>UK</i>	<i>Under Kilimanjaro</i>
<i>WTN</i>	<i>Winner Take Nothing</i>

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Introduction

A large number of studies have been made of Ernest Hemingway's relationships with different regions, countries, and races in the world. However, East Asia and its peoples have been largely neglected by scholars. This dissertation aims to demonstrate the connections between Hemingway's life and writings and East Asian countries in the cross-cultural and comparative literary study approach. By examining his fiction and nonfiction writings, it attempts to show how the writer was involved in and influenced by politics, wars, and people in East Asia.

East Asia has been a blind spot in the studies on the diversity of races and countries Hemingway was involved in. For example, when Carl P. Eby describes him as a modernist and cosmopolitan writer, he does not mention any country in East Asia:

The thematic universe of Hemingway's work is modernist.... Modernism was predominantly a cosmopolitan movement, and Hemingway's fiction, set in France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, America, Africa, and Cuba, is quintessentially cosmopolitan. (Eby, "Literary" 179-80)

Eby emphasizes the global breadth of Hemingway's activity by mentioning the names of different countries in the world. However, his list does not include any country in East Asian. As Eby argues, Hemingway was a modernist and cosmopolitan writer and a large number of scholars have considered him as such a writer, but East Asia has been neglected in their consideration.

The limited perspective observed in Eby's study is also reflected in the studies that focus on the transnational aspect of Hemingway's works. In *Virtual Americas: Transnational Fictions and the Transatlantic Imaginary* (2002), Paul Giles discusses Hemingway's works, such as *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) and *The Garden of Eden* (1986), from the perspective of "transatlantic." However,

he does not refer to possible encounters of Hemingway with people and cultures from Asian countries (124). In 2013, for a more recent example, *Ernst Hemingway in Context* was published as “the opportunity to capture in one collection...sensitivity that many different angles and perspectives can help readers better understanding Hemingway and his work” (xxv). However, the collection also shows the same limitation in the perspective. The racial and ethnic issues mostly deal with African Americans, Africans, American Indians, Cubans and Jews in his life and works for the last thirty years (307-39).

Hemingway lived and wrote in the times when there were dramatic changes in geopolitical and trans-racial terms in the world including East Asia. These changes are reflected in a variety of references to East Asia, especially to Japan and China, in his literary works as well as in other writings and these references reflect demonstrate his interest in this region. This dissertation is an attempt to shed light on his relationship with East Asia, especially with Japan and China, and its influence on his works.

The Previous Research on Hemingway and East Asia

When people try to understand the modern history of East Asia, they will soon find this history characterized mostly by the repeated wars of (or between) Japan and China in political terms and by the global movements of their peoples, such as immigrants for economic reasons and those with artistic purposes (bohemian artists). Focusing on the wars and movements of the Japanese and Chinese makes visible Hemingway’s connection with East Asia. For example, Hemingway was connected in various ways to the wars during the period of Japan’s modernization, such as the Russo-Japanese War, World War I, the Sino-Japanese War and World War II. During the Sino-Japanese War, Hemingway visited China, which was dealing with the imperial desires of western powers and Japan as well as the risk of civil war in China.

Also, in modern times, many Japanese voluntarily left their native country for economic and

artistic purposes. For economic reasons, the Japanese crossed the Pacific and moved to Hawaii, Brazil, Mexico, and the United States. For artistic reasons, a considerable number of Japanese painters and artists moved to Paris, which was the center of the world of arts. Similarly, despite the renewal of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act in 1902, the Chinese population increased in the United States, largely through smuggling via Cuba. In fact, Hemingway had opportunities to meet economic and artistic immigrants from Japan and China and made a variety of relations with them in his sixty-two-year lifetime.

Similar arguments can be made for William Faulkner, an American writer who has frequently been compared to Hemingway as a contemporary. Scholars have been studying his relationship with Japan mostly because he actually visited Japan in 1955. For example, it is frequently pointed out that Faulkner drew parallels between the American South and Japan as the defeated (Faulkner, *Essays* 83). In *Faulkner Studies in Japan* (1985), Kiyoyuki Ono observes that “The other great unexpected influence is Faulkner’s impact on Japanese novelists” (Ono 7). No doubt these are significant factors that suggest much can be gained in terms of cross-cultural studies and literary comparisons. Unlike Faulkner, however, Hemingway did not visit Japan in his lifetime, though he had wanted to visit it. Nevertheless, with a cosmopolitan movement Hemingway seems to have had a considerable number of opportunities to relate to the representations of East Asia. As Hemingway mocks the narrow world of a series of Faulkner’s works with the words “I feel cramped in a [Yoknapatawpha] county” (*SL* 770), the commitment of both Faulkner and his works to the outer world is actually limited.¹

Although there has been no previous research on Hemingway in terms of East Asia, there are a few studies on Hemingway associated with Japan or China individually. For example, Kinya Tsuruta compares Hemingway and Yasunari Kawabata in his essay “The Twilight Years, East and West: Hemingway’s *The Old Man and the Sea* and Kawabata’s *The Sound of the Mountain*” (1986). Tsuruta focuses on the concept of “oldness” in the two writers, because they have similar

backgrounds, such as their fathers being doctors and both committing suicide. However, this seems to be a strained interpretation, because the essay has little to say about the relationship between the two writers in biographical terms. Likewise, the Japanese painters Hemingway met in Paris in his early 1920s have recently begun to draw some attention,² but the focus has not yet developed new ways to interpret his literary works.

In previous research on Hemingway in China, there have been three notable achievements: *Ernest Hemingway in China* (1990) by Renjing Yang, “Hemingway’s Acceptance in China: A Historical Viewpoint” (2013) by Jun Lu, and *Hemingway on the China Front* (2005) by Peter Moreira. Yang’s research on the Chinese side is biographically important, but it consists of limited material drawn only from mainland China after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1977) and not from Taiwan, to which the Kuomintang government moved. Lu’s essay is informative, but it only focuses on Hemingway’s acceptance in China. Moreira’s book provides details on Hemingway in China in the US context, but lacks information about the Kuomintang as well. Above all, none of the three contain analyses of Hemingway’s literary works.

Chronological Connections between Hemingway and East Asia: Japanese and Chinese Wars and Movements

To make clear the historical context on which this dissertation was based, I will explain the connections of Hemingway to Japan and China chronologically in terms of wars and emigration.

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan started the process of developing as a modern state under the slogan “Datsu-A Nyu-O” (Leave Asia, Enter Europe). As a result, Japan, following the western powers, began to colonize foreign lands and declared war against Qing dynasty China in 1894 (the first Sino-Japanese War). This happened two years before Grace Hall was married to Dr. Clarence Hemingway in Oak Park, Illinois in 1896. Ernest Hemingway was born to this American couple in 1899.

In that year, the United States started the conflict with Filipino revolutionaries (Philippine-

American War) and notified Japan and other European powers of its claim to an equal right to access the Chinese market (Open Door Policy). This US imperialistic policy in Asia might have been reflected in the surroundings of Hemingway in childhood. Willoughby (whose nickname was Will) was his father's brother and he was a Protestant medical missionary in Shensi Province, China. Uncle Will and his daughters stayed with the Hemingways in their Oriental costumes and with the ability to speak Chinese, which delighted the young Hemingway (L. Hemingway 25).³

In 1904, two years after the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed, Japan began to fight with the Russian Empire over imperial ambitions in Manchuria and Korea. Hemingway, a five and a half year old boy, liked to collect "cartoons of the Russo-Japanese War" (Baker, *Life Story* 6, Brennen 66). From then on, he seems to have been interested in the Russo-Japanese War. This is evidenced by the fact that Hemingway kept a copy of *A Staff Officer's Scrap-Book: During the Russo-Japanese War (1905-1907)* until late in his life (Figures 1 and 2).⁴ This two-volume set is a war journal by Ian Hamilton, a British officer who followed the Japanese army during the war and recorded how the Japanese defeated Russians.

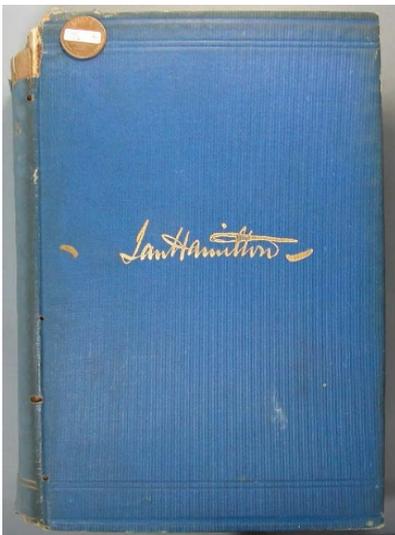


Fig. 1

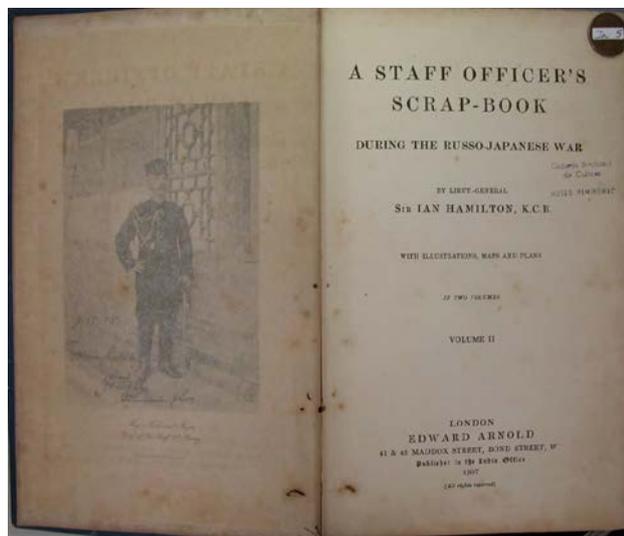


Fig. 2

In 1913, when the California Alien Land Law prohibited immigrants who were ineligible for citizenship from owning agricultural land (primarily Japanese), Grace Hall took the then 13-year old Hemingway and his sisters to Chicago, where they "performed in a Japanese pageant play at

the Chicago Coliseum” (Baker, *Life Story* 16).⁵

In 1914, World War I began and Japan entered into it for the public reason of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the real reason of taking “advantage of this war to gain control of China” (Tuchman 60). In 1918, Hemingway served in World War I as an ambulance driver in Italy; he was reportedly the first American wounded in Italy (Kale 4). Hemingway wrote *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) based on this experience. (Details of the influence of the Alliances and secret agreements of World War I on *A Farewell to Arms* will be discussed in Chapter 1.)

After World War I, Japan joined the big four powers at the Versailles Peace Conference and gained a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations in 1919. In the United States, on the other hand, the control of immigration was becoming harsher to the Japanese. While the United States was dealing with a fear of “Yellow Peril,” Hemingway’s mother spent time at her brother’s law firm in California, where she “wrote that she was disappointed in the unjust legislation being passed by the State of California against the Japanese” (Kert 79).⁶ Probably affected by his mother’s concern about the Japanese-Americans, Hemingway made a plan for the fall to “ship out of San Francisco bound for Japan, China, and India” in 1920, only two years after coming back from Italy, but this was not realized (Baker, *Life Story* 70).

Soon after World War I, some Japanese traveled to Paris for artistic purposes. For example, artists such as Tsuguharu Foujita and Yasushi Tanaka stayed in Paris as bohemian artists and some were even mentioned as part of the Écolé de Paris. Hemingway and Hadley, his first wife, embarked for Paris in December of 1921, after their marriage in Horton Bay, Michigan. In February of 1922, they met Japanese painters, including Tamijuro Kume, via Ezra Pound (Baker, *Life Story* 115). Hemingway wrote about his Parisian encounter with them in *A Moveable Feast* (1964) and *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition* (2009); additionally, he incorporated this interracial experience into the plot of *The Garden of Eden* (1986) and the story of *The Garden of Eden* manuscripts. (Details of the influence of the Japanese artists in *The Garden of Eden* manuscripts will be discussed in Chapter 5.)

During a four month stay in Toronto for the birth of his first child (September 1923 to January 1924), Hemingway wrote an article entitled “Japanese Earthquake” for *The Toronto Daily Star*. In the 25 September 1923 article, he interviewed a Japanese mother and her daughter who experienced the Great Kanto earthquake on September 1st and described the daughter in a Japanese kimono:

She went upstairs, quick and lithe, wearing a Japanese kimono. It ought to have some other name. Kimono has a messy, early morning sound. There was nothing kimonoey about this kimono. The colors were vivid and the stuff had body to it [thickness], and it [the skirt length] was cut [shorter]. It looked almost as though it might be worn with two swords in the belt. (BL 84)

His encounter with these Japanese immigrants modifies Hemingway’s stereotypical image of a kimono, represented by his use of the modifier “kimonoey.” Probably Hemingway in his 20s had a stereotypical image that a woman’s kimono should be light in color and flimsy, which is often symbolized in traditional Japanese prostitutes [geisha girls] and a man’s kimono should be thick and have a shorter skirt, which is often seen in the image of a samurai.

Beginning in 1929, the Great Depression impacted East Asia as well as other regions. For example, during the Great Depression, it is suggested that Chinese people would often travel from China across the Pacific Ocean via Cuba and through Key West before moving into the Chinatowns of the mainland United States as illegal immigrants (Kwong, *New Chinatown* 14). *To Have and Have Not* (1937), which Hemingway wrote while living in Key West in the 1930s, is set in Key West and Cuba, but contains the story of Chinese immigration to the United States during the Great Depression. (Details of Asian representations in *To Have and Have Not* will be discussed in Chapter 2.)

Japan was also affected by the impact of the Great Depression. Japanese exports decreased by 43% from 1929 to 1931 (Shimbo 252). In the global spread of bloc economies, Japan chose to form

the “yen” economic bloc with Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria, which led to the Mukden Incident in 1931 (Shimbo 258). These were the beginnings of an isolation from the international community: the withdrawal from the Council of the League of Nations (1935), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), and the Pearl Harbor Attack. In 1933, when Yosuke Matsuoka, the Japanese plenipotentiary, dropped by New York on the way back from Geneva after announcing Japan’s withdrawal from the Council of the League of Nations, a Japanese American named Jack Shirai joined an anti-imperialism demonstration (Ishigaki 24-25). Ayako Ishigaki suggested that Hemingway possibly met Shirai in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), because in the same period of time, Hemingway and Shirai, who joined the war as an international military volunteer, were staying in the Guadarrama mountains, in which *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) is set (236).

In 1937, the Second Sino-Japanese War began. During the war, Japan had considered not depriving Western countries of their vested interests in China. When the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany, and Italy was signed, however, the poor state of relations between Japan and the great powers, especially the United States, became decisive. In that period, Hemingway visited China with Martha Gellhorn, his third wife, and stayed there for about three months to cover the Asian conflict from February to May of 1941. The Chinese Press, such as Da Gong Daily (“香港大公報”), Chongqing Central Daily (“重慶中央日報”), and Xinhua Daily (“重慶新華日報”) reported his activities in China (Lu 69-70).

Hemingway wrote a series of articles on China for *PM*, a tabloid newspaper in New York in June 1941. In the 17 June 1941 article, for example, he wrote about the excellence of the Japanese fighter aircraft (332), which probably was a "Type zero carrier fighter" designed by Jiro Horikoshi. Hemingway’s interest in Japanese fighter aircraft is evidenced by the fact that Hemingway possessed *Zero: The Inside Story of Japan’s Air War in the Pacific* (1956) by Jiro Horikoshi (Figure 3). According to Ralph Ingersoll, the publisher of *PM*, the main purpose of Hemingway visiting China was to find out “what pattern of events might lead us (the United States) into war with Japan” (Ingersoll 303). Surprisingly, as Shoichi Saeki points out, history shows that Hemingway almost

predicted what would lead both countries into war (Saeki 54-61). His observation that “The U.S.A. and Great Britain ... have a great strategical advantage over Japan. They can force her to move [south] toward oil whenever they want” (*BL* 322) was followed by policy positions those countries actually took toward Japan.

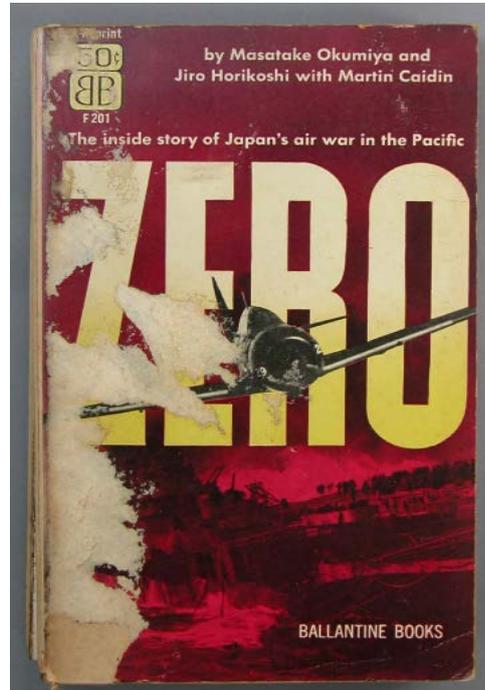


Fig. 3

During his stay in China, Hemingway met Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Chiang of the Kuomintang, and Chou En-Lai of the Communist Party. In particular, the Kuomintang regarded him and other foreign visitors to China as “international friends” and expected them to cooperate in spreading propaganda. (Details of Hemingway as an “international friend” will be discussed in Chapter 3.)

Hemingway exposes a part of his experience in China as part of the background of Thomas Hudson in *Islands in the Stream* (1970). Hudson is asked by Lil, his favorite prostitute, to tell “About the happiest time you [Hudson] remember” (*IIS* 278) and tells of his experience of holding three Chinese prostitutes in his arms in Hong Kong (*IIS* 286). Though biographical documents cannot say if this story is based on Hemingway’s real experience, it should be noted that Hudson associates one of his happiest memories with an exotic sexual encounter with Chinese girls, because

sexuality and race is one of the biggest issues in Hemingway studies.

While involved in the Asian war between Japan and China, Hemingway seems to have gathered considerable information about Asia. This is evidenced by more than a hundred books on Asia, Japan, and China in the Ernest Hemingway Museum in Cuba. For example, *Our Future in Asia* (1940) has a lot of marginal notes by Hemingway (Figure 4)⁷. In the left margin he writes “If

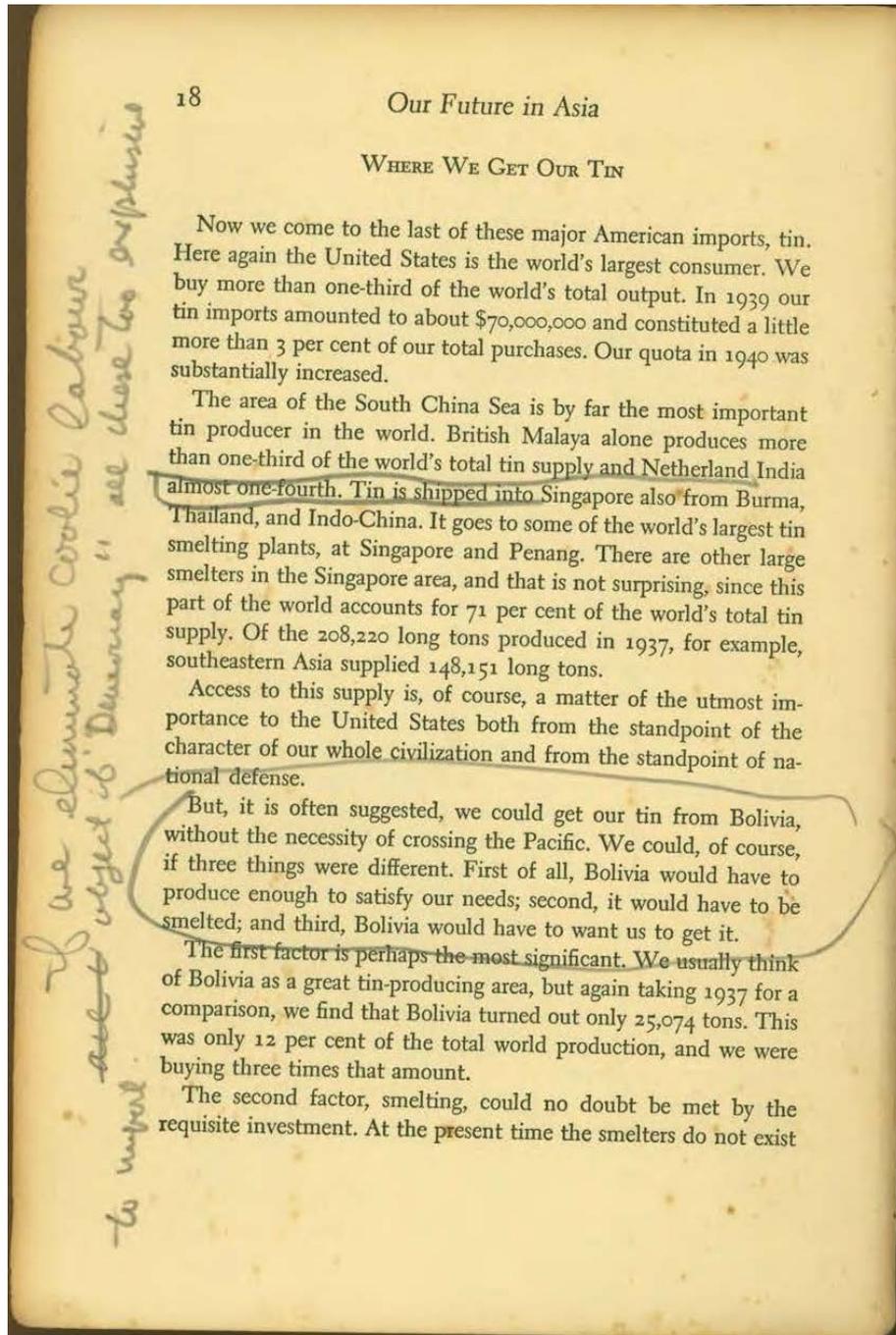


Fig. 4

we eliminate coolie labour/object of 'Democracy' all these too expensive/to import." Considering the first sentence of this page: "Now we come to the last of these major American imports, tin," his annotation could be understood as, "If we eliminate coolie labour in Asia with the object of 'Democracy,' all these major American imports would be too expensive to import." Hemingway analyzes a possible influence on the US economy by the movement of Democracy and the decreasing availability of cheap labor in Asian countries in the 1930s. Perhaps he considered that democracy in Asia and US economic prosperity might be incompatible.

In another case, Hemingway left annotations about the US embargo actions for Japan (Figure 5). He writes "Necessity of Embargo" with a blue pencil. It is apparently his reaction to the section

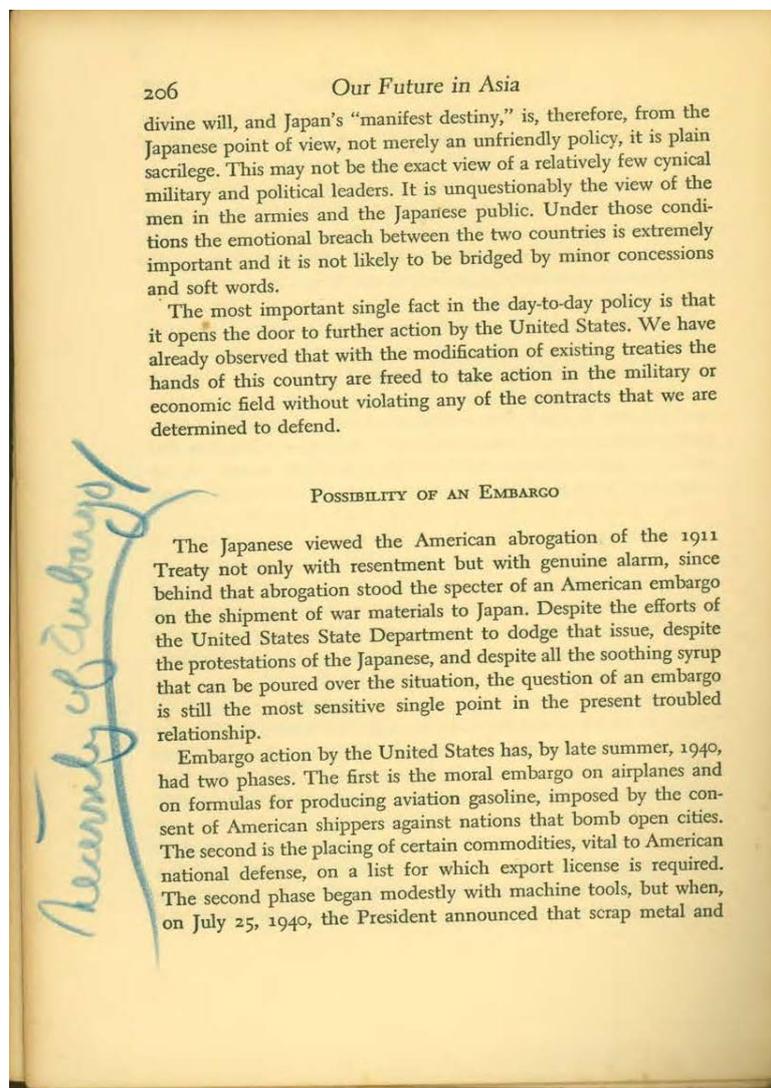


Fig. 5

entitled “Possibility of Embargo.” The section begins with “American abrogation of the 1911 Treaty,” which was actually carried out in 1940, and explains the possibility of an American embargo on Japan. Thus, Hemingway may have thought that the United States should undertake embargo actions against Japan around 1940. A year later, as Hemingway expected, the United States completed what is called the ABCD line, which was a series of embargoes against Japan by America, Britain, China, and the Netherlands.

Just seven months after Hemingway’s return from China, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on 8 December 1941 (JST). Just three months after, in March 1942, Hemingway accepted a request from Crown Publishers to edit *Men at War: The Best War Stories of All Time* (1942) and in its introduction he writes below:

Boy, how it was going to be once we got a smack at those little monkeys and all those paper houses started to burn when the incendiaries dropped! Let’s have it now with those little monkeys and get it over with so we can get on with something serious. It’s going to come, isn’t it? Let’s take those little monkeys now and get it over with...
(MAW xxi)

Hemingway shows hostile and contemptuous attitude toward Japan and Japanese. In 1955, however, he revised the introduction for *Men at War* and several harsh expressions toward Japan were cut from the original. On this point, Richard K. Sanderson presumes that “the passage might have reminded readers of America’s use of atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the fire-bombing of Tokyo—events which might have seemed to validate the very predictions and attitudes Hemingway was confidently deriding in 1942” (55).

In the introduction, on the other hand, Hemingway writes:

There are no more pushovers to be fought now and if more people had read

“Tsushima” there would not have been such a pushover psychology in our navy before Pearl Harbor. All through the Pacific and the Far East in 1941 I heard about the general incapacity and worthlessness of, “those Little Monkeys.” ... So the little monkeys lied and spoke through their teeth and prepared and prepared and kept on edging south toward where the oil and the rubber was. ... They had to have the oil if they were ever to be a first class power. So they edged down toward it. Finally we told them they could go no further toward the oil. At the moment it was perfectly clear that we would have to fight them. ... But it [this book] can show you something about our enemy so that they will not be taken lightly. “Tsushima” makes interesting reading. There is nothing about monkeys in it at all. (*MAW* xx-xxi)

“Tsushima” is a story of decisive sea fighting during the Russo-Japanese War called the Battle of Tsushima (1905). Hemingway, though retaining contemptuous tone with the use of “little monkeys,” introduces this story to readers to warn against a “pushover psychology” in the United States. Also he extols the Japanese navy led by Admiral Heihachiro Togo in the story:

There are good accounts of sea fighting in this book ... and the wonderful account of the destruction of the Russian fleet by Admiral Togo’s forces. In that account, which is one of the finest that I know of fighting in armored ships before the introduction of the airplane into naval warfare, you see what men could go through, with their spirits unconquered, in a battle which most Americans had completely forgotten. (*MAW* xx)

This demonstrates that Hemingway observed Japan in an attempt to understand Japanese as if following his own words “war took on the aspect of a part of the intercourse of the human race” (*MAW* xxv). And this might have been a good opportunity for Hemingway to understand “bushido”

or the samurai spirit underlying the Japanese mentality during World War II. This is suggested by his frequent demonstrations of suicide with a gun saying “This is the technique of harakiri with a gun” (Fuentes 68) and Leicester’s describing his brother’s way of death: “Like a samurai who felt dishonored by the word or deed of another, Ernest felt his own body had betrayed him” (283).

The Pacific War began with Japan’s offensive, but with its naval defeat at the Battle of Midway in June of 1942, Japan became increasingly inferior in power to the United States just six months after the Pearl Harbor attack. Hemingway uses this situation in an analogy he used in an article for *Look* about his hunting in Kenya, written in 1954:

I then said, “Elephant, you die.” This was a phrase which I have read in correspondents’ reports of what happened with the Japanese in the late pacific hostilities and since I was in no position to cause the death of an elephant it was much the same as the Japanese who being in no position to defend himself probably uttered the statement first. (*BL* 386)

Here Hemingway associates himself with the Japanese in wartime because he used abusive language toward an elephant to refuse to acknowledge his weakened condition as the Japanese did toward hostilities in the Pacific War.

In August 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and Japan surrendered, which was followed by the seven-year occupation of the Allied Forces (or by General Headquarters). Mary Welsh, Hemingway’s fourth wife, describes how it was going with the Hemingways in Cuba during Japan’s decisive period:

We caught six or eight large marlin that summer and on August 8 [1945] Ernest hooked a small giant and brought him to gaff in fifty minutes. ...

As we were taking predinner drinks a few evenings later, Justo, the butler, whizzed

into the sitting room announcing that Japan had capitulated. He had heard it on the servants' radio in the pantry. The next morning Juan, the chauffeur, arrived with a new song. Cuba, the nation of spontaneous songsmiths, celebrated the Japanese surrender with a typical carefree jingle:

Ping, ping, cayó Berlin

Pong, pong, cayó Japan

Cayó I discovered was the past tense (third person, singular) of the irregular verb *caer*, to fall. (194-95, emphasis in original)

It seems ironic that Hemingway was enjoying fishing in a carefree Cuban atmosphere during the hardest time for Japan, because the Japanese surrender interested Hemingway in several ways. When Charles Lanham visited Hemingway in Cuba on 22 September, they talked about the Japanese surrender and the atomic bomb (Baker, *Life Story* 451). In the Forward to *Treasury for the Free World* (1946), Hemingway takes careful note of the fact that people have reached the stage where they use nuclear power to kill others and suggests that people should keep under review what changes this fact would cause in the world (xiv). In *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950), his first novel after the war, Hemingway depicts an old US officer who makes jokes about atomic bombs as if he longed for the types of battles that took place before the introduction of nuclear weapons and ironically acknowledges the beginning of the Cold War era. The protagonist's cynical attitude in the novel seems to explain why Hemingway avoided publishing his works on World War II in his lifetime. (Details of the impact of the atomic bombs on Hemingway's writing will be discussed in Chapter 5.)

After World War II, China (the Republic of China) became a member of the United Nations as a victorious country. Following the Chinese civil war, the Communist Party of China, supported by the Soviet Union, took full control of mainland China and founded the People's Republic of China in 1949. The Republic of China, supported by the United States, relocated its government to

Taiwan in 1949. The Koreans, which had been divided and ruled by the United States and the Soviets since 1945, began a civil war (the Korean War) in 1950. In this Cold War structure in East Asia, Japan played a geopolitically important role for the United States. On the other hand, Hemingway accuses the United States of military intervention in Asia as follows:

People of the mentality of those who were going to Beat Japan in ~~Thirty~~ Sixty Days are now prepared to fight all Asia. Anyone who sees the folly of this is regarded as a potential traitor. A war monger is regarded as a patriot. ... War is the biggest and finest business ever invented for those on the inside. It was brought to its perfection in this last war and it is still the health of the state. (Hemingway's typewritten document dated 8/11/50, amendment in original)

Judging from the date, there is no doubt that Hemingway accuses the United States of military intervention in the Korean War. (Details of the meaning of the Cold War to Hemingway will be discussed in Chapter 4.)

During the Occupation from 1945 to 1952, Japan was reconstructed from a militaristic nation to a democratic nation. As one of its policies, the GHQ routinely seized and burned books about war heroes, ancient samurais, and bushido (the samurai spirit) (Nishio 324) as “a disturbance of the public peace” (Eto 166-67, my translation). Under these circumstances, the Japanese Ministry of Education regarded the film *The Old Man and the Sea* highly and selected it as a Special Film Selection in 1958. The reason for its selection is the universal story of a human struggling with himself as depicted in Santiago.⁸

After Hemingway won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1954, Minoru Izawa, a Japanese scholar of Latin America, visited Hemingway in Cuba. According to Izawa, Hemingway showed him some Japanese translations of his works (Izawa 188). This is proven by my research in the Ernest Hemingway Museum in Cuba. There are still Japanese translations of *Green Hills of Africa*, *For*



Fig. 6

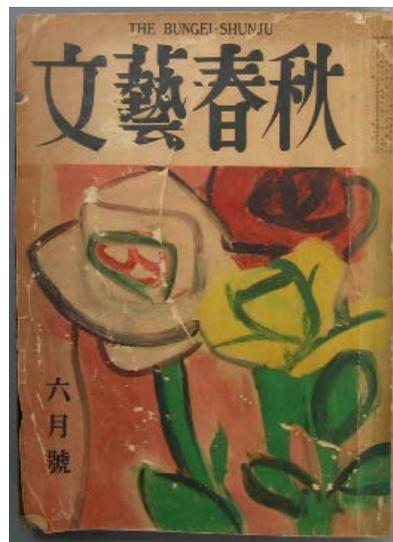


Fig. 7

Whom the Bell Tolls, and *The Old Man and the Sea* (Figure 6) in the museum.⁹ Additionally, the museum has a copy of *The Bungei-Shunju*, a leading Japanese monthly magazine (Figure 7). Considering that it was published in 1954, Izawa probably gave it to Hemingway as a memorable gift. Unfortunately, there is no way to know how exactly these books came to be in the museum in Cuba. However, these Japanese books possessed by Hemingway suggest that a literary relationship was established between Hemingway and Japan soon after the war.

Books related to China can also be seen in the museum. For example, the museum has the Chinese translation of *The Old Man and the Sea* (Figure 8). Though this book was published in the

same year in the United States, its publisher was located in Hong Kong, which was colonized by the United Kingdom at that time. According to Jun Lu, Chinese people had to wait until 1957 for the Chinese version of *The Old Man and the Sea* to be published in China, because of troublesome relations between China and the United States over the Korean War and the Taiwan issue (70). Ten years later, to make matters worse, Mao Zedong spent a decade reducing almost all foreign literary works to ash and people were not able to read Hemingway's works until the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

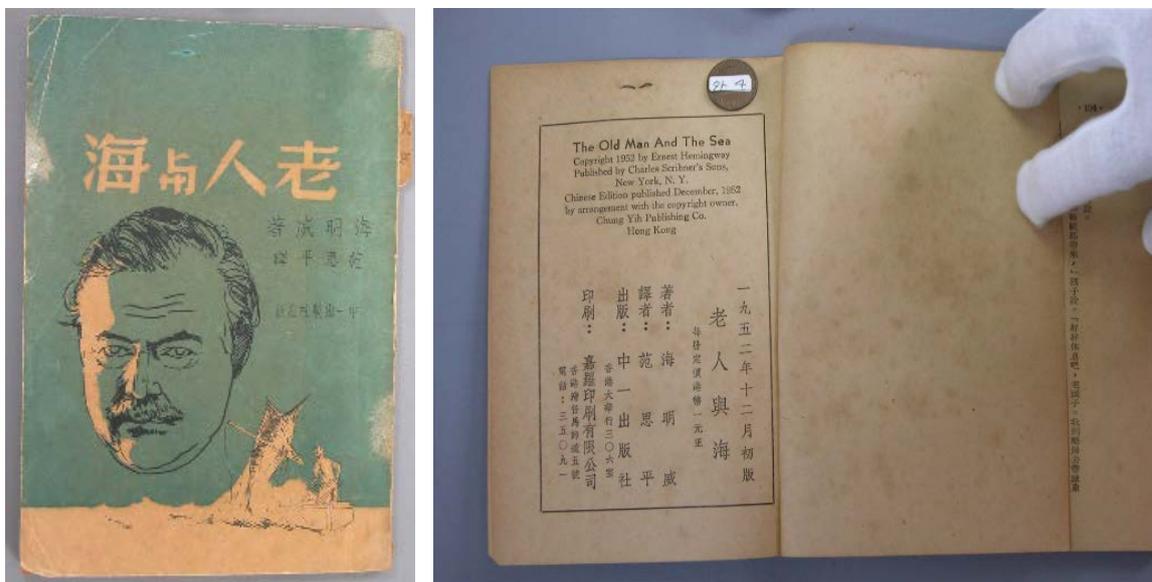


Fig. 8

As for the books on China possessed by Hemingway in Cuba, the Republic of China in Taiwan seems to have had a closer relation with Hemingway. For example, the Hemingway museum has books with inscriptions by Hollington K. Tong, the Vice-Minister of Information of the Kuomintang, whom Hemingway met during his stay in China. Tong's autograph on the cover of *What Is Ahead for China?* (1957) reads "To Ernest Hemingway / With Sincere Regards from / Hollington K. Tong / 9/13/7" and the book entitled *Chiang Kai-Shek* (1957) also has his inscription reading "To Mr. Ernest Hemingway / In appreciation of your / friendship for China & Chinese / Hollington K. Tong / Washington DC, Sept 13, 57" (Figure 9). The date of inscriptions shows Tong sent this book to Hemingway from Washington DC, where he had resided as the Chinese

Ambassador to the United States from 1956 to 1958. This evidences that Tong tried to keep his friendship with Hemingway even after the Kuomintang government moved to Taiwan. (Details of Hemingway's relationship with Tong will be discussed in Chapter 3.)

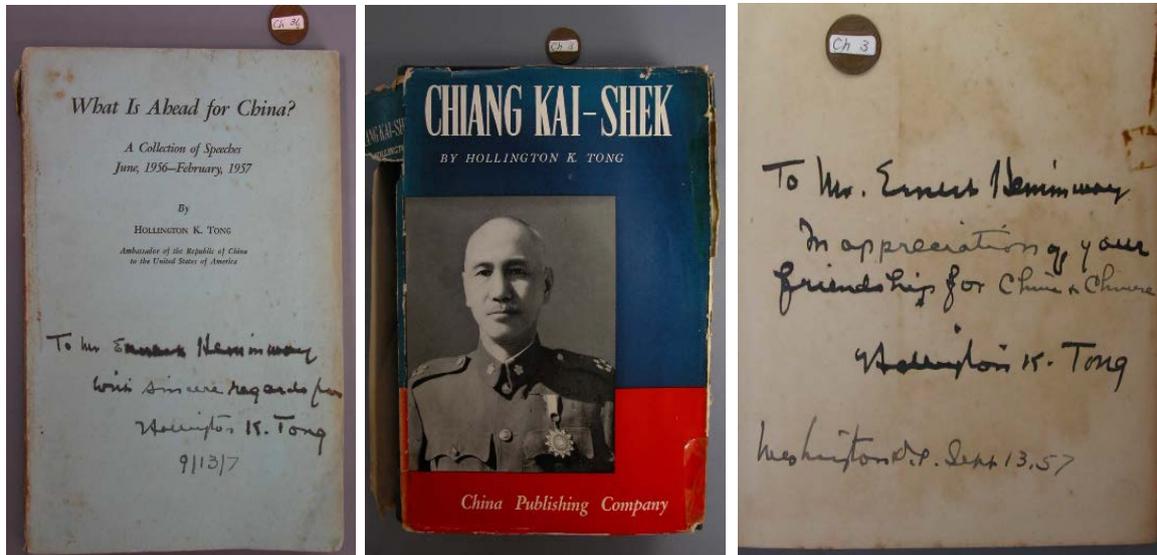


Fig. 9

After World War II, Hemingway made close relationships with several Asian immigrants in Cuba. Soon after Mary Welsh began living with Hemingway in Cuba, Hemingway employed a Chinese cook named Ramón Wong (Villarreal 54). According to René Villarreal, who had long served Hemingway as his majordomo, the fifty-year old Chinese cook had an antagonistic relationship with a former Cuban majordomo named Justo, which annoyed Hemingway (57-62). This experience is probably reflected in Thomas Hudson's employment of a Chinese cook in *Islands in the Stream* (214).

Since his trip to China, Chinese food had been Hemingway's favorite. Hemingway and his family often visited Chinese restaurants in Havana. According to one of Hemingway's sons, Gregory, El Pacífico, was his favorite (53). This Chinese restaurant is cited under its real name in *Islands in the Stream* (216, 250). According to René Villarreal, a Japanese immigrant worked in this Chinese restaurant as a waiter. One day, a Japanese man visited Hemingway's house and left a photo of him posing with Hemingway in the restaurant (Figure 10). This is the only existing photo of Hemingway together with the Japanese. Hemingway's inscription saying "To Yusak Hidano /

Best wishes / Ernest Hemingway” identifies the man in Japanese clothes as the Japanese immigrant named Usaku Hidano (“肥田野 有作” in Japanese) from Niigata Prefecture in Japan (Kurabe, “Imin Meibo Cuba: Niigata” 5). According to the list provided by Kurabe, Hidano was born in 1903, arrived in Cuba on 27 August 1921, and died in Havana in 1968 (Kurabe, “Imin Meibo Cuba: Niigata” 5).



Fig. 10

When Izawa visited Hemingway in Cuba, he also told him, “A Japanese instructed me [Hemingway] how to fish. ... He lives in Batabano and his name is Kitasaki” (Izawa 188, my translation). The Japanese immigrant was a bonito fisherman called Manuel Kitasaki who instructed Cubans how to fish. During World War II, he was sent to an internment camp with other Japanese immigrants. After the Revolution, Kitasaki instructed Cubans again under the Castro regime (Izawa 190). His real name was Masajiro Kitasaki (“北崎政次郎” in Japanese) and he was from Fukuoka Prefecture of Japan. He had moved to Mexico from Japan in 1915, later moved to Cuba, and died in 1976 (Kurabe, “Imin Meibo Cuba: Fukuoka” 1). According to Kurabe, Kitasaki

was known as a hidden model of Santiago in *The Old Man and the Sea* among the Japanese immigrants in Cuba (Kurabe, “Cuba Imin Zansho”).

Kurabe writes:

Not so many Japanese wanted to stay in Cuba as a permanent resident. Even those who eventually had to stay in Cuba had intended to leave there after working for a few years. Things just did not allow them to do so. ... In case of Cuba, there were several common reasons for them to stay against their will. The biggest one, however, was internment during the Pacific War. (*Toge no Bunka-si* 11, my translation).

Thus, the issues of war and immigration are closely related to Hemingway’s encounters with the Japanese in Cuba.

On 5 May 1961, Fidel Castro declared that the Cuban Revolution was a socialist revolution and, two months later, Hemingway committed suicide in Ketchum, Idaho. A year later, the Cuban Missile Crisis occurred. From then until 1989, countries in East Asia would continue to be involved in the Cold War structure: Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan (the Republic of China) as the Western Bloc and China (the People’s Republic of China) and North Korea as the Eastern Bloc.

The Construction of This Dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine Hemingway’s connections with East Asia, which have been neglected in the field of Hemingway studies. Specifically, my interest is how Japan and China, in international and intercultural terms, influenced Hemingway’s writing career literarily and journalistically. Each chapter of this dissertation particularly focuses on wars and economic and artistic immigrants from Japan and China that were related to Hemingway’s life and writings. The following is the summaries of the chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter 1, “Frederic Henry’s Dilemma with the Allies: Alliances and the US-Japan

Imperialistic Conflict in *A Farewell to Arms*,” discusses Frederic Henry’s criticism of Japan in *A Farewell to Arms* (1929). By focusing on alliances and secret agreements underlying World War I, this chapter attempts to clarify how Frederic Henry’s war dilemma relates to Japan in the text. The vulnerability of the Allies and a system of alliances and secret agreements regarding World War I are suggested in *A Farewell to Arms*, the narrator-Fredric’s reminiscent narrative. This perspective connects Frederic’s ignorance of these aspects of World War I, his indifference to war responsibility in the text, and US-Japan conflict behind his hostile attitude toward Japan. This novel is a place where the narrator-Fredric, cynically recollecting ignorant himself, confesses the dilemma he faced between an individual nationalism and the unreliable allied solidarity.

Chapter 2, “Morgan’s Identity Crisis: Orientalism and Slumming during the Great Depression in *To Have and Have Not*,” places *To Have and Have Not* (1938) in relation to the flow of illegal Chinese immigrants through Cuba and Key West to U.S. “Chinatowns” during the Great Depression, which was one of the biggest economic problems in modern times. It argues that Morgan’s interaction with the “Anglophile” Chinese human trafficker, Sing, and his outrage against rich American tourists who were “slumming” in Key West reveal that his identity crisis is the result of his liminal position within a complex racial hierarchy including the Asian.

Chapter 3, “Hemingway as a Spy and an ‘International Friend’: The Influence of His China Experience on His Writings,” considers the influence of Hemingway’s China experience. Hemingway visited China during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) and was referred to as an “international friend” in a classified document by China’s Kuomintang. I examine the document about propaganda policy of the Kuomintang and reveal what they expected of “international friends.” In this Chinese context, I reexamine Hemingway’s references to China and demonstrate that his China experience enabled Hemingway to reach his idea of a true writer.

Chapter 4, “Hemingway’s Requiem for Battle Fields: Atomic Jokes after Hiroshima/Nagasaki in *Across the River and Into the Trees*,” examines the reference to the atomic bomb in *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950) and Hemingway’s biographical materials to find out what impact

Hiroshima/Nagasaki, the introduction of nuclear weapons, had on Hemingway as a “battle-field writer.” Richard Cantwell makes jokes about atomic bombs just as Hemingway does. Associating these “atomic jokes” with the impact of the atomic age on this battlefield writer and referring to Freudian theories on the difference between jokes and humor, I will consider why Hemingway did not publish the story of battle fields of World War II but published the Cold War [postwar] novel.

Chapter 5, “Re-emergence of the Encounter with a Long-haired Painter: The Hidden Influence of the Japanese Artists in *The Garden of Eden* Manuscripts,” discusses Hemingway’s encounter with Japanese painters in his Paris years. Focusing on the fact that this encounter impacted his artistic identification in *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition* (2009), I associate this intercultural experience with the plot of David’s artistic recovery in *The Garden of Eden* Manuscripts, which were edited into *The Garden of Eden* (1986). Rereading *The Garden of Eden* Manuscripts in this context makes clear the real meaning of David’s encounter with Nick in Hemingway’s literary experiment of the 1950s.

The issues of war and economic and artistic immigrations in Japan and China frequently overlap with Hemingway’s cosmopolitan movement. The various interactions must have happened in these intersections of Hemingway with East Asia. This dissertation will clarify how Hemingway’s writings were shaped by influences and inspiration from Japan and China. This will disclose new aspects of Hemingway and aid better understanding of Hemingway and his works.

Chapter 1

Frederic Henry's Dilemma with the Allies: Alliances and the US-Japan Imperialistic Conflict in *A Farewell to Arms*

This Chapter will discuss Frederic Henry's criticism of Japan in *A Farewell to Arms* (1929). By focusing on alliances and secret agreements underlying World War I, I will clarify how Frederic Henry's war dilemma relates to Japan in the text.

World War I was the first war encompassing many countries of the world and its damage was extraordinary. The full-scale introduction of new offensive weapons, such as gas warfare and the tank, was partly responsible for the severe war-damage, but chronic warfare widened the conflict between two camps and added to the damage. As Catherine Barkley tells Frederic Henry in the novel, people "looked forward very childishly to the war ending at Christmas" (*FTA* 141) at the beginning of the war in August of 1914, but it eventually lasted for five years. Technically, the conflict was prolonged because it was a total war based on trench warfare, but systematically it was extended by alliances and secret tenants or agreements between nations. The system of alliances changed a single and small conflict between Austria-Hungary and the Republic of Serbia, caused by the "Assassination at Sarajevo" on 28 June 1914, into the global war that divided Europe into two camps: the Allies (more precisely "Allied and associated Powers") and the Central Powers. Soon after the war, Britain and France tried to bring Wilhelm II, the German Emperor (or "Kaiser), to trial, but the Dutch refused to surrender him. Meanwhile, "many people in the 1920s blamed the international system, the existence of rival alliances and the evil influence of the 'old diplomacy', and this indeed set the scene within which the crisis [of World War I] developed" (Joll 7). It was in that context, while the evidence of a secret diplomacy between the counties was being made public one after another from different nations, that *A Farewell to Arms* was written and published.

A Farewell to Arms contains tacit references to the issue of these unregulated alliances and vulnerability of the Allies. Frederic, as a narrator of this story (hereafter, the narrator-Frederic),

seems to understand these aspects of World War I and to narrate the story of his own ignorance ironically. From this perspective, Fredric's hostile view toward Japan and distrustfulness toward the Anglo-Japanese Alliance can be considered as an important part of Frederic's dilemma in World War I. The young American's criticism of Japan, one of the Allies, contradicts a faith in the ties of solidarity among the Allies, which seems the only reason for Frederic to enlist in Italy.

A Farewell to Arms has been discussed with a focus on war. In an early stage, Philip Young applied a "trauma theory,"¹⁰ but since then, researchers have been in favor of textual analyses that focus especially on Fredric's views of war, life, and love. For example, Earl Rovit related the hero's attitude toward war and life (love) and pointed out a "double masquerade" and "not-caringness" (Rovit 35), which is followed by Robert W. Lewis's "game motif" (Lewis 123). More recently, Alex Vernon argues that Frederic's ambiguous motive for joining the Italian army reflects the attitude of the United States toward World War I and that Hemingway might have considered American readers' favoring the Monroe Doctrine in the 1930s (392). This argument is similar to Michel Reynolds's opinion that "Hemingway modified his experience to fit what the age demanded" (Reynolds M., *Young H.* 21). However, these interpretations all neglect Hemingway's role as a war novelist and little attention has been paid to the peculiarity of the structure of World War I itself or to how this peculiarity relates to the war novel.

This chapter will begin by closely examining the suggestions about the vulnerability of the Allies and a system of alliances and secret agreements regarding World War I in *A Farewell to Arms*, the narrator-Fredric's reminiscent narrative. And this examination will be followed by clarification of Frederic's ignorance of these aspects of World War I and his indifference to war responsibility. Finally, I will focus on Frederic's criticism of Japan in the text and elucidate a hostile relationship between Japan and the United States hidden in the text. If this novel is a place where the narrator-Fredric confesses cynicism toward the ignorant Fredric, Hemingway's war absurdity must be a dilemma hidden in World War I between individual nationalism and allied solidarity in modern times. To depict this dilemma, Japan in the text is quite essential.

Vulnerability of the Allies

In *A Farewell to Arms* there are phrases that could be interpreted to refer to the vulnerability of the Allies in terms of a coalition with other nations. For example, at the beginning of Chapter 34 of the novel, the narrator-Frederic recalls how he felt when he changed out of military uniform in Milan, having fled for his life from a battle field:

In civilian clothes I felt a masquerader. I had been in uniform a long time and I missed the feeling of being held by your clothes. ... I had the paper but I did not read it because I did not want to read about the war. I was going to forget the war. I had made a *separate peace*. (*FTA* 243, my emphasis)

Along with his long-forgotten feeling of being in “civvies,” the narrator-Frederic refers to his strong sense of rejection of war as a “separate peace.” The same example can be seen in the sketch for Chapter 6 of *In Our Time*, where a wounded soldier named Nick says, “You and me we’ve made a separate peace” (*CSS* 105) to his wounded fellow soldier, Rinaldi (which is also the name of a military doctor Frederic makes friends with in *A Farewell to Arms*), to refer to their poor condition as soldiers. This well-known and controversial phrase almost always has been interpreted as an “escape from war” or the “revival of individualism” by Hemingway scholars such as Edgar Johnson, who says “the only separate peace is in death” (113) in his essay “Farewell the Separate Peace,” and Robert W. Lewis, who refers to it as a “solitary freedom” (28).

Leaving aside these connotations, however, we need to consider first how the narrator came up with the phrase “separate peace” to describe his war escape. In fact, the issues of the possible separate peace of Russia¹¹ and even of the United States with the Central Powers were consecutively reported in the *New York Times* from around the US’s entry into World War I in April 1917 (Figure 11)¹². Eventually, Russia, one of the Allied Powers, made a separate peace with the

Central Powers in March 1918 through the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, though the United States continued the war to the end in November 1918. Thus, the narrator-Frederic seems to associate his own personal rejection of war with Russia's selfish withdrawal from allied nations during World War I when he uses the phrase "separate peace."



Fig. 11

A similar implication can be seen in Frederic's dialogue with nurses in the early stage of *Farewell to Arms*. Frederic is repeatedly asked why he enlisted in the Italian army by Catherine and the head nurse in the British hospital:

"What an odd thing—to be in the Italian army." [Catherine said.]

"It's not really the army. It's only the ambulance." [Frederic said.]

"It's very odd though. Why did you do it?"

"I don't know," I said. "There isn't always an explanation for everything." (*FTA*

18)

"You're the American in the Italian army?" she [the head nurse] asked.

"Yes' ma'am." [Frederic said.]

"How did you happen to do that? Why didn't you join up with us?"

"I don't know," I said. ...

".... Why didn't you join up with us?"

"I was in Italy," I said. (*FTA* 22)

With the repetition of the same question in different scenes, the text emphasizes that it is not reasonable for Americans to enlist in the Italian army.

According to James Joll, the existence of a system of alliances not only “made [the first world] war inevitable” (3), but also made it difficult to predict where Italy would be heading (66, 92), because Italy had been closely allied with Germany and Austria-Hungary since the Triple Alliance in 1882. Eventually, in April, 1915, Italy suddenly declared war against Austria because of the territorial issue of “Italian irredentism” through the “Secret Treaties between France, England, and Italy”¹³ (Repington, vol.2 492)¹⁴.

Italy’s entry into war on the side of the Allies happened because of interest at hand, not because of a friendship established between nations over time, such as the United Kingdom–United States relations. For the reason of this diplomatic and political alienation of the United States from Italy, the two British nurses probably cannot help but be skeptical of Frederic’s enlistment in the Italian army.

Similarly, the head nurse, as previously quoted, says “Why didn’t you join up with us?” to suggest that Frederic should have enlisted in the British army and makes him feel that she “seem[s] to think it [is] somewhat disgraceful that I [am] with the Italians” (*FTA* 86). This is because she takes it for granted that the United States has a closer historical and political relationship with Britain than with Italy. Thus, this dialogue also implies the feud among the Allied countries. This perspective should be noted as a new feature of Hemingway’s war literature, which cannot be seen in *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929), a contemporary war novel about World War I by Erich Maria Remarque.¹⁵

Frederic’s Ignorance and Indifference to World War I

While putting this emphasis on unnaturalness and irrationality toward an American’s enlistment in the Italian army, however, Hemingway does not prepare Frederic for a satisfactory

excuse in either dialogue quoted above. Despite the expectation of Catherine and the head nurse, Frederic does not show such emotional attachment to Italy that he becomes oblivious to the Anglo-American friendship. Also, as shown in his comment, “I wanted to go to Austria without war” (*FTA* 37), no reason can be seen why Frederic has to fight against Austria, such as hatred toward countries hostile to Italy. In fact, Frederic regrets enlisting in the Italian army at the early stage of the novel, saying “I wish that I was with the British. It would have been much simpler” (*FTA* 37). Frederic’s attitude toward war is apparently different from that of Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), who joined the Popular Front forces to fight against Fascism during the Spanish Civil War.

In the case of the protagonist in *A Farewell to Arms*, if we trust his replies to the nurses and take into consideration that he has been with the Italian army two years before the US entry into the war, his reason to enlist in the army of a foreign country is that the young American happened to live in a country which had incidentally entered into the war on the side of the Allies, which his own country had favored from the beginning of the war. Such thin evidence to justify the enlistment in Italy paradoxically expresses the illusion of trustful ties to the allied solidarity that young Americans harbored. Related to this, Lewis says “war [is] fought as a game” (33) in the depiction of the war front. Also, Carlos Baker makes a suggestive comment on the feelings of young Hemingway who was ready to enlist during World War I: “It still seemed like the greatest game in the world” (38). This game-like attitude of both Hemingway and Frederic toward the war seems to be based on an assumption that the ties of the allied solidarity assures an ideal united front with foreign nations.

Thus, in the two scenes of Frederic’s dialogues with the British nurse quoted above, Hemingway depicts a young American so ignorant of war that he ridiculously puts blind faith in the ties of the allied solidarity, which were only loosely built upon alliances and secret agreements among nations playing a global war game.

Frederic’s indifference to war responsibility is questioned by an Italian priest. In the summer of 1917, soon after the US entry into the war as an ally to Italy, Frederic is wounded by an Austrian

attack in the battlefield and sent to the field hospital.¹⁶ The Italian priest visits him and talks about the war responsibilities of national leaders or politicians who make war through alliances and secret agreements, such as Passini:

“You rank as an officer.” [Frederic said.]

“I am not really. *You are not even an Italian. You are a foreigner.* But you are nearer the officers than you are to the men.” [The priest said.]

“What is the difference?”

“I cannot say it easily. There are people who would make war. In this country there are many like that. There are other people who would not make war.”

“But the first ones make them do it.”

“Yes.”

“And I help them.”

“*You are a foreigner. You are a patriot.*” (FTA 70-71, my emphases)

The Italian priest here suggests a proportional relationship between war responsibility and a military rank, and then states that Frederic is a foreigner. Frederic, as an officer of the Italian army, tries to see if the priest is implying that he is responsible for the war like the Italian national leaders. The Italian priest, however, denies Frederic’s responsibility for the war as an Italian, but Frederic does not understand what the priest meant. The priest is considered to make Frederic recognize his ignorance and indifference to the responsibility and reason for getting involved in war by implying “You are a foreigner [or an American, not an Italian]. You are [an American] patriot” and reminding Frederic of his nationality.

The Italian priest, in other words, tries to bring home to the young American, who had enlisted in a foreign army for no special reason,¹⁷ other than the ties of the allied solidarity, that anybody, even if he enlists in a foreign army, gets involved in war in the political context of his own country.¹⁸

Hawaii and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

Frederic, unlike the narrator, is unaware of a skeptical view of him as an American enlisting in the Italian army without a special reason and his blind faith in the allied solidarity which prompted him to enlist in Italy. The main cause of this ignorance is an ignorance of his own nationalism. To stimulate potential nationalism and make the young American dispel the illusion of the trustful ties of the allied solidarity, the Italian priest persistently denies Frederic's war responsibility as an officer of the Italian army. As if he was aware of this context, in fact, Hemingway places the scene where Frederic shows his unconscious nationalism:

They [the Italians] asked me if we [the United States] would declare war on Turkey. ... We had drunk several glasses of brandy and I [Frederic] said yes by God on Bulgaria too and on Japan. But, they said, Japan is an ally of England. You can't trust the bloody English. The Japanese want Hawaii, I said. Where is Hawaii? It is in the Pacific Ocean. (*FTA* 75-76)

The night before leaving the field hospital, fellow Italian soldiers visit Frederic and they drink and talk about the entry of the United States into World War I. Frederic says he thinks that the United States will declare war not only on Turkey and Bulgaria—the countries hostile to the Allies—but also on Japan, even though it has been on the side of the Allies. Confused by Frederic's comment regarding Japan, one Italian refers to the “Anglo-Japanese Alliance” that allows Japan to enter into World War I, to imply Japan is not an enemy country, but one of the Allied Powers with which the United States is fighting together as well as to Italy. Frederic, nonetheless, shows distrustfulness even toward England, another ally, and then accuses Japan of desire for Hawaii. The word “Hawaii,” however, does not mean anything to the Italian soldiers, because it is apparently divorced from the European front in which they are now involved. What is the political context of the United States

relationship with Japan behind the word “Hawaii” that the drunken Fredric utters?

As shown in the slogan “Chief Pacific power” used by the 21st US President Chester A. Arthur, the United States was facing an immediate “end of the frontier” (1890) and so began to search for foreign markets and to broaden its definition of national security in the Pacific (Millett 265-66). The strengthening of the American Navy and its acquisition of Hawaii and Samoa were marked as the first step of this national policy. In particular, Hawaii was referred to as a “bridge to Asia” and was desired by Alfred T. Mahan, the globally-known American historian of the Navy who was deeply involved in US policy regarding the Pacific at that time (Millett 275). On 12 August 1898, Hawaii was annexed by the United States, which understood the geopolitical importance of Hawaii immediately after the Spanish-American War (1898). During the process of Hawaiian annexation, a native Hawaiian group visited Japan to negotiate a secret agreement to resist the annexation, after which Japan helped the Kingdom of Hawaii by dispatching battleships.¹⁹ Thus, the issue of Hawaiian hegemony was a deep-rooted cause of the conflict between the United States and Japan.

With the rise of Japan in the early twentieth century, the United States put more emphasis on the importance of the small islands located between the two nations in the Pacific. For example, during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), the US president Theodore Roosevelt discussed the comments of correspondents who had recently returned from the Far East in his 27 December 1904 letter to Cecil Spring-Rice, the British ambassador to Washington:

[T]hey [newspaper correspondents] said that under the stress of victory the Japanese grew exceedingly insolent to the foreigners, and, curiously, particularly to the Americans; a latent feeling that I had not in the least expected becoming evident as to our having thwarted Japan’s hopes not merely in the Philippines but in Hawaii. (Dennett 48)

Theodore Roosevelt is concerned over the possibility that Japan’s offensive attitude toward

Americans might have arisen from the Hawaii issue. As to the president’s reaction, Tyler Dennett argues that “Japan was particularly sensitive about American advances in the Pacific. Some Japanese had wanted not only the Philippines but even Hawaii” (Dennett 108) and he suggests that Hawaii was the point on which Japanese and American interests clashed in the Pacific.

In fact, this conflict between the two nations over Pacific dominance relates to the Zimmermann Telegram, which was a decisive factor for US entry into World War I. On 16 January 1917, Arthur Zimmermann, the German foreign minister, sent a telegram via Washington to von Eckhardt, the German ambassador to Mexico (Figure 12).²⁰ The telegram in code says as follows:

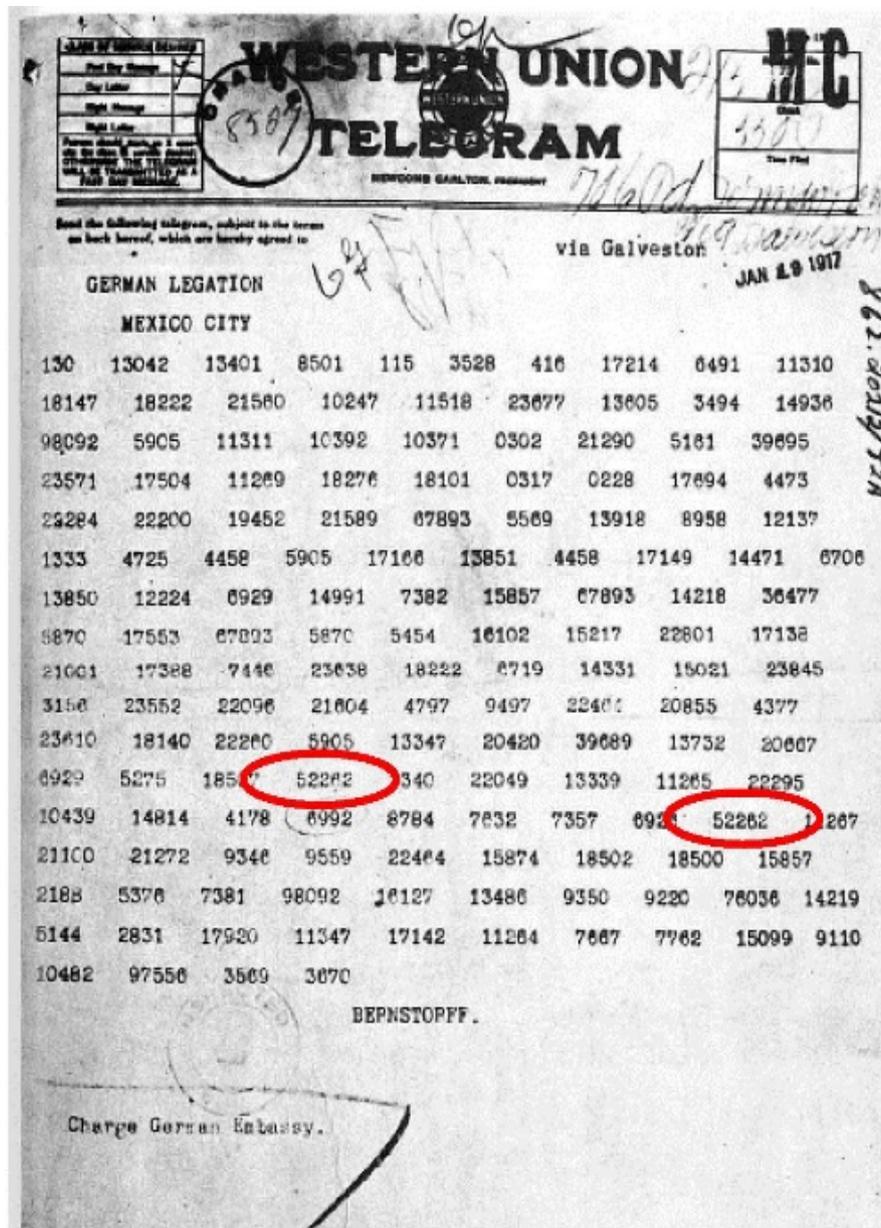


Fig. 12

We intend to begin unrestricted submarine warfare on the first of February. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: Make war together, make peace together, generous financial support, and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you [Eckhardt].

You will inform the president [of Mexico] of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States is certain and add the suggestion that he [the president of Mexico] should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves. (Tuchman 146)

In this advance notice of Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare Zimmermann suggests that Mexico should secretly form an alliance with Germany and should help Germany to make a secret agreement with Japan, in exchange for Germany helping Mexico to regain lost territory from the United States.²¹ Barbara W. Tuchman explains the relationship between Japan and Mexico, as suggested in the telegram:

There may have been a secret treaty; the archives do not say. But certainly Japan was making common cause with the Mexicans, who had not forgiven the loss of Texas. Japan had fresher cause of resentment in the American restrictions on the entry of Japanese labor.²² They began to talk about Mexicans as their racial brothers, descended from Japanese fishermen who had long ago been blown across the Pacific on a raft. (Tuchman 34)

According to Tuchman, both Mexico and Japan had issues of territory and racism with the United States respectively and they even shared a sense of racial brotherhood.²³ The telegram shows that Germany tried to make use of ill feelings against the United States that both Mexico and Japan had in common.

On the other hand, Germany exploited this Mexico-Japan relationship intentionally, to divert US attention from the European front during World War I. Germany was spreading a rumor that Japan's approach to Mexico meant "yellow peril" to the United States:

Meanwhile the German bugle was loudly sounding the Yellow Peril, hoping its shrill note would scare the Americans into keeping their arms at home. Daily in Berlin, all during the winter of 1914, highly placed German visitors called upon United States Ambassador Gerard to whisper the great danger that threatened America from Japan and relay confidential reports that Mexico was full of Japanese colonels and America full of Japanese spies. (Tuchman 58)

For Zimmermann the three weeks of notice were busy ones. Announcement of the U-boat war was not to be made to the neutrals until the evening of January 31 [1917], ... The Western states [of the United States], he declared, "will not wage war against us because of Japan." Zimmermann had been talking up the Yellow Peril to the Americans for so long he had convinced himself. (Tuchman 142)

Germany, including Zimmermann, had continued to portray Japan as a racial virus to Americans until the last moment of making the telegram public and just two months later the United States entered into World War I. Thus, when entering into the war on 6 April 1917 on the Allies' side, the United States had not only political hostility, but also racial suspicion toward Japan.

Additionally, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance made it more difficult for the United States to

diplomatically deal with Japan—a main concern of US policy in the Pacific. For example, Allan R. Millett writes, “Although American policy makers viewed Russia, Great Britain, and Germany as diplomatic problems in Asia, they were most concerned with Japan, especially after the Japanese upset the balance of power by signing a mutual security treaty with Great Britain in 1902 and then defeated Russia in the war of 1904-1905” (Millett 318) and he argues that this alliance had a major impact on US diplomacy with Japan. Even after the end of the alliance in 1923, the close relationship between the Japanese and the British resulted in a joint struggle against the United States over the issue of naval powers’ cruiser forces (Millett 391-92). The United States had to keep in mind “the worst-case possibility of a war against Great Britain and Japan,” which gave Douglas MacArthur reason to direct the Air Corps and bombing squadrons to be stationed in the Philippines and Hawaii (Millett 402).

In this international and historical context of Japan, Britain, and the United States, Frederic’s accusation of Japan, reference to Hawaii, and distrustfulness toward the British in *A Farwell to Arms* are all rooted in the expansionism that the United States began in the Pacific in the late nineteenth century. In the scene of Frederic’s effusion of nationalism, therefore, a young American who has trusted in the ties of the allied solidarity and enlisted in the Italian army demonstrates how fragile and distrustful the ties are by accusing Japan, an ally, in the nationalistic context of the US’s expansionism in the Pacific.

Frederic’s criticism of Japan, combined with the “yellow peril” lying behind the US-Japan relationship, also seems to have a racial problem. Immediately after Frederic reveals his distrust of Japan, an Italian major tries to restore the broken ties of the allied solidarity in a hurry. He says “The Japanese are a wonderful little people fond of dancing and light wines” (*FTA* 76) to try to suggest that the Japanese are such honest people that one can trust their country as an ally. According to Tuchman, Japanese victory in the war with China (1894) made Kaiser Wilhelm begin warning the threat of Japan’s overwhelming Europe as a national policy (25-26). Therefore, it is not strange that average Europeans like this Italian major shared Wilhelm’s warning. The Italian

major perhaps sensed this kind of prejudice in Frederic's criticism of Japan. Thus, the dispute over Japan between Frederic and the Italian major can be read in terms of racism as well as nationalism.

Frederic is, however, unaware of his own nationalism almost all the time. This is a potential character trait that appears only when he is intoxicated. At the early stage of the novel, the narrator-Frederic emphasizes a narrow perspective and an ignorance of himself in the past via comparison with the insightful Italian priest: "He [the priest] had always known what I did not know and what, when I learned it, I was always able to forget. But I did not know that then, although I learned it later" (*FTA* 14). In this sense, if the narrator-Frederic intended to narrate his own hostile attitude toward Japan as an essential part of this story, readers should consider that narrator-Frederic has learned his own ignorance of the war, his own potential nationalism, and the contradiction in his hostile attitude toward Japan as an allied army soldier.

Frederic narrates, "This was a game, like bridge, in which you said things instead of playing cards" (*FTA* 30) and likens his dating Catherine to a game. Bernard Oldsey describes the process of this game of love "as though to test his alliance with Catherine" (Oldsey 55) and suggests that the alliances of World War I had an influence on the narrative of Frederic. In this context, the relationship between Frederic, Catherine and Rinaldi, the Italian field doctor, seems a microcosm of international diplomacy. The American's relationship with the British woman seems a secret agreement to the Italian doctor, who is suspected to be a bisexual with romantic feelings toward both. Rinaldi, with the knowledge of a romantic relationship between them, ironically calls Catherine "Englishwoman" and, in return, Frederic calls him "wop" (*FTA* 66). An exchange of pejorative words for nations suggests the characters in the text advocate their own nations.

In addition to this, various games frequently appear in the text, which Lewis refers to as the "game motif,"²⁴ which possibly reflects the gambler-like tactics of alliances and secret agreements behind World War I.

Frederic loses his Italian subordinates, shot by other Italian soldiers, and he is almost killed by the Italian battle police, despite the fact that Italy was an ally to the United States. The narrator-

Frederic, aware that this absurdity has resulted from a united front based on alliances and secret agreements, describes his escape from the battlefield as a “separate peace”—a phrase related to alliances. Frederic flees with Catherine into Switzerland, which is neutral, and at the hotel, Frederic jokes “Hang out the Allied flags” as a response to Catherine’s statement, “I have to try make this room look like something” (*FTA* 309). This joke toward the end of the novel undeniably has ironic overtones of vulnerability and hollowness regarding the ties of the allied solidarity.

Considering Frederic’s nationalism, suggested in his accusation against Japan, however, we can feel the narrator casting his cynical view on Frederic’s irony toward the Allies. This is because rereading this war novel focusing on alliances and secret agreements makes it clear that the narrator-Frederic recollects his memory as a story about a young, ignorant American who irresponsibly enlists in a foreign country’s military with blind faith in the allied solidarity, who then paradoxically and unconsciously demonstrates his distrustfulness of those ties with nationalistic behavior and, ironically, criticizes them. The narrator-Frederic’s cynicism toward himself at the end of the story alludes to the dilemma of Frederic hidden in World War I between an individual nationalism and the allied solidarity in modern times.

In this sense, Frederic’s criticism of Japan in the text plays an important role in the absurdity of war depicted in *A Farewell to Arms* and broadens the geopolitical base of Hemingway’s war literature.

Chapter 2

Harry Morgan's Identity Crisis: Orientalism and Slumming during the Great Depression in *To Have and Have Not*

In the context of East Asia, this chapter deals with *To Have and Have Not* in terms of Chinese immigration. As previously stated in the introduction, Hemingway maintained some connection with Chinese culture throughout much of his life. Despite biographical details connecting Hemingway with Chinese aspects and vigorous research on the politics of Hemingway's relationship with China, little attention has been paid to representations of Asians in Hemingway's literary texts.

In particular, *To Have and Have Not* is a novel whose portrayal of Chinese characters has been passed over by most literary scholars, even when other ethnic and racial elements are examined. For example, critics have regarded race in the text as “a means of displaying [the white's] authority” (Morrison 80), as “a guiding manifestation across the swiftly transforming landscape of modern America” (Holcomb and Scruggs 20), as revealing “punishers” of whites, (Fantina 143-44) and literary “counterfeits” created by an author with insufficient “moral and racial awareness” (Fruscione 108). Yet, the focus of those studies has generally been limited to black characters, such as Wesley, or to Afro-Cubans.²⁵

In this chapter, I build upon previous research on racial minorities in *To Have and Have Not* in exploring the portrayal of Asians in the novel, but my method departs from the ideological approach that has frequently been used when addressing the topic of race in Hemingway's work. Rather, I offer a reading based on a somewhat broader geopolitical perspective than is directly mentioned in the text—the story of Chinese emigration to the United States during the Great Depression—in order to demonstrate how Harry Morgan's identity crisis is directly related to his liminal position within the prevailing racial hierarchy.²⁶

During the Great Depression, Chinese people would often travel from China across the Pacific

Ocean, via Cuba and through Key West, before moving into the Chinatowns of the mainland United States as illegal immigrants. Along the way, they would meet illegal human traffickers like “Mr. Sing” and would encounter the virulent racism of Americans, who referred to them as “Chinks” and “yellow, rat-eating aliens” (*THHN* 57). Although the United States was experiencing difficult economic times, its Chinatowns were thriving in part based on tourism that provided affluent white pleasure-seekers with exotic spots for so-called “slumming.” These Chinatowns were spawned and developed through the dreams of America that the Chinese, including stowaways such as those in the cabin of Harry Morgan’s boat, brought with them. By exploring Morgan’s interactions with Chinese characters, especially the “Anglophile” Chinese human trafficker, Sing, and his outrage against American tourists who were voyeuristically interested in Asian culture, I illuminate an often-overlooked aspect of Morgan’s identity crisis. In particular I demonstrate that the representations of Asians in the novel serve to highlight Morgan’s precarious place in the American racial hierarchy.

Chinese Crossing the Gulf Stream

In chapter 2 of *To Have and Have Not*, an old deaf friend, Frankie, urgently tells Morgan that smuggling Chinese immigrants from Cuba into the mainland United States is “big business” and “good business,” just after Sing, a Chinese smuggling broker, leaves them. This is, as Frankie says, because there are a “[h]undred thousand Chinamen here [in Cuba]” (*THHN* 36). In fact, the Chinese have long been a part of Cuban life. There has been a Chinatown, even if not so large, in Havana since the 1870s, when Cuba was still governed by Spain, and in 1893 the Chinese General Institution, which promoted trade between Cuba and China (especially Kwangtung or Hong Kong), was founded in Havana (Sonoda 270-74). Moreover, as Richard Campanella points out, Cuba had long served as the “hub” for infusing Chinese illegal immigrants into different parts of the mainland

of the United States (Figure 13) (153).

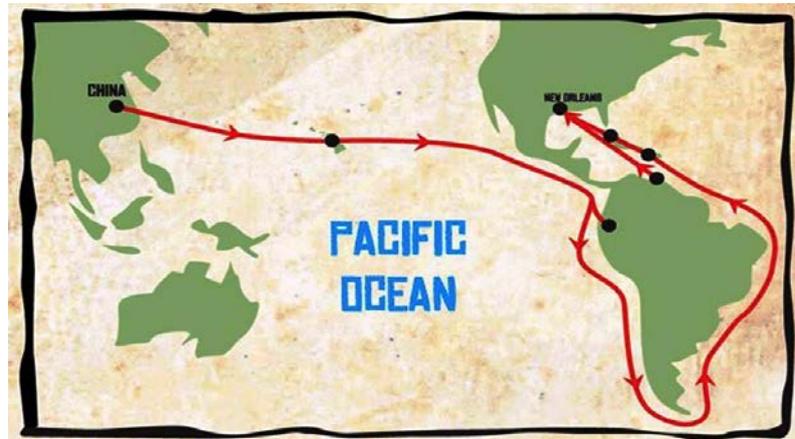


Fig. 13

This illegal path to the U.S. developed after Congress, citing the threat of the “yellow peril,” passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1862 in an effort to control the number of “coolies” or Chinese workers entering the country (Noble 2). During the decades that followed, legal Chinese migration decreased and finally bottomed out in the 1930s, during the Great Depression (Figure 14) (Zhou 31). At the same time, however, as Peter Kwong notes, “From 1900 to the 1940’s the Chinese population [in the U.S.] increased slightly, largely through illegal means” (Kwong, *New Chinatown* 14). *To Have and Have Not* captures this moment when a significant and growing number of Chinese were trying to enter the United States as stowaways—often successfully.

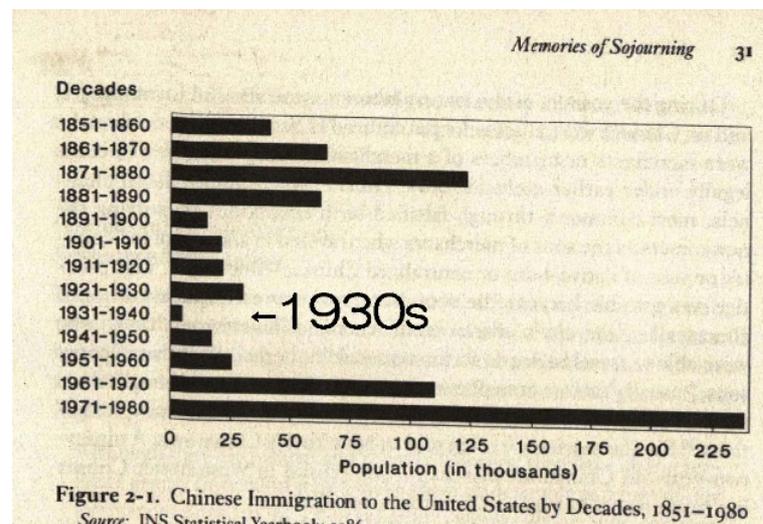


Fig. 14

History shows the kind of smuggling fraud depicted in *To Have and Have Not* was a reality. As Miriam B. Mandel points out, Sing is a “crook who promises transportation to illegal Chinese immigrants, collects high fares from them, and sends them to their deaths,” (190) because the novel indicates that Sing has no intention of picking up the Chinese immigrants dropped off from Morgan’s boat (*THHN* 32-33). Such “smuggling fraud cases,” as Dennis L. Noble explains, often happened in the sea between Cuba and the east coast of the United States, and some of them developed into bloody affairs (105). This context for the novel is affirmed by Norberto Fuentes’s observation: “Of the ten thousand Chinese smuggled from Cuba to the U.S. coast, only about one thousand failed to get there, and of these, about one hundred perished in the waters of the Gulf” (96-97). Thus, it is safe to say Hemingway integrated the historical facts of Chinese smuggling around the Gulf Stream into the plot of his work.

A question arises in this context: why does Morgan murder a *Chinese* rather than a character of some other race, such as the white and black smuggling brokers appearing at the beginning of the first chapter? And what might it mean that Morgan strangles, rather than stabs, Sing in such a cruel way?

The “Anglophile” Chinese

One might begin to answer the above questions through reference to Richard Fantina’s claim that Hemingway’s representations of Asians are not so much intentional, but come from his “almost callous” indifference to the Chinese “in his immediate environment in colonial settings” (138). In the context of the flow of Chinese illegal immigrants, however, the situation may be more complex, especially when it comes to the portrayal of Sing.

Sing is characterized by an affected Englishness, both in style and speech. First, his appearance, which is incongruously high class, “in a white suit with a silk shirt and black tie and one of those hundred-and-twenty-five-dollar Panama hats” (*THHN* 30), impresses Morgan. In addition, Morgan is acutely aware of Sing’s affected English speech, noting that he “talked like an Englishman”

(*THHN* 30). As mentioned earlier, Hong Kong, which was then an English colony, had regular trade channels to Cuba as early as the late nineteenth century. It would not be unexpected, then, that some Chinese people educated in Hong Kong, and as a result of speaking the Queen's English, should arrive in Cuba. This is the credible basis of Hemingway's "Anglophile" Chinese Sing, who mediates between American smugglers and Chinese stowaways in order to make easy money at the transit point of illegal migration.

Language is associated with power and control in this novel. For example, English plays an important role in relation to the Chinese characters in the first half of the novel and Morgan strategically pretends not to know Spanish when dealing with the Cuban terrorists in the second. Particularly in Part 1 of the novel, Morgan expresses caution about the linguistic competence of the Chinese from the first chapter. When three Cuban smuggling brokers try to persuade him to smuggle, one of them says "Can Chinamen talk?" expecting Morgan to reply "No." The Cuban broker is attempting to emphasize that Chinese immigrants are nothing less than linguistically helpless; however, Morgan's vigilance about the linguistic potential of the Chinese people is clear when he responds, "They can talk but I can't understand them" (*THHN* 5).

It is with this background prepared that Morgan first encounters Sing, whose British English is marked by correct grammar, a pompous way of saying things, such as "Now what are the circumstances that would—that have made you [Morgan] consider... [carrying Chinese?]" (*THHN* 31), and frequent use of "I see" and "my dear captain" (*THHN* 31-34, 50). Sing's English, aristocratic and snobbish, forms a great contrast to that of Morgan's friend, Frankie. The deaf Cuban's English is grammatically incorrect: he says things such as "This kind of Chinamen no understand write. Chinamen can write all rich" (*THHN* 35). This linguistic contrast not only gives Sing a certain "grace" but also renders him mysterious and even a bit threatening, because he uses his refined speech to tell Morgan about his nefarious work. Sing's dandified clothes and his graceful speech, along with the cruelty of his business, thus serve to make him a commanding figure.

Moreover, it is important to note that Sing's English has an influence on Morgan's colloquial

English. In the early stage of Morgan's meeting with Sing in Chapter 2, Morgan simplifies his questions by omitting their subjects and verbs, such as "On what term?" or "How far?" (*THHN* 31). However, these elliptical expressions are changed into complete sentences, such as "Will the schooner come to Tortugas to get them [the Chinese]?" (*THHN* 32) and "How much are they worth a head?" (*THHN* 33), as if influenced by Sing's British English. Significantly, Morgan's English becomes broken again as soon as Sing leaves the room: Morgan asks Frankie "How long you know him [Sing]?" (35). This return to colloquial speech suggests that Morgan feels pressure to match Sing's proper English as a point of pride, but returns to his familiar way of speaking as soon as Sing leaves.

Sing thus appears to assume a position of dominance over the two white men in this scene. This dominance is also suggested in remarks accompanying the awed look Morgan casts at Sing as he leaves:

He [Sing] stood up and I watched him go out. Frankie smiled at him as he went. Sing didn't look at him. He was a smooth-looking Chink all right. Some Chink. (*THHN* 35)

Sing ignores Frankie's ingratiating smile, thus conveying a sense of superiority. It is arguably in response to this superiority that Morgan feels compelled to regain his social footing through the disparaging remark, "[s]ome Chink." In Cuba, "the Chinese were the most discriminated against in the labor force" (Fuentes 96) and Morgan seems to feel a sense of humiliation at being embarrassed by someone he considers to be at the lower end of the racial hierarchy.

This tense relationship between an educated and refined Chinese man and less accomplished whites also has roots in historical details from this period. The image of a Chinese person with an affected English style threatening the white majority filtered into the United States during the Great Depression through characters such as Fu Manchu, a mad Chinese scientist in the fiction series of

Sax Rohmer [Arthur Sarsfield Ward] (Lee 177-79). In the late 1930s, Hemingway may have followed the fashion of reading pulp fiction that vilified the Chinese, as *The Si-fan Mysteries* [U.S. Title: *The Hand of Fu Manchu*] (1929) is listed among the books Hemingway carried to Cuba (Brasch 367) from Key West. Also, Martha Gellhorn, his third wife, refers to Fu Manchu in her memoir when recounting her trip to China with Hemingway (10).

This complex of feelings toward the Chinese reads convincingly as a psychological motivation for the brutality with which Morgan kills Sing. The horror and significance of Sing's murder resides in the fact that Morgan strangles him, thereby attempting to deprive Sing of his eloquent words before taking his life. Sing, unable even to curse Morgan in the beautiful English that gave him a sense of superiority in Chapter 2, is now portrayed as helplessly "flopping and bouncing worse than any dolphin on a gaff" (*THHN* 53). Morgan succeeds in recapturing racial dominance over the Chinese, because unlike Sing, the twelve Chinese immigrants in the boat's cabin are all incompetent in the English language.

Morgan's murder of Sing may seem "a means of displaying [the white's] authority" (Morrison 80); however, I would like to emphasize that this scene hints at an impending crisis in America's racial hierarchy. As Gary Gerstle explains:

Immigration restriction in the 1920s had increased the strength and influence of America's racial hierarchy by legitimating a discourse that treated the world's nationalities as races unevenly endowed with intelligence and the capacity to be citizens. (182)

Gerstle's explanation suggests that restricting immigrants can strengthen a racial hierarchy. If so, the 1930s—the decade during which the fewest Chinese immigrants legally came to America—may have also been the period when the Chinese were most likely to suffer race-based discrimination. In this circumstance, a sophisticated "Anglophile" Chinaman such as Sing might

have seemed mysterious to Morgan and aroused a sense of racial crisis in him. Morgan's identity, formed within America's racial hierarchy, as shown in the first half of the text, is related to the representations of Asians in the second.

Chinatowns and Slumming

During the Depression, as stated above, Chinese people would often travel from China across the Pacific Ocean via Cuba to the mainland United States. Most of them were aiming to reach U.S. Chinatowns. Chinatowns were a "shelter" (Takaki 239) for Chinese immigrants unfamiliar with the United States and served as an "informal capital city" (Laguerre 30), because once they walked into these communities it felt like being in China: shops and clinics, even banks perhaps, were all operated by Chinese people. However, an expatriate community was not the only thing that Chinese immigrants expected Chinatowns to provide in the 1930s. Despite the Great Depression, Chinatowns created jobs by developing tourist businesses.

A leading force behind the development of Chinatown's tourist business, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce disseminated full-page illustrated advertisements extolling "the exotic beauty and alluring features of its Chinese colony." The promotional campaign made Chinatown tourist trade; in 1935 it proudly announced it had introduced more than 10,000 tourists to Chinatown that year. ... During the Great Depression of the thirties, tourism was viewed as a solution to the problem of unemployment among the Chinese. (Takaki 248)

As Ronald Takaki suggests, "tourist business" was an expedient way to survive for people living in Chinatowns. Some local agencies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, also supported the Chinatown tourist business with the hope of increasing tax revenue.²⁷ These were probably the reasons the Chinese immigrants in *To Have and Have Not* would venture to smuggle themselves

into the United States. It also explains their despair and use of abusive language, such as “You damn crook,” “Damn crook,” and “Goddamn crook” when dropped by Morgan.

This Chinatown tourist business was, however, largely based on naïve curiosity and often racist views of Chinese and their culture:

A ghetto, Chinatown confirmed views of the Chinese as unhealthy, unassimilable, and immigrants, yet this same negative imagery opened the way to the development of Chinatown as a tourist center—a “quaint” and “mysterious” section of the city, a “foreign colony” in America. (Takaki 246)

In brief, the Chinese in Chinatowns sought to exploit and transform negative, racial stereotypes into qualities such as “mysteriousness” and “racial uniqueness” in order to increase white tourism. Takaki continues: “The tourists were told about dark, underground tunnels filled with opium dens, gambling joints, and brothels where slave girls were imprisoned” (249). Shocking images of the “yellow peril” associated with the Chinatowns also fed magazines in the 1930s such as Arthur J. Burks’s *All Detective Magazine* (1933–34), which featured sensational stories set in Manhattan’s Chinatown (Figure 15)²⁸, as well as films, including *Shadow of Chinatown* (1936) and *Mr. Wong in Chinatown* (1939). Though the growing number of tourists might have served the economic development of Chinatowns, “there was a lot of frustration inside of Chinatown, too, because the Chinese felt themselves to be such noble creatures” (Wong 71). Some Chinese complained that “‘the horrors and vices of the San Francisco Chinatowns were heralded to the world’ and ‘misrepresentations were forced’ upon the Chinese by the tourist industry” (Takaki 249).

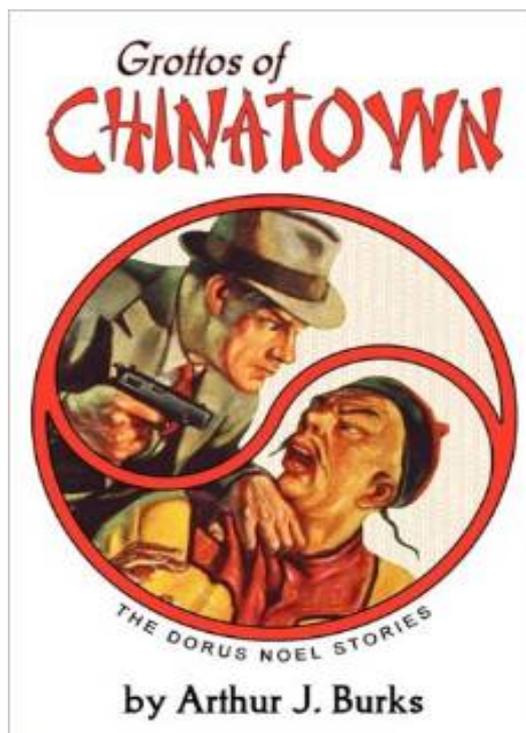


Fig. 15

Nonetheless, most Chinese preferred not to leave Chinatowns. They were reluctant to expose themselves to the discrimination and the linguistic and economic difficulties they were likely to encounter outside. They also recognized that during the Great Depression, Chinatowns helped Chinese people to be accepted, willingly or unwillingly, to some degree. Poor whites could see how Chinese people had organized themselves into social campaigns in the Chinatowns and may even have admired their socialism (Kwong, *Chinatown, N.Y.* 149). All the while, Chinatowns “offered a series of compelling and complicating venues where Americans could come to terms with the demographic changes that were reshaping the nation and its cities” (Heap 276). It was against that background that Chinese immigrants in the Great Depression were attempting to reach the mainland United States as in *To Have and Have Not*.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly, however, that this Chinatown tourist business originated from “slumming,” a peculiar form of tourism.²⁹ To borrow Chad Heap’s phrase, slumming was a practice that “encouraged affluent white Americans to investigate a variety of socially marginalized urban neighborhoods and the diverse populations that inhabited them” (2).

With the start of “slumming” tourism in the mid-1880s, an increasing number of well-to-do whites in the United States explored slums, harems, and spaces associated with a variety of immigrants and the practice became so popular that it was even promoted in magazine articles. In this way “[b]y the mid-1890s, ... Chinatown began to attract thousands of well-to-do whites with its promise of an exotic Oriental city-within-the-city” (Heap 34). “Slumming” was a popular activity that combined sensationalism with exposure to other cultures, and it attracted respectable and educated white people, including writers. William Dean Howells, Henry James, and Edith Wharton were known to be slummers who “reveal[ed] a great deal about their own genteel lives and drew on their insider middle-and upper-class status to voice the concerns of other insiders in their milieu” (Dowling 3). According to Robert M. Dowling, for example, Howells reports on his slumming experience in the poorest neighborhoods in his essay “New York Streets” (1896) and contrasts the center of Manhattan Island with its margins along the rivers, emphasizing abundance and comfort in the former and poverty, rudeness, and offensiveness in the latter (20). In addition, Djuna Barnes is well known as a writer who indulged in slumming in the early twentieth century (Herring 162).³⁰

As a feature of the times, “slumming actively encouraged middle-and upper-class white women to join their husbands, boyfriends” and “[b]y the turn of the century, ... respectable white women became more frequent participants in slumming excursions to the Chinatowns” (Heap 6, 133). This frequent participation of respectable, intellectual whites, including women, in slumming is reflected in the last half of *To Have and Have Not* and Morgan’s response to them is as significant as his response to Sing.

Once Chinatowns attempted to attract bohemian and intellectual tourists, however, they became more artificial and inauthentic (Kinkead 47). They emphasized curiousness and exoticism by combining Mongol symbolic figures, such as the Tartar and Ghengis Khan, into an eclectic Asian imagery, which—intentionally or not—was spread across the United States through thousands of well-to-do whites (Takaki 247). As Robert G. Lee suggests, when Western people

consume Eastern representations, the nationality or racial identity of each Asian people cannot avoid being integrated into a single identity, “Oriental” (123).

This context might explain the curious attribution of Asian features to Harry Morgan in the scene where he leaves home to join Cuban revolutionaries:

“I got to go. Good-by, old woman.”

“Good-by, Harry.”

She watched him go out of the house, tall, wide-shouldered, flat-backed, his hips narrow, moving, still, she thought, like some kind of animal ... she saw him blonde, with the sunburned hair, his face with the broad mongol cheek bones ... and she began to cry. (*THHN* 128)

When the devoted wife details her husband’s favorable appearance as if she knew she was getting a last look at him, Morgan seems considerably heroic. If she is affected by the orientalism created by slumming tourism, Marie might associate Morgan with Ghengis Khan, a historical Asian hero, when she observes the “broad mongol cheek bones” in the face of Morgan who is going to work at the risk of his life for his family. On the other hand, Morgan’s Asiatic features,³¹ which even implies that he might be a person of mixed Caucasian and Asian descent, also represent an element of danger to be consumed by slummers.

Slummers Longing for Conchs

To Have and Have Not consists of three parts, each of which was published separately in different year.³² Their publication timing is important here, because it helps readers see a shift in the nature of tourism in Key West. The first part of the novel was published in April 1934, before the New Deal programs began to actively develop Key West tourism in July of the same year (Miyamoto 38). Therefore, Hemingway tracks the transition from leisure tourism captured in Part

1, which features a tourist like Johnson who visits for sport fishing, to slumming tourism, portrayed by Mr. and Mrs. Laughton in Part 3, which was added in 1936.

This transition further illuminates Harry Morgan's identity crisis, as the rich tourists begin to collapse the distinctions between him and those of other races. The most dramatic encounter between Morgan, a poor white "have not," and affluent white "haves," occurs at Freddy's bar. There, Mr. and Mrs. Laughton, affluent tourists, have the following conversation immediately after Morgan leaves:

"Oh, he had a beautiful face," the wife said. "Like a *Tartar* or something. I wish he hadn't been insulting. He looked kind of like *Ghengis Khan* in the face. Gee he was big."

"He had only one arm," her husband said.

"I didn't notice," the wife said. "Should we have another drink? *I wonder who'll come next!*"

"Maybe *Tamerlane*," the husband said. (*THHN* 136, my emphases)

In this scene, the couple enjoy observing Morgan as a native of Key West. With a "slumming" gaze they regard him with the same curiosity and excitement of slummers longing for exoticism from Chinese in Chinatowns. This gaze, combined with the Asian references, such as "Tartar," "Ghengis Khan," and "Tamerlane," suggest that the couple may have had experience slumming in Chinatowns. Nonetheless, their association of Morgan with Asian figures suggests that, despite Morgan's determination to differentiate himself from racial others, rich whites do not make the same distinctions and, in fact, regard him the same as they do other non-whites.

As Nancy W. Sindelar observes, Mrs. Laughton even treats Morgan like an object to be consumed (86) when she says, "Isn't he [Morgan] wonderful? That's what I want. Buy me that, Papa" (*THHN* 130). This utterance affirms what Chad Heap observes:

In its most demeaning formulation, some affluent white pleasure seekers no doubt used the term [slumming] consciously to reinforce their sense of social and moral superiority over the residents of the districts that they visited. (11)

If, as Heap suggests, slummers use their tourism to draw attention to their sense of social and moral superiority over the local residents, then Morgan's response to Mrs. Laughton—"Shut up, you whore" (*THHN* 130)—stems from an impulse to protect his racial and social position, much as he did against Sing. Once slummers desire to experience Morgan's culture, he might be consumed like the Chinese in Chinatowns as a tourist resource. This means that the white captain, who has been enjoying life at the top of the racial hierarchy, is drawn down toward the position of racial minorities, such as the Chinese.

This perspective could explain why Morgan refuses to think of himself as a Conch. When he complains of the impending tourism development by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to his friend Albert Tracy, Morgan says "What they're [the WPA] trying to do is starve you Conchs out of here" (*THHN* 96), rather than saying "us Conchs." The dialogue continues:

"Aw, cheer up," he [Morgan] said. "None of you Conchs has any guts."

"Since when ain't you a Conch?"

"Since the first good meal I ever ate." He [Morgan] was mean talking now, all right, and since he was a boy he never had no pity for nobody. (*THHN* 98)

Tracy asks his question because Morgan behaves as if he is not a Conch, in spite of the fact that they are both natives of Key West, to the extent that Tracy has known Morgan "since he was a boy." If Morgan was afraid that Conchs would be consumed like the Chinese in Chinatowns, this attitude could also be an expression of Morgan's resistance to being considered a tourist resource by

slummers.

Given its emphasis upon violence and relatively cursory engagement with the predicament of the poor and needy, *To Have and Have Not* has generally been considered an incomplete novel for most readers. The criticism most often centers on the personal nature of Morgan's violence, and the fact that it is directed toward other races, such as Chinese or Cubans. However, the murder of Sing takes on additional meaning when read considering the flow of Chinese immigrants through Cuba and to the mainland of the United States. In this context, the murder becomes the most obvious manifestation of Morgan's fear that his place within the established racial hierarchy is threatened both by sophisticated Asians like Sing and also by the rise in slumming tourism that would put Morgan and the local Conchs in Key West on a par with the Chinese in the Chinatowns. Gray Holcomb writes that a black presence in Hemingway's prose is one "guiding manifestation across the swiftly transforming landscape of modern America" (20). In this sense, a Chinese presence in *To Have and Have Not* might be viewed as another "guiding manifestation." Thus, this text is another example of Hemingway's literary works being inspired by people from East Asia.

Chapter 3

Hemingway as a Spy and an “International Friend”: The Influence of His China Experience on His Writings

In this chapter, I will consider the influence of Hemingway’s China experience. The reference library of the Kuomintang of China in Taipei has recently released many previously classified documents,³³ one of which is titled “The Summary Reports of the Propaganda Operations Conducted by the International Department of the Ministry of Information from the beginning of 1938 to April of 1941.”³⁴ This document explains Kuomintang’s propaganda policy at the early stage of the Sino-Japanese War, which may be regarded as a significant incident in East Asia. It also lists foreign visitors to China, referred to as “international friends,” who were expected to cooperate in spreading propaganda for the Kuomintang—mainly journalists, writers, and scholars from the United States and Europe.³⁵ Hemingway’s name, transcribed in Chinese characters, appears on this list.

Hemingway visited China from February to May of 1941 to cover the East Asian situation, which was complex and confused by the Chinese Civil War, the Sino-Japanese War and Russia’s intervention. He wrote articles about this and put parts of his experience in China into *Islands in the Stream* (see the introduction). However, almost no resources regarding Hemingway have been provided by China, largely because of China’s Cultural Revolution (1966 to 1977). In this sense, analysis of the classified document found in Taiwan may complement a global understanding of Hemingway’s politics.

Recently, Peter Moreira has discussed Hemingway in China in terms of “spying” and Nicholas Reynolds argues that at exactly the same time, Hemingway was also recruited as a spy for Russia (The Soviet Union) and assigned the codename “Argo” (8).³⁶ As a spy for the governments of the United States and Russia and a correspondent for the US newspaper *PM*, it seems as if Hemingway wore several masks in China. “International friend” to China can be counted as one of

Hemingway's masks, and this chapter describes how he changed these masks during his first visit to an Asian country.

To consider Hemingway in the Chinese context, I will examine the confidential document about Kuomintang's propaganda and outline what the Kuomintang of China expected of "international friends." In terms of an "international friend," I will show the differences in behavior between Hemingway and the propagandist foreigners who were considered as "V.I.P." Through this process, I will argue that his China experience enabled Hemingway to reach his idea of a true writer in the introduction to *Men at War*.

Honeymoon and Spying

In early 1941, four years after the Second Sino-Japanese war erupted, when an adversarial relationship began to form between the Axis and the Allies, the United States, having been curious about European warfare, became more and more interested in the war situation on opposite shores of the Pacific Ocean to determine the possibility of engaging against Japan. While the international situation was becoming tense, Hemingway and his third wife, Martha Gellhorn, traveled to China for their honeymoon and, more specifically, to cover the Second Sino-Japanese war as correspondents for *PM*, and for *Colliers*, a U.S. weekly magazine. As Gellhorn's calling him "U.C." (Unwilling Companion) in her memoir reflects, Hemingway at first did not feel half as enthusiastic about making a round of visits to China.³⁷ However, Gellhorn continues to say that "U.C. took to Hongkong at once" (*Travels* 13), which shows that Hemingway demonstrated his adaptability to Asian culture as well as African culture. It took one hundred and six days for Hemingway to travel around China and come back to the mainland of the United States. He arrived a mere seven months before Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.

Regarding this visit to China, there is suspicion that Hemingway, before leaving for China, received a secret order from the Treasurer of the United States. Moreira, an advocate of this suspicion, focuses on the correspondences that Hemingway exchanged with Henry Morgenthau,

the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, and Harry Dexter White, the senior U.S. Treasury department official who is well known for the original draft of the “Hull Note,” the ultimatum delivered to the Empire of Japan by the United States. In the letter sent to Morgenthau dated July 30 of 1941, soon after coming back to the United States, Hemingway writes:

When I left for China Mr. White asked me to look into the Kuomintang [*sic*]-Communist difficulties and try to find out any information which could possibly be of interest to you. When I was in Washington last this problem was comparatively dormant, so I left it more or less alone when we talked. It will recur as a serious problem quite frequently, so I thought perhaps it would be useful for me to write you a short summary of what I find at this date to be true, after studying the problem for some three months in China. (Moreira 201-202)

Around the time of Hemingway’s travel to China, Morgenthau needed an agent to help him get information from inside China, because he thought he was limited to information by Cordell Hull, the then Secretary of State, who was against him. He was told that Hemingway, who had been well known among the Franklin Roosevelt Administration since 1937 when he attended the prerelease of *The Spanish Earth* in the White House, would now go to China and he asked White to contact the war novelist (Moreira 19).

This is not the only case where Hemingway was involved in intelligence. Similar examples are his intelligence activities with the “Crook Factory”³⁸ in Cuba and his military operation, known as “the Rambouillet incident”³⁹, on the European front in World War II. His interest in intelligence appears in his literary texts. For example, Richard Cantwell in *Across the River and Into the Trees* delivers a monologue on the shrimp he saw at the fish market:

The speed shrimp, the Colonel [Richard Cantwell] thought, with tentacles

longer than the moustaches of that old Japanese admiral, comes here now to die for our benefit. Oh Christian shrimp, he thought, master of retreat, and with your wonderful intelligence service in those two light whips, why did they not teach you about nets and that lights are dangerous?

Must have been some slip-up, he thought. (*ARIT* 141)

In this monologue, Cantwell (and Hemingway) seems to imply Japan's poor intelligence during World War II, which is generally pointed out.⁴⁰

However, these cases all seem to represent not his patriotism, but rather his eagerness to explore unknown aspects of war, which an average writer would not ordinarily be allowed to undertake, or his desire to reach for small but unmistakable realities resulting from warfare, by aggressively getting involved in international issues of his native country. Hemingway is the kind of writer who makes use of his status as an American citizen and lets his subtle patriotic feelings mount enough to be willing to put on the mask of a spy. The result of this appears as an episode that Thomas Hudson narrates in *Islands in the Stream*:

At this time it [wolfram] was so valuable that we [the United States] were using DC-2's, transport planes such as fly from here to Miami, to fly it over from a field at Nam Yung in Free China to Kai Tak airport at Kowloon. From there it was shipped to the States. It was considered very scarce and of vital importance in our preparations for war since it was needed for hardening steel, yet anyone could go out and dig up as much of it in the hills of the New Territories as he or she could carry.... (*IIS* 281)

First, Hudson reveals the close military connection between the United States and China. During his stay in China, the United States was vigorously importing wolfram, a mineral necessary for armaments. And he also happens to know that the New Territories are rich in this rare and important

mineral resource that makes metal harder and tries to let people know about it.

I found this out when I was hunting wood pigeons and I brought it to the attention of people purchasing wolfram in the interior. No one was very interested.... But when we shot in the evenings outside the women's prison and see an old Douglas twin-motor plane come in over the hills and slide down toward the airfield, and had just flown over the Jap lines, it was strange to know that many of the women in the women's prison were there for having been caught digging wolfram illicitly. (*IIS* 281)

Hudson wonders why nobody got interested in his information and feels it ironic that many Chinese women dig wolfram illegally and are put in prison though anybody is allowed to collect it in the New Territories.

Hemingway here implies how warfare was building the reciprocal relationship between the United States and China and depicts the tragedy of Chinese people as one of the repercussions of this military relationship. To this war novelist, who was eager to recognize the truth of warfare from both micro- and macro-viewpoints, the request from Morgenthau must have sounded like a valuable opportunity for him to venture into deeper parts of a war between unfamiliar countries. Thus, Hemingway, secretly carrying the political expectation and mask of a spy for the U.S. government, would be welcomed by the Kuomintang government with its own expectations.

The Classified Document of the Kuomintang of China

The classified document, about 80 pages long, has been made public as a result of Taiwan's growing tendency to democratize, which has been evident since the 1980s.⁴¹ The first page reads "TOP SECRET" ("極機密"). A portion of the title, "The Summary Reports of the Propaganda Operations," suggests the main activities of the "International Department of the Ministry of Information," about which the document provides the following details:

查各國報紙駐華記者所發電訊，為注意遠東局勢之國際人士所極端重視，故必嚴密檢查，遇有欠妥之處予以刪扣，並向該發電記者申明理由，使其獲確切瞭解，糾正其謬誤之觀點。我方發表宣傳文告，商由外記者發電，實為最有效之捷徑，然亦講，彼等之信仰，始能為我利用。此項工作，實至繁重，不可須臾疏忽者也。

Highly regarded by cosmopolitans concerned about the Far East, the articles on China written by foreign reporters staying in China and published in foreign countries shall be probed. If anything is found to be inappropriate, it shall be eliminated or suspended, and the reporter should be persuaded to admit his fault. Propaganda from the department, when dispatched by foreign reporters, is expected to be most effective, which can be realized only when we establish our credibility in utilizing them. The maneuver is troublesome and difficult, but shall never be slighted. (“Summary Reports” 5, my translation)⁴²

Clearly, the government of the Kuomintang regarded foreign reporters staying in China at that time as crucial for spreading propaganda. The autobiography of Hollington K. Tong (董顯光), wartime Vice-Minister of Information, describes this well:

I had not been back in the censorship office two weeks when I was notified that I had been appointed Vice-Minister of the Fifth Board of the National Ministry Council. ... I had been chosen to set up a propaganda organization to tell the Chinese side of the story to the world. ... I was now to have the creative task of supplying them [foreign correspondents] with news, which we wanted them to publish. (*Chiang Kai-shek's Teacher* 69)

...on November 15, 1937, I received the welcome word that the Supreme National Defense Council had abolished the Fifth Board, alone [sic] with other sweeping Government reorganizations. ... [T]he functions of the Fifth Board were to be transferred to the Ministry of Information, which would be a Kuomintang organ. The Ministry would contain an international department with authority over overseas publicity. As Vice-Minister, I was to head this department. I retained this authority until the end of the war. Ministers of Information came and went but I remained in my International Department. (*Chiang Kai-shek's Teacher* 75)

Tong's descriptions tell us how the agency known as the "Fifth Board" developed into the Ministry of Information and what its main purposes were. He also provides us with another piece of interesting information:

Of course, our big propaganda target during these pre-Pearl Harbor years was the U.S. ... During 1937 to 1941, I was fully occupied with this tremendous propaganda task. ... While we were extending our propaganda reach throughout the English-speaking world, the representatives of major magazines and newspapers were beginning to come to Chungking to report China's side of the war. (*Chiang Kai-shek's Teacher* 108-109)

Around the time Japan, put in a difficult position by the "ABCD line"—a series of embargoes against Japan by Western nations—was moving into the Attack on Pearl Harbor, Tong seems to have exercised his excellent ability to create favorable propaganda aimed at the United States. On the other hand, the Hemingways, aboard Pan-Am's *China Clipper*, landed on Kowloon in Hong Kong on Saturday, 22 February 1941. In other words, Hemingway embroiled himself in China when they were most engrossed in creating propaganda aimed at the United States. At the same

time, the U.S. government was more concerned about the conflict between the Communist Party and Kuomintang inside China and hoped that it would settle, in order to prevent Japan from making use of the conflict to take an initiative in China. Thus, unlike in Africa, where Hemingway personally experienced Kenya's wilderness with primitive hunting-tribes, Hemingway's visit to Asia seems highly political considering the requests from the U.S. government and China's Kuomintang.

International Friends

As Tong suggests, there were many foreign visitors to China at this time who were referred to as "international friends" ("國際友人"). A chapter title from the "Summary Reports"—"B. Helping reporters and international friends to interview our party, government or military authorities"⁴³—shows that the International Department was expected to help with their coverage of China (43). Martha Gellhorn, who accompanied her husband to report on the war in China, mentions the term "international friends" in her memoir, *Travels with Myself and Another*:

We [the Hemingways] made farewell compliments and rode five miles farther in the downpour to Division Headquarters. The triumphal arches started to appear now. ... The arches were of paper, hand-printed, smearing in the rain, and rigged up on poles across the track. "Welcome to the Representatives of Righteousness and Peace."
 "Welcome to our *International Friends*." (*Travels* 30, my emphasis)

This suggests that "International Friend" was an official term to refer to foreign visitors even in Chinese local governments. The list of visitors, including foreign reporters who were regarded as international friends, begins on page 34 of the "Summary Reports" along with a foreword as follows:

(二) 協助記者採訪 來華之外籍記者對於我前後方情形 多不熟習。常易發生誤解，且於採訪新聞之各項必具條件，為交通工具之接洽，採訪新聞證書之接洽，响導繙[翻] 譯以及其他事務，無論巨細概由外事科負責代為辦理。爰 將歷年來代為重慶通訊社記者請領證書及代收集資料之情 表述之為后：

Part 2. Helping Reporters: The foreign reporters, who have difficulty with transportation, papers, or procedures, or who need guides or interpreters, shall be supported by our department. Here is a list of those we have helped with their papers or sundry items in the past: (“Summary Reports” 34, my translation)

The list of names stretches over seven pages and on the last page, at the upper-right-hand of the document, are three Chinese characters—“海明衛”—pronounced “hémíngwèi” (Hemingway) in Chinese (Figure 16).⁴⁴ Several other pieces of information help identify this Hemingway as the famous writer we all know. Hemingway and Gellhorn arrived in Hong Kong on 20 February 1941

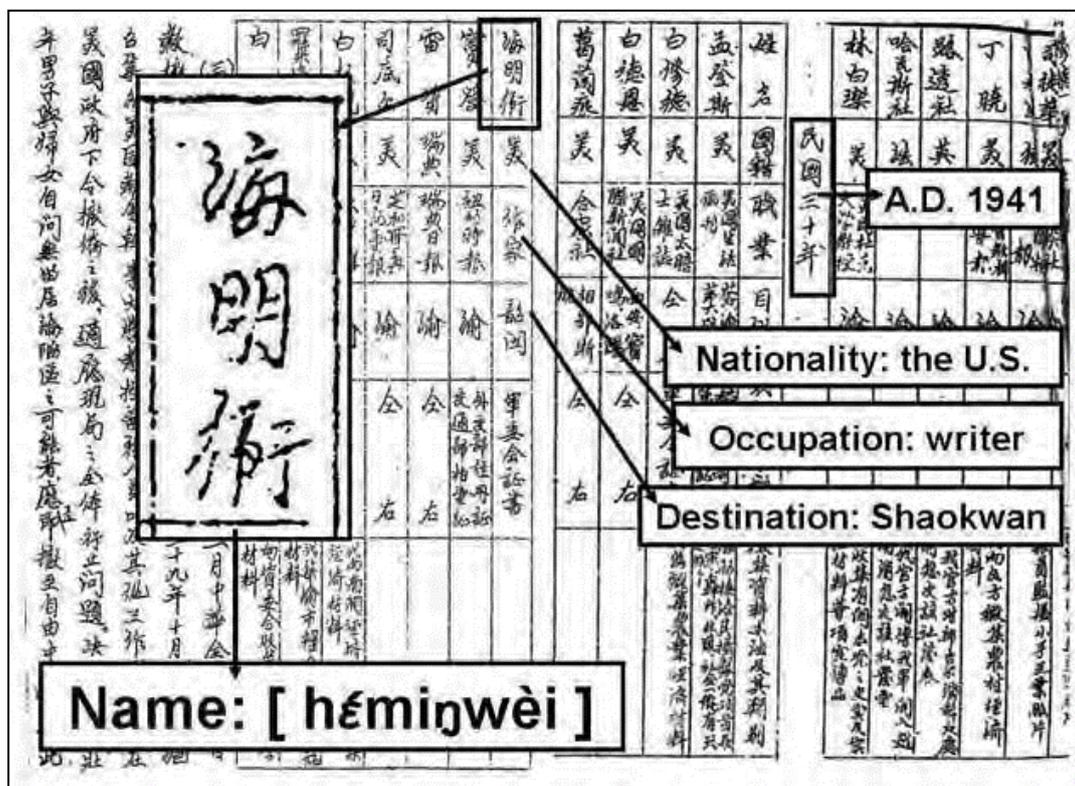


Fig. 16

and Hemingway left China alone for Manila on 6 May of the same year. The Chinese calendar is different from the Western one, but the “Chinese year 30” (“民國三十年”) is 1941, which means that this Hemingway is listed as visiting China in 1941. The list also provides us with other information about ‘hémìqǔwèi’: he is from the “United States” (“美”), he is a “writer” (“作家”), and he probably visited “Shaokwan” (“韶關”). These three items also support our speculation. Martha Gellhorn describes the Hemingways’ visit to Shaokwan, a city in Guangdong province located in the southern part of China:

On 24 March 1941, we [the Hemingways] presented ourselves with our gear in the middle of the night at the Hong Kong air- field. . . . The next day we left at 11 a.m. for Namyung. . . . It was raining at Namyung. . . . This drive lasted until dark when we arrived at our hotel, the *Light of Shaokwan*, in the city of that name. . . . We spent only three days in *Shaokwan*, . . . (*Travels* 24-26, my emphases)

At this time, Shaokwan was the Kuomintang’s headquarters for battles against Japan in the Seventh War Zone, where the Hemingways expected heavy fighting. When leaving Shaokwan on the small boat and the back of Mongolian horses, and coming to the front, they finally saw “mock battles.”

On the Japanese side there was no sign of life, no sound. The front was the most restful place in China.

The General could not very well wake these sleeping mountains and put on a battle for our benefit, but he wanted to show off his troops. So we withdrew one range beyond the Japanese, and there they staged a maneuver duplicating this war in the mountains. (*The Face of War* 81)

Though Japanese sources reinforce such a stalemate in the battle lines between China and Japan at

this time (Tobe 180), the front or battlefields, especially for Chinese soldiers welcoming foreign journalists or potential benefactors, should not have been too calm. Their demonstration of the battle can be considered a propaganda mask that the Chinese army wore to hide the truth of the front from foreign visitors. From this perspective, the classified document about the propaganda policy of China can be seen as the inside of the mask that China itself wore when interacting with other countries at that time. Now that the name of Hemingway appears in the propaganda document, we should find out what Hemingway was like an “international friend,” especially as a propagandist for China’s Kuomintang. Adding “international friend” to his two other personas—a correspondent for *PM* and a spy for the U.S. government—will lead us to a deeper understanding of Hemingway’s time in China.

Hemingway as an “International Friend”

In a 16 June 1941 article for *PM* titled “Japan’s Position in China,” Hemingway wrote:

[I]f the Central Government has money to pay, feed and continue to arm them [the Chinese soldiers] they are not going to be defeated by the Japanese this year, next year or the year after. Nor, if you want my absolute opinion, having seen the terrain, the problems involved and the troops who will do the fighting, will the Japanese ever defeat the Chinese army unless they are sold out. So long as the U.S.A. is putting up the money to pay and arm them and the Generalissimo is in command, they will not be sold out. But if we ceased to back them or if anything ever happened to the Generalissimo, they would be sold out very quickly. (*BL* 331)

Quoting this remark in his book, *Hemingway on the China Front*, Peter Moreira concludes that Hemingway must have delighted Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang propaganda machine by conveying two important messages: first, the necessity for U.S. aid to China, and second, the

validity of Chiang-Kai-shek's leadership (189-190). Moreira's assumption sounds plausible, but can be verified only when we examine it in the context of materials gathered on the Chinese side.

Of those who were in charge of the International Department and the Ministry of Information, two men in particular contributed to the "Summary Reports." One was Hollington K. Tong, the Vice-Minister of Information, and the other was Zeng Xubai (Tseng Hsu-pei [曾虛白]), the Chief of the International Department.⁴⁵ Of the two, Tong is the only one who refers to Hemingway in his publications:⁴⁶

Not all the foreign correspondents accepted unreservedly the Communists' version of this New Fourth Army showdown or of later clashes.⁴⁷ The conversations I had with Ernest Hemingway, when he was in China in 1941, convinced me that he was an *impartial and fair observer*. In some quarters it had been surmised that his experiences in Spain as a supporter of the loyalist Government, had given him leftist leanings, and that he would prove biased in his reaction to the differences between the Chinese Government and the Communist Party. (*Dateline: China* 151, my emphasis)⁴⁸

Tong admires Hemingway as an "impartial and fair observer" (a trait which would often find him accused by opposing camps). By telling Tong that "he was very familiar with the propaganda tactics of the Communists," Hemingway may have helped assuage Kuomintang concerns about his Leftist leanings (*Dateline: China* 152).⁴⁹ As previously stated in Chapter 1, there seems to have been a modest personal friendship between Tong and Hemingway, because Hemingway possessed his books in his library in Cuba. This may suggest that Hemingway was applauded as an "international friend" of the Kuomintang, but it oversimplifies the issue to affirm that Hemingway was a propagandist for China's Kuomintang.

Despite this admiration, in fact, Tong does not mention Hemingway after *Dateline: China:*

The Beginning of China's Press Relations with the World (1950). On the other hand, in the latest book, entitled *Chiang Kai-shek's Teacher and Ambassador* (2005), he keeps on mentioning other foreign visitors, such as Henry R. Luce, Ralph M. Ingersoll, Erskine Caldwell and his wife, Margaret Bourke-White. What is the difference between Hemingway and these other foreign visitors and especially those who retained their "friend" mantle much longer than he did?

V.I.P. for the Kuomintang of China

In *Dateline: China*, Tong includes a chapter entitled "V.I.P.—Very Important People", mentions each of the visitors above by name and openly acknowledges their contributions to Kuomintang's propaganda.⁵⁰ Hemingway, however, is not mentioned in this "V.I.P." chapter. Instead, he was mentioned in a chapter entitled "The Red Headache." In this chapter, Tong, in addition to the admiration stated above, says, "Hemingway recognized the anomaly of a political party supported by a large armed force. He added that he was very familiar with the propaganda tactics of the Communists" (*Dateline: China* 152). Thus, Tong admires Hemingway in this book as an "impartial and fair observer" who is familiar with the propaganda of Communists, rather than as a propagandist for Kuomintang like the V.I.P. members.

In fact, Tong's way of associating Hemingway with China's domestic conflict seems to reflect Hemingway's concerns in his report sent to Morgenthau, the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury:

First, I believe there will be no permanent settlement of the Communist problem in China until an agreement between the Generalissimo's Government and the Soviet Union settles definite limits to the territories the Communist forces are to occupy.... The bitterness between the Communists and most of the Kuomingtang [*sic*] leaders I talked to, including the Generalissimo, can not hardly be exaggerated...they still regard Communism as the "HEART DISEASE" from which China suffers while the Japanese invasion is only a "SKIN DISEASE." (Moreira 202, emphases in original)

Hemingway emphasizes the seriousness of the domestic conflict between the Kuomintang government and Communist party. As in a spy movie, these materials from two different countries make a single context. We can imagine that Hemingway ventured into the deepest part of the war by changing his several masks. First, the U.S. spy enters China as an American writer wearing the mask of a “communist sympathizer” and then removes the mask to give the impression of an “impartial and fair observer.” Hemingway, now given the mask of an “international friend,” would be free to get information on the domestic conflict.

In this sense, we should see many different masks apart from Hemingway’s “face” as an “international friend” in “The Red Headache.” However, did he also have the mask of a propagandist for China’s Kuomintang? At this point, Hemingway seems different as an “international friend” from other foreign visitors, such as the V.I.P. members. Predictably, Tong commends Henry R. Luce, a publisher of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* and one of the best-known American supporters of the Kuomintang:

The arrival in May of Mr. Henry R. Luce, publisher of *Life*, *Time*, *Fortune*, and Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, well known in her own right as a writer and later as a Congresswoman, was from our standpoint an event of importance. (*Dateline: China* 135-36)

Unlike the case of the Hemingways, Tong here refers to Luce’s visit to China as an “event of importance.” The difference can be explained by Luce’s service as a propagandist. Luce’s magazines often featured China favorably—noticeably so from the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War. For example, Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, May-ling Soong, had frequently appeared on the cover of *Time* and in September 1941, *Fortune* devoted more than thirty pages to a special feature on China as a U.S. ally.

The case of Caldwell and Bourke-White is also noteworthy. Having made a careless error concerning their visas, they were obliged to stay in China for a month instead of simply passing through on their way to Russia as they had planned. After this month in China, the couple was given V.I.P. status, thanks to their support of the Kuomintang, in contrast to Hemingway, who did not receive V.I.P. status after spending more than three months in China. While Martha Gellhorn argued with Madam Chiang about the policies of the Kuomintang (*Travels* 51), Margaret Bourke-White, the well-known photographer for *Life*, reported in an international radio broadcast the terrible conditions in Chungking after it was bombed by Japan (Goldberg 237).

Ralph Ingersoll, who was a publisher of *PM* and employed Hemingway as a war correspondent in China, is the most contentious member of the V.I.P. group. Dissatisfied with the stories Hemingway brought back from China, especially one about meeting Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, May-ling Soong, Ingersoll set out to follow Hemingway's footsteps in China less than three weeks after Hemingway's final piece ran in *PM*. Armed with an introductory letter from Tse-ven Soong (宋子文)⁵¹, an older brother of Madame Chiang, Ingersoll arranged a meeting of his own with Chiang Kai-shek:

I spent an hour with the Generalissimo [Chiang Kai-shek] and his famous wife. Chiang's Assistant Minister of Information, Hollington Tong, was with us, to act as interpreter. ... The principal impression I got of Chiang was of a smooth, very neat man with a strong, proud face. (Ingersoll 51)⁵²

Ingersoll's first impression of Chiang is banal and to be expected from a reporter trying to be polite when describing an individual of influence. Here, on the other hand, is Hemingway's description of Chiang in "U.S. Aid to China," a 15 June 1941 article for *PM* that might have annoyed Ingersoll:

The Generalissimo is a military leader who goes through the motions of being a

statesman. This is important. Hitler is a statesman who employs military force. Mussolini is a statesman who is unable to employ military force. The Generalissimo's objectives are always military. (*BL* 327).

Here Hemingway, comparing the "Generalissimo" to two of the most infamous military dictators of the twentieth century, makes it clear that Chiang Kai-shek is a "military leader" and not a politician. It is extremely difficult to think this description of Chiang Kai-shek, which might appear to be questioning his leadership as a politician, was satisfactory to the Kuomintang government.

However, this description of Chiang Kai-shek should not be taken as criticism of Chiang Kai-shek. It is compatible with "the validity of Chiang-Kai-shek's leadership," which he insists upon in "Japan's Position in China." In the previously published article entitled "U.S. Aid to China," in fact, Hemingway says "No country which is at war remains a democracy for long. War always brings on a temporary dictatorship" (*BL* 327). Given this war-and-politics philosophy of Hemingway, he must have thought that it was not as a politician but as a "military leader" that Chiang Kai-Shek was necessary to China in a state of domestic and foreign war. Thus, Hemingway, even when comparing him with Hitler and Mussolini, straightforwardly appreciates Chiang Kai-Shek as a leader of China. In the view of propaganda for China, however, it might have been difficult to understand this honesty of Hemingway's. By contrast, Ingersoll, who, unlike Hemingway, uses modifiers such as "smooth," "strong," and "proud" to describe Chiang Kai-shek, successfully extracts from Tong a handsome comment: "Ingersoll revealed none of his critical attitudes while with us" (*Chiang Kai-shek's Teacher* 114).⁵³ There is little doubt that Ingersoll made a good impression and was an appropriate candidate for the V.I.P. designation among the "international friends." Ingersoll probably won favor by assuaging any hard feelings the Kuomintang may have had about the Hemingways.

Thus, all of the V.I.P.s stand out in regard to the amount and quality of propaganda they achieved for the Kuomintang of China. If China's Kuomintang had expected these propaganda

activities from international friends, it would have been difficult to highly evaluate the honesty or integrity of Hemingway, because Hemingway tried to avoid using flowery words and had no negative opinions about dictatorship in a time of war. During their stay in China, Gellhorn took her frustration out on Hemingway, criticizing the Kuomintang governance after visiting a darkly-lit basement factory where half-starved, small children were working. Hemingway replied to his wife's words of "I can't stand this place":

The trouble with you, M. [Martha], is that you think everybody is exactly like you. What you can't stand, they can't stand. What's hell for you has to be hell for them. How do you know what they feel about their lives? If it was as bad as you think, they'd kill themselves instead of having more kids and setting off firecrackers.
(*Travels* 22-23)

This effectively expresses Hemingway's realism, which is incompatible with the superficial humanitarianism of average white journalists from western countries. However, this realistic attitude toward inconvenient realities, as well as toward Chiang Kai-shek, might not have been welcomed by the Kuomintang government, which was trying hard to hide inconvenient facts and extract aid from foreign countries. This seems to be the reason why Tong did not mention Hemingway in "V.I.P.—Very Important People" or keep him in his mind as an international friend to mention in his later books.

The Influence of the China Experience on His Writing Life

Soon after returning from China, Hemingway made public his credo as a writer in the introduction to *Men at War*:

A writer's job is to tell the truth. ... If, during a war, conditions are such that a writer

cannot publish the truth because its publication would do harm to the State he should write and not publish. If he cannot make a living without publishing he can work at something else. But if he ever writes something which he knows in his inner self is not true, for no matter what patriotic motives, then he is finished. (*MAW xv*)⁵⁴

In this part, Hemingway reconfirms his writing policy and declares that he is a realist and not a propagandist. This declaration was probably drawn from his experience in China because, as stated above, Hemingway, as well as other international friends, had faced the various requests for propaganda from China's Kuomintang.

According to Moreira, Gellhorn made flattering remarks about Chiang Kai-shek's clique in public, either because she took such hospitality seriously or out of patriotism, while privately displaying her dilemma as a journalist who believed her journalism could be a weapon (142-44).⁵⁵ Also, Gellhorn says that "with thirty-five year's hindsight" she realized that "the Chiangs were pumping propaganda into us, as effective as pouring water in sand" (*Travels* 51). By contrast, Hemingway was well aware of the Kuomintang's political intentions and challenged their tight censorship by smuggling some articles for *PM* out of Hong Kong in his shoes (Baker, *Life Story* 364-65).⁵⁶

Even though Hemingway might have been a spy writer, he was not a propagandist writer. His mission was not distorting the facts to help with China's propaganda policy, but carrying out secrets and information about realities that were hidden in China. The classified document from Taiwan demonstrates that Hemingway was involved in East Asian issues in modern times. The fact that he was listed in the document from East Asia shows how deeply Hemingway went into China to uncover the reality of East Asian issues, including the serious domestic conflict between the Kuomintang government and the Communist party, the situation of the battle between Japan and China, and the propaganda operations carried out by each party. His China experience was probably a good chance for Hemingway to reconfirm his own credo as a true writer.

Chapter 4

Hemingway's Requiem for Battle Fields: Atomic Jokes after Hiroshima/Nagasaki in *Across the River and Into the Trees*

This chapter will examine the reference to the atomic bomb in *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950, hereafter “*Across the River*”) and find out what impact the dropping of bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or the appearance of nuclear weapons⁵⁷, had on Hemingway as a “battle-field writer.”⁵⁸

In the September 1, 1945 letter to Mary Welsh, his would-be fourth wife staying in Normandy, Ernest Hemingway writes, “Normandy is dairy products and cider. Cider, of course, is 90 percent of all the alcohol that makes all the aperitifs. But we never drank them anyway. Just as long as the *atomic bomb* doesn't wipe out the Juniper berry you'll be o.k.” (SL 597, my emphases). A similar attitude toward atomic bombs can be seen in a letter sent to Lillian Ross in 1951:

By the time I get it [the draft of *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952)] all right and as good as I can do they will probably be dropping *atomic bombs* around like goat shit. But we can make a trip to some comparatively unbombed area and you can read it in Mss [manuscripts] if they have stopped publishing books. (Ross 74, my emphasis)

Hemingway uses the words “atomic bomb” as a part of the jokey simile with great irony.

This light and easy attitude of Hemingway's toward nuclear weapons was apparently different from that of other intellectuals. For example, Thomas Hill Schaub writes that “The A-bomb (and then the hydrogen bomb), in particular, entered the imaginations of writers” (65). Albert Einstein “gravely noted on national television the day plans were announced to manufacture hydrogen bombs that ‘annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical

possibilities” (Treat 4), and Sartre, Brecht, Günter Anders, and Jacques Derrida all “understood how the last premises of the world had to be reexamined” (Treat 4). William Faulkner, often compared with Hemingway as his contemporary, is no exception. He addressed the threat of annihilation by nuclear weapons when he said, “Our tragedy is a general and universal fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer questions of the spirit. There is only the question: When will I be blown up?” (119) in his speech at the Nobel Prize award ceremony in 1950.

In contrast to these serious reactions, Hemingway’s attitude toward nuclear weapons above might appear a little too flippant. However, as he confessed in the letter to Scribner Junior, Hemingway avoided publishing his stories of World War II battle fields, such as “Black Ass at the Cross Roads” (*SL* 868) during his lifetime,⁵⁹ although he had been a “battle-field writer” saying “war is the best subject of all” (*SL* 176) and depicting “death in the battle fields” in great detail every time he came back from earlier wars.

This chapter will examine Richard Cantwell’s attitude toward atomic bombs in *Across the River* expressed in the jokes he makes just as Hemingway does in the quotations above. Associating these “atomic jokes” with the impact of Hiroshima/Nagasaki on this battlefield writer and referring to Freudian theories on the difference between jokes and humor, I will consider why Hemingway did not published the story of battle fields of World War II but publish the cold war [postwar] novel.

Hemingway and Hiroshima

Hemingway possibly saw the devastated Hiroshima city for the first time on August 31 1945 in Cuba through photos published in *The New York Times*.⁶⁰ According to Baker, Hemingway was “having second thoughts” about atomic bombs in September of 1945 (*Life Story* 451). This suggests that Hemingway, who had been told about this by Truman’s speech on the 6th of August, changed his opinion of the destructive force of an atomic bomb.

At exactly the same time, Hemingway wrote a document dated “September 1945,” which

would become the Forward to *Treasury for the Free World* (1946, hereafter “*Treasury*”). In the Forward, Hemingway writes, “We have invented the sling and the pebble that kill all giants; including ourselves” (xiv) and he likens atomic bombs to one of the most primitive projectile weapons that David made use of to beat Goliath in the book of Samuel in the Old Testament.⁶¹ Through this allegory, Hemingway seems to encourage readers to look at the whole history of warfare from the time when human beings used “the sling and the pebble” to the present, when they have begun using nuclear weapons, and suggests a period of transition has come in the war history of mankind. Hemingway continues:

This book has one advantage. The various articles are not full of the knowledge after the fact of the use of the release of atomic energy. We need to study and understand certain basic problems of our world as they were before Hiroshima to be able to continue, intelligently, to discover how some of them have changed and how they can be settled justly now that a new weapon has become a property of the world.
(*Treasury* xiv)

Hemingway, suggesting that most of the articles in *Treasury* were written before using atomic bombs, here argues that the book will be valuable when people examine changes in the world before and after Hiroshima. This attitude toward nuclear weapons is not a kind of humanist view that excoriates their affront to human decency. Hemingway, instead, takes careful note of the fact that people have reached the stage where they use nuclear power to kill others and calmly suggests that people should keep under review what changes this fact will cause in the world.⁶²

As a matter of fact, there is a document that can be associated with Hemingway’s view on changes to the world after Hiroshima in this Forward. A type-written document dated August 11, 1950 begins as follows:

Since *that introduction* was written *we have won a war and lost a ~~piece~~ peace* and are now fighting an undeclared war while preparing to *fight a war on a world-wide scale*. People of the mentality of those who were going to *Beat Japan in ~~Thirty~~ Sixty Days* are now prepared to fight all Asia. (Hemingway's typescript dated 8/11/50,⁶³ my emphases, amendments in original)

Judging from the date, Hemingway here apparently criticizes the United States for entering the Korean conflict (1950-1953). And "that introduction" in the first sentence most likely means the one to *Men at War*,⁶⁴ because Hemingway finished writing this introduction in August of 1942 (Baker, *Life Story* 377), soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941, and the capitalized words "Beat Japan in Sixty Days" previously appear in the form of "How We Can Lick Japan in Sixty Days" in the introduction to *Men at War*.⁶⁵ In this document, Hemingway seems to associate World War II with the fighting with Japan, which can also be confirmed by the words "P. Harbor to A. Bomb war" that Hemingway refers to as World War II in the letter dated June 26, 1958 to Ezra Pound (SL 883).

In this context of the previous war against Japan, "we have won a war and lost a peace" in the first sentence can be comprehended as "we have won World War II thanks to the atomic bombs, but lost a peace due to the advent of the atomic age." By "lost a peace" Hemingway probably means that the existence of nuclear weapons forces American people to prepare all the time to "fight a war on a world-wide scale." Thus, this document can be considered as an evaluation by Hemingway to answer the question he asked in his Forward to *Treasury* five years previous—what change was caused by Hiroshima/Nagasaki? The world change Hemingway points out and criticizes scathingly in this record is the conflict between the East and the West—that is, the Cold War—that had been escalating since the United States became the first country to own and use nuclear weapons.

The harsh assessment of the world change after Hiroshima presented by Hemingway five years after the end of World War II and his "atomic joke" in the same period of time might be

related to his avoiding the publication of his World War II battlefield stories in his lifetime. To explore this, I will examine the “atomic bombs” referenced in *Across the River*, which was published just one month after Hemingway typed the above document.⁶⁶

Atomic Jokes in *Across the River*

In *The Dangerous Summer*, which was serialized in *Life* from September of 1960, Hemingway twice uses the term “cold war,” which was originated by Bernard Baruch, an American politician.⁶⁷ He refers to “cold war” to describe the strained atmosphere he saw around the Bay of Gibraltar, which was a power interest for both Britain and Spain (*DS Part I, Life* 88). This suggests that around 1960 Hemingway saw several regional conflicts around the world, such as the one in Gibraltar, in terms of Cold War.

Ten years earlier, however, Hemingway published *Across the River*—a postwar novel with the Cold War in the background—without using the term directly.⁶⁸ When published, the novel was, as a whole, poorly evaluated and referred to as “disappointing, embarrassing, distressing, trivial, tawdry, garrulous, tired” (Baker, *Life Story* 486). Of all descriptions, “garrulous” seems the most suitable to describe Cantwell, its protagonist. And he refers to the “atomic bomb” in his garrulous jokes.

Richard Cantwell, a fifty-year old Colonel with an incurable disease, takes two days off to spend one last time with Renata, an eighteen-year old girl in Venice in Italy. Cantwell, on the other hand, organizes a community named “Order” (45) with a bartender and others who used to be his fellow soldiers to nostalgically demonstrate the famous battles in the past or to talk ironically about the present state of the Cold War frontier in Italy:

‘... How does everything go at *Trieste*?’ [The bar-tender said.]

‘About as you would imagine.’ [Cantwell said.]

‘I couldn’t even imagine.’

‘Then don’t strain,’ the Colonel said, ‘and you will never get piles.’

‘I wouldn’t mind it if I was a Colonel.’

‘I never mind it.’

‘You’d be overrun like a dose of salts,’ the waiter said.

‘Don’t tell the Honourable *Pacciardi*,’ the Colonel said.

...

‘It’s sort of funny up there [at Trieste],’ the Colonel said, ‘and I don’t mind it.’

‘We must mechanize the Honourable *Pacciardi*,’ the bar-tender said. ‘And supply him with the *atomic bomb*.’

‘I’ve got *three of them* in the back of the car,’ the Colonel said. ‘The *new model, complete with handles....*’ (ARIT 33, my emphases)

The bartender asks about “Trieste,” because Cantwell, as a Colonel of the American army, has stayed in the “Free Territory of Trieste” that Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister at that time, referred to in his well-known Iron Curtain speech⁶⁹ in 1946. The area, which existed between Italy and Yugoslavia from 1947 to 1954, was divided into northern (Zone A) and southern (Zone B) camps in 1948 and administrated, respectively, by the English-American army in the camp of the “Free World” and the Yugoslavian army led by Josip Broz Tito in the socialist camp. In the background of *Across the River*, both parties were growing tense along the border line called the “Morgan Line” (Kent 236) and Cantwell has been stationed in Trieste, a city located in the northern part. In this dialogue, the bartender admires Randolfo Pacciardi, who has bravely accepted an assignment as the Italian minister of Defense and is headed for some difficult maneuvering from here on out with the Free Territory of Trieste and suggests, as a joke, that the United States should equip him with atomic bombs. Cantwell counters this facetious suggestion with another joke that he brought the three latest atomic bombs, “complete with handles,” in his car.

Interestingly, the same image of “portable” type atomic bombs mentioned in Cantwell’s joke, can be seen in “No Nukes” art (Figures 17 and 18).⁷⁰ Both illustrations are ironically and contemptuously questioning whether mankind is qualified to own and use nuclear weapons, by depicting an American military officer carelessly juggling the atomic bombs and primitive men fighting with them.

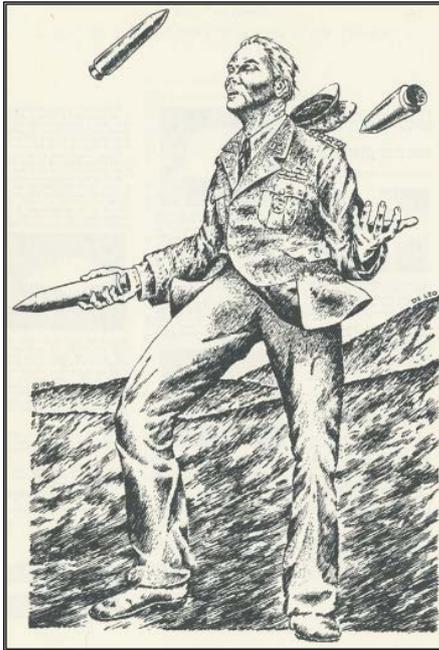


Fig. 17

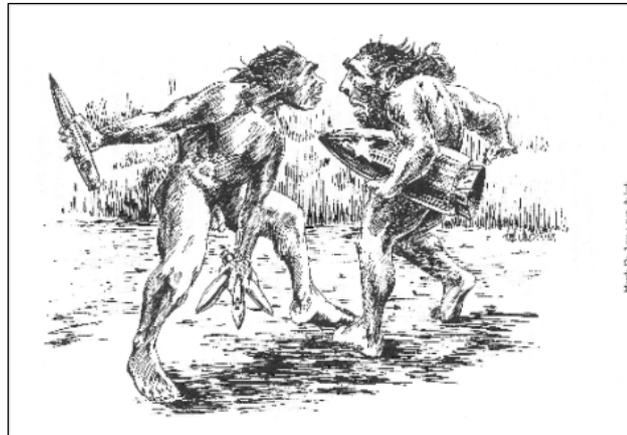


Fig. 18

This similarity suggests that Cantwell is making fun of atomic bombs with a satirical connotation. This ironic attitude toward nuclear weapons seems to result in the duplication of images of Cantwell’s atomic joke and the “No Nuke” art, as shown by the following dialogue:

‘I [Cantwell] can rest on my feet, or against a God-damned tree. My countrymen [American soldiers] sit down, or lie down, or fall down. Give them a few *energy crackers* to stall their whimpers.’ ...

‘Do they really have energy crackers?’ [Domenico said.]

‘Sure. It has something in it that *keeps you from getting erections*. It’s like the *atomic bomb*, only played backwards.’ (ARIT 144, my emphases)

Domenico, a hotel concierge, shows interest in the “energy crackers,” which Cantwell gives feeble American soldiers to inspire them with martial spirit. Cantwell, however, continues that the cracker “keeps you from getting erections.” According to Nicolas Rasmussen, during World War II, the U.S. and U.K. armies developed amphetamine or methamphetamine—tonic medicines with impotence as a physical side effect—and actually used them to strengthen their soldiers physically and mentally (3,76). Thus, “energy crackers” might be something with a similar side effect on male sexual performance. Cantwell apparently has contempt for these crackers and their side effects, as well as feeble soldiers. To describe how powerful the contemptible side effect of the contemptible crackers is for the contemptible soldiers, he makes an atomic joke by associating them with the image of atomic energy. Thus, Cantwell expresses an ironic attitude toward energy crackers, but also paradoxically to atomic bombs here as well.⁷¹

In both cases of atomic jokes, Cantwell expresses his ironic attitude toward something in conflict with his norms regarding war battles. Regarding the deep meaning of jokes, Sigmund Freud writes:

[W]e have, just as in the case of sexual aggressiveness, developed a new technique of invective, which aims at enlisting this third person [a listener to the jokes] against our enemy. By making our enemy small, inferior, despicable or comic, we achieve in a roundabout way the enjoyment of overcoming him.... A joke will allow us to exploit something ridiculous in our enemy which we could not, on account of obstacles in the way, bring forward openly or consciously... (Freud, *Jokes* 103)

Following this theory, Cantwell, when making the atomic jokes, could be seen as trying to make nuclear weapons smaller, inferior, despicable and comic. Craig Kleinman, who analyzes the jokes in *A Farewell to Arms* (1926), argues that the “politics of Henry’s retrospective narration emerge

in the form of jokes and their relation to his unconscious (and subconscious)” (56) and that “Jokes enable Henry to talk through pain and adapt to absurdity” (63). Assuming that is the case, when making atomic jokes, both Hemingway and Cantwell seem to regard atomic bombs or nuclear weapons as absurd.

At this point, Hemingway himself expresses his commitment to jokes saying that “I wouldn't kid Our Lord if he was on the cross. But I would attempt a joke with him if I ran into him chasing [sic] the money changers out of the temple” (*SL* 767). The relationship between jokes and “Our Lord [Jesus Christ]” in this remark seems to symbolize his ironic and distrustful attitudes toward the God in a series of his works.

Hemingway's ironic attitude toward atomic bombs can also be associated with the attitude seen in Japanese literature about nuclear weapons. Some atomic-bomb writers, according to Treat, are likely to express themselves by “ironicizing the poem, the play, the novel” (72). He writes what is generally called “atomic-bomb literature” in Japan “is literal, objective, and referential in just those ways that modern historiography aims to be” (xiv-xv) while “[m]ost nuclear literature in the United States ... is science fiction, which is to say a perpetual deferment of an historical fact into an immaterial future” (357).

Given this similarity of Hemingway to Japanese in dealing with nuclear weapons in their literary works, Hemingway's compassion for the only nation hit by nuclear bombs seems to be reflected in Cantwell's compassion for the shrimp “with tentacles longer than the moustaches of that old Japanese admiral” seen in his monologue: “master of retreat, and with your wonderful intelligence service in those two light whips, why did they not teach you about nets and that lights are dangerous? Must have been some slip-up” (*ARIT* 141).

Ritual Aspects and Humor in Battle Fields

When *Across the River* was published, according to Seán Hemingway, the unexpected change in Hemingway's writing style shocked the critics and readers, who “now expected him to

write a novel about World War II that would be bigger in every way than *For Whom the Bell Tolls*” (xxviii). Beatrice Washburn, one of the first critics who recognized the drastic change of his style, wrote that “A wistfulness has crept into Hemingway’s famous style, the style that made ‘Death in the Afternoon’ seem like a shout. He is beginning to doubt that blood and battles and violent death are really worth the energy they take” (304) immediately after *Across the River* was published. If, as Washburn suggests, Hemingway had really considered battles worthless since World War II, the change of his style might be explained by the issue of Hemingway’s commitment to rituals in wars.

Hemingway’s commitment to rituals has been pointed out by Malcolm Cowley in his introduction to *The Viking Portable Hemingway* as early as 1944. He argues “it is this instinct for legends, for sacraments, for rituals, for symbols appealing to buried hopes and fears, that helps to explain the power of Hemingway’s and his vast superiority over his imitators” (xxii). Such an insight of Cowley is supported by Max Lerner: “Cowley has an interesting suggestion that Hemingway is primitive in the sense that he is obsessed with ritual—the ritual of fishing, of bullfighting, of death, of love” (282). Hemingway also expresses his commitment to the ritual nature in *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), saying that “I believe that the tragedy of the bullfight is so well ordered and so strongly disciplined by ritual” (8).

Hemingway’s commitment to ritual nature can be applied to his war stories as well as the bullfight. This is because in *Death in the Afternoon*, Hemingway suggests that he regarded “battle fields” in the same light as a “bull ring”—as a place for him to see “violent death” in his well-known view of bullfights: “The only place where you could see life and death, *i.e.*, violent death now that the wars were over, was in the bull ring” (2). Cowley actually sees a rite “of symbolic death and rebirth” (xix-xx) in Hemingway’s battlefield passage, the Caporetto passage of *A Farewell to Arms*:

Two more shots came from the thick brush and Aymo, as he was crossing the tracks, lurched, ripped and fell face down. We pulled him down the other side and turned

him over.... He lay in the mud on the side of the embankment, his feet pointing downhill, breathing blood irregularly.... He was hit low in the back of the neck and the bullet had ranged upward and came out under the right eye. He died while I was stopping up the two holes. (*FTA* 213)

As Cowley points out, this scene, which is a good example of Hemingway's hardboiled style, is so objective that it surely seems to be a series of ritual procedures for a man to die in the battlefield.

This unemotional and indifferent feature in the narration of Hemingway's war descriptions seems related to humor. For example, the following passage in *Death in the Afternoon*, which later would be published as a short story entitled "A Natural History of the Dead" creates humor with an indifferent manner of narration:

[W]ar in the mountains is the most beautiful of all war, and in one of them, at a place called Pocol, they buried a general who was shot through the head by a sniper. ...this general died in a trench dug in snow, high in the mountains, wearing an Alpini hat with an eagle feather in it and a hole in front you couldn't put your little finger in and a hole in back you could put your fist in, if it were a small fist and you wanted to put it there, and much blood in the snow." (*DIA* 140)

This passage is completely different from the supposedly "tawdry" and "garrulous" jokes of Cantwell's in *Across the River*. The narrator's indifferent manner of describing the holes in the head of the dead makes a brutal death sound humorous. This mechanism can be explained in Freud's "the yield of humorous pleasure arises from an economy in expenditure upon feeling" (Freud, "Humour" 161). He also adds, "humour possesses a dignity which is wholly lacking, for instance, in jokes" (Freud "Humour" 163). Thus, ritual and unemotional features in Hemingway's hardboiled style seem related fundamentally rather to humor than to jokes. Washburn's negative assessment of

Across the River might come from the poor balance of humor and jokes in the war novel.

If Hemingway frequently left for battle fronts in order to observe this ritual aspect appearing in death, Hiroshima/Nagasaki might have made a great impact on the battlefield writer. Treat explains how the nuclear weapons influenced warfare itself:

The shift from shields and swords on the fields of Marathon to missiles hurled from space speaks not just to the direction of science but to the changed grip of the human hand which aims the weapon, a hand which is no longer unambiguously recognizable as “human.” It is important to realize that while nuclear fission and fusion are products of science, *nuclear weapons* are a product of culture, and consequently implicated in all our cultural predispositions, assumptions, and crises. (Treat 12, my emphasis)

Treat argues that the introduction of nuclear weapons into warfare was likely to make their users anonymous and advises us to consider the real meaning of it not only technologically, but also culturally. He continues: “Murdered as well was the *ritual nature* of combat, as we were alienated from the hands of our assailants” (Treat 18, my emphasis). These suggest that, since the introduction of nuclear weapons into warfare, battlefields can no longer provide Hemingway with the “ritual nature” or ritual aspects that he has long been willing to depict.

To Hemingway, nuclear weapons seem to mean the “cause of the cold war” as well as to most Westerners who were generally uninformed about the catastrophic damage in Hiroshima or Nagasaki. However, the new form of war might have been serious to the battlefield writer. Hemingway leaves a place for the battlefield or the bull ring to observe “violent death” because other ordinary places are so safe as to have little chance to see “violent death.” In other words, Hemingway has, at least mentally, demarcated a safety zone in those violent places. In the Cold War state, however, the normalization of the potential destruction of mankind has made this border

vague, which is implied by Cantwell saying, “What I would like to give her [Renata] is security, which does not exist any more” (*ARIT* 208). This change made an impact on Hemingway as a battlefield writer and changed his evaluation of battlefields themselves.

Thus, the bombs dropped in Japan were a big turning point—not only in the history of war, but also in Hemingway’s life as a writer, when both the “ritual nature” of battles and the value of battlefields were lost. And the two kinds of loss seem to be the true forms of “enemy,” “pain” or “absurdity” for Hemingway and Cantwell. Their atomic jokes are like aspirin necessary to deal with these cruel realities following Hiroshima/Nagasaki.

In *Across the River*, however, Cantwell cannot completely deal with such pain or absurdity only through his jokes. To relieve these mental distresses, he also plays a “game of make-believe” with his former fellow soldier in World War I—the head waiter called “*Gran Maestro*”:

‘We should have fought in Flanders in the old days.’ ... ‘I wish we could have fought with the Condottieri ... You could think and I would convey your orders.’ [the *Gran Maestro* said.]

‘We’d have to take a few towns for them to respect our thinking.’ [Cantwell said.]

...

‘You’d have to take two more.’

‘I know,’ the Colonel [Cantwell] said. He was a general now again, and he was happy. (*ARIT* 49)

They enjoy indulging themselves in speculation about fictitious military operations for the well-known battles in the past, such as a battle of Flanders in Belgium of World War I, just as Toby and his servant Trim do in Laurence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*.⁷² But even this prescription has a side-effect. Cantwell becomes so devoted to this pathetic make-believe play that even his former

comrade in arms cannot keep up with him: “I do not know whom you are fighting. . . . I know nothing, truly, about Condottieri. Nor really how they fought then. I only said I would like to fight under you in such times.” Then Cantwell reiterates, “There aren't any such times any more” (*ARIT* 50) and admits his preferred state of war has ended with the advent of nuclear weapons, just as Toby's precious illusion was broken by the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Thus, this pathetic attitude of Cantwell's, as well as his atomic jokes, imply the impact that the use of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima/Nagasaki made on him.

Choice of a Cold War Novel

Horst Oppel, comparing *Across the River* with two contemporary works—Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* (1948) and James Jones's *From Here to Eternity* (1952)—argues that “These authors accept anything that will show the total lack of dignity of this miserable creature ‘man,’” while “there is still enough joy of life to prevent it all from ending in doom and gloom” (224) in *Across the River*. This difference of Oppel's impressions, however, seems to reveal paradoxically Hemingway's distress as a battlefield writer. The difference between the two other writers and Hemingway is that, after World War II, the other two published battlefield novels depicting people during World War II while Hemingway published a Cold War novel depicting people after World War II. In other words, Mailer and Jones, despite living in the atomic age, were able to narrate death on the battlefields with no nuclear weapons introduced, but Hemingway was not. As stated above, he avoided publishing his battlefield stories of World War II during his lifetime. The only thing that Hemingway could do in the Cold War era was to have Cantwell—similarly living in a Cold War era—look back upon the battlefields in the past.

In Chapter 33 of *Across the River*, when Renata expresses compassion for the regiment altogether destroyed by “faulty intelligence” by saying, “I feel terribly about the regiment,” Cantwell replies, “So do I. Let's drink to it once. Then you go sleep, Daughter, please. The war is over and forgotten” (*ARIT* 180). Here, he seems to pray not only for the destroyed regiment, but

also for the past form of war itself that consisted of battles full of individual death and ritual aspects. Cantwell is in good faith with no jokes only when he talks about the past things of warfare, from his relation with Gabriele D'Annunzio in World War I (39-41), respects wounded and disabled soldiers with glass eyes or those who were "crips" (55-56), and even admires his enemies of World War II such as Erwin Rommel, a German Marshall (92). In contrast, Cantwell seems to care nothing for the potential battles with Yugoslavia in Trieste, saying "It's funny up there [at Trieste]...and I don't mind it" (*ARIT* 33).

This apathy of Cantwell's toward the present battles and battlefields seems to project the post war attitude of Hemingway, who returned to bullfighting. Hemingway neither left for the battlefields of the Korean War nor published another battlefield novel. Instead, he left for Spain again to visit the bull ring, which was another place where he could see the ritual of "violent death," and wrote and published *The Dangerous Summer*, which is considered a sister book to *Death in the Afternoon*. Cantwell's garrulous atomic jokes paradoxically express the "chagrin" that he feels at the advent of nuclear weapons. In this sense, *Across the River* can be seen as the requiem Hemingway dedicated to himself as a battlefield writer.

In October of 1947, when asked in *Time* magazine, "Has [the] postwar or atomic era had any influence on writers; has it had a tendency to dry them up creatively?" Ernest Hemingway answered, "Writers dry up when their juice dries up. [The] Atomic bomb [is] probably as fatal to writers as cerebral hemorrhage or senility. Meantime good writers should keep on writing" (Bruccoli 50-51, *Time*, 50 [4 August 1974], 80). This seems to be the most straightforward opinion on "writing" after the advent of the atomic age in all the available information on Hemingway. Comparing an atomic bomb to "cerebral hemorrhage" and "senility," Hemingway is here cautioning writers not to abuse the words "atomic bomb (or age)" as an excuse for not writing.

However, if asked this question after publishing *Across the River*, could Hemingway have denied the effect of living in an atomic age on his own writing activities? As one of his judgments on the "change after Hiroshima," to which readers' attention is called in his Forward to *Treasury*,

Hemingway, in the document written five years later, expresses an unpleasant feeling toward the Cold War caused by the advent of nuclear weapons and America's participation in the Korean War. Since the end of World War II, battles and battlefields had lost the power to attract Hemingway. The atomic jokes in *Across the River* express Hemingway's contempt for a new form of warfare lacking an esthetical attraction and reflect the pain and absurdity he had to face when he could no longer find ritual aspects he had so long observed.

Across the River is a text where Hemingway had his own projection take over the embarrassing role of narrating a story on World War II to readers during the Cold War. Charles Angoff, in his criticism of *Across the River*, writes, "In his desire to be 'realistic' he [Hemingway] has carried his brand of realism to a dead end" (326). The reason for the changes that Angoff and Washburn saw in Hemingway's mentality or style can be explained in the context of atomic bombs. After Hiroshima/Nagasaki, in effect, the advent of the atomic age was a moment when Hemingway could no longer keep up with the reality of warfare.

Chapter 5

Re-emergence of the Encounter with Long-haired Painters: The Hidden Influence of the Japanese Artists in *The Garden of Eden* Manuscripts

This chapter will discuss the influence of the Japanese whom Hemingway encountered in his Paris years on writings in his late years.

In 2009, Scribner restored *A Moveable Feast* (1964) and published *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition* (hereafter “the restored *Feast*”). In a new chapter titled “Secret Pleasures” of the restored *Feast*, Hemingway recollects that he met long-haired Japanese painters in Paris in his early 1920s, wanted to grow his hair like them, and actually tried to do so. He even continues that Hadley, his first wife, approached him with the perverse idea of “matching haircuts” or having a similar hairstyle by her husband growing his hair the same length as hers.⁷³

Hemingway began to write the restored *Feast* around September of 1957 (Baker, *Life Story* 538-39, Trogdon 287), soon after discovery of its drafts at the Paris Ritz in November 1956. In December 1957, as if moved by the linkage with writing the restored *Feast*, he revised *The Garden of Eden* manuscripts (hereafter *The Garden* manuscripts)⁷⁴ drastically (Trogdon 287). In *The Garden* manuscripts, though editorially reduced by Scribner editor Tom Jenks and published as *The Garden of Eden* in 1986, there were characters deleted, a couple named Nick and Barbara Sheldon. They carry through the same perverse desire in a different way from David and Catherine Bourne. The Bournes try to look similar with “matching short haircuts” and, in contrast, the Sheldons try “matching long haircuts” just as the Hemingways did after meeting the Japanese painters in “Secret Pleasures.”

It is clear, as J. Gerald Kennedy suggests, that Hemingway’s memory of these long-haired Japanese painters is related to “an esoteric connection between hair growth and gardening—or between androgyny and Edenic happiness” in *The Garden* manuscripts (173-75). In fact, Catherine

refers to a Japanese person when she explains to David her favorite dark and light shades of hair (*GOEm* Folder 11, Chapter 16, Page 24). And, the relation seems compatible with classic arguments around the issues of race, ethnicity, and perversion⁷⁵ in this novel, such as “hair fetishism” (Eby 69), “‘queer’ desires” (Moddelmog 42), and a “masochistic contract” (Fantina 62). In racial terms especially, the Japanese may be seen as parallel to African racial minorities when related to this “experimental compound of past and present” (Baker, *Life Story* 455).⁷⁶ However, the issue of perversion is not the only influence of the Japanese on Hemingway and his work.

This chapter deals with the Japanese immigrants moving to Paris for artistic purposes in the 1920s. They were painters and artists who, like Hemingway, decided to create their own works at this center of the arts. I argue that Hemingway’s encounter with long-haired Japanese painters in his Paris years impacted his artistic identification and, furthermore, that this experience influenced the plot of David’s recovery in *The Garden* manuscripts written in Hemingway’s later years.

First, I will discuss the editorial complicity of two posthumous works, *A Moveable Feast* and *The Garden of Eden*, which accidentally, have long kept the Japanese from the discussion around *The Garden of Eden*. And then I will examine the restored *Feast* to show what their long hair meant to Hemingway’s professionalism. Rereading *The Garden* manuscripts in that context makes clear the real meaning of David’s encounter with Nick, a long haired painter, in Hemingway’s literary experiment in the 1950s.

Two Couples Removed from Two Posthumous Works

In *The Moveable Feast*, published 45 years earlier than the restored *Feast*, Hemingway refers to the Japanese painters he happened to meet. In the chapter of “Ezra Pound and His Bel Esprit,”⁷⁷ Hemingway recollects when he visited Ezra Pound:

Ezra Pound was always a good friend and he was always doing things for people.

The studio where he lived with his wife Dorothy ... was as poor as Gertrude Stein’s

studio was rich. It had very good light and was heated by a stove and it had paintings by Japanese artists that Ezra knew. They were all noblemen where they came from and wore their hair cut long. Their hair glistened black and swung forward when they bowed and I was very impressed by them but I did not like their paintings. (*MF* 107, *MF-RE* 87)

Because this chapter begins with the introduction of Pound and the detailed description of his studio in comparison with Gertrude Stein's, it is likely that Hemingway is here recollecting the time when he visited Pound's studio for the first time. The season implied by the words "heated by a stove" suggests February 1922, when Hemingway met Pound for the first time in Paris (Meyers 71, 73, Trogdon 4). This first impression of Pound's studio involves the memory of Japanese painters that Pound supported there. The detailed description of them, such as "Their hair glistened black and swung forward when they bowed," shows the considerable degree of impact their long hair had on young Hemingway. However, the limited description of the Japanese painters before the restored *Feast* was published has long emphasized his "apathy" toward the Japanese paintings rather than his interest in their hair. Thus, the Japanese have long been left out of Hemingway studies.

This situation has changed, however, since Seán Hemingway, his grandson, published the restored *Feast*. In his introduction, he lays stress on his version's legitimacy:

During the nearly three years between the author's death and the first publication of *A Moveable Feast* in the spring of 1964, significant changes were made to the manuscript by the editors, Mary Hemingway and Harry Brague of Scribner's. A small amount of material that Hemingway had intended to include was deleted.... (*MF-RE* 3)

He explains how Mary Welsh, the fourth wife, and Harry Brague, the Scribner's editor, radically

and arbitrarily edited the original manuscripts of *A Moveable Feast*. Seán continues, “The introductory letter by Ernest Hemingway in *A Moveable Feast* was actually fabricated by Mary Hemingway from manuscript fragments” (*MF-RE* 3).⁷⁸ If we trust his grandson’s words; “I believe that it provides a truer representation of the book my grandfather [Ernest] intended to publish” (*MF-RE* 3), the relationship of Hemingway with the Japanese, as will be described later, has unfortunately been put aside for almost half a century, perhaps following his fourth wife’s personal decision.⁷⁹

It should be noted, on the other hand, that there also was a couple removed from *The Garden of Eden*. In this story, David, a writer, and Catherine, his wife, are on a European honeymoon, traveling freely along the Mediterranean coast of France and into Spain. And Marita, a younger girl, joins them to make a sexual triangle. During this trip, Catherine tries “matching short haircuts” with her husband. As stated above, however, in *The Garden* manuscripts there is another couple who try “matching long haircuts”: a painter named “Nick,” which Hemingway had liked to use for his protagonists, and his wife, Barbara. In the same way as the Bournes, Andrew Murray, a writer, has an affair with Barbara and makes another sexual triangle. The two stories of love triangles go in parallel with and cross each other in *The Garden* manuscripts. Jenks, however, removed the Sheldons fully, along with Murray and their connection to the Bournes, and published it as a story only about the Bournes.

Thus, since the two couples, the Hemingways and the Sheldons were edited from the two posthumous works, *A Moveable Feast* and *The Garden of Eden*, respectively, the “matching long haircuts,” a description applied to both couples, has been submerged along with the appropriate Japanese inspiration.

Long-haired Japanese Painters

Biographically, the Paris years of Hemingway generally consist of the two periods. In the first period, he stayed there from December 1921 until September 1923 as a correspondent for *The*

Toronto Star. In the second period, he began his life as a professional writer after having cut his ties to journalism. Hemingway and Hadley went back to Canada to give birth to John, his first son, and five months later they returned to Paris again on 30 January 1924. Now, Hemingway, just an inexperienced writer with no regular occupation, fell into poverty. Hemingway describes this arduous situation in “Hunger Was Good Discipline” and this was about the time when he often depended on Sylvia Beach’s kindness at Shakespeare and Company (*MF* 70-72, *MF-RE* 66-68).

In the first half of his Paris years, Hemingway, still doing newspaper work, had been forced to get a haircut to keep his friendship with other foreign correspondents frequenting the “right bank” of the Seine. This is a fact that was first revealed with the publication of the restored *Feast*:

As long as I did newspaper work...it was necessary to have one presentable suit, go to the barber.... These were a liability when I was trying to write because they made it possible to leave your own side of the river and go over to the right bank to see your friends there.... (*MF-RE* 184)

Hemingway recalls that to work as a correspondent he had to get frequent haircuts in addition to wearing a suit. For this reason, when with longer hair he happened to meet a foreign correspondent around the “Latin Quarter,” Hemingway was told “You mustn’t let yourself go, Hem [Hemingway]. It’s none of my business of course. But you can’t go native this way. For God’s sake straighten out and get a proper haircut at least” (*MF-RE* 184). On the other hand, however, when finding Hemingway with a decent hairstyle during a coverage tour, the same journalist friend told him, “You’re looking fit old boy. Dropped that bohemian nonsense⁸⁰ I see. What are you up to tonight? There is a very good place, absolutely special” (*MF-RE* 184) and tried to take him to the fashionable world (probably to enjoy a night of bacchanalian revelry), at which the young Hemingway of the day might have felt out of place.

These recollections of Hemingway suggest that in the early 1920s, the journalist community

on the right bank of the Seine gave a contemptuous look at the long hair regarded as “bohemian nonsense” of the artists settled on the left bank. Jean Méral says, “While it may be true that Fitzgerald’s Paris was largely restricted to the Right Bank, Hemingway’s city, on the other hand, is much more widespread, rich and fused with his most intimate experiences.... As Hemingway gained fame and fortune, he moved from one bank to the other and his knowledge of the capital was considerable” (146). Méral’s words are true, but in the second half of his Paris years after he came back to Paris again from Toronto with his newborn son, Hemingway had determined no longer to work for journalism, to start as a professional writer. In “Secret Pleasures” of the restored *Feast*, Hemingway recollects the feeling of freedom given by his decisive break with the journalistic establishment:

We were free people now in Paris and I did not have to go on assignments [as a journalist].

“And I’m never going to get a haircut,” I said while we were talking together at the Closerie des Lilas inside at a table where it was warm....

“Not if you don’t want, Tatie [Hemingway].”

“Do you remember the three Japanese painters at Ezra’s?”

“Oh yes, Tatie, they were beautiful but that would take an awfully long time.”

“That was the way I always wanted it.” (*MF-RE* 185-86)

Hemingway, now free from the obligation to get frequent haircuts as well as newspaper work, confesses he has wanted to grow his hair like the Japanese painters he met in Pound’s studio.

As a candidate model of these Japanese painters, previous studies have provided us with Tamijuro Kume (Figure 19)⁸¹, who had a biographical connection with Hemingway, Tamotsu Tanaka (Watanabe 23), who had a friendship with Pound and, in fact, some long-haired Japanese painters, such as Koji Foukiya (Figure 20) and Sadami Yokote (Figure 21)⁸² lived in Paris in the 1920s.⁸³



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21

However, young Hemingway's desire to imitate the hairstyles of the Japanese should not be equated with ordinary Orientalist desire or what Moddelmog calls "white people's desire to become Other" (116). There is a good reason why none other than the Japanese attracted Hemingway. At

that time, Hemingway had considerable interest in Japan (or the Japanese), which had been mounting since he was a child. According to his mother Grace Hall, Hemingway, at five and half years old, collected cartoons of the Russo-Japanese War (Brennen 66), in which he admired the Japanese way of fighting in his introduction written in 1941, remarking “you see what men could go through, with their spirits unconquered” (*MAW* xx). Grace Hall, who was also a dedicated civil-rights activist for Japanese immigrants, arranged for Hemingway, at his susceptible age of fourteen years old, and his sisters to attend the event called “The World Chicago” every weekend and to perform Japanese traditional weddings in traditional Japanese costumes (*Letters 1* 14). Also, as Hemingway suggests in his letter from Paris to his mother, “we have a landscape by Koume [a French spelling of “Kume”] the Japanese painter you may have heard of” (*Letters 2* 26), Grace Hall supposedly had an appreciation for the Japanese arts.

In these circumstances, it is no wonder Hemingway grew up with a mounting interest in the Japanese and their art and culture. This is confirmed by Hemingway’s writing, “The family are trying to get me to go to college but I want to go back to Italy and I want to go to Japan and I want to live a year in Paris” (*Letters 1* 185) in a letter to a fellow soldier during World War I, which was written in April 1919, soon after he came back from Italy. While making one of his dreams happen in Paris, Hemingway, who was forced to get frequent haircuts in accordance with journalist manners, met the long-haired artists from the country he had wanted to visit in another dream. It seems that in Hemingway’s mind, as a result, these long-haired Japanese painters symbolized an ideal appearance of an artist (including a writer) in contrast to the short trimmed hair of a journalist.

In his Paris years, Hemingway admired the freedom of an artist’s appearance, saying, “At that time we believed that any writer or painter could wear any clothes he owned and there was no official uniform for the artist” (*MF* 108-109, *MF-RE* 88-89). This idea of young Hemingway about a hairstyle of artists might be reflected in characters of *The Sun Also Rises* (1926). In this early work depicting the young American artists in Paris in the 1920s, Jake Barnes, the protagonist writer, feels an indefinable antipathy toward Robert Cohn, his friend who is also a writer, and shows it

with the monologue, “Why I felt that impulse to devil him I don’t know” (105). In the story, Jake often goes to the “[Latin] Quarter” (44) and has a relationship with an “extremely underfed-looking painter” (60). On the other hand, Cohn says, “I’m sick of Paris, and I’m sick of the Quarter” (19) and tries hard to look good by more frequent shaving and barbering than others (102-105, 154). Thus, in the context of the appearance young Hemingway considered suitable to an artist, readers should question Cohn’s fitness to serve as a writer, which can explain Jake’s indescribable hatred toward the vain writer frequently in a barber shop.

As if reaching forward to his ideal appearance as an artist, young Hemingway actually began to grow his hair. However, his imitation of the Japanese painters was not the only attempt he made to satisfy his desire to embody the ideal artist or writer. Growing his hair like the Japanese had more practical and strategic purposes for Hemingway as a professional writer:

I found out very quickly that the best way to avoid going over to the right bank and get[ting] involved in all the pleasant things that I could not afford and that left me with, at least, gastric remorse was not to get a haircut. You could not go over to the right bank with your hair cut like one of those wonderful looking Japanese noblemen painters who were friends of Ezra’s. That would have been ideal and would have limited you to your own side of the river completely and kept you working.... After three months you would have a good start on the sort of hair cut Ezra’s wonderful Japanese friends had and your right bank friends would think of you as damned. (*MF-RE* 183)

Hemingway recalls that as his hair was growing, his “right bank friends” began to consider the long-haired Hemingway as “damned”⁸⁴ and their friendships broke up, which as a consequence helped him keep doing creative activities on the left bank. That is, his imitation of the long-haired Japanese helped Hemingway, practically, to create an ideal environment for writing.

Here, let us reconsider the meaning of “enjoyment” Hemingway feels below:

I never knew just what it was that you were supposed to be damned to but after four months or so you were considered damned to something worse. I enjoyed being considered damned and my wife and I enjoyed being considered damned together.
(*MF-RE* 183-84)

About this enjoyment of Hemingway’s, Kennedy makes the insightful comment that “The association between long hair and damnation forms a key motif,” but he unfortunately reaches the rather ordinary conclusion of an “esoteric connection between androgyny and Edenic happiness” (174-75). However, considering the practical merits of his longer hair, Hemingway, making fun of the ridiculous damnation that came with it rather enjoyed feeling himself changing little by little from a journalist into an artist or a writer in terms of identity and environment.

Thus, the idea of “matching long haircuts” with his wife, having been considered mostly as a perverse or sexual issue, can now be discussed as a more creative and philosophical issue of an ideal artist. Hemingway encountered the Japanese painters in Pound’s studio in Paris in winter and their long hair was symbolized as an ideal of an artist in his mind, which backed up his change of occupation at a decisive turning point in his life. And this fact is significant not only biographically, but also critically when we examine *The Garden* manuscripts.

Long-haired Nick

According to Baker, “In the intervals of work on his sketchbook [of Paris], he [Hemingway] had also been rewriting his long novel, *The Garden of Eden*,” and “he revised twenty-eight chapters” (*Life Story* 540). The duplication of the writing period of two different manuscripts and his huge volumes of revision of *The Garden* manuscripts suggest that his discovery of the “Ritz Draft” encouraged Hemingway not only to write the restored *Feast* but also to revise *The Garden*

manuscripts.

This is evidenced by the fact that the two couples in the different works have a lot in common. For example, in the restored *Feast*, when Hemingway says, “That [hairstyle of the three Japanese painters] was the way I’ve wanted it,” as shown before, his wife proposes “matching long haircuts” saying that “I thought maybe it [your hair] could be the same as mine” (*MF-RE* 185-86). Similarly, the dialogue below in *The Garden* manuscripts suggests that Barbara has proposed “matching long haircuts” as well to Nick, her husband:

“But Nickie how did you get it so long?”

“It took *five months*.”

“It must have. But how did you do it?”

“Don’t you remember when you asked me to?”

“I always asked you to.”

“Well anyway *this time* I told the barber I wanted to let it grow because you liked it.” (Spilka 288, in Book 2 of *GOEm*, my emphases)

Quoting this dialog in Book 2, Spilka points out that “they have experienced androgynous love without previous qualms” (Spilka 287) but that is not necessarily so. In actual fact, Nick, whether intentionally or not, has failed to grow his hair and only “this time,” which means “for the first time,” he was successful in growing his hair for as long as five months. Related to their “matching long haircuts,” the opening of Book 2 of *The Garden* manuscripts involves several stepping stones for the whole plot:

With the other two [the Sheldons] it had started *at the end of February*. It had really started long before that but there had been no actual date, as there was for the day in May that Catherine had ridden up to Aigues Morte and back to Legran de Roi

[with a shorter haircut], until *this night* and the following morning *at the end of February* in Paris. None of them remembered the actual dates ... on which they had... gone to the museum where the changings had started. One girl [Barbara] had forgotten that it had started there and for her perhaps, it had not [, but for Nick it had] but she too had seen the bronze [of Rodin] long before.

“Let’s think of something fun to do that we’ve never done that will be secret and wicked,” the girl [Barbara] had said. (Spilka 287, the beginning of Book 2 of *GOEm*, my emphases)

The “bronze of Rodin” has long been noted as a stepping stone for the plot of this novel. The two wives, Catherine and Barbara, were both meant to be encouraged to try “matching haircuts,” coincidentally by seeing the “Rodin statue from ‘The Gates of Hell’” in the Rodin Museum in Paris (Spilka 285-87).

More significantly here, however, readers should note the date, the “end of February,” which appears twice in the opening of Book 2. Apparently, Book 2 begins with the scene of Nick and Barbara staying at their apartment in Paris on “this night” at the “end of February.” And this night, Barbara notices the length of Nick’s hair and proposes “matching long haircuts” with her husband. And then, the “following morning” at the “end of February,” their “matching long haircuts” are achieved. In short, the “end of February” is a symbolic period of time when Nick, for the first time, successfully changes himself into a long-haired painter, who David compares to “Indian [Native American] kids” or “condottiere” (Spilka 288, 312) (Figures 22 and 23).⁸⁵ The Japanese painters, an actual model involved in Hemingway’s reality, were probably replaced by long-haired figures more familiar to Western readers of *The Garden of Eden*. In the next section, collecting such strategic arrangements, we will examine the real meaning of David’s encounter with long haired Nick in Book 3 of *The Garden* manuscripts.



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

Encounter at the End of February

The most significant difference of *The Garden* manuscripts with Jenks' *The Garden of Eden* is that there are two different couples and that they meet each other in a single text. According to Spilka, in Chapter 1 of Book 3, "David and Catherine run into the Sheldons at Hendaye" and "when Barbara and Catherine regard each other with mutual admiration and desire, upon meeting at Hendaye (Ms. 3/1/2-3)" (Spilka 295, 297, Chapter 1 of Book 3). Though Hendaye is the most southwesterly town, a commune in France, David confesses that he has met the Sheldons in Paris before the meeting at Hendaye at the beginning of Chapter 3 of Book 3:

He [David] had started to write about the Sheldons taking up when he had seen them in a bistrot [*sic*] together at dinner on a cold night in Paris *at the end of February*. (Spilka 295, Chapter 3 of Book3 of *GOEm*, my emphasis)

The narrator reveals that at the "end of February," David had already met Nick and Barbara to have dinner with them on a cold night in Paris. Also, it is suggested that Barbara intentionally arranged the dinner with David probably to show him a newly made "matching long haircut" by the

description that “He [David] put down how Barbara had smiled at him as though he were a co-conspirator” (Spilka 295, Chapter 3 of Book 3 of *GOEm*). That is, David met the Sheldons almost immediately after they had achieved “matching long haircuts” for the first time. In other words, this is also David’s first time to meet the couple with “matching long haircuts.” In this sense, the “end of February” was probably one of Hemingway’s ingenious devices.

More important is that since the “end of February,” he had been writing about the Sheldons. This suggests that their “matching long haircuts” might have stimulated David’s creativity. More precisely, however, David seems to focus on Nick rather than his wife, Barbara. This is evidenced by his monologue:

Certainly I am not limited to that as a subject and what importance has it? He [Nick] is a painter and a damned good painter and what difference does it make, any of it? (Spilka 295, Chapter 3 of Book 3 of *GOEm*).

When he thinks of the importance of the Sheldons, David comes up not with Barbara, who has long been David’s friend, but rather Nick, a “damned” good painter.⁸⁶ Thus, David’s motivation for writing seems to depend largely on Nick, a long-haired painter.

Related to this significance of David’s encounter with long-haired Nick, readers should remember that David “was not working” and he thought “It would be good to work again” (*GOE* 14) in the first chapter of Book 1. As suggested with the sentence, “[t]his was the first writing he had finished since they were married” (*GOE* 108), David had not been writing until he met Nick at the end of February. This is related to the following descriptions:

[H]e [David] thought that perhaps he was writing so easily because, not having tried to force any writing before, he was coming fresh to it now. If it [the story about the Sheldons] is worthless, he thought, it will be good five finger exercises to get started

with. (Spilka 295, Chapter 3 of Book 3 of *GOEm*)

Writing about the Sheldons is good exercise “to get started with [other different stories in David’s head].” As quoted before, he is “not limited to a subject” and has many subjects to write about. On the other hand, however, David has not “tried to force any writing before” since he married Catherine three weeks⁸⁷ before “one day in May that Catherine had ridden up to Aigues Morte and back to Legran de Roi [with a shorter haircut]” (Spilka 287, the beginning of Book 2 of *GOEm*) and, as a consequence, he has taken leave from his job as a writer for approximately ten months from April or May to the end of February of the following year.

In such a serious situation for a writer’s identity, David encounters long-haired Nick. In the case of writing about the Sheldons, David “was writing so easily,” because he “was coming fresh to it.” Though Jenks, unfortunately, removed the opening part in Chapter 3 of Book 3 along with the whole of Book 2, David’s original impetus to write about the Sheldons paves the way for other stories, including “An African Story,” which David has come up with but been unable to begin to write (*GOE* 93, 107-8, 159-60, 197-205). In short, David, a writer who has been in an identity crisis as a writer, encounters a long-haired painter, Nick, on a cold night in Paris, which is a trigger for his recovery as a professional writer.

This original plot of *The Garden* manuscripts dovetails perfectly with the way the young Hemingway’s artistic career had found inspiration in an encounter with the long-haired Japanese painters in Pound’s studio, heated by a stove in Paris on a very cold day in February. Thus, when working on both manuscripts of *A Moveable Feast* and *The Garden of Eden* at the same time after the discovery of the “Ritz drafts,” Hemingway made use of the memory of his Paris years and decided to give Nick Sheldon two roles in the plot of the earlier part of *The Garden* manuscripts. One role is that of young Hemingway who was growing his hair to meet his wife’s desire for “matching long haircuts.” And the other is of the long-haired Japanese painters whose appearance helped Hemingway to build an identity as a writer in a decisive period for his artistic career.

In *The Garden of Eden*, published widely in 1963, the narrator says that David “was not working [writing]” (*GOE* 14) in Chapter 1 of Book 1, but in Chapter 4 of Book 2, the same narrator unexpectedly reveals that the writer, in a slump, had begun “to work in the room” and “went on writing” (*GOE* 37). This unnatural or perhaps defective part in the plot of the early part of *The Garden of Eden*, in fact, results from Jenks’s removing David’s encounter with long-haired Nick in Chapter 3 of Book 3, along with Book 2 of *The Garden* manuscripts.

The 1920s Paris, which symbolized the modernization of the world, attracted people from Japan as well as the United States and other countries. Hemingway’s encounter with the Japanese, as what has been referred to as a “racial other,” in his Paris years, not only stimulated the couple’s “matching long haircuts” desire but, more significantly, also inspired his new artistic identity and then, even if indirectly, helped Hemingway to pave the way for a career as a professional writer.

Only when reading *The Garden* manuscripts in this context of Hemingway’s encounter with long-haired Japanese painters can readers understand why Nick Sheldon should be a long-haired painter and meet David, a writer in a slump who has had identity trouble in Paris in February. According to Baker’s previous suggestion of an “experimental compound of past and present,” Hemingway probably decided to use the Japanese as a racial element of the “past” in the work, just as he did the African as the “present” one. Moddelmog accuses Jenks of reducing “the chance that critics might use *The Garden of Eden* as another piece of evidence verifying Hemingway’s racism” (Moddelmog 67). Jenks’s edition, however, should be questioned in terms of interracial influences on the author’s artistic identity and his works. Due to his editorial blindness, Jenks accidentally prevented David from encountering long-haired Nick and then fully destroyed the significant plot pertinent to its protagonist’s artistic identity, which Hemingway artfully created from his interracial experience.

The Garden manuscripts, though Hemingway’s later attempt, have plenty of thematic and technical elements of modernist literature, such as perversion, an imitation of a racial other, interracial experiences, and a construction in a mosaic pattern. Unfortunately, this novel finally

stopped without reaching its decisive conclusion during his lifetime. However, the memory of his encounter with the Japanese painters in the cosmopolitan Paris of the 1920s, where interracial encounters could be frequent, probably reminded Hemingway of the modernist way of creating and encouraged him to try this experimental attempt in the late 1950s. In this sense, the Japanese, like other races, were an essential fragment of the mosaic portrait of the “modernist Hemingway.”

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have discussed the connections between Hemingway's life and writings and East Asia, specifically Japan and China. First, in Introduction, I showed some of Hemingway's real-life encounters with Japan and China by referring to biographical materials available now. These materials indicated that Hemingway's encounters with Japan and China mostly came with wars or migration, which became active in modern times. For example, the Russo-Japanese War interested the five-year old Hemingway and he referred to this war in his late years.

In the chapters following Introduction, I have discussed Hemingway's connections with Japan and China through analyses of his novels and archival texts. In Chapter I, I have argued that his novel, *A Farewell to Arms*, with a background of World War I, contains many of the issues of the US-Japan conflicts regarding increased Japanese immigration to the United States and the hegemony dispute over the Pacific. The narrator-Frederic's cynicism of himself at the end of the story alludes to the dilemma of Frederic hidden in World War I between an individual nationalism and the allied solidarity in modern times. In this sense, Frederic's criticism of Japan in the text plays an important role in evoking war's absurdity as depicted in *A Farewell to Arms*, deepening Hemingway's war literature.

In Chapter 2, I took up Hemingway's novel set in the Great Depression era with a focus on the Chinese illegal immigrants and the Chinese smuggling business broker who appear in the novel. The 1930s was the time when many Chinese people tried to immigrate to the United States. Those Chinese probably appear in *To Have and Have Not* to seek for the benefits of Chinatown slumming tourism. Harry Morgan's hostile attitude toward rich tourists might come not only from the economic disparity but also an identity crisis at being considered a tourist resource by slummers.

The Great Depression that started in 1929 forced Japan to realize the downside of joining the global economy for the first time after its opening to the world. The worldwide economic downturn accelerated Japan's colonial policy in China, which developed into the Second Sino-Japanese War.

During this war, Hemingway visited China both as a spy for the US government and as a propagandist for China's Kuomintang. In Chapter 3, I argued that this experience caused Hemingway to consider the meaning of being a true writer.

After World War II, Hemingway referred to atomic bombs in his letters and writings. In Chapter 4, I discussed the atomic jokes in *Across the River* and argued that they reflect the absurdity Hemingway had to face when he could not find ritual aspects in the battles or the value of battlefields in the Cold War age. In the early 1950s, Hemingway expressed an unpleasant feeling toward America's policy in East Asia, where the dynamics of the cold war caused China's separation into mainland China and Chinese Taipei and divided Korea between north and south.

In his late years, Hemingway was working on *The Garden of Eden*. In Chapter 5, examining its manuscript and the latest version of the memoir of his Paris years in the 1920s, I have argued that Hemingway created this story in conjunction with his memory of the long-haired Japanese painters who influenced his career as a professional writer.

No scholars might deny that Hemingway's modernism relies mainly on cosmopolitan nature in his writings. It has been illuminating to focus on race, such as Indians, Africans, and Cubans. Amy Strong writes, "[b]linded by Hemingway's image as the great white male of American letters, readers have marginalized, overlooked, and ignored his nonwhite characters" (143). I perfectly agree with her, but even her point of view misses Japanese or Chinese. By showing how East Asian countries and their peoples were involved in Hemingway's life and writings, I believe this dissertation has contributed to elucidating Hemingway's interest in the racial and regional other and augmenting the cross-cultural and comparative literary studies of Hemingway. East Asia in modern times played a more significant part in Hemingway's life and writings than what has heretofore been acknowledged.

Notes

Introduction

1. This seems to be evidenced by the fact that there has been little discussion of “Two Soldiers” and “Shall Not Perish” by Japanese scholars even though they both deal with Japan’s Pearl Harbor attack (Faulkner 63-81, 83-97). At this point, this dissertation deals with Hemingway’s war perspective as seen in his reference to the Pearl Harbor attack during Japan’s process of modernization.
2. See Imamura.
3. According to Leicester Hemingway, when Ursula, one of his younger sisters, visited Hemingway in Havana, Cuba some forty years later, he and his sister were able to sing the Chinese version of “Jesus Loves Me,” which they had learned from their Chinese-fashioned cousins, “until the tears rolled down their cheeks” (25).
4. The pictures of the book covers and Hemingway’s marginalia in this introduction were taken by the author at the Ernest Hemingway Museum in Cuba in 2008 and are used by courtesy of the museum. I thank the museum staff for their cooperation.
5. Every Saturday afternoon from 3 May to 7 June, they “enacted a ‘Japanese Wedding,’ a scene in the Pageant of Women’s Missions, in which EH played the part of ‘Go Between’” (*Letters* 14).
6. This seems the act which led to the National Origins Formula between 1921 and 1965.
7. Sandra Spanier, the general editor of the Hemingway Letter Project, authorized the credibility of the marginalia in Figures 4 and 5 as being in Hemingway’s own hand.
8. For details, refer to Nihon Sichokaku Kyozei Center’s *The Inventory of Educational Film Materials Selected by the Japanese Ministry of Education: CD-ROM Data Base 1954-2001*.
9. The copy of *Green Hills of Africa* was translated by Koji Nishimura and published by Mikasashobo in 1956. The copy of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was the first part of two volumes translated by Yasuo Okubo and published by Mikasashobo in 1951. The copy of *The Old Man and the Sea* was translated by Tsuneari Fukuda and published by Tuttle Publishing in 1954.

Chapter 1

10. In the interview by Robert Manning, Hemingway says, “Young had a theory that was ... the Procrustean bed” (Manning 178) and offers rebuttals to Young’s criticism.
11. Due to the domestic problem of revolution, Russia began negotiations with Germany, a

principal nation of the Central Powers, in December 1917. The internal turmoil caused by people who accused the Russian government of chronic warfare culminated in the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II in March 1917 and in November the Bolshevik Party, led by Vladimir Lenin, took the place of the provisional government and, in December, demanded an immediate end to the war.

12. These articles on Russia's separate peace are dated Mar 28, May 20, May 31 in 1917, and Jan 14 in 1918 from the left. The document URLs are <http://search.proquest.com/docview/99933325?accountid=28011>, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/98102117?accountid=28011>, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/99954596?accountid=28011>, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/100049140?accountid=28011> respectively from the left. Accessed on February 5, 2016.
13. About this secret agreement, Repington writes, “[c]onversations between the two [French and English] Staffs, without any binding agreement between Governments, were permissible measures of prudence. It was arranged that a paper should be signed... stipulating that the conversations should not commit either Government” (Repington vol.1 13).
14. In fact, Hemingway, before writing *A Farewell to Arms*, possibly read the passages about alliances and secret agreements behind World War I. In a 22 October 1929 letter to F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hemingway writes, “Gallipoli Memories by Compton Mackenzie ... is damned good and the most amusing war book I’ve read since Repington—Wdnt [I wouldn’t] wonder if it wd [would] go down with G[eorge] Moore’s Hails and Farewells” (SL 309). This is evidence that Hemingway had collected information on World War I through other war books before or during writing *A Farewell to Arms*, and the books by writers above are actually listed in Hemingway’s book inventory (Brasch and Sigman 236, 259, 303).
15. In a 7 June 1929 letter for Maxwell Perkins, Hemingway informs that he omitted obscene words such as “shit” and “fart” from the scene of the field hospital in *A Farwell to Arms*, but adds that these words can be seen in Shakespeare’s works and Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front*, which sells well, in order to imply the omission was done against his will. (SL 297). Also, in a 13 September 1929 letter to F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hemingway asks if *A Farwell to Arms* has been published in the United States and says his impression of *All Quiet on the Western Front* was that “it was damned good” (SL 307).
16. Judging from identifications of the dominical year of the time-related words in the text, such as “In the late summer [in 1915]” (3), “The next year [of 1916]” (5), “in the summer [in 1916],” “at the end of fall [in 1916]” (6), “the spring [in 1917] had come” (10), “The States

had declared war on Germany [in April, 1917]" (75), Frederic enlisted in the Italian army soon after Italy's entry into the war against Austria-Hungary in April, 1915.

17. In this context, the priest is offended by Frederic's cancelling his visit with the priest's relatives in Abruzzi not only because their preparation for welcoming was ruined (*FTA* 13), but also probably because he intended to grow the affection to Italy in Frederic as a satisfactory reason to enlist in the Italian army.
18. About this dialogue, Lewis points out the "most ironic juxtaposition that points out the absurdity of nationalism or patriotism based on unquestioned abstractions" (122). However, given the fact that Frederic has enlisted in the Italian army two years before the US entry into the war, it can be said that the priest's irony is not related to Frederic's nationalism and patriotism, but to his indifference to his own reason to enlist in the Italian army.
19. For example, Kalakaua, the king of Hawaii, visited Japan in 1881 and explored the possibility of his daughter's betrothal to a Japanese imperial prince because of a sense of crisis regarding America's increasing political privilege in Hawaii (Haley 237-38, Nishio 36-41). In 1893, when the pro-American group launched a coup d'état in Hawaii, the Japanese armored cruiser *Naniwa* was dispatched to Hawaii and fired warning shots toward the pro-American group to protect Japanese citizens (Haley 305-306, Nishio 93).
20. "52262" in the telegram means "Japan" (Tuchman 148-49, 201-202, my emphases).
21. Germany asked Mexico to enter into the war against the United States in exchange for helping Mexico get back the territory that the United States obtained from Mexico (Mexican Cession) as a result of the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) (Stevenson 313). On the other hand, Germany secretly contacted Japan to seek the possibility of Japan and Russia's separate peace in 1916 (Stevenson 315).
22. This seems to be a series of anti-Japanese agitations since the Japanese victory over Russia (1905). In particular, the California Alien Land Law, which was intended to exclude only Japanese immigrants and approved despite the US-Japan Gentlemen's Agreement (1908), caused strong antipathy from the Japanese government.
23. Tuchman writes "it can be said without question that most people, including responsible people, in Germany, in the rest of Europe, as well as in America, believed that Japan was planning and might undertake at any time some action in Mexico aimed at the United States" but she also adds, "Japan's real intentions in Mexico at this time were probably opportunist; she was ready to take advantage of favorable circumstances but not ready for open aggression" and denies an intention of aggressive attack on the United States in the early twentieth century (Tuchman 64).

24. For example, there are “finger game” (9), “chess game” (26), “billiard” (254, 260), “card game” (290, 329), and “football game” (291) in *A Farwell to Arms*.

Chapter 2

25. Representations of Asians in *To Have and Have Not* have not been discussed in articles in major international journals, including *The Hemingway Review*. Even in Japan, there have not been essays focusing on Asian or Chinese representations. Keiko Nitta’s essay is the only exception. Nitta deals with the portrayal of Asians in terms of gender and argues that Chinese characters such as Sing make “gender troubles” for the text due to their sexually neutral appearance.
26. George M. Fredrickson says that racism is “more than theorizing about human differences or thinking badly of a group over which one has no control. It either directly sustains or proposes to establish a racial order, *a permanent group hierarchy that is believed to reflect the laws of nature or the decrees of God*” (6, my emphasis). In this context, this dissertation uses the term “racial hierarchy,” with an assumption that “whites are unquestionably superior to the colored races” (Fredrickson 145).
27. According to Takaki, for example, as much as one-fifth of twenty-eight million dollars, the annual income generated by San Francisco tourism in 1938, was earned by its Chinatown, which was the second most popular tourist attraction following Golden Gate Bridge (248).
28. <http://5nnw1799.blog.com/2013/02/26/grottos-of-chinatown-the-dorus-noel-stories-9781935031086-arthur-j-burks-john-locke>. Accessed February 3, 2016.
29. By “slummers,” I refer to those who do slumming in this dissertation as Chad Heap does in his book. Unfortunately, the book does not provide us with a definition of “slummers” itself, but using his context, slummers can be defined as people who “were captivated by the districts’ dance halls, opium dens, and black-and-tan resorts—both because of their unabashed association with illicit sex and because of the entrée such spaces provided to the new realm of commercialized public leisure” (Heap 101). Slummers, however, also served as muckrakers or economic promoters. Slummers “gave lie to the commonly held notion that U.S. cities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were little more than urban congeries of highly segregated racial and sexual communities. Moreover, they spurred the development of an array of new commercialized leisure spaces that simultaneously promoted social mixing and recast the sexual and racial landscape of American urban culture and space” (Heap 2).
30. In 1913, Barnes actually visited New York’s Chinatown and wrote articles about it for

Brooklyn Daily Eagle (Barnes 123-30). Hemingway's reference to slumming in Chinatowns cannot be seen in his writings, but, as previously stated, the Hemingways would often visit a Chinese restaurant named El Pacifico in Havana after moving to Cuba in 1940 (Gregory H. 53).

31. A partial model for Morgan is Joe Russell, who was a rum-running fisherman and once owner of Sloppy Joe's Bar in Key West (Baker, *Life Story* 239, *SL* 524), but description of his racial identity cannot be found in any biographical and letter materials.
32. Part 1 of *To Have and Have Not* was originally published with the title "One Trip Across" in *Cosmopolitan* in April 1934. Part 2 appeared as "The Tradesman's Return" in *Esquire* in February 1936, and after July 1936, these were combined with Part 3 (Meyers 292).

Chapter 3

33. The Reference Library is "國民黨黨史館" in traditional Chinese language.
34. The actual title of the original document in traditional Chinese characters is "中央宣傳部國際宣傳處工作概要(二十七年迄三十年四月)."
35. In this dissertation, I will use the expression "propaganda for the Kuomintang of China" because the classified document was produced during The Second Front (1937-1946). The alliance between the Kuomintang of China and the Chinese Communist Party was largely a façade as far as propaganda operations were concerned.
36. According to Reynolds, the file of NKVD, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, which was a predecessor of the KGB, summarizes Hemingway's poor record as a Soviet spy. Reynolds concludes that Hemingway "eventually concluded that working with the KGB was not patriotic" and "he may have wanted to be a spy" (N. Reynolds 11-12), which supports the argument of this chapter.
37. Some of the reasons for Hemingway to have a negative image of China, according to Gellhorn, are that he "had an uncle who was a medical missionary in China and took out his own appendix on horseback" and that he was "forced to contribute dimes from his allowance to convert the heathen Chinese" (*Travels* 10).
38. This was the small unit of troops organized personally by Hemingway around 1942 to crack down on the Nazi's spy agents trying to land on Cuba. By the time they escalated the activities into equipping *Pilar*, his fishing boat, and patrolled for German U-boats in the waters around Cuba, they began to be considered amateur and were disbanded in September of 1943 without finding a U-boat (Baker, *Life Story* 372-81, Trogdon 234).
39. At the time just before the Liberation of Paris during World War II, Hemingway was in the

Rambouillet, a town near Paris, and led some partisans there. Hemingway was interrogated later, because doing this as a journalist might have been a violation of the Geneva Convention (SL 572-74).

40. See Millett (434).
41. The Reference Library of the Kuomintang of China is not certain when the document was released, but presumably it was sometime between 1969 and 1979, when The Kaohsiung Incident (also known as the Formosa Magazine Incident) occurred—a turning point for pro-democracy groups and the Kuomintang political opposition in Taiwan.
42. The figure and Chinese sentences from the classified document used in this chapter are all based on the materials provided by Shudo Higashinakano, a professor at Asia University in Japan. My English translations of Chinese sentences in this chapter are based on the Japanese translations he provided. I thank Professor Higashinakano for the great help.
43. The actual title of the chapter in traditional Chinese is “乙. 引導記者及國際友人晉謁黨政軍當局。”
44. At the present time “Hemingway” is generally written “海明威” in Chinese language.
45. There is no reference in Moreira’s book to Hollington K. Tong, Zeng Xubai, their publications, or the International Department and the Ministry of Information.
46. Chiang Kai-shek’s diaries from 1917 to 1945 have recently become available for consultation at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution Archives. According to Carol A. Leadenham, Assistant Archivist for Reference, Chiang’s diary entry for 14 April 1941 makes no mention of Hemingway’s visit.
47. Most foreign reporters visiting China in early 1941 were interested in how the alliance between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party (The Second United Front) had been destabilized by a Communist-Kuomintang incident on 4 January 1941 (now known as the New Fourth Army Incident). U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, perhaps via his right-hand man Harry Dexter White, asked Hemingway to gather intelligence on China (Moreira 77).
48. This excerpt also appears in *China and the World Press* (1948?), which Tong revised for *Dateline: China* (1950).
49. Hemingway advocates the need to support China, an ally of the United States, in his articles for *PM* and in his introduction to *Men at War*, but he does not especially favor either the Kuomintang of China or the Chinese Communist Party. One example of favorable comment on the Kuomintang by Hemingway shows his doubtful value as a propagandist: “The fact

- that there are any vestiges of democracy in China after the length of time she has been at war proves that she is a country that we can admire very much” (“U.S. Aid to China,” *BL* 327).
50. In an earlier edition, *China and the World Press*, the chapter title was “Foreign Visitors.”
 51. Tse-ven Soong [T.V. Soong] was Chiang Kai-shek’s special representative in Washington D.C. and appears as “Whatchumacallit” in Gellhorn’s *Travels*. He allowed the Hemingways to use his own apartment during their stay in Chungking (Moreira 188-89).
 52. Ingersoll appears to have recognized the Ministry of Information and its propagandistic intent. According to Ingersoll, there were banquets “for the correspondents and the Chinese Ministry of Information” (49). Gellhorn says the Hemingways attended several banquets, some of which doubtless represented Ministry of Information hospitality.
 53. John Gunther, also listed in the classified document but not among the V.I.P. members, described Chiang Kai-shek this way: “I have sketched several of the sources of Chiang Kai-shek’s power. The most important is that he has become, for good or ill, the symbol of Chinese unity.... Chiang is no supreme boulder across the path of history: he is no Lincoln, no Alexander. But probably he is the strongest Chinese individual since the third century B.C. when the Great Wall was built” (Gunther 200). Such a honeyed way of describing Chiang may be one of the reasons why Tong retained Gunther’s name in his later publication.
 54. When Hemingway revised his introduction to *Men at War* in 1955, this excerpt remained unchanged. See Richard K. Sanderson, who has elaborated on the differences between the two introductions.
 55. There is a discrepancy in his opinions on the defense of Hong Kong—in public he pronounced it excellent—in private, poor (Baker 364). He publicly stated that a Japanese attack on the U.S. was impossible—in private, he believed it was possible. Hemingway did not report on the feud between the Kuomintang of China and the Chinese Communist Party, or on his meeting with Chou En-Lai (周恩来), in Chungking as the Communist Party’s official representative during Hemingway’s visit. Such contradictions illustrate the conflict between the “writer’s job” of telling the truth and his patriotism in time of war.
 56. Robert Neville, another correspondent for PM visiting China, referred to Chiang’s press censorship as “tighter than Hitler’s” (Milkman 93).

Chapter 4

57. In this chapter, the word “nuclear” will be used exclusively as a kind of weapon and the “atomic age” means the time since nuclear power was introduced in the history of warfare. As a reason for that, the available information does not show Hemingway refers to the

peaceful use of atomic power—even after 1953 when Dwight Eisenhower made the “Atoms for peace” speech—while Charles Scribner refers to the draft of *A Moveable Feast* (1964) as “a fine controlled thermo-nuclear reaction” in his letter to Hemingway (Burwell 226). There is no record about Hemingway’s reference to a series of nuclear weapon tests by the United States at Bikini Atoll, whose nuclear fallout contaminated many fishing boats, including the Daigo Fukuryu Maru from Japan.

58. In this chapter, I refer to Hemingway as a “battlefield writer” who actually attends the battles and writes “battlefield stories” in contrast to a more generically-defined “war novelist.”
59. For example, World War I inspired him to write *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) and short stories such as “Now I lay Me,” “A Natural History of the Dead,” “At the Front” and “The Retreat from Caporetto”; *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), “The Butterfly and the Tank,” “Night before Battle” and “Under the Ridge” are all based on his experience in Spanish Civil War.
60. According to Brasch and Sigman, Hemingway was subscribing the US newspapers, including *The New York Times* in his Cuban years (Brasch and Sigman 12) and *The New York Times* published the photos of the destroyed Hiroshima city on August 31 1945 for the first time (Serizawa 56).
61. For editing *Men at War*, Hemingway excerpted the story from the Bible and titled it “How David Slew Goliath” (234-37).
62. The same attitude is seen in his answer to the letter asking the approval of the “unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon” from Iliya Ehrenburg, a Russian writer, in May of 1950. Hemingway furiously wrote a letter, which was eventually not posted for Ehrenburg, saying that “For your information I not only oppose all atomic weapons but also all weapons above the potency of the .22 caliber sporting rifle and the shotgun” (Welsh 309-10). Thus, he seems to have refused to make nuclear weapons special, unlike Ehrenburg, who opposed them for the reason of humanism and ethics.
63. The document titled “Finca Vigia San Francisco de Paula Cuba 8/11/50” was displayed in the “Hemingway Room” in Hotel Ambos Mundos in Havana, Cuba in 2007. Part of this document is quoted by Norberto Fuentes in *Hemingway in Cuba*. (183-85)
64. Norberto Fuentes considers “that introduction” as the one Hemingway wrote for *Treasury* (183), but Hemingway wrote the Forward to, not the introduction to, *Treasury* and if considering it as the one for *Treasury*, the words “won a war” do not make sense.
65. The words “How We Can Lick Japan in Sixty Days” originally appeared as a title of the issue of *PM* in November 1941 and Hemingway quotes it in the introduction to mock Americans’ assumption that they could easily defeat Japan (*MAW* xi).

66. Hemingway spent only eight months—from April to early December of 1949—writing *Across the River* and began serializing it in *Cosmopolitan* from February of 1950 (Trogon 235).
67. These are Hemingway’s actual, first (and perhaps last) use of the words “cold war” among all available materials. When reediting *Life*’s version of *The Dangerous Summer* as a book in 1985, however, Scribner’s, curiously enough, removed the entire four paragraphs of approximately 600 words, including the words “cold war.”
68. Arne Axelsson tries to read *ARIT* as an “occupation novel,” but the novel, as he also points out, cannot completely be settled in that category. According to Axelsson, an occupation novel typically depicts “dramatic conflicts mainly inside their characters, making the chaotic conditions of post-World War II Europe both background and catalyst of the personal crises... the struggle between individual people and various manifestations of military power” (12). *ARIT*, however, “is hardly a typical military novel and its conflict only peripherally involves the relations between occupiers and occupied” (17).
69. “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.”
70. Both illustrations, with no title, were created by Hank De Leo, an American artist, in 1980 and 1981 respectively, because of the Three Mile Island accident in 1979 (Sklar 100, 166).
71. In the following part of this dialogue, Cantwell plays a joke on Domenico, suggesting that Italy would be attacked by dropping “botulism” or “anthrax” (*ARIT* 144). Thus, Hemingway seems to have had a contempt not only for nuclear weapons but also any weapon of mass destruction. The reason why Hemingway has Cantwell repeatedly refer to biological warfare, such as “botulism,” is partly and probably because he tried to make the U.S. military policy about it reflected on the work. According to Stephen Endicott and Edward Hagerman, “The decision of the U.S. government in 1947 to grant participants in the Japanese bacteriological program immunity from war crimes prosecution in return for exclusive acquisition of the results, especially results of deadly experiments on human subjects, indicated how intent policy makers were on pursuing the possibilities of biological warfare” (37-38).
72. On this point, it is suggestive that Hemingway kept two copies of *Tristram Shandy* in his library in Finca Vigia in Cuba (Brasch and Sigman 340).

Chapter 5

73. As Carl P. Eby points out, Hemingway had already begun to reveal this kind of hair fetishism

during his courtship of Hadley in the United States, in the boxer protagonist's interest in hair in his juvenilia entitled "The Current" and in the fact she mailed him a letter enclosing a mass of auburn hair (35-36).

74. In this chapter, I call the entire original manuscripts of *The Garden of Eden* "The Garden manuscripts" in distinction from *The Garden of Eden*, which Jenks edited. All citations of *The Garden of Eden* manuscript used in this dissertation are attached to "GOEm." To avoid the problem of the copyright of the Hemingway Foundation, I declare in advance, all the quotations of *The Garden* manuscripts in this essay cannot help but be based on Mark Spilka's already issued book, *Hemingway's Quarrel with Androgyny*.
75. Carl Eby, in *Hemingway's Fetishism*, argues that the couples' sexual activities in Hemingway's real life and works should be considered as "perversion," not as "paraphilia" for the reasons that (1) Hemingway used to do it himself and (2) these activities seem to come with the "sense of sin" (9-10). This essay follows his idea and will use words such as "perversion" or "perverse."
76. About the perversions in *The Garden* manuscripts, Carlos Baker argued that Hemingway's perverse experimental experience with his first and second wives, Hadley and Pauline Pfeiffer, should be considered as an element of the "past" of the work, while his similar experience with Mary Welsh should be considered as the "present" (Baker, *Life Story* 455). The "present" element of work involves the considerable experience Hemingway had with the African during his trip to Kenya in 1953. Carl Eby, for example, refers to Hemingway's Wakamba fiancée named Debba on his 1953 trip to Africa to explain "Debba's tie to the 'African girl' of *The Garden of Eden* manuscript is made abundantly clear when Catherine grows jealous of David's boyhood African "fiancée" (190) and suggests "Marita and Catherine both try to emulate this African girl, and Catherine is jealous of her firstness in David's heart" (165). Relating to this, Hemingway says, in the letter to Harvey Breit, that "I have my head shaved because that is how my fiancée likes it" (*SL* 827). In fact, in the photograph taken in 1953 Hemingway appears with his head shaved (Eby175), and his enthusiasm for the Wakamba tribe in Africa is so excessive that Mary bitterly complains about it (Strong 1). Also, Modellmog points out that Hemingway modeled the characters of the Bourne on his real love triangle with Mary and the African fiancée (116-17).
77. The chapter is a part of "Ezra Pound and the Measuring Worm" of the restored *Feast* (*MF-RE* 87-90).
78. "If you are lucky enough to have lived in Paris as a young man, then wherever you go for the rest of your life, it stays with you, for Paris is a moveable feast./ Ernest Hemingway to a

- friend, 1950” (*MF* title page).
79. Considering the biographical fact that Mary also enjoyed perverse acts with Hemingway (Moddelmog 82-83), we could suspect that Mary’s jealousy toward the first wife was responsible for her removing the chapter of “Secret Pleasures” from *A Moveable Feast*.
 80. According to Jerrold Seigel, “Odd dress, long hair, living for the moment, having no stable residence, sexual freedom, radical political enthusiasm, drink, drug taking, irregular work patterns, addiction to nightlife—all were Bohemian” (12).
 81. The image is reproduced from Kume’s portrait in *Ezra Pound and Japan: Letters and Essays* edited by Sanehide Kodama. Kume appears to have his hair combed straight back and the side drop of his hair on the ears suggests that he had so long a hair as to swing forward when he bowed. When Hemingway met Pound, Kume stayed with Pound and was painting in his studio. According to Colette Hemingway, in 1922 Kume assisted Pound with his reading of Japanese Noh drama, and Pound in turn hosted an exhibition of the artist’s work. And Kume sent Hemingway the invitation letter for the exhibition with both his and Pound’s signature (*in his time* 11). Some biographers write that Hemingway, in fact, purchased Kume’s paintings (Baker, *Life Story* 115, Reynolds M., *Paris Years* 52). Also, Hemingway sent Pound a letter in which he mourned Kume, who was killed in the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 (*Letters* 2, *SL* 93). See Imamura for more detailed information about the relationship of Hemingway with Kume and people involved.
 82. Koji Foukiya and Sadami Yokote are painters who stayed in Paris in the 1920s. These photos were taken around 1925 and in 1928 respectively (*Salon des Artistes* 48).
 83. There is still no proof or document suggesting Hemingway’s connection with Tsuguharu Foujita, the most famous Japanese artist in Paris in the 1920s.
 84. Judging from the usage of “damned” in the later sentence, “I never knew just what it was that you were supposed to be damned to” (*ME-RE* 105), it is possible to consider that the word “damned” here functions as not just “curse” or “emphasis” but also as divine punishment associated with a “sense of sin” in Christianity suggested by Eby.
 85. Some portraits of a condottiere are long-haired in common. See “Condottieres,” <http://condottiero.free.fr/>. Accessed March 5, 2016.
 86. General readers might think that David chose the word “damned” as an adverb to emphasize the adjective “good.” Given the fact, however, that young Hemingway was trying to grow his hair to imitate the hairstyle of the Japanese painters and was frequently considered to be “damned” by other foreign correspondents in Paris of the 1920s, we cannot help associating such a biographical fact with David’s usage of “damned” to describe long-haired Nick.

87. Rose Marie Burwell writes, “In Paris, *three months* before the novel opens at le Grau de Roi, the plots had been joined” (101, my emphasis) and “the metamorphic desire which took *three months* to affect Catherine had come more quickly for Barbara Sheldon” (102, my emphasis), but she possibly confuses “three months” with “three weeks” from “They had been married *three weeks* and had come down on the train from Paris” in the text (*GOE* 13, my emphasis).

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