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ABSTRACT

The dissertation argues that the transformations in Ernest Hemingway’s writing style and his philosophy of the natural world between 1932 and 1952 can be attributed to his intense immersion in the environment of the Gulf Stream. This dissertation draws primarily on Hemingway’s handwritten fishing logs from 1932, 1933, and 1934 in the Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library, which have not been published or thoroughly studied. In 1929, Hemingway portrayed the Gulf Stream as a frontier, and claimed that he wanted to “write like Cezanne painted.” Critics interpreted his work as a form of literary naturalism. In 1952, Hemingway portrayed the Gulf Stream world as a harmonious, organic whole, and he claimed that he would like to have his work illustrated by Winslow Homer. The distinct differences in the portrayal of themes, setting, and character between To Have and Have Not (1937) and The Old Man and the Sea (1952) are explored to illustrate the dimensions of the transformations within Hemingway’s work. Numerous specific passages in the fishing logs served as seeds for scenes in these works, as Hemingway gathered raw material for his fiction. Through his scientific study of the climate, marine life, and birds of the Gulf Stream from 1932 to 1939, Hemingway’s understanding of the integration of the natural world broadened. The new knowledge of “what to leave out” of his fiction refined his method of writing from the “iceberg principle,” in which seven-eighths of the story is omitted. The precise observations of the logs, inscribed through hundreds of pages, generated the stylistic and philosophic transformation that occurred between 1932 and 1952.
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I believe Ernest Hemingway was a lover of country, a patriot and a naturalist, at once, and I believe he was a deeply spiritual man in his attachment to place. Perhaps the pain he had to endure was in feeling too much. He had to create a mask to his own vulnerable nature. He could move. He could dodge. He could drink blood of Spanish bulls. But the memories of wild nature, the knowledge of wild nature, his need for wild nature never left him. That was his gulf stream, in his blood, on the land, on the page.

-Terry Tempest Williams, "Hemingway and the Natural World" (1996)

PREFACE: ARRIVING AT THE STREAM

I.

In the language of geography, the Gulf Stream is a warm ocean current created by the flow of water from the Caribbean Sea through the Yucatan Channel between Mexico and Cuba. From there, it rushes through the Florida Keys into the 700 islands of the Bahamas, continuing along the eastern United States, dissipating near New Foundland. In the language of American Studies, it is a "contested site": a place of Atlantic intercultural interaction between ethnic and racial groups joined in a community of water.

Within the canon of American literature, the Gulf Stream has long been an imaginary seascape in the mind of writers. James Fenimore Cooper, Richard Henry Dana, Herman Melville, Stephen Crane, and Ernest Hemingway have all portrayed the Gulf Stream in their fiction. To the interpreters of these writers, the Gulf Stream functioned as an extension of the frontier: it was the meeting point between savagery and civilization where America’s providential mission affirmed itself. To African American writers such as Zora Neale Hurston, Paule Marshall, Jamaica Kincaid, Toni Morrison, and Charles Johnson, the Gulf Stream functions as a link to both Africa, through the Middle Passage, and Europe, through centuries of colonization. Yet to figures such as Derek Walcott, V.S.
Naipaul, C.L.R. James, and Patrick Chamoiseau, a vaster, universal compassion is required of the modern writer. The Gulf Stream acts as the point of intersection and blending of these creative traditions, as writers with extraordinarily diverse talents, themes and viewpoints create fiction portraying this region.

My initial project was to use the Gulf Stream as the unifying lens for a broad exploration of this fiction to create a text that investigated and appreciated the variations of the land and ocean encompassing the Caribbean and the Florida Keys. That work soon shifted to a more specific examination of how canonical American writers, Melville, Crane, and Hemingway, transformed and portrayed the region. Finally, my attention settled on the one writer I knew best: Hemingway.

II.

The decision to focus on Hemingway is a natural one. Since moving to Key West in 1928, Hemingway became increasingly enthralled with deep-sea fishing and the Gulf Stream. Of all the writers considered, he knew the Gulf Stream most intimately. As he understood more fully the daily life of the Stream, he became more integrated with it, less separate from it. Hemingway’s relationship with the Gulf Stream evolved from experiencing it as a space of conquest to understanding it as a place of personal integration and harmony.

And, as a research project, he provided the most intriguing raw material. At the J.F.K Library in Boston, I was able to read Hemingway’s fishing logs from the years 1932, 1933, 1934, 1936, and 1939. Dense in the daily details of Hemingway’s fishing excursions from Key West to Cuba, and through the Bahamas, the logs had been surprisingly neglected by Hemingway scholars in the past. The more closely I read them,
the more I became convinced of their significance as a tool to understanding Hemingway, and the transformation of his work.

The logs record mundane details, such as the menu for lunch on July 30, 1934: “macaroni with meat, avocado [sic] salad, ham, fruit salad.”¹ The logs also contain the more intriguing details of catching a barracuda the next day: “Fish had hit so hard on a tight line that he was hooked in the gills. We noticed sepia black oozing from the wound the gaff made. Carlos opened him and in the belly found a small octopus freshly swallowed and a very large squid that had been sliced in two places.” The economy and clarity of the description signals a shift in Hemingway’s writing style, foreshadowing later work. For literally hundreds of pages in the fishing logs, Hemingway crafts short, precise, representational descriptions of what he observed on the Gulf Stream. Thus, the hypothesis of my dissertation is that the exact observations of the logs generated the stylistic transformation that occurred in Hemingway’s work between the publication of A Farewell to Arms (1929) and The Old Man and the Sea (1952), a period in which Hemingway moved from wanting to “write like Cezanne painted” to desiring that his books about the sea contain illustrations by Winslow Homer.²

III.

The first paragraph of A Farewell to Arms is always cited by commentators when exploring the connection between Hemingway and Cezanne. In that paragraph, Hemingway wrote:

---

In the late summer of that year we lived in a house in a village that looked across the river and the plain to the mountains. In the bed of the river there were pebbles and boulders, dry and white in the sun, and the water was clear and swiftly moving and blue in the channels. Troops went by the house and down the road and the dust they raised powdered the leaves of the trees. The trunks of the trees too were dusty and the leaves fell early that year and we saw the troops marching along the road and the dust rising and leaves, stirred by the breeze falling and the soldiers marching and afterward the road bare and white except for the leaves.

The contrasting textures of the dry leaves and the swiftly moving river, the repetition of the words “leaves,” “dust,” and “white,” and the motion of the troops through the carefully described setting establish the painterly comparison. Alfred Kazin wrote: “As an impression it is static, for it calls attention to the beholder’s effort to capture one detail after another rather than to the scene of war.” The repetition within the language serves as the underpinnings of the scene, establishing the frame of the natural world, illustrating Hemingway wrote in Death in the Afternoon (1932), “Prose is architecture, not interior decoration.”

Yet Hemingway’s formula for writing had changed by 1952. In the initial description of the Gulf Stream in The Old Man and the Sea Hemingway wrote:

The old man knew he was going far out and he left the smell of the land behind and rowed out into the clean early morning smell of the ocean. He saw the phosphorescence of the Gulf weed in the water as he rowed over the part of the ocean that the fisherman called the great well because there was a sudden deep of seven hundred fathoms where all sorts of fish congregated because of the swirl the current made against the steep walls of the floor of the ocean. Here were concentrations of shrimp and bait fish and sometimes schools of squid in the deepest holes and these rose close to the surface at night where all the wandering fish fed on them.

Hemingway’s precise language identifies the observed world of the Stream, directly classifying the marine life. Like Winslow Homer’s brushstrokes, each word is
representational, establishing order within the natural world, equal to the compositional order of a canvas. Repetition and contrasting textures are abandoned, and Hemingway is no longer using shapes and colors to convey meaning indirectly.

But the main difference between these two passages is that in The Old Man and the Sea, Santiago is aware of what is beneath the surface of the ocean. He has studied the Gulf Stream, and he is aware of the organic unity that exists within nature. My hypothesis is that the shift in Hemingway’s writing method is a result of having spent hundreds of days on the Gulf Stream from 1932 to 1952, creating short, representational phrases to record what he saw, learning from his observations, and using that knowledge later in his fiction. For example, on May 17, 1932, Hemingway recorded:

Hooked Marlin opposite Cojimar 2 jumps threw hook—930
swam at beach 3pm—Saw first big striped marlin tail at least
three feet behind teaser deep down—back a foot or more across came to
surface when we curled boat but (illegible) down before we saw baits (sky
was very overcast) and had strike from another marlin.

Hemingway is trying to create an objective document, representing unadorned what he observed in a narrative that uses precise descriptive phrases—“big striped marlin tail at least three feet”—in order to “see exactly” the world of the Gulf Stream. Hemingway connects the behavior of the marlin with the overcast sky to understand their interdependence in a way that will be essential to Santiago’s narration. In the fishing logs, Hemingway is learning what exists beneath the iceberg.

Although my hypothesis argues for a transformation in Hemingway’s writing style, I recognize, too, that, from the beginning, he was basing his narratives on “what actually happened.” He never fully abandoned the architectural devices he used in A Farewell to Arms and his earlier short stories. But there is a shift in emphasis on the
devices that Hemingway uses that occurs in The Old Man and the Sea that could be attributed the daily, intense observation inscribed in the fishing logs, creating more representational narratives.

IV.

In 1957 Henry Nash Smith published his article “Can American Studies Develop a Method?” Since that time, the field of American Studies has undergone enormous transformation, and yet, the answer to his question, then and now, seems to be “no.”³ Were the field to agree on an institutionalized method, it would be an extension of an ideological consensus that remains unattainable. Annually surveying the dissertation abstracts in the December issue of American Quarterly provides ample evidence that an enormously broad range of methodological models are followed in the field of American Studies.

This ongoing inquiry into both its “uniqueness” and its self-conscious inquiry into methods distinguishes American Studies from other fields within the humanities. In Smith’s 1957 article, he defined “culture” as the way in which subjective experience is

organized,” and speculated that American Studies should be the “ambiguous relation” between works of art and culture, concluding that there is no “ready made method” in sight. Method was seen as an essential legitimizing element for the field. If American Studies has a method, it therefore would have institutional power. Yet simply defining the field remained an elusive task. In 1963, Richard Sykes attempted a definition of American Studies in American Quarterly. Sykes wrote:

What then is American Studies? Briefly defined, it is the study of American culture. Culture is the key concept, the unifying concept, the root word which suggests both theory and method. It is a branch of cultural studies, and as such is closer to the social sciences theoretically than to the humanities. It is a specialized branch of cultural anthropology. (254)

Sykes, like many of his contemporaries, was striving for “unity” within American culture, and his definition was an attempt to achieve a consensus about how to study American culture. This consensus model was infused with the idea of “American Exceptionalism,” the idea that there is an “American Mind,” located in a “New World,” and that anyone—native born or new immigrant—living within the bounded area of the United States.

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4 Quoted in Robert Meredith, American Studies: Essays in Theory and Method, ix.
5 In “Paradigm Dramas,” Gene Wise summarized “American Exceptionalism”: Dominating Americanist scholarship of the 1930s, ‘40s, ‘50s, the intellectual history synthesis was made up of several basic assumptions. Clustering together to form a kind of paradigm, these assumptions guided scholarship in the field and helped set boundaries within which students of American Studies were trained for well over a generation. In effect, they functioned to make the American past “usable” for those in the movement. Reduced to essentials, these assumptions are as follows: a.) There is an “American Mind.” That mind is more or less homogenous. Though it may prove to be complex and constructed of many different layers, it is in fact a single entity. b.) What distinguishes the American
Yet, even as Sykes wrote these words, the deeper cultural vibrations of the 1960s, unleashed by the Vietnam War, were beginning. The era when "consensus" and "unity" were desirable had passed, if it had ever existed at all. Indeed, the consensus of the past soon was understood as an illusion that had silenced original, dissenting voices.

In 1979 American Quarterly published Gene Wise’s essay “"Paradigm Dramas’ in American Studies: A Cultural and Institutional History of the Movement.” Understood in 2002 as one of the most important American Studies documents, Wise attempted to create order within the filed by crafting a text that summarized its history. Wise writes:

After the middle of the sixties, it was hard to assume without question that America is an integrated whole; division and conflict, not consensus, seemed to characterize the culture... Hence we have seen... a proliferation of subcultural studies focuses on one or another aspect of American life. But we have very little of wide influence in the movement attempting, like the old symbol-myth-image work, to integrate the whole culture. Intellectually, American Studies has never recovered from the earthquake-like jolts of the sixties, and the consciousness those events forced upon the culture. Viewed from one perspective, American Studies has

mind is its location in the “New” World. Because of this, Americans are characteristically hopeful, innocent, individualistic, pragmatic, idealistic. Theirs is uniquely a world of boundless opportunity. Europeans, in contrast, are characteristically tragic in temper, because hemmed in by all the boundaries and limitations and corruptions of the “Old” World. c.) The American Mind can theoretically be found in anyone American. But it comes to its most coherent expression in the country’s leading thinkers—Williams, Edwards, Franklin, Cooper, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Twain, Dewey, Niehbur, et. al. Hence, early American Studies programs offered courses on the “Great Books”—often required—which introduced students to the field through the country’s most elevated minds. d.) The American Mind is an enduring form in our intellectual history. Its distinctive themes—Puritanism, Individualism, Progress, Pragmatism, Transcendentalism, Liberalism—run through virtually the whole of America’s past. e.) Though the study of “popular” minds—e.g. Davy Crockett, Daniel Webster, Buffalo Bill—might be academically legitimate, America is revealed most profoundly in its “high” culture. Therefore, great American literature, and the ideas therein, should hold a kind of “privileged position” in American Studies scholarship and teaching. (306-307)
been in decline ever since. With the demise of the Parrington paradigm, the movement has lacked a larger cultural synthesis, an image of a “usable” American past to lend it purpose and direction. Where the old synthesis got intellectual mileage from setting America off against Europe—New World against Old—now we tend to see both America and Europe on one side of a cultural and economic chasm, with the poorer, often newer nations of the world on the other. Seen from this vantage point, America does not look as new and innocent, as idealistic, as pragmatic as it once did. Thus American Studies is deprived of its previous fascination watching a freshly-born culture as, Adam-like, it goes about creating and naming and using new things in the world. Pursuing this declension theme further, we can say that, unquestionable, American Studies is no longer working on the frontiers of scholarship. (314-315)

Wise makes clear here what he values in the field, a method that integrates the “whole” of American culture, giving it direction and putting it on the “frontiers” of scholarship. For Wise, the valuable consensus of the past that worked toward a broader synthesis of American culture has been lost, and now the field is in decline. The absence of unity is harmful to the future value of American Studies as a field.

By the mid-1980s, the field of American Studies had become increasingly fragmented, and there was a broad sense that the movement had peaked, and begun disintegrating. In 1987 Jonathan Culler wrote in “Literary Criticism and the University” that “American studies has not had the influence on other disciplines that one might expect and has produced an interdisciplinary subfield rather than a reorganization of knowledge” (193). In 1989, Richard Berkhofer gave the traditional presidential address at the American Studies Association (ASA) convention. Recognizing the now overly apparent dissention, Berkhofer stated:

If the disparate interests that comprise American Studies are united about anything, it is the necessity of contextual knowledge. There are many ways of providing context and therefore many meanings of that much used and abused word. At one pole are the
presuppositions of a basic, or “simple” contextualism, or what we might call “contextual fundamentalism” in analogy to religious faith. At the heart of contextual fundamentalism is the premise that documents, artifacts or texts are basically self-interpreting without recourse to any explicit framework. As practice, such an approach acts as if text’s words or the artifact’s existence were determinative, that is conceptually coercive, of the “reading” they were to receive—regardless of the reader’s values, politics, or interpretive paradigm, or interpretive community. Thus “facts are discovered, not created or constituted by the frameworks that enable their existence. (589)

Berkhofer sought, in his own way, a new consensus model. What all scholars can agree on, he proposes, is the neutrality of “artifacts and texts.” The interpretation of these objects through a framework is what American Studies scholars “do.” They provide context, specific, informed cultural knowledge that makes sense of the artifact or text. If American Studies scholars agree on this, no further agreement is necessary.

Two years later, in her ASA address, Alice Kessler-Harris firmly articulated the direction of the field, urging a critical stance informed with a new consciousness that voiced the silences within interpretations of the American past. Kessler Harris wrote:

But this interpretation of our past was build on silences—silences that were rudely shattered when in the 1960s the search for identity exacerbated differences among us and destroyed our faith in the union of individualism and democracy. The events of that decade (the civil rights movement, feminism, Vietnam, the search for authenticity, and the cry for participatory democracy) called the parameters of cultural homogeneity into question, pushing many American Studies practitioners into a critical stance and encouraging the development of new social and cultural theory that relied heavily on a revisionist history, women’s studies, and a new consciousness of racial and ethnic divisions. (305-306)

She continued:

The result is less fragmentation than it is a richer view of culture as the double effect of the given and self-generated. The perspective draws on the deeply rooted ambiguity that has allowed American
By focusing on "relational ways" in which a culture operates, Kessler-Harris wanted the filed to examine how the consensus and unity of the past was formulated. The mechanisms of this formulation are, at this time, the most interesting object of study. The "frictions and tensions" of particular or individual experiences are also valuable to Kessler-Harris, as they indicate moments when mechanisms of formulation are employed. The individual tensions of these moments should be particularized and contextualized through study. Kessler-Harris concludes:

Just as I construct myself in relation to my audience, just as American Studies constructs itself in relation to the politics of time and space, so America will reconstruct itself both in response to our multiple identities and in response to our efforts as scholars to describe it. (311)

The varieties of identity are what distinguish American Studies practitioners. By self-consciously declaring the varieties of constructed identities, the individual voice of the American Studies practitioner becomes a part of the method. Who you are—your constructed identity—is woven into your method of studying America.

For each succeeding ASA president, it now became expected that they attempt a definition or explanation of the American Studies field. In his 1994 address entitled "Versions of Nashville, Visions of American Studies," Paul Lauter stated:

American studies, as it is now named, is an effort to understand and of course, to shape the changing dimensions of particularly of society, culture, and politics in a certain geographical space now called America. I think American studies can most usefully be understood not as a discipline that, from a remote and academic
Lauter no longer saw the work of American Studies as focused on historical or cultural territory. Instead, it resides in the present—"where we live"—and studies and polices our changing society. It is a framework, a structure for ideas, with no proscriptive method.

That same year, in Creating American Civilization: A Genealogy of American Literature as an American Discipline, David Shumway wrote:

While American Studies gave strong impetus to the work of creating American civilization by making that its central problem, it never gained enough institutional power to take over the study of American literature or history or any other field. The work done by literary scholars affiliated with American Studies by training or employment had its greatest impact on the study of American literature in English departments. That impact was significant and distinctive, but the work itself was not radically different from that produced by Americanists who were not affiliated with American Studies. (318)

By 1994, the enterprise of American Studies was forced to recognize the realities of institutional power, while also conceding that its "uniqueness" no longer existed. American Studies methods, such as they had been articulated, now were employed broadly in history, literature, economics, women's studies, ethnic studies, philosophy, and political science.

Yet at about the same time the field's demise was being articulated, Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease were initiating a major paradigm shift for American Studies by publishing Cultures of United States Imperialism, a collection of essays examining the imperial relations internationally and domestically. In her essay, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," Kaplan wrote:
If the importance of culture has gone unrecognized in historical studies of American imperialism, the role of empire has been equally ignored in the study of American culture. The current paradigm of American studies today, still under intense debate, emphasizes multicultural diversity and scholarly "dissensus" and analyzes American society and culture in terms of internal difference and conflicts, structured around the relations of race, gender, ethnicity, and class. This approach overturns the paradigm that [Perry] Miller contributed, or consensus and univocality, wherein the meaning of America could be distilled through the symbolic manifestations of its mind and its seamless historical narrative. Yet the new pluralistic model of diversity runs the risk of being bound by the old paradigm of unity if it concentrates its gaze only narrowly on the internal lineaments of American culture and leaves national borders intact instead of interrogating their formation. That is, American nationality can still be taken for granted as a monolithic and self-contained whole, no matter how diverse and conflicted, if it remains implicitly defined by its internal social relations, and not in political struggles for power with other cultures and nations, struggles which make America's conceptual and geographic borders fluid, contested, and historically changing. (14-15)

Kaplan here sounds a warning to the field that the issues of boundaries and empire cannot be ignored by over-emphasizing what could be termed internal conflicts of race, class, gender, and ethnicity. The conceptual and geographic boundaries of America are fluid, therefore the framework of American Studies must be, too. Political struggles for power with other nations are just as important. And, unintentionally, critiques of the "monolithic, self-contained whole" of America unintentionally serve to re-inscribe it, binding it again within a paradigm of unity. Thus, the work of American Studies needs to incorporate the concept of empire.

Pease and Kaplan provided unity to the diverse voices that were emerging to form the "new" American Studies. Including the work of such figures as Eric Cheyfitz, Donna Haraway, Jose David Saldivar, Walter Benn Michaels, Eric Lott, Jan Radway, Michael Denning and Dana Nelson, among many, these scholars published frequently in emerging
journals such as *Prospects*, *boundary*, *Cultural Critique*, and *Transition*, fully displacing the legitimizing control that *American Quarterly* once had over the dialogue within the field. In 1991, Paul Lauter had published his essay "The Literatures of America—A Comparative Discipline" in *Canons and Contexts*. A "new" Americanist, Lauter outlined a comparativist model for American Studies that would become very influential.

Critics have continued to focus on a severely limited canon of "major" writers based on historical and aesthetic categories from this slightly augmented mainstream. The problem we face is that the model itself is fundamentally misleading. The United States is a heterogeneous society whose cultures, while they overlap in significant respects, also differ in critical ways. A normative model presents those variations from the mainstream as abnormal, deviant, lesser, perhaps ultimately unimportant. That kind of standard is no more helpful in the study of culture than is the model, in the study of gender differences, in which the male is considered the norm, or than are paradigms, in the study of ethnic social organization and behavior based on Anglo-American society. What we need, rather, is to pose a comparativist model for the study of American literature. It is true that few branches of academe in the United States have been so self-consciously indifferent to comparative study as has been the field we call "American literature." While we have, for example, studied Spanish or French influences on American writing, and vice versa, we have seldom been trained in any truly comparative discipline, and the academic journals which serve the American literature professoriat certainly offer no comparative perspective. Nevertheless, only what we might call "comparative American Studies" will lead us out of the distortions and misunderstandings produced by the mainstream and tributary framework. (48-49)

By connecting his comparativist model to the intense ongoing debate about the canon, Lauter provided a approach that was simultaneously traditional and innovative. "Traditional" texts did not need to be abandoned; instead, they should be re-read, and
John Carlos Rowe wrote:

The “new” American Studies is already a comparative discipline that is reorganizing its scholarly projects and curricular designs at the same time specialists in comparative literature are challenging an older world literatures paradigm and trying out such ideas as “global cultures.” Both fields were founded upon and the study of national cultures and their histories, perhaps understandably because of their development when the nation-state was considered the preeminent social form. As American Studies reconceives its intellectual project as the study of the many different societies of the western hemisphere and of the influences of the different border zones that constitute this large region, such as the Pacific Rim and the African and European Atlantics, it will become a genuinely “postnationalist” discipline whose comparativist methods will overlap and benefit the work of other comparativists.

(xiv-xv)

Thus, there has been a marked shift in American Studies theorizing that moves away from the work of past scholars towards an embracing of a global paradigm, one that uses the concept of a national culture as a tool for contrast, rather than the product of consensus. By comparing differences within national cultures, American Studies scholars are better able to understand the border zones that mark their field.

In November, 2002, The Futures of American Studies, edited by Donald E. Pease and Robyn Wiegman, was published by Duke University Press. In their jointly authored article, “Futures,” Pease and Wiegman revisited Wise’s “Paradigm Dramas” essay. Calling the piece “not simply a history of the movement, but a founding gesture.” They wrote:

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6 David Shumway notes that: “Leading American Marxists theorists, including Frederic Jameson and Gayatri Spivak, have long encouraged their students to reread canonical works. Such readings, it is argued, can better disseminate a Marxist, or
Like most founding gestures, this one gave monumental status to an origin retrospectively invoked, thereby giving the past authority over the contours of the present in a management strategy that seemed aimed to contextualize, if not override, the present threat of rupture and incoherence. In doing so, Wise sought to repair the conceptual ground of a field whose fissuring into multiple programs and subfields at once reflected and gave expression to the aspirations of social movements that had exceeded the “founding” field’s epistemological grasp. (2)

Wise’s management strategy is understood as harmful, as it attempted to control the field and end the rupture and incoherence that were pervasive in the 1970s. Rupture and incoherence were qualities of liberating energy; they existed outside Wise’s field of American Studies. Pease and Wiegman continued:

Masquerading as an objective description of the field, then, Wise’s “‘Paradigm Dramas’” constituted an encompassing project of boundary management that assumed the form of attempting to establish control over the future of the field. Its putative capacity to synchronize the field’s entire history with an encompassing drama was a compensatory mechanism designed to make up for the loss of the field’s integrative powers. In representing the changes in the field’s history in terms of paradigm dramas, Wise regulated the temporal dynamics of both social and disciplinary change. (14-15)

Wise’s concept of drama, implying a conflict of powerful forces controlled by a larger American narrative, attempts to close off change within the field, integrating it again.

Wise’s disguise of objectivity has been, by 2002, removed, clearing the page for new narratives of American Studies to be written. As their final word on Wise, Pease and Wiegman wrote:

Disrespectful of Wise’s efforts to integrate American studies into homogenous movement, the counterhegemonic essays gathered in to return to the New Americanists, a ‘counter-hegemonic’ cultural analysis and more persuasively demonstrate its power”(352).
this collection, like Denning’s book7 have reconnected the pasts buried under hegemonic representations with the possible futures they substituted. In place of an alternative hegemony, these essays reimagine the field as an international space that engenders multiple collective identifications and organizational loyalties. Individually and collectively, they convoke networks of association and intersections that create and reflect social spaces meditating with distant and dissimilar ones. (34)

Pease and Wiegman organize their collection of essays around the categories of “posthegemonic,” “comparativist,” “differential,” and “counterhegemonic.” Only one of the essays first appeared in American Quarterly, a fact that signals further erosion of a single journal’s control over a field.

V.

In light of the energizing dissensus within American Studies, the methodology of this dissertation, therefore, reflects the vicissitudes within the larger field. The broad question I seek to answer is: how was Hemingway’s life and work transformed through his contact with the Gulf Stream? In 2002, that remains an important question, as it invokes issues of boundary and empire posed by Kaplan, and recognizes the hegemonic power that Hemingway’s life and work still exercise over institutional curricula, as well as within popular culture. Again and again, Hemingway would describe the Gulf Stream as a “frontier,” naming it as a place, and as a process. As the former, it was a proving ground for his sporting prowess, and the setting for his fiction. It was only later, after he had studied the Stream and lived among the Cuban people, that he fully recognized its complexity as the latter, the location of a struggle over languages, cultures, religions, and property. The Gulf Stream was a “contact zone,” a mythic space where Hemingway

7 The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century.

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investigated “otherness.” Mary Louise Pratt defines “contact zones” as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermatts as they are lived out across the globe today”(4). Hemingway was always contrasting his known world with the Gulf Stream world of Bimini, and Havana. Having moved to Key West from Paris, a symbolically hyper-civilized place, and the locus of the high modernism that he would exemplify, Hemingway recognized his Caribbean space as exotic, fresh, new.  

Unsurprisingly, the Gulf Stream has, because of its extraordinary complex blending of elements of race, class, gender, nation, and empire, informed some of the most innovative scholarship of the last decade. Recent theorists have offered alternative paradigms for the study of the Caribbean and the Gulf Stream. Indeed, the region itself is problematic to define. Ever since Christopher Columbus mistakenly declared the islands the “West Indies,” the space has not been adequately articulated. Belinda Edmondson writes:

> The West Indies, as the region was (and is still) called, was “somewhere else”: not Europe, not Africa, not India. This “somewhere elseness” has become a central trope of West Indian discourse, with its attendant notion that the space of the of the West Indies is more metaphorical than it is material, and indeed, what exactly constitutes the West Indies—the Caribbean, as many


8 In Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism, and the Fin de Siele, Chris Bongie defines the exotic as “a nineteenth century literary and existential practice that posited another space, the space of an Other, outside or beyond the confines of a ‘civilization’ that, by virtue of its modernity, was perceived by many writers as being incompatible with certain essential values—or, indeed, the realm of value itself”(4-5). As the succeeding chapters will make clear, Hemingway viewed the Caribbean as a valued space because it was “outside” of civilization.
people prefer to call it—has always been hazy. Some of the islands—particularly the Spanish speaking ones—are considered and analyzed as part of Latin America, and some of the countries of the Spanish main—Belize and Guyana, in particular—are unquestionably considered by West Indians to be a part of the West Indies. (20)

Hemingway seized upon the metaphorical possibilities of this “somewhere elseness,” embracing it as the antidote for the urban spaces of Paris. The word “Caribbean” is only rarely employed by Hemingway. His imagination was fired by the Gulf Stream, not the islands, and there is no record of him traveling the Caribbean beyond his repeated visits to Cuba and Bimini. In The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective Antonio Benitez-Rojo proffers a conceptual formulation of the space:

The Caribbean is not a common archipelago, but a meta-archipelago and as a meta-archipelago it has the virtue of having neither a boundary nor a center. Thus the Caribbean flows outward past the limits of its own sea with a vengeance...If someone needed a visual explanation, a graphic picture of what the Caribbean is, I would refer him to the spiral chaos of the Milky Way, the unpredictable flux of transformative plasma that spins calmly in our globe’s firmament, that sketches in an “other” shape that keeps changing, with some objects born to light while others disappear into the womb of darkness; change, transit, return, fluxes of sideral matter. (4)

This astral model of the Caribbean metaphorically incorporates all of the chaotic forces at work in the region, articulating the reality of its fragmentation. Paul Gilroy, in The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness offers yet another conceptual model, again rooted in metaphor, and again articulating its fragmentation:

I have settled on the image of ships in motion across spaces between Europe, America, Africa, and the Caribbean as a central organizing symbol for this enterprise and as my starting point. The image of the ship—a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion—is especially important for historical and theoretical reasons...Ships immediately focus attention on the middle passage,
on the various projects of redemptive return to an Africa homeland, on the circulation of ideas and activists, as well as the movement of key cultural and political artifacts: tracts, books, gramophone records, and choirs. (4)

Gilroy’s model is more expansive than Benitez-Rojo’s, as he is examining the process of cultural hybridity—the intermixture of distinct cultural forms—rather than the region itself. Gilroy continues:

I want to develop the suggestion that cultural historian could take the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis in their discussion of the modern world and use it to produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective... The fractal patterns of cultural and political exchange and transformation that we try and specify through manifestly inadequate theoretical terms like creolisation and syncretism indicate how both ethnicities and political cultures have been made anew in way that are significant not simply for the peoples of the Caribbean but for Europe, for Africa, especially Liberia and Sierra Leone, and of course, for black America. (15)

Gilroy’s work has been enormously influential; it can be applied beyond the Atlantic to any space in which a cultural form is connected to an ethnic identity, and, in that regard, it offers a model that attempts to interrogate the issues of nationalism, culture, race, and ethnic identity.

Hemingway in 1928 did not conceive of the Gulf Stream as either a meta-archipelago, or as a symbolic ship. He saw it as a frontier, and the meanings of his use of that word will be investigated in chapter one. Yet because Hemingway relies so heavily on this word, this dissertation relies on the work of American Studies scholars that used the “frontier” as the underpinning of their theoretical framework: the “myth-symbol” school. Thus, the work of F.O Matthiessen, R.W.B Lewis, Henry Nash Smith, Leo Marx, Alan Trachtenberg, Richard Slotkin, and their more recent successors, Patricia Nelson
Limerick, and Jane Tompkins established the theoretical roots with which Hemingway’s vision of the Gulf Stream will be examined.\(^9\)

The myth-symbol framework is still helpful for this dissertation, as it structures the investigation into Hemingway’s transformation. Smith used the terms “myth” and “symbol” in his words, to “designate larger or smaller units of the same kind of thing, namely, an intellectual construction that fuses concept and emotion into an image”\((vii)\).

The myth-symbol school would codify the language of myth from Northrop Frye’s

\(^9\) The “myth-symbol” school has been criticized since its formalized inception with the publication of Smith’s Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth in 1950. For a thorough overview of the movement, see Gene Wise, “’Paradigm Dramas’ in American Studies: A Cultural and Institutional History of the Movement,” American Quarterly, 31:3 (Bibliographic Issue, 1979), 293-337. The most famous critique, rooted in philosophy, was mounted by Bruce Kuklick:

> Indeed, the use of a sometimes oracular language of literary criticism hides a powerful explanatory pattern: we have postulated the existence of mental constructs to explain certain (written) behavior; we analyze the meaning of these constructs in terms of the existence of this behavior as we simultaneously confirm our theoretical structure in the discovery of further behavior patterns of this sort. (440)

Archetypal Criticism, and the language of symbols found in New Criticism. When
Hemingway first came into contact with the Gulf Stream, he saw it as a “mythic,” vast
and untouched space, a frontier and this construction of the Gulf Stream resided in his
“unconscious.” Frederic Jameson writes: “Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-
called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive
force impelling him remains unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be an
ideological process”(87). As Slotkin wrote:

> Myth does not argue its ideology, it exemplifies it. It projects
> models of good and heroic behavior that reinforce the values of
> ideology and affirm as good the distribution of authority and power
> that ideology rationalizes. Myth uses the past as an “idealized
> example,” in which “a heroic achievement in the past is linked to
> another in the future of which the reader is the potential hero.” (84)

Chapter one will further explain how Hemingway’s wrote himself into the idealized past
of the frontier of the Gulf Stream, proclaiming himself a “discoverer” and sending
dispatches from his fresh world back to those trapped in cities. In 1986, Smith wrote
“Symbol and Idea in Virgin Land,” a clarification to his 1950 text, acknowledging the
ideological blindness within his ideology. He would write: “I took over from [Fredric
Jackson] Turner the attitude characteristic of American culture, a refusal to acknowledge
the guilt intrinsic to the national errand into the wilderness”(28). Smith continued:

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10 In the words of Charles Bressler, “With the publication of Anatomy of Criticism in
1957, Fry became the primary advocate of the principles of archetypal criticism in
literary theory. Although he never declares allegiance to [Carl] Jung’s concept of
the collective unconscious, Frye borrows Jung’s schematic of symbols and how
they may operate in a literary text”(93). Of the key figures of the myth-symbol
school, Frye’s work had the greatest influence on Slotkin. According to Terry
Eagleton, “The advantage of Frye’s theory, then, is that it keeps literature
untainted by history in New Critical fashion, viewing it as an enclosed ecological
I might have avoided some misunderstandings of what I was about if I had introduced the term “ideology” at this point by adding that the intellectual constructions under consideration could not be sharply categorized but should be thought of as occupying positions along a spectrum of myth at one end, characterized by dominance of image and emotion, to ideology at the other, characterized by emphasis on concepts, on abstract ideas. (22)

The imprecision of his “intellectual constructions” would haunt Smith’s work, although his belated awareness of the importance of ideology was a shortcoming he shared with his generation of American Studies scholars, especially those working with the concept of the frontier. While elements of the work of Smith, Matthiessen, Lewis, Marx, Trachtenberg, and Slotkin continue to be challenged as out of step with theoretical trends initiated in 1960s, Limerick and Tompkins have reinvigorated the framework of the frontier, and applied the concepts of myth and symbol infused with post-structuralist theoretical trends.11

A different title for this dissertation would paraphrase Trachtenberg: “Ernest Hemingway’s Gulf Stream: Symbol and Fact.” When Hemingway arrived at the Gulf Stream, he recognized its symbolic potential first, and later, after immersing himself in it on a daily basis, he began to study it scientifically, and understand it as a “fact.” As Hemingway was deeply shaped by his association with Ezra Pound, and Pound, in turn is recycling of texts, but unlike New Criticism, finds in literature a substitute history, with all the global span and collective structure of history itself(80).

11 John Carlos Rowe notes that Annette Kolodny’s The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina Press, 1975), and The Territory before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860 (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina Press, 1984) expand and correct the work of earlier male scholars. In Rowe’s words, the works “examine critically the various ways writers in the United States have ‘feminized’ nature, thus combining the aims of patriarchal and territorial domination, gender hierarchies, and the ideology of imperialism”(215).
understood as a central figure of imagist poetry, it is not a leap to state that Hemingway’s vocabulary of images and symbols was learned from Pound.\textsuperscript{12} To interpret this combination of Hemingway texts, the vocabulary that is most useful is one that he would have understood, one of myths, symbols and images. Another element of the myth-symbol school that makes it especially applicable to this dissertation is its anthropologically based grounding in artifacts, texts, and primary documents, as Hemingway’s unpublished, unstudied fishing logs are a crucial component to my larger argument. Thus, the transformation in Hemingway’s idea of the Gulf Stream is best understood by highlighting the reinvention of style and philosophy, developed through the fishing logs, between To Have and Have Not (1937), and The Old Man and the Sea (1952). To trace this transformation is to trace the history of Hemingway’s pastoral ideal of the Gulf Stream as it shifts from a place of contestation and conquest, to a complex, interrelated ecosystem, a space of beauty and wonder.

VI.

Chapters two and five provide textual analysis of To Have and Have Not, and The Old Man and the Sea that owes much to the strands of American Studies infused by New Criticism.\textsuperscript{13} This theory of literature can no longer be considered “new,” but it is used

\textsuperscript{12} The alliance between the New Critics and imagist poets such as T.S. Eliot, Pound, and T.E. Hulme has been well documented. See Maud Ellman’s The Poetics of Impersonality: T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, (Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 1988). The imagists viewed poetry as a means of communicating through symbols and images what could not be said in prose. For evidence of the strong influence of Pound on the young Hemingway, see their correspondence, published for the first time in “Yr Letters Are Life Preservers,” Matthew Bruccoli, ed., The Paris Review, 163 (Fall 2002): 96-124.

\textsuperscript{13} F.O. Matthiessen’s American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman (London: Oxford U Press, 1941), and R.W.B. Lewis’ The American
here to highlight the transformation that occurs in the years separating these two texts.

By demonstrating how the internal language of these two texts functions so differently, the importance of Hemingway’s external, private text, the fishing logs, becomes more apparent. Thus, by the final chapter, the integration of Hemingway’s life and work is more clearly defined.

One of the most influential forms of literary criticism in the twentieth century has been New Criticism. The movement has complex roots in Britain and in the United States. Writes David Richter:

The name “New Criticism” seems to have been bestowed by John Crowe Ransom in a 1941 book of that title which examines the work of I.A. Richards and William Empson, T.S. Eliot, Yvor Winters, and the philosopher Charles W. Morris. The most important New Critics include this group, Ransom himself, and his fellow Southern “fugitive” writers Allen Tate, Cleanth Brooks, and Robert Penn Warren. Other important theorists associated with the movement include Rene Welleck, R.P. Blackmur, Robert B. Heilman, Austin Warren and Murray Krieger. After this point it is hard to tell where to stop, since by the 1950s the New Critical method of poetic explication had come to dominate the teaching of literature in England and America, and most working literary critics had been touched by it. One should look to I.A. Richards and T.S. Eliot as the primary founders of this method, the former

Adam: Innocence Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1955) are the two works that serve as founding documents of the American Studies movement. For an institutional history of the movement, see Wise, “Paradigm Dramas,” 305-306. Matthiessen states his method: “that works of art can best be perceived if we do not approach them only through the influences that shape them, but if we make use of what we inevitably bring from our own lives.” (xiii) He was most concerned with evaluating the “fusions of form and content” of literature selected from the “renaissance” of 1850-1855. According to M.H. Abrams, for the New Critics, form was regarded as “primarily an equilibrium, or an interaction, or an ironic and paradoxical tension, of diverse words and images in an organized totality of meanings”(72).

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through his philosophical theories and the latter through his critical
practice and tastes.¹⁴ (726)

This fragmented genealogy meant that New Criticism never developed a rigidly cohesive
system of practices. In a straightforward definition, William Harmon and Hugh Holman
write:

The New Criticism is a cluster of attitudes towards literature rather
than an organized critical system. The primary concern of these
critics has been to discover the intrinsic worth of literature. The
New Criticism has been primarily a protest against certain
convention and traditional ways of viewing life and art. The New
Critics insisted that the morality and value of a work of art are
functions of its inner qualities and that literature cannot be
evaluated in general terms or terms not directly related to the work
itself. Their concern has been with image, symbol, and meaning.
(317)

This “concern” with image, symbol and meaning are what made New Criticism so easily
adaptable to the needs of the first generation of American Studies scholars, as they sought
to interpret patterns within the culture. As David Shumway writes, “F.O. Matthiessen
may have been the first person to apply a new critical approach to the American literary
tradition”(237). After Parrington, Matthiessen is given credit for crystallizing the

¹⁴ Influentia New Critical texts include: Wayne Booth, The Rhetoric of Fiction,
Robert Penn Warren, Understanding Poetry, (New York: Holt, 1938); T.S. Eliot,
Selected Essays, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1963); William Empson, Seven
Types of Ambiguity, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1930); John Crowe Ransom,
The New Criticism, (New York: New Directions, 1941); I.A. Richards, Principles
of Literary Criticism, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1925); Allen Tate,
Reactionary Essays on Poetry and Ideas, (New York: Scribner’s, 1936); Rene
Welleck and Austin Martin, Theory of Literature, (New York: Harcourt, Brace
and World, 1949); W.K. Wimsatt, The Verbal Icon, (Lexington: U Kentucky
impetus for the American Studies movement. Shumway continues: “What Matthiessen took from the New Criticism was more than bare technique; just as important were modernist aesthetics, which enabled him to conceive of American literature as having a radically different kind of history than had [Moses Coit] Tyler, [Barrett] Wendell, [Vernon] Parrington” (240). Matthiessen was enormously influenced by T.S. Eliot’s theory of literary tradition, as expressed in “Tradition and Individual Talent,” and after American Renaissance, went on to write The Achievement of T.S. Eliot in 1947. In Shumway’s words, “there is little dispute about Matthiessen’s importance” (238). The subject of three book length studies, Matthiessen is credited with having produced, in Russell Reisling words, “the first study of American literature to apply New Critical analytical tools to American writing as a whole” (170). According to William Cain, Matthiessen can be credited with having established the canon of American authors (69). By treating the texts of the “American Renaissance” as organically related to each other, Matthiessen created a broader cultural synthesis. And, by expanding their reading beyond texts, subsequent American Studies scholars would use the same myth-symbol techniques to create unifying, coherent narratives exploring unexamined dimensions of American culture.

It is unsurprising that Matthiessen, Eliot, and Hemingway intersect through New Critical practice within American Studies. As contemporaries, Eliot and Hemingway emerged from the expatriate modernist milieu, and shared a common close friend and supporter in Pound. Through this association, they shared a vocabulary of myth, symbol,
and image that would be codified in New Criticism. Thus to investigate *To Have and Have Not* and *The Old Man and the Sea* through New Critical techniques is explore them with a method that is chronologically consistent with their composition. Although he personally disliked Eliot, Hemingway owned ten of his books, and creatively, they were responding to the same cultural forces.\(^\text{15}\)

Another important New Critical legacy for American Studies and literary theory was the technique of “close reading”: detailed analysis of the interrelations and ambiguities of the components of a literary work. Subsequent schools of theory would rely on close reading, however, and, as Terry Eagleton writes, this innovation was hardly revolutionary:

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15 \text{Hemingway (1899-1961) and Eliot (1888-1965) were separated by only eleven years. Hemingway’s dislike for Eliot was famously inscribed at the death of Joseph Conrad:} \\

\text{It is fashionable among my friends to disparage Joseph Conrad. It is even necessary. Living in a world of literary politics where one wrong opinion often proves fatal, one writes carefully. It is agreed by most of the people I know that Conrad is a bad writer, just as it is agreed that T.S. Eliot is a good writer. If I knew that by grinding Mr. Eliot up into a fine powder and sprinkling that powder over Mr. Conrad’s grave Mr. Conrad would shortly appear, looking very annoyed at the forced return, and commence writing I would leave for London early tomorrow with a sausage grinder. (Byline 132-133)}
\]

'Close reading' is also a phrase worth examining. Like 'practical criticism' it meant detailed analytic interpretation, providing a valuable antidote to aestheticist chit-chat; but it also seemed to imply that every that every previous school of criticism had read an average of three words per line. To call for close reading, in fact, is to do more than insist on due attentiveness to the text. It inescapably suggests an attention to this, rather than to something else: to the 'words on the page' rather than to the contexts which produced and surround them. It implies a limiting as well as a focusing of concern—a limiting badly needed by literary talk which would ramble comfortably from the texture of Tennyson's language to the length of his beard. (38)

Eagleton articulates the oft-repeated charge against New Criticism, and the one that would lead to its downfall: by focusing so closely on the internal language of the texts, practitioners were ignoring the "contexts which produced and surrounded them."

Indeed, that was their intention, as New Critics many sought to isolate literature from politics. American New Critics, such as the Agrarians Allen Tate, Donald Davison, Robert Penn Warren and John Crowe Ransom, idealized the Southern past, especially the years prior to the Civil War. They saw themselves as upholding an aristocratic aesthetic tradition, rooted in an agriculturally based economy. In their view, the purity of literature could be contaminated by contemporary politics. Gerald Graff describes the milieu they were responding to:

Whatever one may think of their predominantly conservative politics, the fact remains that first-generation New Critics were neither aesthetes nor pure explicators but culture critics with a considerable "axe to grind" against the technocratic tendencies of modern mass civilization. Even when they minimized the social aspect of their work, their very way of doing so bespoke a social concern; for emphasizing the aesthetic over the directly social was a way of countering what the New Critics saw as the overly

16 The center of Agrarian activity was The Fugitive, a bimonthly magazine published at Vanderbilt University from 1922-25. Their philosophy was published in the anthology, I'll Take My Stand in 1930.
acquisitive and practical tenor of modern urban society. It was not merely that the taste if Eliot and the Southern New Critics for organically complex, overdidactically “Platonic” poetry reflected their admiration for organic, hierarchical societies over the abstractions of mechanistic industrialism, though this was in fact the case. These critics’ very insistence on the disinterested nature of poetic experience was an implicit rejection of a utilitarian culture and thus a powerfully “utilitarian” and “interested” gesture.

The irony of this interest in the “disinterestness” of literature would, ultimately, lead to the decline of the New Critical movement, as interest in ideology increased. Terry Eagleton writes:

> The ideology of New Criticism began to crystallize: scientific rationalism was ravaging the ‘aesthetic life’ of the old South, human experience was being stripped of its sensuous particularity, and poetry was a possible solution. The poetic response, unlike the scientific, respected the sensuous integrity of its object: it was not a matter of rational cognition but an affective affair which lined us to both the ‘world’s body’ in an essentially religious bond. Through art, an alienated world could be restored to us in all its rich variousness. Poetry, as an essentially contemplative mode, would spur us not to change the world but to reverence it for what it was, teach us to approach it with a disinterested humility... New Criticism was the ideology of an uprooted, defensive intelligentsia who reinvented in literature what they could not locate in reality. Poetry was the new religion, a nostalgic haven from the alienations of industrial capitalism. (40)

As a contemplative mode, literature provided a healing escape from the pressures of urban life, perhaps forestalling the industrial transformation of the South. Most notably, however, the New Critical aesthetic resisted reform, and reinforced existent racial, ethnic, gender, and class hierarchies by ignoring the ideology underpinning literary texts. As the discipline of American literature gained a foothold within universities, New Critical practices, expanding on Matthiessen’s work, were used to formulate a canon. In *American Literature and the Culture Wars*, Gregory Jay writes:
The identification of the canon with a hegemonic ideology, then, results in part from the perception that a specific class of professionals constructed the canon so as to relocate authority for literary evaluation to their campuses and away from book clubs, magazines, reading circles and other nonacademic forums. In replacing the popular with the canonical, professors also achieved a shift in ideology, at least insofar as the New Criticism in particular enshrined texts and modes of reading that had a conservative bent. The antipopular and elitist cast of much high modernism involved an active rejection of known works by women, minorities, and working-class writers as much as it involved a continued ignorance of certain classes of literature produced by marginalized groups. (138)

This critique would be sounded time and time again. As various forms of structuralism began spreading through American universities in the 1960s, literature became demystified.17 Critics charged that the New Critics created a unified literary tradition only by ignoring diverse, competing voices, and exchanges with non-Western cultures.

In Canons and Contexts, Lauter writes:


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While we are all indebted to, or at least influenced by, the habits of mind established by Brooks—close reading of texts, sensitivity to qualities like ambiguity, irony, paradox—New Criticism represented an elitist, unsystematic, mode of critical dissection and worked with a narrow set of texts amenable to its analytical methods. Indeed, to the extent that such critics addressed the question of which texts were worthy of study, they did so—at least explicitly—in formalist terms. As New Critical methodology became academic orthodoxy, the question of which texts were worthy of interpretation—that is, the question of the canon—receded ever further toward the margins of legitimacy and the virtues of irony, complexity and tension emerged as gospel.....Beginning in the late 1960s, and with increasing rapidity, various forms of structuralism—those, for example, associated with Roland Barthes and with Marxists such as Frederic Jameson—emerged as the dominant critical paradigms, only to be contested in short order by bewildering varieties of post-structuralist theorizing. (137)

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18 Three versions of formalism—Russian Formalism, Mikhail Bakhtin’s, and New Critical—proposed a criticism that was “intrinsic” in that it defined and addressed the literary qualities of a text, and resisted the forms of criticism that viewed the text as the product of social or historical forces (Richter, 781). Beyond that, the three versions of formalism differ enormously. See Terry Eagleton, Literary Theory: An Introduction, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1996), 85-87. Roman Jakobson could be considered the leading figure among the Russian Formalists, who emerged in Russian before the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. Jakobson later worked with Levi-Strauss to link formalism with structuralism. See Jakobson, The Framework of Language, (Ann Arbor: Graduate School U Michigan, 1980). Bakhtin objected to Saussurean linguistics, contending instead that language could only be seen as inherently “dialogic”; its meaning could only be grasped in terms of its orientation towards another (Eagleton 101). See Bakhtin The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays, (Austin: U Texas Press, 1981), and Problems of Dostoyevsky’s Poetics, (Minneapolis: U Minnesota Press, 1984). Formalism within New Criticism stems from the work of British theorist I.A Richards. For Richards, poetry was an “emotive,” rather than “referential” language, a statement that tries to describe the world but instead organizes our feelings about it in satisfying ways (Eagleton 39). See Principles of Literary Criticism, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1925).

19 Marxist texts that were extremely influential in the transformation of American Studies and the decline of New Criticism include: Raymond Williams’ Culture and Society, 1780-1950, (London: Chatto and Widnus, 1958), and Marxism and Literature, (New York: Oxford U Press, 1975); Georg Luckacs’ The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature,
Indeed, this period of “post-structuralist theorizing” can be seen as an activity, rather than as a philosophy. Using the structuralist concept that everything is a text in some form or another, post-structuralism has transformed the framework of American Studies, opening it up to new configurations and strategies of reading. Yet the field did not embrace the

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20 The post-structuralist movement is too diverse to summarize adequately here, but in general, they could be said to reject structuralist interpretations for being too static and centered. Post-structuralists “accentuate the fluidity and openness of discourses; they see texts as dynamic processes” (Staton 6). Post-structuralism and deconstruction are often used interchangeably. “Deconstruction” is a term introduced by Jacques Derrida in his attack on the quasi-scientific pretensions of strict structuralists. See Derrida’s Of Grammatology, Trans. Gayatari Spivak, (Baltimore: John Hopkins U Press, 1977), and Writing and Difference, Trans. Alan Bass, (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1978). By examining the text alone, deconstructors hope to ask a set of questions that continually challenges the ideological positions of power and authority that dominate literary criticism (Bressler, 82). One of the most influential post-structuralist strands has been New Historicism, what Stephen Greenblatt calls “a method of reading that concerned with examining textual traces of the past, premised on the notion that the past is available to us only in the form of a textuality which is also in embedded in the present” (Bressler 129). New Historicists are much indebted to Foucault’s declaration that history is not linear, nor teleological, but instead a complex interrelationship of a variety of discourses—artistic, social, political, etc.—dependent on a unifying principle, or episteme. Thus, through language and thought, each period in history develops its own perceptions of reality (Bressler 131). Thus, New Historicists have blurred the boundaries between historical and literary materials, identifying symbolic and political acts in diverse events and texts. Edward Said’s Orientalism (1978) is another extremely influential post-structuralist text. Said incorporates Foucault’s ideas of power and discourse into
transformation, a resistance that contained an element of irony. In the words of John Carlos Rowe:

One of the aims of those scholars who attempted to adapt Continental theories to the study of U.S. culture in the 1970s and 1980s was to challenge the intellectual provincialism and artificiality of claims that nativist traditions were untheoretical formulations of essential U.S. traits. To speak or write about the United States in any unified was always already a fiction for poststructuralists, both on the basis of the illusion of the signified operating in any representational act and in the more particular case of the fiction of national consensus. Given its explicitly multicultural and transnational composition and the rapid national legitimation demanded by its revolutionary origins, the United States calls particular, albeit not unique, attention to the fabricated, imaginary quality of its national coherence. It is interesting to recall that the poststructuralist avant-garde of the 1970s and 1980s often claimed, from both inside and outside the American Studies discipline, that U.S. culture and especially its literature best exemplified the key tenets of poststructuralist theory. (xviv)

In his chapter on “Resistance to Cultural Studies,” Rowe continues:

Between 1966 and 1975, this suspicion of deconstruction and poststructuralism in general was shared by feminists, scholars of ethnicity and minority cultures, and scholars of popular culture and the mass media—indeed many of the fields encompassed by American Studies. Many American Studies scholars rejected poststructuralist approaches as Eurocentric while themselves defending the exceptionalist assumptions of much American Studies in that period, but there were other more compelling reasons for the critique of poststructuralism in this country... The dominant academic applications of deconstruction between roughly 1975 and 1985 did not do much to challenge the suspicions of feminists and scholars of minority and non-European cultures. Especially as it was practiced in literary studies in this country, deconstruction did not abandon the established literary canons and authors, but instead embarked on revisionary readings of these canonical figures together with complementary interpretations of minor works and authors. (31-32)

his examination of nineteenth-century European society’s celebration and denigration of the Arab and Asian worlds in order to justify imperialism.
The now thriving field of cultural studies resists, as American Studies did, codifying its methodology. In their 1992 anthology, *Cultural Studies*, Lawrence Grossberg, Cara Nelson, and Paula Treichler write:

> It is problematic for cultural studies simply to adopt uncritically any of the formalized disciplinary practices of the academy, for those practices, as much of the distinctions they inscribe, carry with them a heritage of disciplinary investments and exclusions and a history of societal effects that cultural studies would often be inclined to repudiate... For cultural studies has no guarantees about what questions are important to ask within given contexts or how to answer them, hence no methodology can be privileged or even temporarily employed with total security and confidence, yet none can be dismissed out of hand. Textual analysis, semiotics, deconstruction, ethnography, interviews phonemic analysis, psychoanalysis, rhizomatics, content analysis, survey research—all can provide insights and knowledge. (2)

To Rowe, this absence of a method is an energizing quality of cultural studies, one that should be adapted into American Studies. As Rowe notes, the cultural studies model values dissensus, rather than consensus:

> Because cultural studies treats subjects in global and transnational contexts, it offers American Studies ways to reimagine its own scholarly projects outside strictly nationalist models while respecting the historical influence of such nationalisms on the formation of many social, cultural, and other group identities. (66)

Forty-five years after Smith’s question “Can American Studies Develop a Method?” the project of American Studies has settled not on a single method, but many methods. VII.

The methodology of this dissertation, however, has been adapted from an American Studies framework. As this dissertation relies heavily on the artifacts of Hemingway’s fishing logs, it utilizes an established American Studies interpretative framework that sought to “read” unrecognized texts. In his 1996 article titled “American
Studies: A Not so Unscientific Method,” Brian Attebery quotes from the correspondence between Leo Marx and Henry Nash Smith. According to Attebery, the subject matter of American Studies involves “interpreting artifacts, especially verbal texts, in cultural context” (Attebery 333). In a letter to Smith from February 7, 1948, Marx laid out his methodology:

1. Isolate the use of industrial-technological themes, metaphors, images in the work of the writer under construction;

2. Examine the way in which these fit into the novel, story or poem, --the way they are imaginatively assimilated, contribute to the total effect, etc.;

3. See how the attitudes toward the emerging machine age are related to the major preoccupations, themes, concepts of the writer; this involves both his personal experience, his explicit statements on the subject as well as what happens in his work;

4. Returning to the works of art & reading into them all that is implicit, how does our information illuminate the writer’s work, & his relation to his society. (Attebery 322)

Attebery comments:

The methodology that Marx envisioned for his study was a circular one, or rather an open spiral, beginning from his reading of key passages, broadening out to entire texts, further expanding the field of inquiry to include the writer’s extratextual experiences as participants in the age of the machine, and finally returning to the passages for another go at interpretation. (322)

The framework for this dissertation follows the methodological model laid out by Marx. In the introduction, “Cezanne and the Last ‘Wild Country,’” is meant to establish how Hemingway wrote prior to his contact with the Gulf Stream so that, by tracing his involvement in subsequent chapters, the full scope of his transformations of writing style and philosophy may be appreciated. Initially, he wanted to write “like Cezanne,” and he
understood the natural world as a “frontier.” Critics trained in New Criticism interpreted his work as either a form of modernism, or naturalism. My second chapter, “Literary Naturalism on the Stream: To Have and Have Not,” follows Marx’s second step; I examine the way themes, images, metaphors of the frontier are “imaginatively assimilated” into the novel, contributing to the total effect of literary naturalism. Harry Morgan, the protagonist and narrator, is a rugged individualist, representative of D.H. Lawrence’s “American soul”: hard, isolate, stoic, and a killer. Hemingway writes in a form of literary naturalism, presenting evidence of the Gulf Stream as an extension of the frontier, very much a battleground, where the providential mission of the nation is struggling to assert itself. This examination is necessary in order to understand the dramatic transformations represented by The Old Man and the Sea (1952). Chapters three and four, examining Hemingway’s fishing logs from the Anita and the Pilar, his involvement in the International Game Fishing Association, and his marlin theories, follows the third step. I explore how Hemingway’s attitudes to towards the Gulf Stream are related to his major preoccupations, fishing and writing, involving his personal experience and his work. The fishing logs exist as what Van Wyck’s Brooks called in 1918 “the usable past,” evidence of Hemingway’s daily life that shed light on the transformations in his writing style and philosophy of the natural world. By blending multiple spheres of Hemingway’s life—his fiction, essays, letters, fishing logs, personal life, etc.—these chapters are draw off new and existing sources to create a record of factors that infuse his fiction. The goal of these chapters is to summarize the contents of the unexamined logs from 1932, 1933, and 1934, to show how they contain the seeds of later passages used in To Have and Have Not, and The Old Man and the Sea. Ultimately,
they should make evident Hemingway’s evolving understanding of the Gulf Stream, tracing through a close chronology what Patricia Nelson Limerick would call the “unbroken” past of his idea of the frontier. My final chapter, “Illustrating the Iceberg: Winslow Homer and The Old Man and the Sea,” returns to Hemingway’s literature, showing how the “information” of chapters three and four “illuminates” his work, establishing the connections between Hemingway and Homer, through themes, the concept of realism, and in his method of writing by the “iceberg principle,” thus, fulfilling Marx’s methodological model. At this point, the profound evolution of Hemingway’s philosophy and fiction through his contact with the Gulf Stream should be clear.

For this dissertation, all available Hemingway texts have been consulted. Articles in newspapers, magazines, and journals about Hemingway have been cited, and his correspondence, essays, fishing papers, and journalism are considered. All the biographies of Hemingway have been consulted, and I have reviewed all the scholarly articles related to this topic. Yet the intellectual crux of this dissertation is the unpublished logs of Hemingway’s fishing from 1932-35. In sum, this dissertation is one part biography: the daily events of Hemingway’s life from 1932 to 1952 are examined through existing documents. It is also part literary interpretation; nearly all of Hemingway’s creative work from those dates will be examined. And, it is one part history, as the details of the early years of Atlantic sport fishing are discussed, in order to shed light on Hemingway’s importance to the Gulf Stream. Hemingway integrated each aspect of his life, eroding boundaries between the life and art. In the words of Rose Marie Burwell, for Hemingway, “art and life occupied the same space”(3).
CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION: CEZANNE AND THE “LAST WILD COUNTRY”

Ernest Hemingway owned two books by James Fenimore Cooper: The Last of the Mohicans, and The Two Admirals: A Tale of the Sea. These two novels provide an intriguing entrance into Hemingway’s understanding of the natural world. Thomas Philbrick calls Cooper “the originator of the sea novel,” and his ability to write convincingly about both the land and the sea earned Hemingway’s admiration. At a time when Hemingway was increasingly aware of his place in literary history, the Gulf Stream provided a background for him to write himself into the foreground of American culture. Cooper, like Twain, Melville, and Stephen Crane, was a writer that self-consciously shaped an American tradition that Hemingway yearned to be a part of, and the protagonist of his short stories, Nick Adams, is a recognizable descendant of Leatherstocking, Huckleberry Finn, and Ishmael.

Hemingway, like Cooper, created an artistic vision of the land, and an equally robust vision of the sea. Hemingway’s frontier existed simultaneously as an intellectual construction, and, to him, as a physical fact. He sought open spaces, in Spain, Wyoming, Africa, or the Gulf Stream, far from the civilization of cities, because he firmly believed in the existence of “wild country,” and his hunting and fishing renewed him.

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1 Hemingway’s library attests to this preoccupation with his place in American literary history, and his bookshelves contained some of the essential reading for a course in American Studies. In addition to Cooper, Melville, Stephen Crane, Henry Adams, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, H.L. Mencken, F.O. Matthiessen, Jack Kerouac, and Norman Mailer were all represented on the shelves of the Finca
Thematically, too, the Gulf Stream presented a stage for exploration, as Hemingway grew to know intimately the sea in a way that would reshape his method of writing. Since 1924, Hemingway had stated that his ambition was to write “like Cezanne painted,” yet at the publication of The Old Man and the Sea in 1952, the Gulf Stream was no longer merely a frontier, for Hemingway had decided he wanted his books illustrated by Winslow Homer.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background on how Hemingway wrote and thought about the natural world, through the publication of A Farewell to Arms (1929). In order to appreciate the richness of his transformation from 1929-1952, the details of how Hemingway wrote prior to his contact with the Gulf Stream must be absorbed, and the vocabulary that has interpreted his writing must be clarified. Although his work has consistently been referred to as a form of literary naturalism, his novels after 1937, For Whom the Bell Tolls (1941), Across the River and Into the Trees (1950), and The Old Man and the Sea (1952), have enormous differences in terms of theme, style, and method. And though he once saw the Gulf Stream as a frontier, after studying it as a self-taught marine biologist, that view, too, evolved, and according to ichthyologist Henry V. Fowler, Hemingway “revised the classification for marlin for the whole North Atlantic” (Baker, A Life Story 264). By the thirties, Hemingway was no longer describing landscape with the same techniques he used for In Our Time (1925), The Sun Also Rises (1926), and A Farewell To Arms (1929). As he shifted his attention to the Gulf Stream, his verbal language, too, had to accommodate the new seascape. If

Vigia, his home in Cuba. See Sigman and Brasch, Hemingway’s Library: A Composite Record.
Cezanne’s impressionism was an appropriate technique to mimic in describing the hills of Spain, the battlefields of Italy, and the deep woods of Michigan, Homer’s stark “realistic” canvases provided a model for his later work.

I. “An Unexploited Country”

The Frontier, the West, the Pastoral: these concepts in their overlapping imprecision apply equally well as tools for interpreting Hemingway’s first impressions of the Gulf Stream. Since the West had been closed, in Frederick Jackson Turner’s terms, since 1893, Hemingway had to find his frontier elsewhere. When Hemingway moved to Key West in 1928 and encounters the Gulf Stream, he saw it as a Pastoral space: Edenic, untouched, timeless, indifferent to civilization. Without sensing an inconsistency in his vocabulary, five years later, when he began writing for Esquire, Hemingway conceptualized the Gulf Stream as a frontier. As someone deeply influenced by Teddy Roosevelt, this vocabulary was reflexive. Michael Reynolds writes:

His hero was the most public of Americans, Teddy Roosevelt, a man whose every exploit was newsworthy: bad lands rancher, San Juan Hill military hero, President, killer of dangerous game, maverick politician and writer of books. With Roosevelt as role model, Hemingway was never completely satisfied with being merely a writer, for no one saw a writer at his work. All his life he was in search of America’s mythical west, the land of heart’s hard desire, where a man stood alone, physical and self-reliant. (Paris Years 25)²

²Hemingway’s library also included Teddy Roosevelt’s African Game Trails: An Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-naturalist, (1910), (written with Kermit Roosevelt) Trailing the Giant Panda (1929), and The Deer Family (1924), (written with T.S. Van Dyke, D.G. Elliot, and A.J. Stone).
The word “frontier” pops up consistently in Hemingway’s writing from 1929-1936, most frequently in his journalism and personal letters. As Patricia Nelson Limerick notes: “Frontier is an unsubtle concept in a subtle world”(25). Many readers have found Hemingway to be ethnocentric, yet it is too easy to oversimplify Hemingway’s understanding of the American West and the “frontiers” around him. 3 There is enormous evidence that Hemingway’s understanding of the Gulf Stream, and the people he encountered in Cuba, Key West, and Bimini was much more nuanced than the overarching concept of the frontier would allow. To paraphrase Limerick, the literary historian is obligated to understand how Hemingway saw his own times, but not to adopt his terminology or point of view. Turner’s frontier rested on a single point of view. In contrast, the evidence in Hemingway’s writing and life serves to illuminate his multiple points of view on the Gulf Stream. Hemingway’s frontier evolves, and the Gulf Stream of The Old Man and the Sea serves as a correction to the limitations of his initial perspective.

Hemingway’s first articulation of his Gulf Stream frontier appears in 1936. In order to entice him to write for his new men’s magazine, in 1933 Arnold Gingrich paid $3,000 towards the purchase of Hemingway’s boat, Pilar. In return, Hemingway’s first article for the magazine was about fishing: “Marlin Off the Morro: A Cuban Letter.” In the twenty-five articles that Hemingway wrote from 1933-1936, the main subject of each

3 The racism within Hemingway’s fiction cannot be overlooked, and the offensive caricatures of To Have and Have Not are stunning by contemporary standards. To examine in depth Hemingway’s use of race within this dissertation, however, would distract from my central argument. That project, examining race within American literature of the Gulf Stream and the Caribbean, was the false start of this dissertation, and remains a gestating project to be resumed shortly.

4
piece was Hemingway's public persona, and his leisure activities. His frontier article, entitled "On the Blue Water: A Gulf Stream Letter," was one of his last pieces for the magazine:

In the first place, the Gulf Stream and the other great ocean currents are the last wild country there is left. Once you are out of sight of land and of other boats you are more alone than you can ever be hunting and the sea is the same as it has been since before men ever went on it in boats. In a season fishing you will see it oily flat as the becalmed galleons saw it while they drifted to the westward; white-capped with a fresh breeze as they saw it running with the trades; and in high, rolling blue hills the tops blowing off them like snow as they were punished by it so that sometimes you will see three great hills of water with your fish jumping from the top of the farthest one and if you tried to make a turn with him without picking your chance, one of those breaking crests would roar down on you with a thousand tons of water and you would hunt no more elephants, Richard, my lad. (On the Blue Water 228-29)

The first sentence leaps out: "the last wild country there is left." Hemingway sees the stream as a place to explore, conquer, exploit, apparently blind to the fisherman that have been working here for hundreds of years, and the ecological damage his presence may incur.

Yet even within that same article, Hemingway recognizes his own complex feelings for the Gulf Stream: it is not just a space to be conquered. A relationship can be established with the stream, heightening one's own human experience through intimate contact with nature. Hemingway continues: "But there is great pleasure in being on the sea, in the unknown wild suddenness of a great fish; in his life and death which he lives for you in an hour while your strength is harnessed to his; and there is great satisfaction in conquering this sea it lives in"(234). The key phrase here, of course, is "in his life and death which he lives for you in an hour while your strength is harnessed to his." A
timeless, universal struggle takes place here on the stream, and Hemingway’s life is enriched through this recognition. The unification within the “great fish” can exist simultaneously with the act of conquering for Hemingway, as at this point in his life, he recognized no conflict within his own values.

For him, a wilderness was something that was spoiled and destroyed by the encroachment of civilization, as that contact eroded the regenerative power of nature. In “Big Two Hearted River Part I,” Nick laments the “burned over country” but finds solace in watching trout in a stream: “They were very satisfactory” (In Our Time 134). Outside of his creative work, Hemingway referred to the world around him using a language of frank assessment that jars us today. In an Esquire letter entitled “He Who Gets Slap Happy,” Hemingway wrote:

America has always been a country of hunters and fishermen. As many people, probably, came to North America because there was good free hunting and fishing as ever came to make their fortunes. But plenty came who cared nothing about hunting, nothing about fishing, nothing about the woods, nor the prairies…nor the big lakes and small lakes, nor the sea coast, nor the sea, nor the mountains in summer and winter…nor when the geese fly in the night nor when the ducks come down before the autumn storms… nor about the timer that is gone…nor about a frozen country road…nor about leaves burning in fall, nor about any of these things that we have loved. Nor do they care about anything but the values they bought with them from the towns they lived in to the towns they live in now; nor do they think anyone else cares. They are very sure no one cares to read about hunting and fishing because they don’t. So I say to hell with them. (48)

By embracing the beauties of the Gulf Stream and elsewhere, Hemingway was rejecting the narrowness of an urban perspective, and declaring emphatically that the beauty of the American landscape was a solitary pleasure that must be experienced to be understood.
Hemingway had fished since he was a small boy; photos exist of a three year old Ernest, cane pole in hand, trying his luck off a dock in Petosky, Michigan. While his fishing for trout in his twenties could be seen as a natural extension of his boyhood hobby, Hemingway’s interest in saltwater fishing was completely different. Soon after his first fishing trip to Cuba in 1932, Hemingway became passionately involved in deep-sea fishing for marlin and tuna. Like his deep lifelong engagement with bullfighting, Hemingway’s interest and devotion were instantly established. The unknown depths of the Gulf Stream were especially intriguing to Hemingway, and he became increasingly proficient as a saltwater fisherman. As the “great white hunter” Phillip Percival had guided him on safari in Tanganyika, so Hemingway would be a Leatherstocking-like pathfinder to others in search of enormous game fish. In the same article, Hemingway wrote:

Because the Gulf Stream is unexploited country, only the fringe of it ever being fished, and then only at a dozen places in thousands of miles of current, no one knows what fish live in it, or how great size they reach or what age, or even what kinds of fish and animals live in it at different depth. When you are drifting, out of sight of land, fishing four lines, sixty, eighty, 100 and 150 fathoms down, in water that is 700 fathoms deep, you never know what may take the small tuna that you use for bait and every time the line starts to run off the reel, slowly first, then with a scream of the click as the rod bends and you feel it double and the huge weight of the friction of the line rushing through that depth of water while still you pump and reel, pump and reel, pump and reel, trying to get the belly out of the line before the fish jumps, there is always a thrill that needs no danger to make it real. It may be a marlin that will jump high and clear off to your right and then go off in a series of leaps, throwing a splash like a speedboat in a sea as you shout for the boat to turn with him watching the line melting off the reel before the boat can get around. Or it may be a broadbill that will show wagging his great broadsword. Or it may be some fish that you will never see at all that will head straight out to the north-west like a submerged submarine and never show and at the end of five hours the angler has a straightened-out hook. There is always a
feeling of excitement when a fish takes hold when you are drifting deep. (Blue Water 229-230)

The remote, “unexplored” nature of the stream would at first enthrall Hemingway, and later inspire him to immerse himself in the vocabulary and practices of marine biology. It is also intriguing to note how Hemingway’s language establishes his dual perspective; he is unapologetically a hunter of big fish, but also appreciative of natural mysteries of the Gulf Stream.

Hemingway’s unintentional advertising in Esquire was also an unsubtle admission of his longing for company. Far away from intellectual equals and practicing writers, Hemingway launched a steady stream of letters to friends such as Archibald MacLeish, John Dos Passos, Max Perkins, and others to join him on the Gulf Stream. In an April 8th, 1933 letter to Janet Flanner, Hemingway wrote:

Look, why don’t you come to Havana? I’m going over there in three days in a thirty four foot boat fixed up for fishing. We fished along that coast 65 days last year, from this time on. It is wonderful. The gulf stream (sic) runs almost black and comes right in to the shore. The marlin swordfish go by, swimming up the stream like cars on a highway. You go in to shore in the boat and look down to see the wrinkles in the white sand through the clear water. It looks as though you would strike bottom. They have beaches miles and miles long, hard white sand and no houses for twenty miles. We go out in the morning and troll the stream go in to swim and get back somewhere at night. Sometimes sleep on the boat. Sometimes on the town. (386-387)

The Gulf Stream was a garden of pleasures and plenty to share with deserving and appreciative guests. Unlike other sedentary urban writers, Hemingway’s individual path had to be charted in pastoral terrain. Leo Marx writes:

The dominant spirits of this body of writing (pastoralism) . . . tend like Ishmael to connect the recovery of self with the recovery of the natural, and to represent their deepest longings in numinous
visions of landscape. In one way or another, they all lend expression to what may be called the pastoral impulse: a desire, in the face of growing power and complexity of organized society, to disengage from the dominant culture and to seek out the basis for a simpler, more satisfying mode of life in a realm "closer," as we say to nature. (Pastoralism 54)

Marx calls this model an American "fable," yet in the case of Hemingway, the fable seems to be "true." He fled from big city America to the remote reality of the Gulf Stream, and he found, as his writing testifies, a more satisfying life, deeply connected to the natural world. As a wealthy young writer, Hemingway was able to escape the pressures and anonymity of regular employment, and replace them with a "frontier" on which he would be center stage. Paradoxically, as he cherished his isolation on the stream, by publishing his accounts of fishing, Hemingway acted as a metaphorical pathfinder to the Gulf Stream to a larger American public, crafting an image that bolstered a nascent tourist industry.

II. Against the Naturalist Current: Hemingway's Naturalism

Hemingway has frequently but uncomfortably included in the category of American literary naturalists. Yet, the terms "naturalist," "realist," and "modernist," all overlap in their application to Hemingway's work, and, in their own way, each term shines light on the transformations in his writing. Among the many definitions of "naturalist," at least two apply to Hemingway. A naturalist is, of course, a student of natural history, or a field biologist. Secondly, a naturalist is a practitioner of naturalism, which is, again, according to Webster's: realism in art or literature; specifically: a theory in literature emphasizing scientific observation of life without idealization or the avoidance of the ugly (788). Hemingway would have happily embraced being labeled a naturalist,
or a marine biologist, and, indeed, establishing his professional contributions to that field is the subject of Chapters Three and Four. Yet Hemingway would have resisted being classified as a “literary naturalist”; to him, the grouping would have delineated a temporary genre that had briefly won the admiration of critics. His ambitions, always, were grander than that. Still, scholars, approaching his work as a whole, continue to rigidly place Hemingway within the American naturalist tradition, while overlooking his experiments in technique and style, and growth in his philosophy. The difficulty in affixing labels to Hemingway’s writing style results from his continually evolving method of composition. Chronological awareness is essential to understanding his work.

When A Farewell to Arms was published to great reviews in 1928, because of his early affiliation with Gertrude Stein, critics were swift to note the “modernist” qualities of his work that seemed to mimic hers. Hemingway’s reputation as the leading writer of his generation was solidified, fulfilling the critical promise of In Our Time and The Sun

4 Critical theory has contested the aesthetic of realism and literary naturalism, stressing that “reality” is created rather than “discovered.” Since the focus of this section is on interpretations of Hemingway’s style and philosophy, that debate and conversation cannot be explored in full. For an overview of recent developments in this field, see David E. Shi’s Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture 1850-1920, page 374. According to Christopher Den Tandt:

[T]he reappraisal of the realist and naturalist corpus in the last fifteen years has shattered the belief that novels can reveal the truth of the social world merely by offering snapshots of urban poverty. Critics like Rachel Bowlby, June Howard, Amy Kaplan, Walter Benn Michaels, and Mark Seltzer have discarded the theory of literary mimesis that takes for granted that social facts can be represented by means of a transparent documentary aesthetic. In the process, the realist and naturalist city, no longer a mere setting for positivistic surveys, has become an intricate field of power relationships structured by interrelated
Also Rises. Critics noticed, too, how the themes and style fulfilled the doctrines of the aesthetics of modernism. According to Daniel Singal:

"[T]he most prevalent view until recently did not see [modernism] as a full-scale historical culture at all but rather equated it with the beliefs and lifestyle of the artistic avant-garde at the turn of the century. Used in this sense, the term usually connotes radical experimentation in artistic style, a deliberate cultivation of the perverse and decadent, and the flaunting of outrageous behavior designed to shock the bourgeoisie."(8)

At this stage in Hemingway’s career, Singal’s definition would have applied to his work, as his contemporary Clifton Fadiman called the novel “the very apotheosis of a kind of modernism”(Baker, A Life 204). The use of vignettes in In Our Time was clearly an experimentation in form, just as the drinking and sexual content of The Sun Also Rises portrayed behavior that would “shock the bourgeoisie.” As a resident of Paris, and a friend to figures such as Picasso, James Joyce, and Ezra Pound, Hemingway was part of a new, modern movement in the arts. Fanny Butcher of the Paris Tribune wrote:

Ernest Hemingway is the direct blossoming of Gertrude Stein’s art. Whether he consciously was influenced by her no one, of course, can say. But he does in “A Farewell to Arms,” what Gertrude Stein did in “Three Lives,” except that he does it in a longer, more complicated medium and with more certain power. There are whole pages in the new book which might have been written by Gertrude Stein herself, except that even in their most tortuous intricacies, the reader is perfectly clear about what Mr. Hemingway is saying and why he is saying it that way (Reynolds Thirties, 28).

The title, wrote Malcolm Cowley, was symbolic of “Hemingway’s farewell to a period, an attitude, and perhaps to a method also”(Baker 204). Yet even as A Farewell to Arms discourses of economic production, population management, and racial and gender definition. (ix)
is seen as a representation of modernism, it also contains passages that came to epitomize literary naturalism, as Singal writes: “The Modernist ethos insists on confronting the ugly, the sordid, and the terrible, for that is where the most important lessons are to be found”(12). Literary naturalism, and the “Modernist ethos,” the former a method and the latter a philosophy, both turn away from the polite, genteel world, to celebrate the unpleasant and contradictory elements of post-World War I society.

Several vital passages of *A Farewell to Arms* are always cited when referring to it as a naturalist novel. In Book Two, Catherine Barkley tells Frederic Henry that she is pregnant. Catherine asks Frederic if he feels trapped in their relationship by her pregnancy. Frederic replies: “You always feel trapped biologically”(Farewell 139). Nature, not free will, according to naturalist critics, controls the destiny of this couple. Frederic feels bound not by obligations of religion, society, or family duty, but only by the biological connection he has to the child. In Book Four, Hemingway writes:

> If people bring so much courage to this world the world has to kill them to break them, so of course it kills them. The world breaks every one and afterward many are strong at the broken places. But those that will not break it kills. It kills the very good and the very gentle and the very brave impartially. If you are none of these you can be sure it will kill you too but there will be no special hurry. (249)

*A Farewell to Arms* is a novel written in the past tense, as a remembrance of events that already occurred; this passage foreshadows Catherine’s death, underscoring that her personal fortitude is meaningless since biological laws control her fate. The indifference of nature to human suffering serves to heighten the misery of the characters, rendering their individual actions empty of meaning. The final passage frequently cited by critics
occurs near the end of the novel, as Catherine’s death is imminent, and Frederic feels helpless:

Once in camp I put a log on top of the fires and it was full of ants. As it commenced to burn, the ants swarmed out and went first toward the center where the fire was; then turned back and ran toward the end. When there were enough on the end they fell off into the fire. Some got out, their bodies burnt and flattened and went off not knowing where they were going. But most of them went toward the end and swarmed on the cool end and finally fell off into the fire. I remember thinking at the time that it was the end of the world and a splendid chance to be a messiah and lift the log off the fire and throw it out where the ants could get off onto the ground. But I did not do anything but throw a tin cup of water on the log, so that I could have the cup empty to put whiskey in before I added water to it. I think the cup of water on the burning log only steamed the ants. (328)

Interpreters cite this passage as underscoring the futility of individual actions in a “burning” world. Interfering with the course of nature, according to Hemingway, often heightens suffering, rather than alleviating it. Recognizing the impossibility of being a messiah, Frederic’s careless gesture, an extension of his own self-interest in preparing his cup for whiskey, creates additional misery.

Hemingway’s first generation of critics found in A Farewell to Arms ample evidence to support their definitions of literary naturalism. In a 1945 article entitled “The Biological Trap,” Ray West wrote:

This raises the question of Ernest Hemingway’s method—his style, Hemingway’s sensibility, when it is functioning at its highest point, has always worked upon an immediate objective level which translates ideas into terms of concrete things: life as a baseball game where each error is punished by death or compared to the struggle of ants on a burning log, the comparison of a hero’s death with the slaughter of animals in a stockyard. In each case we are aware of the double implication, the idea and the image; and the emotional force of the idea is intensified by the shock supplied by
the image. This is the more complicated form of Hemingway’s noted “understatement.” (150)

West recognizes how Hemingway’s style conforms to literary naturalism: by selectively using nature as an exemplar of man’s condition, and by not interpreting that example, Hemingway creates the effect of understatement. In his 1956 work, American Literary Naturalism, A Stream Divided, Charles Walcutt wrote:

(Hemingway’s) early works struggle continually against the fact that modern public morality, having lost touch with the facts of life, reveals a corrupt and despicable travesty of idealism. In them the very concept of idealism is eschewed because it has been so badly mauled that Hemingway will have nothing to do with it, while he concentrates on establishing certain definite, tangible, basic areas of expertise that he can treat without being contaminated by the prevailing hypocrisy of his time. (271)

The natural world, according to Walcutt, provided an uncontaminated landscape by which to illustrate the corruption of a civilization without idealism. Hemingway’s protagonists must create their own meaning by cultivating their own world of meaning through fishing, bullfights, and athletics. As Paul Civello wrote twenty-eight years later: “Hemingway, in assimilating this modern view of humanity into his work would transform the naturalistic novel by depicting a distinctly modern response—one in which the self creates its own order and meaning—to the naturalistic world of force” (67).

Yet scholars still struggle to define naturalism and to apply it to Hemingway. John Conder wrote 1984: “It is now clear that no critical consensus exists to explain the commonly used term literary naturalism as distinct from literary realism” (1). Donald Pizer, attempting clarification, wrote: “Naturalism, is above all, social realism laced with the idea of determinism”(14). Sidney Genden, challenging the existence of a distinct method for naturalism, tried to define it in 1995:
1. Realism: a method of composition by which the author describes normal, average life in an accurate truthful way. 2. Naturalism: a method of composition by which an author portrays life as it is in accordance with the philosophic theory of determinism. Such authors believe men lack free will.

The first component of Genden’s definition of realism would apply to To Have and Have Not. Realism, according to David Shi, meant intellectual and artistic honesty rather than romantic exaggeration, involving a direct confrontation with life, rather than an art-for-art’s-sake aestheticism. Shi continues:

What all realists held in common was a language of rebellion against the genteel elite governing American taste. They predominately invoked such terms as “sentimental,” “romantic,” artificial,” “anachronistic,” and “effeminate” to express their disdain for the prevailing modes of idealism dominating thought and expression. Threaded together more by such oppositional discourse than by a uniform creed, realists could communicate with and applaud each other, but the very fact that they operated primarily out of a rhetorical rather than a philosophical framework allowed them a marked degree of independence from one another.

Hemingway would have agreed with that. Yet declaring Hemingway an adherent to determinism is problematic. His most “deterministic” novels are clearly A Farewell to Arms and To Have and Have Not. In the former, he is more of an impressionist in method, and a naturalist in philosophy. While in the latter, Genden’s definition seems to fit. Determinism controls the fate of Harry Morgan, and the novel is devoid of moral judgements. To many of his characters in other novels, however, notably Jake Barnes, Robert Jordan, and Santiago, the possibilities of free will provide the drama of the narrative, and Genden’s definition is a sloppy fit.
In his 1998 book, *The Urban Sublime in American Literary Naturalism*, Christopher Den Tandt sought to update the classification of literature that was done by earlier scholars. Addressing Hemingway, he writes:

The stylistic terseness of writers like Hemingway, the dislocation of their speech into apparently self contained fragments, stands as the dialectic counterpart of the sprawling romantic cadences of the naturalist idiom. Hemingway’s discontinuous prose, for instance, represses any upsurge of the romantic idiom of earlier sociologically oriented literature. This aesthetic asceticism is predicated on the belief that literature can do without the world—or at least without the world in the sense of a social scene broad enough to stand as a metaphor of a totality of human activities. (Tandt 244)

To Den Tandt, Hemingway is not a literary naturalist; his “terseness” runs contrary to a documentary impulse within naturalism to that surge into a florid, romantic idiom. From the broad nature of his remarks, it is clear that Den Tandt has not read Hemingway closely, as there are passages of Joycean inner monologues in *To Have and Have Not* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1941) that flow with emotion and a romantic hunger for what has been lost. The short, declarative sentences that predominate Hemingway’s early style are most notable in the dialogue within his short fiction, and they begin to disappear after *To Have and Have Not*. While Hemingway ascribed to “aesthetic asceticism”—he clearly believed that less language gave more emotion to the reader—he did not believe that literature could do without the world. Sections of *Green Hills of Africa*, and *The Old Man and the Sea* attest, Hemingway was quite capable of creating metaphors for a “totality of human activity.”

It is important to note, too, that Hemingway never declared himself a naturalist, a realist, or a modernist. Immodestly, he would insist on the uniqueness of his own talent, declaring it as original as Shakespeare’s. Hemingway would also insist on the
uniqueness of American literature, as famously, he declared Huckleberry Finn its “source”:

All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called Huckleberry Finn. If you read it you must stop where the Nigger Jim is stolen from the boys. That is the real end. The rest is just cheating. But it’s the best book we’ve had. All American writing comes from that. There was nothing before. There has been nothing as good since (Africa 22).

What Hemingway admired in Twain was the use of the vernacular, the authentic voice of a child, to tell his story. Hemingway placed this comment in Green Hills of Africa, the book that contains his most direct exploration of the regenerative power of the Gulf Stream. As Bert Bender notes, as Twain responded to the Mississippi, Hemingway responded to the Gulf Stream (171). With Twain, Cooper, Melville, and Crane as his models, Hemingway could not allow himself to be grouped into a broad category of writers that included his friend Dos Passos, James T. Farrell, Frank Norris and Upton Sinclair. Hemingway could not be a naturalist, in his view, because it diminished the trajectory of his talent, and tainted him by associating him with writers he considered inferior. In order to place himself in his own category, Hemingway began talking about writing as a form of painting, and following his apprenticeship with Gertrude Stein, there was no greater painter than Paul Cezanne.

III. The early years: the lessons of Cezanne: 1924-1929

He wanted to write like Cezanne painted. Cezanne started with all the tricks. Then he broke the whole thing down and built the real thing. It was hell to do. He was the greatest. The greatest for always. It wasn’t a cult. He, Nick, wanted to write about country so it would be there like Cezanne had done it in painting. You had to do it from inside yourself. There wasn’t any trick. Nobody had
ever written about country like that. You could do it if you could fight it out. If you lived with your eyes. It was a thing you couldn’t talk about. He was going to work on it until he got it. Maybe never. It was a job. Maybe for all his life…. He knew just how Cezanne would paint this stretch of river. God, if he were only here to do it. They died and that was the hell of it. They worked all their lives and then got old and died. Nick, seeing how Cezanne would do the stretch of river and the swamp, stood up and stepped down into the stream. The water was cold and actual. (Italics mine.) (Manuscript fragment from “Big Two-Hearted River,” composed August, 1924.)

Eight years before Hemingway introduced his “iceberg principle” of writing, he wrote this passage celebrating Cezanne. Hemingway may have been trying to evoke Cezanne’s “Rocks—Forest at Fountainbleau,” a painting that he stood beside Lillian Ross in 1951 and said: “This is what we try to do in writing, this and this, and woods, and the rocks we have to climb over… Cezanne is my painter” (87). (Figure 1, Rocks—Forest of Fountainbleau.) Prior to his immersion in the world of the Gulf Stream, the painting analogy is the best tool to understanding how Hemingway created passages describing the landscape. The language that applies to painting corresponds to the language used to describe Hemingway’s writing, but the parallels should be understood as evocative, rather than a precise correlation. Cezanne and Homer are painters that represented Hemingway’s aesthetic inclinations before and after his contact with the Gulf Stream. To say that he learned to “write like Cezanne painted” added an element of polish and mystery to his method, creating an ambiguity in his art that defied easy categorization. Hemingway systematically sought to transform what he saw into verbal canvases that were spare, elemental, and emotionally condensed. In a September 12, 1924, letter to his

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5 I am indebted to Professor Joseph Stanton for clarifying this aspect of Hemingway’s artistic affinities.
first editor, Edward O’Brien, Hemingway again articulated the effect for which he was striving. He wrote:

Some of the stories I think you would like very much. I wish I could show them to you. The last one in the book is called Big Two Hearted River, it is about 12,000 words and goes back after a ski-ing (sic) story and My Old Man and finishes up the Michigan scene the book starts with. It is much better than anything I have done. What I’ve been doing is trying to do country so you don’t remember the words after you read it but actually have the Country. It is hard to do because to do it you have to see the country all complete all the time you write and not just have a romantic feeling about it. It is swell fun. (Baker, Letters123)

The ambition of giving the “Country” over to the reader through his descriptions is an idea that Hemingway would return to again, when he began to write about the Gulf Stream. Related to his belief in the authority of facts, Hemingway felt that if he were severely honest in his descriptions, something almost magical would happen as the reader received his words: he could give them his experience. With an aspiration this grand, it is no wonder that Hemingway resisted being grouped with the literary naturalists.

Once more, A Farewell to Arms became the text that critics would use to make declarations about Hemingway’s painterly method. Uniformly, the critics begin by examining the first paragraph of the novel. Famously, Hemingway wrote:

In the late summer of that year we lived in a house in a village that looked across the river and the plain to the mountains. In the bed of the river there were pebbles and boulders, dry and white in the sun, and the water was clear and swiftly moving and blue in the channels. Troops went by the house and down the road and the dust they raised powdered the leaves of the trees. The trunks of the trees too were dusty and the leaves fell early that year and we saw the troops marching along the road and the dust rising and leaves,
crucial for this transformation in thinking and writing technique to occur. Hemingway's changes, like the movement of an iceberg, are slow. *To Have and Have Not* was published in 1937, yet the first section of the novel was published as "One Trip Across" in *Cosmopolitan* in 1934. Hemingway began fishing the Gulf Stream in earnest in 1932. The first of his elaborate fishing logs was created then, and logs exist from 1933, 1934, 1936, and 1939. The transformation in Hemingway's world view, and the related shift in his writing technique did not fully manifest themselves until the completion of *The Old Man and the Sea* in 1952.

One must remember, again, for Hemingway "art and life occupied the same space." (Burwell 3) In the twenty years between 1932 and 1952, Hemingway spent hundreds of days fishing the Gulf Stream, and recording his observations in the logs. Yet he also spent four months in Africa on safari, covered the Spanish Civil War as a reporter, traveled to China, participated in the landing at Normandy, the liberation of Paris, and the Battle of the Bulge. With all the battlefield deaths Hemingway observed in his journeys of those twenty years, he clearly grew to hold life more dearly, and to have an increased respect for the tenuous balances of the natural world. As Kazin notes, "Hemingway may have been as complicated a man as ever was" (Painter 21). Thus, while I focus on Hemingway's fishing logs, I also acknowledge his transformation owes a large debt to his intense involvement in three wars. Indeed, hints of Hemingway's philosophical transformation can be seen in *Green Hills of Africa* (1935), and *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), two works that find their strength in exploring man's relationship

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7 To assist in clarifying the shifting chronology between events, and their subsequent appearance in published fiction, a chronology is provided as Appendix A.
Hemingway's evolution, his dwelling with death and learning to cherish life must be heavily weighed.

To read the fishing logs as an agent of Hemingway's transformation is also to understand it cannot be "proven" definitively that they explain the extraordinary stylistic and philosophic differences between To Have and Have Not, and The Old Man and the Sea. In the former, Harry Morgan, the sea-captain protagonist, calls another captain "brother," stating: "Most everybody goes in boats calls each other brother" (83). Santiago, in the latter, calls the great marlin brother: "Never have I seen a greater, or more beautiful, or a calmer or more noble thing than you, brother. Come on and kill me. I do not care who kills who" (92). The difference in the use of that one word summarizes the transformation that took place in Hemingway's thinking of the Gulf Stream, as in the former he sees only his fellow man in the brotherhood, and in the latter it has been extended infinitely. There is ample evidence in the fishing logs to establish their importance to understanding Hemingway's life and work. If, in the 1930's his characters are descendants of Leatherstocking, finding solidarity with other cowboys of the sea in times of crisis, by the late 1940's when he is creating Santiago's character, the brotherhood has been extended into the natural life of the Gulf Stream: the fish, the birds, the stars, and the sea itself. Although the fishing logs are a singular component to the multiplicity of his experience, maintaining them involved observing, recording, studying, and thinking: all essential components of the writer's craft. Hemingway never kept a diary or journal; his fishing logs, along with his correspondence, are the documents that best reflect his daily life. When writing a letter Hemingway would not record the
weather or what he ate; instead he would dwell on personalities, gossip, and expel his opinions. That is what makes his letters so entertaining to read. But the fishing logs are filled with times, drinks, meals, the bait, the heat of the sun, the color of a bonito’s pectoral fin. Those elements give the logs a magical immediacy: the reader is there, on the stream with Hemingway.

As this dissertation progresses, Hemingway grows from a novice saltwater fisherman into a serious student of marine biology, and an authority on big game fishing. He grows to see the Gulf Stream not as a frontier, but as an extension of the universal harmony of the natural world. Moreover, as he integrates himself into the seascape, he recognizes the river of time that washes over his life, and his mortality, when put “against one single, lasting thing—the stream” (Green Hills 150). His protagonist of To Have and Have Not, Harry Morgan, very much the cowboy conqueror of the Gulf Stream, will give birth to Santiago of The Old Man and the Sea, a character who would state: “You did not kill the fish only to keep alive and to sell food, he thought. You killed him for pride and because you are a fisherman. You loved him when he was alive and you loved him after” (105). And, last, as he begins to truly see the Gulf Stream, he transforms his method of writing from an emulation of Cezanne’s impressionism, a visual world, in Daniel Mendelowitz’s words, “relieved of its weight and volume and transposed into exquisite arrangements of light and fragile tone,” to an approximation of Winslow Homer’s crystalline realism, as in Barbara Novak’s words, “the word became a thing, objectified as a visual fact” (Mendelewitz 307, Novak 225).
CHAPTER 2:

DISPATCHES FROM EDEN’S BORDER: TO HAVE AND HAVE NOT

In the early 1930s, Hemingway abandoned the novel as a form. Perhaps nervous about following up the overwhelming popular and critical success of A Farewell to Arms, he wrote Death in the Afternoon (1932), a handbook to bullfighting, and an extended commentary on Spanish wine, food, landscape and art. He then assembled a collection of short stories, Winner Take Nothing (1933). He wrote monthly articles for Esquire, and was paid $500 for each one. And, he wrote an account of his two-month African safari, Green Hills of Africa (1935). In the midst of this broad range of work, the only constant factor in his life was fishing on the Gulf Stream.

Hemingway’s introduction to deep-sea fishing came in 1932 aboard Joe Russell’s 32-foot launch, the Anita. Russell owned the now famous Key West bar, Sloppy Joe’s, and on the side he ran illegal liquor to the United States from Havana. In April of that year, Hemingway left from Key West for Havana, expecting to be gone ten days. That plan was instantly abandoned. According to Reynolds:

Days turned into weeks, weeks into months. Wives came and left; all taking their turns at the heavy rods...every day but a few they fished early and hard, keeping a running account: the log of the good ship Anita....For two months, Hemingway’s intensity never lessened. His fishing partners came and left, but he continued unsated. Once, with that same intensity, he was married to trout fishing up in Michigan; then trout fishing gave way to the corrida. Now, with Death in the Afternoon in galley proofs, that ten-year passion is waning. These Gulf Stream days, pursuing fish as large as his imagination, are the beginning of a new pursuit which will last him the rest of his life. (1930s 92)
These days fishing and the nights in Havana would plant new creative seeds in
Hemingway’s mind. Hemingway fished the Stream through the end of June, stating that
he is “completely and utterly satisfied on this as sport, living, spectacle and exercise”
(1930s 92). The Gulf Stream, too, provided him with the reality of freedom; escaping his
Key West home, where his wife and two young children noisily awaited his return, he
discovered deep sea fishing at the stage in his life when the chains of domesticity might
have bound him.

In April, 1933, Hemingway again chartered Russell’s boat Anita for two months
of marlin fishing. He would also keep a log of his daily experience in a copy of Warner’s
Calendar of Medical History. By third week of July, he had spent more than a hundred
days on the Gulf Stream, catching upwards of fifty marlin (Baker, Life 243). That was
the year, too, that the Cuban leftist revolution against the dictator, Gerado Machado, was
reaching its peak, and Hemingway left Havana on August 7, the same day that soldiers
opened fire on citizens who were in the streets prematurely celebrating Machado’s
resignation. Hemingway’s exposure to the Gulf Stream and Cuban politics fired his
imagination, providing him with unexpectedly rich raw material for his fiction.

There is evidence, too, that Hemingway was aligning himself with literary
naturalists. In an October 10th letter, he wrote:

I am trying to make a picture of the world as I have seen it, without
comment, trying to keep my mind as open as a doctor’s when he is
making an examination, and am always trying to concentrate rather
than elaborate. Naturally much will be unpleasant, much will be
obscene and much will seem to have no moral viewpoint.
(Reynolds 1930s 148)
The phrase “concentrate rather than elaborate” could be Hemingway’ shorthand summary of what Reynolds refers to as his “calculated frontal attack on the genteel tradition”(148).

In February, 1934, Hemingway would write his editor, Max Perkins: “Am going well on a fine story. Have a fine plan for a novel. Will be working on the Gulf stream book from about 10th of April on—It may take 2 or 3 years more. Might get what I need this summer. Will see”(Only Thing 181). On his way to Africa, Hemingway stopped over in Spain, where on October 16, he wrote to his mother-in-law a long report of his activities:

Have been working at a heavy clip ever since we got here. Found my proofs here, fixed them up. Then edited, cut, and re-wrote dialogue of a 422 page translation of a Spanish novel Sidney Franklin has done for Scribner’s. The day I finished I was so sick of trash that decided to write a story to rinse my mouth out and started one that ran to over 100 pages of manuscript. Pauline thought it was a fine story and Jinny wouldn’t believe it wasn’t true. Must go over it and re-write it when we get to Paris. It is almost a third as long as the average novel. It may be a very good story. It is almost entirely action and takes place in Cuba and on the sea. Plenty of action. It is exactly the story that this present book needs i.e. Winner Take Nothing. But it will be as well or better in another book. You can’t very well put a story that you know will sell like hotcakes in a book called Winner Take Nothing. I don’t expect anyone to like the present book of stories and don’t think you have to make an effort to—or even be polite about them. I am trying to make, before I get through, a picture of the whole world—or as much of it as I have seen. Boiling it down always, rather than spreading it thin. These stories are about things and people that people won’t care about—or will actively

1There is some confusion regarding what what “story” Hemingway is referring to in this letter, dated “early February, 1933.” Carlos Baker and Matthew Bruccoli assert that it is To Have and Have Not. See The Only Thing That Counts, page 181, and Hemingway: A Life Story, page 606. Michael Reynolds disagrees, asserting that To Have and Have Not was begun in September, 1933. See Hemingway: The 1930s, pages 122, 331. Based on Hemingway’s February 27, 1933, letter to Archibald MacLeish in which he states he has “started a novel—have 3 ½ chapters done” I agree with Professors Baker and Bruccoli.
dislike. All right. Sooner or later as the wheel keeps turning I will have ones they will like. (Italics mine.) (Baker, Letters 397)

The story Hemingway refers to is “One Trip Across” which would be finished on October 27th. It would become the first part of To Have and Have Not, the Gulf Stream novel Hemingway refers to in his letter to Perkins. Especially noteworthy is the language that he uses to describe his method at this point: “making a whole picture,” “boiling it down always.” More directly than anywhere else in his writing, this is Hemingway’s declaration of a writing method that was an approximation of literary naturalism. There is the documentary impulse to “make the whole picture,” yet also the imperative that he “boil” down that picture to its most primitive, essential elements.

There has always been the tendency to read Hemingway’s fiction autobiographically, and to understand his characters as surrogates for Hemingway the writer. As Rose Marie Burwell writes, “Hemingway’s heroes had always been fictional visions of himself, but they were also demonstrably other than himself, so that fictional distance protected the author”(5). No other Hemingway character demonstrates this impulse towards negative autobiographical interpretations better than Harry Morgan, the protagonist of To Have and Have Not. There is much to dislike about Morgan, and if you impart his racism, cruelty, and selfishness to Hemingway, then the writer becomes a despicable person. However, Hemingway is trying to create the world as experienced

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2 “One Trip Across” was published in Cosmopolitan, Vol. 96 (April 1934). Book Two was originally published as “The Tradesman’s Return,” Esquire Vol. 5 (Feb. 1936).

3 Toni Morrison finds Morgan a surrogate for Hemingway. In her 1992 book Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination, she wrote:
through Morgan, and all the ugliness within that character should be understood as an attempt to portray authentically a narrative point of view.\footnote{In the first pages of the novel, it becomes clear that Morgan must respond heroically to the challenges of his environment. Opening with a frontier style shootout in a Havana café, Hemingway establishes three distinct stages for Morgan, his proletarian hero. Havana is a wide-open town, devoid of law and order; shootouts are common, and retribution is swift. Key West is a despoiled Eden, a microcosm of America in the Depression, where distasteful tourism is a palliative for deeper economic and moral troubles. In The Idea of Florida in the American Literary Imagination, Anne Rowe writes: “the land is raped in the sense that a pastoral setting will now be exploited as hordes of greedy profit seekers pour in”(Rowe 24). Key West has been a holdout against bourgeois American life. Once Key West is contaminated by the bourgeois mentality, Morgan is forced out into the Gulf Stream. The Gulf Stream between Key West and}

My interest in Ernest Hemingway becomes heightened when I consider how much apart his work is from African-Americans. That is, he has no need, desire, or awareness of them either as readers of his work, or as people existing anywhere other than in his imaginative (an imaginatively lived) world. I find, therefore, his use of African-Americans much more artless and unselfconscious than Poe’s, for example, where social unease required the servile black bodies in his work. Hemingway’s work could be described as innocent of nineteenth-century ideological agenda as well as free of what may be called recent, postmodernist sensitivity. (69-70)

\footnote{Toni Knott writes of To Have and Have Not: “Hemingway meticulously chose exact characteristics to best capture the category represented by that individual to illustrate that the only way to transcend stereotyping is to take the time to know the individual”(86).}
Havana thus becomes a no-man's land, a contested space where violence settles disputes in the midst of an indifferent natural world.

Hemingway's first description of the Gulf Stream appears as Morgan is taking a tourist, Mr. Johnson, out fishing for marlin. Hemingway writes:

The stream was in almost to soundings and as we came toward the edge you could see her running purple with regular whirlpools. There was a slight east breeze coming up and we put up plenty of flying fish, those big ones with the black wings that look like the picture of Lindbergh crossing the Atlantic when they sail off. Those big flying fish are the best sign there is. As far as you could see, there was that faded gulfweed in small patches that means the stream is well in and there are birds ahead working over a school of little tuna. You could see them jumping; just little ones weighing a couple of pounds a piece. (12)

Hemingway is writing in the voice of Morgan, a member of the working class, and his observations are matter of fact, creating not a lyrical, literary description but instead an extension of a fishing log. Locations, wind direction, tide color, and animal life are all worth commenting on, and the most descriptive moment—the picture of Lindbergh crossing the Atlantic—seems an appropriate popular culture reference from the mind of a narrator nurtured on the mass media. Even in noting the weight of the tuna Morgan is making a practical, rather than lyrical observation; the tuna exist as an economic resource for him, and these small ones are not worth harvesting.

Scenes with enormous fighting marlin appear twice early in the novel, allowing Hemingway to reveal Morgan's expertise as a fisherman. Hemingway's descriptions are direct, rich in color imagery, and active. Johnson, Morgan's customer, is fishing for marlin along the Cuban coast near Havana. Hemingway writes:
I opened the bottle and was reaching it toward him when I saw this big brown buggar with a spear on him longer than your arm burst head and shoulders out of the water and smash that mackerel. He looked as big around as a saw log. Then I saw him coming from behind under water. You could see his fins out wide like purple wings and the purple stripes across the brown. He came on like a submarine and his top fin came out and you could see it slice the water. Then he came right behind the bait and his spear came out too, sort of wagging, clean out of the water. “Let it go into his mouth,” I said. Johnson took his hand off the reel spool and it started to whiz and the old marlin turned and went down and I could see the whole length of him shine bright silver as he turned broadside and headed off fast toward shore. He hit him pretty hard a couple times more, and then the rod bend double and the reel commenced to screech and out he came, boom, in a long straight jump, shining silver in the sun and making a splash like throwing a horse off a cliff. I could see the curve in the line and the next time he jumped he was astern and headed out to sea. Then he came out again and smashed the water white and I could see he was hooked in the side of the mouth. The stripes showed clear on him. He was a fine fish bright silver now, barred with purple, and as big around as a log. The once, twice, he came out stiff as a post, the whole length of him jumping straight toward us, throwing the water high each time he landed. The line came taut and I saw he was headed inshore again and I could see he was turning. The old marlin headed out to the nor’west like all the big ones go, and brother, did he hook up. He started jumping in those long lopes and every splash would be like a speed boat in a sea. We went after him, keeping him on the quarter once I’d made the turn. I had the wheel and I kept yelling to Johnson to keep his drag light and reel fast. All of the sudden I see his rod jerk and the line go slack. I wouldn’t look slack unless you knew about it because of the pull of the belly of the line in the water. But I knew. “He’s gone,” I told him. The fish was still jumping and he went on jumping until he was out of sight. He was a fine fish all right. (15-17).

The colors of the fish (“shine bright silver”), the dynamism of the movements, the excitement of the battle: Hemingway is letting the reader know that he is an expert fisherman. Deep-sea fishing, like herding cattle or hunting big game, is an endeavor that needs to be trusted to seasoned experts, who know the Gulf Stream.
Hemingway lets his urban outsider get another chance at a marlin, as several pages later, Johnson hooks into the "biggest black marlin [Morgan] ever saw"(19).

Morgan continues his narration, an the expert watching a novice blunder:

I was at the wheel and was working the edge of the stream opposite that old cement factory where it makes deep so close in to shore and where it makes a sort of eddy where there is always lots of bait. Then I saw a splash like a depth bomb, and the sword, and eye, and open lower-jaw and huge purple-black head of a black marlin. The whole top fin was up out of the water looking as high as a full rigged ship, and the whole scythe tail was out as he smashed at that tuna. The bill was as big around as a baseball bat and slanted up, and as he grabbed the bait he sliced the ocean wide open. He was solid purple-black and he had an eye as big as a soup bowl. He was huge. I bet he'd go a thousand pounds. I yelled to Johnson to let him have line but before I could say a word, I saw Johnson rise up in the air off the chair as though he was being derricked, and him holding just for a second onto that rod and the rod bending like a bow, and then the butt caught him in the belly and the whole works went overboard. He'd screwed the drag tight, and when the fish struck, it lifted Johnson right out of the chair and he couldn't hold it. He'd had the butt under one leg and the rod across his lap. If he'd had the harness on it would have taken him along, too. I cut the engine and went back to the stern. He was sitting there holding onto his belly where the rod but had hit him. "I guess that is enough for today," I said. "What was it?" he said to me. "Black marlin," I said. (20-21)

Johnson's incompetence, ignorance of the remarkable fish, and his remorseless loss of the fishing rod all signal him as a naive, urban outsider in a frontier world. The clipped, two word reply of Morgan to Johnson's question underscores the disgust he feels at Johnson's behavior, as well as his anger towards a universe that is so unfair as to let Johnson hook a spectacular, thousand pound marlin. Notable too, is the passive observation of Morgan in this scene, and the one before it. Morgan offers advice, Johnson ignores it, disrespecting his expertise. As men from separate worlds, Morgan a man of the outdoors and the Gulf
Stream, and Johnson a man of the city, a boundary exists preventing them from effectively communicating. Morgan derives a certain satisfaction in watching Johnson’s humiliation.

As Chapter Three begins, Morgan is leaving Havana to pick up Chinese refugees to smuggle into Key West. The description of the departure is noteworthy as an example of the concrete, “matter of fact” vision appropriate to a naturalistic novel. Morgan narrates:

I waved to Frankie, who’d thrown the bowline on board, and I headed her out of the slip and dropped down the channel with her. A British freighter was going out and I ran alongside her and passed her. She was loaded deep with sugar and her plates were rusty. A limey in an old blue sweater looked down at me from her stern as I went by her. I went out the harbor and past the Morro and put her on the course for Key West due north. I left the wheel and went forward and coiled up the bowline and then came back and held her on course, spreading Havana our astern, and then dropping it off behind us as we brought the mountains up. I dropped the Morro out of sight after a while and then the National Hotel and finally I could just see the dome of the Capitol. There wasn’t much current compared to the last day we had fished and there was only a light breeze. I saw a couple of smacks headed toward Havana and they were coming from the westward, so I knew the current was light. I cut the switch and killed the motor. There wasn’t any sense in wasting gas. I let her drift. When it got dark I could always pick up the light of the Morro or, if she drifted too far, the lights of Cojimar, and steer in and run along to Barcuranao. I figured the way the current looked she would drift the twelve miles up to Barcuranao by dark and I’d see the lights of Baracoa. Well, I killed the engine and climbed up forward to have a look around. All there was to see was the two smacks off to the westward headed in, and way back the dome of the Capitol standing up white out of the edge of the sea. There was some gulfweed on the Stream and a few birds working, but not many. I sat up there awhile on top of the house and watched but the only fish I saw were those little brown ones that use around the gulfweed. Brother, don’t let anybody tell you there isn’t plenty of
water between Havana and Key West. I was just on the edge of it.

(42-43)

This long passage describing the activity of the Gulf Stream stands in opposition to a long passage in *Green Hills of Africa*, describing the same stretch of coastline.\(^5\) Here the emphasis is on the visible world, what can be seen by Morgan, and landmarks of the Havana coastline are listed. The effect of the weather, the stars, the clouds, and the marine life underwater go unmentioned. The Gulf Stream, for Morgan, is a highway and a resource, not a symbol, and Hemingway, like his narrator is just beginning to learn about its complexity.

When Morgan arrives in Key West a day later, a confrontation worthy of a John Ford western has taken place. After picking up the Chinese refugees, Morgan brutally kills the smuggler, Mr. Sing, breaking his neck while he “flopped like a fish”(53). Morgan forces the twelve Chinese refugees to jump overboard in the cove of Bacuranao, still in Cuba. Pleased and remorseless, Morgan savors the $1,200 he has pocketed as he arrives in Key West:

Then we came to the edge of the stream and the water quit being blue and was light and greenish inside I could see the stakes on the Eastern and Western Dry Rocks and the wireless masts at Key West and La Concha hotel up high out of all the low houses and plenty smoke from where they’re burning garbage. Sand Key light was plenty close now and you could see the boathouse and the little dock alongside the light and I knew we were only forty minutes away now and I felt good to be getting back and I had a good stake now for the summertime. (61)

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\(^5\) That passage will be explored in detail in the next chapter.
Jane Tompkins notes that “not talking” is a demonstration of masculine control over emotion, their silence symbolizing a massive suppression of their inner life (66). The landscape of the Western, silent, impenetrable, allows the John Wayne heroes to be silent as well. Thus, the silence of Morgan and the uncomplicated nature of his “good” feeling can be understood as an extension of this silent seascape.

As the victor of the gunfight of Part One, Morgan’s luck would turn in Part Two when he would lose his arm while smuggling liquor. In Part Three he would be found lying on the deck of his boat, shot in the stomach by Cuban revolutionaries. The narrative point of view has shifted to third person omniscient. Although the passage is long, it will be quoted in its entirety in order to demonstrate Hemingway’s attempt to use the Gulf Stream symbolically in a way that foreshadows The Old Man and the Sea. Hemingway writes:

She drifted broadside to the gentle north wind about ten miles outside of the north-bound tanker lanes, gay looking in her fresh white and green against the dark, blue Gulf Stream water. There were patches of sun-yellowed Sargasso weed floating in the water near her that passed her slowly in the current going to the north and east, while the wind overcame some of the launch’s drift as it set her steadily further out into the stream. There was no sign of life on her although the body of a man showed, rather inflated looking, above the gunwale, lying on a bench over the port gasoline tank and from the long seat alongside the starboard gunwale, a man seemed to be leaning over to dip his hand into the sea. His head and arms were in the sun and at the point where his fingers almost touched the water there was a school of small fish, about two inches long, oval-shaped, golden-colored, with faint purple stripes, that had deserted the gulf weed to take shelter in the shade the bottom of the drifting launch made in the water, and each time anything dripped down into the sea, these fish rushed at the drop and pushed and milled until it was gone. Two gray sucker fish about eighteen inches long swam round and round the boat in the shadow in the water, their slit mouths on the tops of their flat heads
opening and shutting but they did not comprehend the regularity of the drip the small fish fed on and were as likely to be on the far side of the launch when the drop fell as near it. They had long since pulled away the ropy, carmine clots and threads that trailed in the water from the lowest splintered holes, shaking their ugly, sucker-topped heads and their elongated, tapering, thin-tailed bodies as they pulled. They were reluctant now to leave a place where they had fed so well and unexpectedly. . . . The launch had been drifting since 10 o’clock of the night before and it was now getting late in the afternoon. There was nothing else in sight across the surface of the Gulf Stream but the gulf weed, a few pink, inflated membranous bubbles of Portuguese men-of-war cocked jauntily on the surface, and the distant smoke of a loaded tanker bound north from Tampico. (179-181)

Having the human blood mix with the waters of the Gulf Stream, Hemingway is striving to achieve a unity of what Ray West calls a “double implication,” where the emotional force of the idea is intensified by the shock supplied by the image (150). The enduring world of the Gulf Stream is juxtaposed here with the image of a life wasting away. The fish, unable to comprehend the regularity of the drip, parallels the uncomprehending Morgan, who is unaware of the natural laws that control his fate. Combining with the image of the suckerfish, Morgan’s “inflated” body becomes an ironic pun on the inflated importance with which he regards himself. Forty pages later, Morgan finally utters his last words:

“A man,” Harry Morgan said, looking at them both. “One man alone ain’t got. No man alone now.” He stopped. “No matter how a man alone ain’t got no bloody fucking chance.” He shut his eyes. It had taken him a long time to get it out and it had taken him all of his life to learn it. (225)

Morgan’s words are “not heard” by those around him, underscoring the futility of the knowledge he has acquired; his death was determined by his position in a class oriented
society, driven by laws of nature. Indeed the Darwinian echoes are accentuated in the final pages of the novel, as the tycoon, Henry Carpenter tries to go to sleep by reading. Hemingway writes: “He lay, now in his pyjamas [sic], on his wide bed, two pillows under his head, the reading light on, but he could not keep his mind on the book, which was an account of a trip to the Galapagos.”

John Dos Passos had a strong influence on To Have and Have Not. Dos Passos had been a friend of Hemingway's since 1918, yet there always was a competitive rivalry between the two. In a 1932 letter to Dos Passos, the health of the friendship is evident, as Hemingway mixed a response to 1919 with fishing news:

For Christ sake don’t try to do good. Keep on showing it as it is. If you can show it as it really is you will do good. If you try to do good you’ll not do any good nor will you show it. That’s where the book is so swell because you get so many shots at it through the camera eye—the news reel—the portraits—but because you have those shots don’t take it easy in the straight narrative. Write them as though you didn’t have any other chance—don’t coast along....Everybody well here. We shot 15 foot sawfish—caught

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6 Bert Bender argues that Darwin’s ideas were not important to Hemingway. Bender writes: It is important to remember that during the years when Hemingway became a writer, Darwin’s ideas were passe.... But in the early stages of Hemingway’s career, the disillusionment caused by World War I, the possibility of a Marxist solution to social injustice, the Waste Land view of modern life, the intensifying interest in Freud and Jung (both were heavily influenced by Darwinian thought), and the beginnings of New Critical thought in the aesthetics of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot: these were the prevailing currents of American literary thought. (170)

49lb. King—gulf full of sailfish. I wish we could live at Tortugas. Remember to get the weather in your god damned book—weather is very important (Letters 355).

The letter is also interesting as more evidence of Hemingway’s formulation of naturalism, and how important environmental factors are to establishing a scene. In 1934, Dos Passos would join Hemingway in Havana after recently returning from Hollywood, where he had made a good deal of money working as the scriptwriter for a Marlene Dietrich film, The Devil is a Woman. Hemingway would later say, “Poor Dos got rich out there,” and the constant insinuations Dos Passos had compromised his integrity began to doom the long friendship. (Baker, A Life 266) By 1936, writes Reynolds: “deeply unhappy with his writing career, angry with critics, and under pressure to produce a successful novel to redeem himself, Hemingway was not made less bitter by Dos Passos spending his time in Havana correcting galleys for his new novel, The Big Money” (228). The publication of the novel would place Dos Passos on the cover of Time, beating Hemingway to the honor. In the fall and winter of 1936, after quarrelling with Dos Passos, Hemingway wrote the final book of To Have and Have Not.

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8 The language is parallel to the phrasing he used in his letter to Mrs. Paul Pfeiffer, quoted in the previous chapter: “I am trying to make, before I get through, a picture of the whole world—or as much of it as I have seen. Boiling it down always, rather than spreading it thin” (Letters 397).

9 Hemingway would write “Marx the whimpering bourgeois living on the bounty of Engels is exactly as valid as Dos Passos living on a yacht in the Mediterranean while he attacks the capitalist system.” The reference is to Dos Passos’ visit with the Murphy family in the summer of 1933 when he was recovering from a severe attack of rheumatic fever. See Baker, Hemingway, A Life Story, 612.

10 With the publication of To Have and Have Not, Hemingway would appear on the cover of Time October 18th, 1937.

11 Hemingway finished writing To Have and Have Not on January 2, 1937. It would be published on October 15, 1937.
In a move that would conclusively end their nineteen-year friendship, Hemingway satirized Dos Passos through the character Richard Gordon, and satirized his writing style—“the camera’s eye”—in Chapter 22. The long, precise rendering of the Key West street life was Hemingway’s only published description of the city he lived in from 1928 to 1939. Hemingway writes:

(Richard Gordon) did not take the bicycle but walked down the street. The moon was up now and the trees were dark against it, and he passed the frame houses with their narrow yards, light coming from the shuttered windows; the unpaved alleys, with their double rows of houses; Conch town, where all was starched, well shuttered, virtue, failure, grits and boiled grunts, under-nourishment, prejudice, righteousness, interbreeding and the comforts of religion; the open-doored, lighted Cuban bolito houses, shacks whose only romance was their names. The Red House, Chinchá’s; the pressed stone church; its steeple sharp, ugly triangles against the moonlight the big grounds and the long, black domed bulk of the convent, handsome in the moonlight; a filling station and a sandwich place, bright-lighted beside a vacant lot where a miniature golf course had been taken out; past the brightly lit main street with the three drug stores, the music store, the five Jew stores, three poolrooms, two barbershops, five beer joints, three ice cream parlors, the five poor and the one good restaurant, two magazine and paper places, four second-hand joints (one which made keys), a photographer’s, an office building with four dentists’ offices upstairs, the big dime store, a hotel on the corner with taxis opposite; and across, behind the hotel, to the street that led to jungle town, the big unpainted frame house with lights and the girls in the doorway, the mechanical piano going, and a sailor sitting in the street; and then on back, past the back of the brick courthouse with its clock luminous at half-past ten, past the whitewashed jail building shining in the moonlight, to the embowered entrance of the Lilac Time where motor cars filled the alley. (193-194)

The anger within this satire reveals how much Hemingway has changed since he began the novel in 1933. Isolated from the intellectual life of cities, and cut off from friends
and equals, the passage reveals a paranoid, jealous novelist, trying to raise his own status by diminishing the achievements of another.

No longer elated to be writing a novel with “plenty of action,” Hemingway is trying to recover his critical reputation, which has been damaged by Green Hills of Africa, Death in the Afternoon, and his appearances in Esquire. In a decade dominated by proletarian literature and Marxist criticism, Hemingway had, according to many, been conspicuously absent from the battle of the classes. Yet To Have and Have Not is laced with the language of “brotherhood,” and Hemingway uses the term to declare a sympathetic bond between those caught in a battle against natural forces. While the wealthy are asleep in the Key West harbor, the working class is drinking and fighting in the town’s bars. Cuckolded and abandoned by his wife, the drunken Gordon tries to fight his wife’s lover, Professor MacWalsey. Yet the working class patrons defend MacWalsey, and beat Gordon unconscious. Gordon refuses a taxi ride from MacWalsey and stumbles home. Hemingway writes: “‘You can’t get him in (the taxi) without fighting him,’ the taxi driver said. ‘Let him go. He’s fine. Is he your brother?’ ‘In a way,’ said Professor MacWalsey” (221). Although they are rivals for the affection of Gordon’s wife, as the two intellectual characters in the novel, the two men share a bond, just as the rum-running Morgan and the Captain Willie shared a bond in Book Two, when Willie says: “Most everybody goes in boats calls each other brother” (83). Indeed, even the

12 These same critics overlook the importance of his script for the Joris Ivens film, The Spanish Earth, screened by the Roosevelts in the White House with the Hemingways as guests on July 8, 1937. Another public declaration of his
reader is addressed as “brother” by Morgan when he narrates: “Brother, don’t let anybody
tell you there isn’t plenty of water between Havana and Key West”(42). The technique
allies the reader with the struggling characters of the larger battle of the “have nots”
against the “haves.”

In the final pages of the novel, Hemingway returns again to the imagery of the
Gulf Stream in an attempt to create some structural unity within a work that he had begun
in 1933. Concluding the novel through the eyes of Harry Morgan’s working class
widow, Marie, Hemingway writes:

Through the window you could see the sea looking hard and new
and blue in the winter light. A large white yacht was coming into
the harbor and seven miles out on the horizon you could see a
tanker, small and neat in profile against the blue sea, hugging the
reef as she made to the westward to keep from wasting fuel against
the stream. (232)

The final paragraph seems tired and workman-like; this is Hemingway writing when he is
tired and uninspired. Yet in the pared down description of the sea as “hard and new and
blue” Hemingway is moving towards the style he would employ in The Old Man and the
Sea. The Gulf Stream again represents a hard unforgiving and timeless natural force that
should not be resisted, and Hemingway offers little hope to the struggling working class.
The seascape, like the landscape that Tompkins writes about “challenges the body to
endure hardship”(71), and the fertility and abundance that characterized the Gulf Stream
in Book One are absent. At the conclusion of the novel, only a grim lesson is harvested;
the marlin of Book One has gotten away.

complex political sympathies was the publication of his article “Who Murdered
Book Three contains some of the most vulgar writing of Hemingway’s career, and it is difficult to reconcile those one hundred and fifty pages with the delicate craftsmanship displayed in In Our Time (1924), and A Farewell to Arms (1929). The subtleties of characterization and description have been abandoned. Rather than writing like Cezanne painted, Hemingway is writing in the language of comic strips. According to Bert Bender,

There can be no doubt that Hemingway’s chief point about Harry Morgan is his raw, animal vitality; nor should we doubt that this point was calculated, in Hemingway’s characteristically combative manner, to irritate readers like Bernard De Voto or T.S. Eliot. (177)

Hemingway was establishing credentials that allow him to become a member of a more select literary club with William Faulkner, James Jones, and Norman Mailer: “the savage realists.” David Shi writes:

“(S)avage realists” employed in this fiction the basic elements usually associated with the naturalist impulse: unwholesome social environments and lower-class characters, animal images, event-intoxicated prose written in the superlative degree, an amoral and mechanistic universe seemingly beyond human control or understanding, a welter of violence, capricious instincts, uninhibited lust, and wholesale bloodshed. Characters in their fiction are neither inherently good nor free agents; several lack self-forging initiative and degenerate rather than develop over the course of the novel. (222)

The aggressive masculinity of Harry Morgan has its roots in the doctrine of the “strenuous life,” a world that rebels against the “effeminate realism” of Henry James and the Vets?” in New Masses, Sept. 17, 1935, 9-10.
William Dean Howells. According to Carlos Baker because of Morgan's individualism, his cold courage, his resourcefulness, and his self-reliance, his qualities reflect a deeper strain of an "American type" (210). This strain of hyper-masculinity attributed to Morgan, was, by extension, attributed to Hemingway, and became part of his public image as an American Byron.

Unsurprisingly, Hemingway's major critics have interpreted To Have and Have Not as a strain of naturalism. Philip Young, author of Hemingway: A Reconsideration, writes:

Hemingway's novel is concerned chiefly with the character and experiences of Harry Morgan, and it comes as something of a surprise to realize that this "typical Hemingway figure," as he has been called, is actually a rather stock figure in one branch of the traditional literature of American naturalism. The book is fully enrolled in the primitive school which was founded by Frank Norris and Jack London. Norris' Moran of the Lady Letty (1898) is a ludicrous performance, but it introduced to American literature a good deal that would stimulate others, if only to other inferior novels. The book is built around the Have and Have not contrast (and the rich are effete, the poor robust), there is brutality for the subject race, the Chinese, and a lot of deep-sea fishing... Jack London's Sea Wolf (1900) came without a blush straight from

13 According to Leon Edel, "Ernest Hemingway was the creator of the legend that Henry James was impotent...The novelist...developed this fantasy from Van Wyck Brooks's The Pilgrimage of Henry James (1925) which appeared while he was writing his novel (The Sun Also Rises) (721-722). See Edel, Henry James: A Life, New York, Harper and Row, 1985. For more on Hemingway and James, see Peter Hays recent article "Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises and James's The Ambassadors," The Hemingway Review, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring 2001): 90-98.

14 Saul Bellow wrote "Hemingway is a glamorous person; his art and wounds make him respected; his vanity and his peculiar attributes provoke envy and anger; his fans are often maddening and his detractors include some of the prize goops of our troubled time...Clearly Hemingway, whether we like it or not, has found some of the secret places of our pride and trouble." "Hemingway and the Image of Man." Partisan Review, June -July, 1953.
Moran, but introduced Hemingway's Harry Morgan in a character called Wolf Larson—a virile, brutal individualist whose survival-of-the-fittest ethics are, like Harry's, the interest of the plot. Like Norris's and like Hemingway's, the novel is a sea story charged with cruelty and violence, and the moral—though Larson himself dies alone before he learns it—is that it will not work: no matter how potent and pitiless, a man has no chance alone. (199)

In high school Hemingway had read The Call of the Wild, and in later life he would own a copy of London's Tales of Adventure, but there is no evidence that he ever read Norris. Hemingway's affinity with this form of naturalism seems to epitomize the cultural moment more than a deliberate attempt by Hemingway to become aligned with other writers. Young's ungenerous assessment continues:

Hemingway's book is in the main line of one of our minor literary traditions, in which naturalism goes primitive with a Nietzschean morality in Norris, is tested and found wanting by London. Hemingway simply brought all of this into the line of his development, and redid it for himself with the settings, characters, meanings, and wild brutalities of the prototypes. He also did it better. His novel is a weak one, for him, but nothing makes it look so good as to place it in the company of its progenitors. (199-200)

Although his final phrase is slight redemption for Hemingway, Young is correct to note that one of Hemingway's methods was to "redo things for himself." Carlos Baker wrote:

To Have and Have Not was "about something" Hemingway knew. By the time of the book's publication, he had been living in Key West for nearly ten years, and by 1935 his stucco house on Whitehead Street was listed in the town's guide-book as one of the points of local interest for visiting tourists (207).

See Michael Reynolds Hemingway's Reading, 1910-1940: An Inventory for a list of books that Hemingway read at Oak Park High School. Sigman and Braasch's Hemingway's Library: A Composite Record is a record of books that Hemingway owned, not necessarily read.
Hemingway, in this novel, was creating a “knowable community.” As Christopher Den Standt writes:

Rather than encompassing a boundless field of experience, the realist gaze explores what Amy Kaplan, borrowing form Raymond Williams’s term, calls “knowable communities”—the family, the workplace, the neighborhood, for instance. Naturalist discourse, on the contrary, relies on documentary discourse to a considerable extent, but it is also obsessed with areas beyond the periphery of positivistic discourse. As such, naturalist discourse addresses the totality of its world, whether to attempt to capture it within its fiction, or to reveal the impossibility of the task. (17)

Although he was always working off other sources; in this instance, Hemingway’s source material was first and foremost his own life, but he also drew on his fishing logs, the lives of his lasting and former friends, creating his own hybrid of naturalism. The foundation of this hybrid resided within Hemingway’s observations and judgements. He decided which facts to include in his fiction, and in that way, his naturalism had was truthful for him.

Baker, of course, is Hemingway’s other major interpreter, and he has a more perceptive reading of the novel than Young. Addressing the novel’s sympathy for the proletariat, Hemingway’s eventual biographer wrote:

A major difference between this novel and much depression inspired proletarian fiction was that it really embodied the diagnostic notes on decay; it did not preach them. This was a treatise in economics and revolutionary politics which chose to present its findings, not in propagandistic set speeches or in interminable discussions between a young organizer and his experienced mentor, but in straightforward, illustrative dramatic terms. For this reason, and in spite of its serious flaws, To Have and Have Not may be said to stand as a somewhat more persuasive social documentary than a great deal of the soap-bubble proletarian literature which appeared, shone brightly, and vanished down
wind—through inherent structural weaknesses, an internal content that was mostly air, and the pressure of changing circumstances—during the period when so many blew the Marxist pipe. (206)

Indeed, “straightforward, illustrative dramatic terms” summarizes Hemingway’s own form of naturalism, in which he tried to create a portrait of the working class without overlaying it with a socialist gloss.

The world of the Gulf Stream in To Have and Have Not was Hemingway’s imagined microcosm of a frontier. If, according to Henry Nash Smith, James Fenimore Cooper’s Leatherstocking “is by far the most important symbol of the national experience of adventure across the continent,” then Morgan’s life and death become symbolic within the world of the Gulf Stream (61). Baker, too, connects Morgan’s milieu with the frontier. While first stating that “Morgan’s dying words on the hopeless situation of ‘one man alone’ ring the knell of nineteenth-century frontier individualism,” Baker goes on to note his frontier lineage:

If American readers in the 1930’s could not recognize in Harry Morgan a lineal descendant of the American frontiersman, the man who made his own laws and trusted his own judgements, they were perhaps far gone in group thinking. Both in the Far West and in Key West Hemingway had met men of the frontier temperament, so that he did not lack for contemporary models. (210)

Robert Stephens considers the novel within the context of the development of Hemingway’s intellectual life, especially when paired with the writing he did for Esquire. Stephens writes:

The importance of recognizing the direction of Hemingway’s cultural thought is not in finding that such thinking existed but in recognizing that it was Hemingway’s thinking. Neither unusual nor extraordinary, it nevertheless provided him with a framework for
his actions, decisions, and prejudices. A combination of popularized assumptions from the Pastoralists, Wordsworth, Freud, and Spengler, and of relationships systematically described by Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb, Hemingway’s cultural ideology was not a system, but a faith. Neither provable nor disprovable, it depended for its authority on its emotional convincingness; and Hemingway, finding it suitable to his background and temperament, believed it valid. (Italics mine.) (177-178)

The lack of precision in Hemingway’s cultural ideology is a result of the intense diversity of Hemingway’s interests; he was interested in far too many complex subjects to push his understanding of any one subject to mastery. Indeed the absence of overt political commentary in To Have and Have Not may also result from the fact that Hemingway never took the time to study the subject thoroughly enough to write about it. Moreover, Hemingway was capable of adhering to two conflicting ideas simultaneously, and that was especially evident in his actions on the Gulf Stream, as he became a gentle predator, loving the fish he killed while despising the rich yachtsmen he befriended.

Overall, there are few satisfying moments in the novel. To Have and Have Not exists as an example of the blending of three elements of American literature: a frontier ideology, naturalism, and proletarian literature. Hemingway brings to this nexus his experiences living in Key West and fishing the Gulf Stream to create a flawed but notable novel. Jane Tompkins’ ideas on the films of the west also apply to Harry Morgan’s world. The reader only needs to substitute the phrase “Gulf Stream” for the word “West.” Tompkins writes:

This West functions as a symbol of freedom, and of the opportunity for conquest. It seems to offer escape from the conditions of life in modern industrial society: from a mechanized existence, economic dead ends, social entanglements, unhappy
personal relations, political injustice. The desire to change places also signals a powerful need for self-transformation. The desert light and the desert space, the creak of saddle leather and the sun beating down, the horses’ energy and force—these things promise a translation of the self into something purer and more authentic, more real. (4)

Hemingway had interrupted his work on it to write *Green Hills of Africa* from May to November of 1934, and in April of 1936, he finished “The Snows of Kilimanjaro,” and “The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber,” two of his finest short stories. 16 Notably, the main character in “The Snows of Kilimanjaro” is a failed writer named Harry, a name that echoes with Harry Morgan’s. The former’s thoughts seem to project the author’s own regrets when Hemingway writes: “What was his talent anyway? It was talent all right but instead of using it, he had traded on it. It was never what he had done, but always what he could do”(45). The unevenness of this novel underscores his own artistic fragmentation throughout the 1930s, a time when bullfighting, safaris, and the Spanish Civil War all competed for his attention. And, as he wrapped up the novel in the final days of 1936, he met the woman who would be his third wife, Martha Gellhorn. By September of 1937, Hemingway would leave his family in Key West to go to Spain with Gellhorn. He would not publish another novel until 1940. The artistic vicissitudes of *To Have and Have Not* mirror the personal tribulations of the author, and his own need for self-transformation.

16 *Green Hills of Africa* was published on October 25, 1935. “The Snows of Kilimanjaro” would be published in *Esquire*, Vol. 6 (Aug. 1936); “The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber” would be published in *Esquire* the following month, Vol. 6 (Sept. 1936).
CHAPTER 3:
THE SEA CHANGE: THE ANITA LOGS OF JULY 14-MAY 20, 1932;
JANUARY 25-MAY 15, 1933

I. Background

In the midst of his fragmented life of the 1930s, Hemingway's singular preoccupation was the Gulf Stream. The height of the marlin season runs from late April to August, and, from 1932 to 1937, Hemingway arranged his life to spend those months on the Gulf Stream. Fishing logs exist from 1932, 1933, 1934, 1936, and 1939.\(^1\) To read the logs carefully is to recognize that Hemingway's creative life and his broader understanding of the natural world were in constant metamorphosis. One day with stunning aggression he would pursue a pod of whales with a harpoon, the next he would dwell on the beautiful colors of a marlin's stripes. Hemingway sought to kill the same animal life he revered. Yet to him there was no inconsistency in this behavior. Raised by a physician father who was a serious naturalist, hunter, and fisherman, by the 1930s Hemingway had reconciled the paradox of his pursuit of game with a very serious conservation ethic. These two perspectives that existed as Hemingway's duality would be transformed by his immersion in the Gulf Stream.

\(^1\) Many of the logs have not been thoroughly examined. Michael Reynolds, the Hemingway scholar most familiar with the logs, died of cancer in 2001. There are only three published articles that refer to the logs. See Janice Byrne, "New Acquisitions Shed Light on "The Old Man and the Sea."" The Hemingway Review 10:2 (Spring 1991): 68-70; Linda Patterson Miller, "The Matrix of Hemingway's Pilar Log, 1934-1935." North Dakota Quarterly 64:3 (Fall 1997): 105-123; and William Braasch Watson, "Hemingway in Bimini: An Introduction." North Dakota Quarterly 63:3 (Summer 1996): 130-144.
The Gulf Stream was very much on Hemingway’s mind when he was on his safari in Tanganyika from December 20, 1933, to February 28, 1934. Hunting on the African frontier and fishing the Gulf Stream were parallel activities for Hemingway: both settings placed him in an environment where he could define himself within the context of enduring natural forces. The harsh African landscape contrasted jarringly with the fertility of the Gulf Stream, churning Hemingway’s imagination. When he returned to Key West, he immediately resumed his fishing schedule, and began composing Green Hills of Africa. Not a novel, or a traditional travel narrative, Green Hills of Africa gives further evidence that Hemingway was a writer in metamorphosis throughout the 1930s. In the foreword, Hemingway wrote: “The writer has attempted to write an absolutely true book to see whether the shape of a country and the pattern of a month’s action can, if truly presented, compete with a work of imagination”(iii). The phrase “absolutely true” carries extra weight, and signals that Hemingway is focusing on observation. Like the minutiae of the fishing logs, the experience of Africa must be given over to the reader through details of meals, weather, conversations, and animals. It would be in Green Hills of Africa that Hemingway would make his longest and most lyrical evocation of the Gulf Stream as a unifying symbol for humanity, foreshadowing the themes of The Old Man and the Sea. Although it is not short, the passage is central to understanding the Gulf Stream’s importance to Hemingway in the years he was preparing the fishing logs:

If you serve time for society, democracy, and the other things quite young, and declining any further enlistment make yourself responsible only to yourself, you exchange the pleasant, comforting stench of comrades for something you can never feel in any other way than by yourself. That something I cannot yet define completely, but the feeling comes when you write well and truly of something and know impersonally you have written in that way.
and those who are paid to read it and report on it do not like the subject so they say it is all a fake, yet you know its value absolutely; or when you do something which people do not consider a serious occupation and yet you know, truly, that it is as important and has always been as important as all the things that are in fashion, and when, on the sea, you are alone with it and know that this Gulf Stream you are living with, knowing, learning about, and loving, has moved, as it moves, since before man, and that it has gone by the shoreline of that long, beautiful, unhappy island since before Columbus sighted it and that the things you find out about it, and those that have always lived in it are permanent and of value because that stream will flow, as it has flowed, after Indians, after the Spanish, after the British, after the Cubans and all the systems of governments, the richness, the poverty, the martyrdom, the sacrifice and the venality and the cruelty are all gone as the high-piled scow of garbage, bright colored, white-flecked, ill-smelling, now tilted on its side, spills off its load into the blue water, turning it a pale green to a depth of four or five fathoms as the load spreads across the surface, the sinkable part going down and the flotsam of palm fronds, corks, bottles, and used electric light globes, seasoned with an occasional condom or a deep floating corset, the torn leaves of a student’s exercise book, a well-inflated dog, the occasional rat, the no-longer-distinguished cat; all this well-shepherded by the boats of the garbage pickers who pluck their prizes with long poles, as interested, as intelligent, and as accurate as historians; they have the viewpoint; the stream; with no visible flow, takes five loads of this a day when things are going well in La Habana and in ten miles along the coast it is as clear and blue and unimpressed as it was ever before the tug hauled out the scow; and in the palm fronds of our victories, the worn light bulbs of our discoveries and the empty condoms of our great loves float with no significance against one single, lasting thing—the stream. (148-150)

In the first few lines, Hemingway is responding to the critics of Death in the Afternoon, and his articles in Esquire, affirming that this writing has “value absolutely.” Affirming the connection between Africa and the Gulf Stream through the euphoria of his frontier individualism, Hemingway expresses his disdain for the fashionable Marxism sweeping across urban intellectual circles. The Gulf Stream exists outside of the structure of man-made time, fashion, empires, and the power of its current absorbs the real and
metaphorical garbage generated by civilization. To Hemingway, art connected to a regenerative muse endures, as the Stream renders other transitory preoccupations of man irrelevant. Inscribing himself within its metaphorical waters, Hemingway thus draws strength for the indifference of his position from the stream, which "will flow, as it has flowed."

Here Hemingway is also outlining what he considered the symbolic potential of the Gulf Stream. In the preface to the first printing of Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth, Henry Nash Smith stated that "myth" and "symbol" were used to designate "the same kind of thing, namely an intellectual construction that fuses concept and emotion into an image"(xi). Hemingway's "feeling," that "comes when you write well and truly of something" is here wedded in his love to the symbolic reality of the Gulf Stream, something that is "blue" in its purity, and God-like in its indifference to the venality of man. In his creation of an Eden-like image of the Gulf Stream, Hemingway is outlining the symbolic terrain for To Have and Have Not and The Old Man and the Sea. They will take place in a seascape both imagined as a timeless, fertile space, and as an actual site of man-made violence, and predatory fishing. In the scope of his language, Hemingway is revealing that his symbolic Gulf Stream is, at this point, unreconciled with his activities, as there is no recognizable conflict between sport and nature.

Also in Green Hills of Africa, Hemingway made his first comments about Herman Melville. Hemingway's discovery of the Gulf Stream coincided with the "Melville Revival" of the late 1920s.² Publication of Raymond Weaver's Herman

² In his library, Hemingway had two copies of Typee, and one copy of Moby Dick. See Braasch and Sigman, 249-250.
Melville, Mariner and Mystic (1921), Melville's posthumous “Billy Budd, Foretopman”(1924), and Lewis Mumford’s Herman Melville: A Study of His Life and Vision (1929) sparked a reevaluation of his work by students of literature and history (Robertson-Lorant xv). By 1932, when Hemingway was fully confronting the Gulf Stream for the first time, “the vogue of Herman Melville was at its peak”(Shumway 180).

Hemingway wrote:

> We have had writers of rhetoric who had the good fortune to find a little in a chronicle of another man and from voyaging, of how things, actual things, can be, whales for instance, and this knowledge is wrapped in rhetoric like plums in a pudding. Occasionally it is there, alone, unwrapped in pudding, and it is good. This is Melville. But the people who praise it, praise it for the rhetoric which is not important. They put a mystery in that is not there. (20)

Although Hemingway does not admire the language Melville used to transform his own experiences into fiction, he recognizes a shared appreciation for the “plums” or actual observations of the whales. In 1934, Hemingway professes not to believe in the “mystery” of the whales that was so important to Melville. Instead, he approached the natural world from the viewpoint of a scientist, and a hunter.

From his father, Hemingway inherited the intellectual underpinnings to make sense of the Gulf Stream. Although he never went to college, from an early age, Hemingway was educated to be a scientist. In an article aptly titled “Eye and Heart: Hemingway as Naturalist,” Susan Beegel writes:

> At Oberlin, Ed Hemingway became a member of the Agassiz Association, an organization honoring the memory of the great Swiss-American scientist Louis Agassiz (1807-1873), founder of Harvard University’s Museum of Comparative Zoology, of our National Academy of Science, and of the prototype field station 54
that would become the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole. The Agassiz Association was devoted to amateur nature study through fieldwork out-of-doors, a concept Agassiz pioneered with Swiss schoolchildren and helped to popularize in America. (68)

His father, an obstetrician, would found an Oak Park chapter of the Agassiz Association. According to Beegel, “Ernest’s early training in the Agassiz method by his father was reinforced by the Oak Park school system which also emphasized object-oriented science education”(70). Beegel quotes Agassiz: “Train your pupils to be observers, and have them provided with the specimens about which you speak. Teach your children to bring them in themselves, take your text from the brooks, not from the booksellers”(69). The mature Hemingway had absorbed much of the Agassiz method; creating an intersection of science and art as he sought to “represent the whole” in his writing. The metaphorical power of the Stream combined with Hemingway’s boyhood education to establish a framework for his observations. Hemingway recognized the scientific importance of the Stream, as well as its potential to regenerate his fiction.

II. 1932 Anita Log, July 14-May 20

Perhaps the least explored section of the entire Hemingway Collection at the JFK Library in Boston is the fishing logs. More than any other documents, they reveal the daily minutiae of Hemingway’s life in the 1930s. Dense in observed detail, they give convincing evidence of Hemingway’s education as an aspiring marine scientist, while showing his progression from a novice saltwater fisherman to an acknowledged expert, contributing to authoritative texts such as American Big Game Fishing (1935), Atlantic Game Fishing (1937), and Game Fish of the World (1949).
The presentation of the log entries in Chapters Three and Four is meant to satisfy three goals. First, since this is an exploration of the logs, their general content will be summarized. Notable entries will be quoted in part, but, to avoid uninteresting language, few entries will be quoted in full. Although I highlight passages in the logs due to their content, my examination of them follows their natural chronology so that Hemingway’s transformation from a novice to an expert can be fully appreciated. What this organizational structure sacrifices in narrative rhythm is hopefully compensated for by the thoroughness of analysis.\footnote{Maintaining the short length of the lines of fishing logs in transcription is done in an effort for the reader to be able to see how Hemingway actually composed the logs. The line breaks function as a rough form of enjambment, as closely related words fall in different lines. While the majority of the line breaks exist as pure expediency, there are notable exceptions. Any underlining is Hemingway’s, and his imperfect spelling, too, is left intact. Unsurprising, Hemingway’s punctuation is sporadic at best in the logs; he often substituted dashes for periods, and ignored} Second, language that overlaps with passages in To Have and Have Not, Esquire articles, the essay “Marlin Off Cuba,” and The Old Man and the Sea will be highlighted to demonstrate how Hemingway blended sources, and used the logs as a creative bank account to draw from later. Last, entries that give evidence of Hemingway’s progressive education as a naturalist will be noted to establish how his philosophy and method would ultimately change as a result of his contact with the Gulf Stream.

The basic form begins with a notation about the fuel status, the weather (sky, clouds, wind, temperature) a description of the Gulf Stream, a list of passengers, and the time of departure. The fishing logs are written in English, but Hemingway uses Spanish names for the marine life. The Cuban fishermen refer to sharks as \textit{dentuso}, and dolphins...
as dorado. Writing in 1935, Hemingway noted the struggle to identify the different species of marlin: “White marlin are called aguja blanca, striped marlin are called casteros or aguja de casta; black marlin are called pez grande, or aguja negra. Blue marlin are confounded with the black marlin are called, sometimes azules or aguja bobos”(Connett 81). This Cuban vocabulary was completely new to Hemingway when he first chartered the Anita from Joe Russell in 1932. In bullfighting and big game hunting, Hemingway had been an autodidact, creating his own reading lists, and asking questions of acknowledged experts. Just as he had learned about modernism at the knee of Gertrude Stein, Hemingway would learn about fishing at the knee of Carlos Gutierrez.

A Cuban commercial fisherman, Gutierrez had been fishing the Gulf Stream since 1884, when he was six years old (Baker, Life 228). Since 1912, the fifty-four year-old Gutierrez had been keeping a record of all his catches, with dates and weights. Hemingway, the good student, would follow his example. Taking place on July 14, 1932, the first conversation between Hemingway and Gutierrez was transcribed by Hemingway himself, and scribbled onto the cover of a “Standard School Series” marble notebook, his first makeshift log. Writing in fragmented sentences, Hemingway took down Gutierrez’s responses to his questions. Since the encounter was so crucial to Hemingway’s education, it is quoted in full:

(1) Carlos—Captain of Ferrer
His record 57 small-18 big
fish completely alive—in one season
longest ever 45 arrobas
Cabanas

Capitalization. Italics and bold print will be used to highlight language that may not initially be notable but is ultimately significant.

4 One arroba equals twenty-five pounds. Thus, this marlin weighed 1,125 pounds.
Black marlin—*Bobos*
bite at anything
all come to the surface with E wind
—seen 30 in a day—
spawning habits—tail to tail—
female headed into current—
mail (sic) receiving eggs in gills—
has seen this
favorite food of Big Marlin is small tuna or albacore
big fish will take bait in sardines
roe of marlin weighs 41 lbs
hooked one in eye bulbed and
weighed out at 1 lb 2 ounces
(2) April-May small ones then (illegible)
stuffed marlin in June and
July on black marlin August
Sept October until and including Northers
Current runs strong
and very dark between August and September
(illegible)
But year last
has seen as many as 100 small
marlin by then—has all four
lines came taut and looked and
seen marlin below and all around
males always looking for females
pair when find them
male rush boat and refuse
to leave when female hooked
Black marlin swallow bait and hook (illegible)
hook pulls out stomach and kills them quickly
(3) occasionally hook them in
mouth then will go out
400 feet walking on tail
jumping
man who got huge black marlin haves
cut to bone and lost him when stomach pulled out
Carlos had one could not get
into boat and sharks bit off all
except head and (shoulders?)
which weighed 12 arrobas
(illegible) marlin of 24 arrobas

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5 The numbers in parentheses are my own addition, and refer to the pages in Hemingway’s notebook, which is unnumbered.
small tuna of 40 lbs from
stomach of one (must ask may have got weight wrong)
Go off into direction of Mexico
when leave all came to the
surface with East wind large
ones run as plentifully as small ones
(4) worst biting winds are SW
N but East (end)
best places on coast are
Boca Varuco and Cabanas
Gulf Stream closest here
figure between shark
and porpoise
giant whale sharks—elefantas-
black and white—plentiful in August
weary at Café San Antonion
(5) Black marlin Carlos hooked
sounded 11 cordeles of 45 fathoms
each 495 fathom straight down
another sounded in 300 fathoms
and broke his sword on the
bottom
king fish come in May inside the reef—
wahoo come in November
December go in March—Carlos has had an aguja
jump over the boat—hooked four
at once when alone—landed
three—says black marlin
may run to a ton in May at
see some that look like whales

Through examples from the extremes of his own experience, Gutierrez educates
Hemingway of the basic parameters of the marlin season, explaining breeding habits,
how to hook them. What Hemingway writes down, indicates what he did not know, and
provides the index for his subsequent education. The image of an aguja (black marlin)
getting so large that it looked like a whale and may leap over a man alone in a small boat,
surely would have stimulated Hemingway’s Melville-fed imagination. Hemingway’s
transcription of Gutierrez’s lecture also set the pattern for his own log entries; if possible,
everything about the Gulf Stream should be quantified: the swiftness of the wind, the
depth of the water, the gasoline left in the tanks, the barometric pressure, etc.

In this initial fishing log entry were also two seeds that would germinate during the composition of *The Old Man and the Sea*. (See the language in bold type.) Hemingway’s transcription reads: “Carlos had one could not get--into boat and sharks bit off all--except head and (shoulders?)--which weighed 12 arrobas.” (The twelve arroba skeleton weighed 300 pounds.) Also notable is the loyalty of the marlin to its mate. Hemingway would revisit this aspect of marlin behavior in his essay “Marlin Off Cuba,” and in the novella. Janice Byrne correctly asserts that this interview demonstrates that “Hemingway began gathering material for *The Old Man and the Sea* possibly as early as 1932 and continued to record and refine his data thereafter”(Byrne 70).⁶ Hemingway would see many more “apple-cored” marlin and doubtless he drew on a multitude of memories from the fifteen years that transpired before he began composing *The Old Man and the Sea* in 1947. As others have noted, it is impossible to support a “single marlin theory.”

The log from May contains images that surely stimulated Hemingway’s imagination. Frequently, as Hemingway describes them, the marlin demonstrate human-like qualities. They begin to act like characters in a children’s fable:

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May 11
Carlos tired of seeing same
huge black marlin identified by
scar in three successive days
in the deep hole opposite
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⁶ The debate about the origins of *The Old Man and the Sea* is explored more fully in my article, “Hemingway’s Hawaiian Honeymoon,” *The Hemingway Review*. 17:1 (Fall 1997): 65.
the Morro—4th day was gone—
Also about marlin 18 arrobas
swamping the boat—also
huge black marlin pulling
the bow under—

Portrayed as a creature of habit, the marlin, already wounded and battle-weary, is
protecting a home, perhaps containing roe. The image of the scarred marlin echoes the
characterization of the marlin in The Old Man and the Sea: fighting back, steadfast,
noble. Throughout the month, careful attention is paid to the nuances of marlin behavior.

On May 18th, he recorded:

at 2pm saw big marlin
behind bait on surface he
rushed it but refused it (italics mine)
each time when slacked or
else took it by the tail only
acted sly as though he had been hooked

In the effective structure of his description—“rushed it but refused it”—Hemingway
captures the action of the fish while also noting his discriminating intelligence. Marlin
can learn, and they toy with humans. Hemingway attributes cunning intelligence to the
marlin, in the same way that Melville does to Moby Dick. As his fishing season ended,
Hemingway had rich imagery gestating in his mind.7

Other passages in the log celebrate the rejuvenating powers of the stream,
affirming again, Hemingway’s understanding of it as a pastoral space. On May 15th,
Hemingway wrote:

Pauline had (good) strike-fish
took 50 yards line pulled out

7 The entry of May 20th was the last one for the 1932 fishing season.
at 1220—as we were going
(illegible) beach above pavilion—
most wonderful water and
swimming ever in my life—(italics mine)
coming out at 230 Grant
hooked marlin (32) 

The phrase in italics is striking: “the most wonderful water and swimming ever in my life.” Hemingway’s impression is immediate, unfiltered, and unadorned. This experience was one of the most marvelous of all those in his thirty-two years of life. The waters of the Gulf Stream transformed Hemingway; they were unique, fertile, life-giving. At a time in his life when he felt besieged by urban critics, they were a whole new world.

The form of each log entry is similar, but the texture of the days differs. On the seventeenth of May, Hemingway recorded:

EH hooked Marlin opposite
Cojimar 2 jumps threw hook—930
swam at beach 3pm saw
first big striped marlin tail at least
three feet behind teaser deep down
Back a foot or more across came to surface when we
curled boat but (illegible) down before
we saw baits (sky was very overcast) and had
strike from another marlin

Hemingway records here the excitement of sighting a marlin, with a back “a foot or more across,” which means it was a black marlin in excess of five-hundred pounds. The narrative approach to the document of the log is notable, as well. Hemingway refers to himself in the third person through his own initials, in case someone else needed to review the log. If he needed to verify a catch, he wants a detailed document to offer as

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8 The number in parentheses was actually circled by Hemingway, as he made a running count of the number of marlin they had caught that season. By this point, (obviously), it was thirty-two.
evidence to a record keeper. He also records his observations in a style that has scientific 
details, as he wants the log to be a testament to his experiments fishing. He is trying to 
create an objective document, not a personal narrative. Important, too, is his insertion of 
the qualification of the weather conditions when the large marlin appeared “sky was very 
overcast.” Hemingway is seeking to find a connection between the weather above the 
water, and the behavior of the fish below the surface.

III. 1933 Anita log; January 25-May 15

By the time Hemingway resumed marlin fishing in 1933, much had happened in 
his life. He had hunted from July to October in Wyoming. Death in the Afternoon had 
been published to deeply unsatisfying reviews. And Hemingway had driven from Key 
West to Piggott, Arkansas, for the holiday season. When the dust had settled, and 
Hemingway finally found himself back on the deck of the Anita on January 25th, his 
passion for fishing had crystallized. It was a narcotic-like alternative to the complicated 
world on land.

Hemingway planned to take the Anita over to Havana for another season of 
marlin fishing, but he was a little uneasy about the unpredictable nature of Cuban 
political tensions. In a letter to Max Perkins, Hemingway wrote:

In case of getting into jam in Cuba (know a few too many people there) I may ask you to give me a paper saying this will certify that 
Ernest Hemingway is at work on a book dealing with the migratory 
fish of the Gulf Stream, their habits and capture with special

9 The book was published in New York on September 23, 1932. The New Yorker called 
the book “suicidal” on Hemingway’s part, and The New York Times’ review 
stated: Action and dialogue are his best weapons. To the degree that he dilutes 
them with philosophy and exposition he weakens himself “(Reynolds, 1930’s 
101-102).
reference to the fishing in Cuban Waters from a sporting standpoint. The book on which Mr. Hemingway is working will be published by Charles Scribners Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Articles will be published on this subject by Scribners Magazine. I wish you would have this made out To Whom It May Concern and typed on your most impressive stationery and signed, say, by Charlie and send it down to me now. In a time of revolution it might keep me from getting shot and it would most certainly help me with the book....Won’t get you into any trouble and you needn’t publish the book or articles either if you don’t wish. But need some sort of strong credentials (Bruccoli, Only Thing 184-185).

The reference to the “Gulf Stream book” is intriguing. Hemingway could be simply providing Perkins with some background for the letter. More interesting, however, is the idea of a book “dealing with migratory fish” in “Cuban waters from sporting standpoint.” The conception seems to parallel Death in the Afternoon, which, one could argue, deals with bulls in Spain from a “sporting standpoint.” The plan, however, seems to be for a book completely unlike To Have and Have Not, which he would start in February, 1933. The nature, too, of his engagement with Cuban politics is clearly that of an observer, not a participant, and unlike the civil war in Spain, he would not take a side.¹⁰

On this trip Hemingway would also be gathering material for the first issue of Esquire which would appear in the fall of 1933. The breezy articles Hemingway produced stand in deep contrast to the apprehensiveness he expressed to Perkins. The first two paragraphs of “Marlin Off Morro” capture the spirit of privileged, careless leisure that would permeate all of Hemingway’s writing for the magazine. The article begins:

¹⁰ Hemingway would never make a public stand on Cuban political issues. From the time he made Cojimar his home in 1939, until his final departure after the Castro revolution had succeeded in July of 1960, Hemingway discreetly kept his opinions unpublished.
The rooms on the north-east corner of the Ambos Mundos Hotel in Havana look out, to the north, over the old cathedral, the entrance to the harbour, and the sea, and to the east to Casablanca peninsula, the roofs of all houses in between and the width of the harbour. If you sleep with your feet towards the east—this may be against the tenets of certain religions—the sun, coming up over the Casablanca side and into your open window, will shine on your face and wake you no matter where you were the night before. If you do not choose to get up you can turn around the other way in the bed or roll over. That will not help for long because the sun will be getting stronger and the only thing to do is close the shutter.

Getting up to close the shutter you look across the harbour to the flag on the fortress and see it is straightened out toward you. You look out the north window past the Morro and see that the smooth running sheen is rippling over and you know the trade wind is coming up early. You take a shower, pull on an old pair of khaki pants and a shirt, take the pair of moccasins that are very dry, put the other pair in the window so they will be dry (the) next night, walk to the elevator, ride down, get a paper at the desk, walk across the corner to a café and have breakfast (Quoted in By-Line 139).

Hemingway’s narrative persona is a man foreign to Cuba, without a wife and children, relaxed, taking his time and savoring the pleasures of the Cuban atmosphere as a connoisseur of life. By directly addressing the reader, he draws them enviously into his narrative, presenting them too, with the inconsequential choices of a rich, famous man on vacation, untouched by political turmoil.

The log for 1933 has a more evidentiary quality to it. Hemingway was writing down the details of his life in order to keep track of them; he was extremely busy. Yet he was also trying to make a record of events so that he could recover them for his fiction. Thus, for February 7, the log reads: “wrote story—finished it.” The “story” Hemingway

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11 Michael Reynolds uses the two logs from 1933 as separate entities. One log is referred to in his notes to Hemingway: The 1930’s as “EH calendar log, 1933”; the other log is referred to as “Anita log, 1933.” See page 332 for an example. Because these documents overlap from April 12 to May 15, I consider them here as one organic whole. With the death of Reynolds on August 12, 2000, there is no other expert in this area to consult.
is referring to is “One Reader Writes,” one of his least imaginative or artistic efforts, in which he transcribes an actual letter from a woman in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to Dr. Logan Clendening of Kansas City. Clendening was a friend of Hemingway’s, and the author of a best-selling book on the prevention of syphilis. The fact that Hemingway would try to count this effort as a short story reveals his discouraged, and somewhat strained frame of mind. He had been away from his work too long, and he needed to create something to feel good about.

The next day, February 8th, his discouragement seeps through again in the log. Hemingway records: “Pleasant day but bad fishing (almost) worst ever.” (Parenthesis Hemingway’s.) For Hemingway to call a day the “worst ever” indicates that he is feeling irascible, and still not settled into a new routine after the disorder of the last few months. Hemingway was out of sorts enough to record a handing over money to his mate, Bra Saunders on February 10th: “(Gave Bra $50 cash)” (parentheses Hemingway’s). It is impossible to know whether the transaction was a loan, or simply payment for work. Yet as a man known for his generosity, recording the transaction here indicates that the log has taken on an added dimension. It is now an accounting ledger.

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12 See pages 297-301 of Paul Smith’s A Reader’s Guide to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway for the scant and unimpressive lineage of this short story.

13 On May 17, Hemingway would again note when he had accomplished some writing: “S.E. breeze—rained all day—did not go out—wrote (article) Pauline Karl went to bookstores—worked on title.” On June 12th, Hemingway would note “worked all morning—finished story 24 pages.” And, on June 23rd, referring to himself in the third person, he recorded “EH wrote 1500 words before going out.” The time in Havana was considered a vacation. The writing projects Hemingway completed may have been the short stories, “A Day’s Wait,” or “Fathers and Sons.” Both short stories first appeared in the collection, Winner Take Nothing, published on October 27, 1933. He also would have been working on the first
As an investigation into how weather affected the fishing, details on the climate are always noted in the logs. The weather was always important, and underscores the documentary purpose of the fishing logs; Hemingway’s precise observations were deposits to be withdrawn later when he was imagining a setting. Thus, on February 28, Hemingway recorded:

Nwester
Blew all week
wind went out and blew from SE
on Saturday Sunday Monday Tuesday
(March 3-7 wind reports)
March 8 First day able to fish
strong gulf current

By observing the direction of the wind, Hemingway is trying to speculate on its affect on the “strong gulf current,” as he hopes to predict a pattern that will lead to better fishing.

Hemingway would try to integrate all of the natural elements to create his picture of Santiago’s experience. As a dimension of the visible world carefully observed and learned from, the wind would have to be in the book.

The density of the details in the log affirm that Hemingway felt almost tied to it.

He tried to account for each moment he was on the Stream by thoroughly inscribing through his shorthand, the minutiae of the wind, moon, current, and the weather. On April 3rd, the entry reads:

Bra--George O’Neil—Simon—Pauline, EH
(In harbor channels) glass 30 ½ moon
wind SE went into NW
very light about 5pm tide ½ ebb
W Built up in N. Big squall
wash rain from N at 10pm

draft of his initial article for Esquire, “Marlin Off the Morro: A Cuban Letter” which appeared in the first issue of the magazine, dated “Autumn, 1933.”
Jack channel full of tarpon
book 3 in day light—Pauline
landed one swell one—Simon lost
one about 35 lbs—Pauline
jumped off another
EH (jack)—George (jack)

Everything he records could influence the quality of the fishing, and Hemingway is
accumulating a record that he can sift through later to educate himself on the patterns of
the natural world. The range of the elements demonstrates how broadly Hemingway is
searching for connections, while his shorthand summary of his own results—"jack"—
provide commentary for an otherwise objective, fact laden account of the day.

Even on days when he did not fish, Hemingway felt compelled to maintain the
log, and in many ways, his relationship with it parallels his relationship to a novel he is
writing. If he neglects his work for a day, he feels guilty and provides excuses. Thus, on
April 16th, Hemingway recorded:

Easter—Wind light NW
Didn’t fish
to _________ at 1215 for lunch
stayed afterwards and to suffer
drank too much!
Fishermen saw many small
marlin near shore Saturday—wouldn’t bite
refused even live bait

Exclamation points are very rare in Hemingway’s writing, but here on this Easter
Sunday, Hemingway uses one to celebrate and mourn his hangover. Despite his suffering,
however, Hemingway still was bound to record the most recent fishing information he
gathered. A compulsive saver of paper, Hemingway understood that he was creating something that was both a creative resource, and a scientific document.

The Morro lighthouse has a recurring presence in all of Hemingway’s writing about the Gulf Stream. It represents the safety of Havana harbor, providing a reference point for all the boats at sea. When Hemingway departed Key West for Cuba on April 12th, he recorded the details of his passage, and his relief at sighting the lighthouse:

Left Key West 1250PM  
Sand Key 140PM  
Morro 130AM  
good stream about 2 hours out (illegible)  
extraordinary action of porpoises in  
front of tankers off sand key  
saw glare of Havana 8PM little  
current until approaching Cuban coast

Harry Morgan, too, would refer to the Morro when he made the reverse journey, departing Havana for Key West. Hemingway wrote: “I went out the harbor and past the Morro and put her on the course for Key West due north” (42). The precise tracking of the passage of time also would make its way into the novel, as well as the Sand Key lighthouse. (63)

The log for 1933 lacks substantial drama, as Hemingway strives for a scientific precision in his language. The uneventful days of April are dutifully reported in unadorned, workman-like language. On Tuesday, April 18th, Hemingway records:

Fishing uncle Gus, Karl G, Charles, EH  
wind light NE

---

14 This was the only reference to overdrinking I noted in the logs. Although in later years Hemingway became conclusively alcoholic, in 1933 he could still be considered a heavy social drinker. In my opinion, alcoholism set in during 1942, as his marriage to Martha Gellhorn collapsed.
Carlo diving overboard and staying underwater in the midst of busy, polluted Havana harbor is a potentially life-threatening moment, but Hemingway records it in language that denies any crisis, or drama, again affirming the log as an objective document. The entry for April 19th, when the crew is actually catching fish, is notable for Hemingway’s specific descriptions:

```
Raised a good small dark marlin
opposite Belen observatory tower
followed Charles mackerel bait
with his fin out but would
not strike
```

Hemingway is seeking here a connection between the extended fin of the marlin, and the fact that it would not strike. He seems to be hypothesizing that it may have had something to do with the mackerel, or perhaps the behavior is connected to the location. Always in the logs, Hemingway is seeking to create unity between what is observed and what is unseen.

Again and again in the log there is evidence of the intense responsibility Hemingway felt to maintain a precise document. Hemingway was acutely aware of the passage of time. On April 21st he felt compelled to make in entries at 7:45 AM, 8:40,
8:45, 10:15, 10:25, 12:45 PM, 1:00, 1:25, 1:30, finally noting, "in @ 6:00." The long gap between 1:30 and 6:00 PM is explained in an incident that underscores the "brotherhood" of the Gulf Stream. As the crew of the Anita aided another boat, the Celia. Hemingway records:

1PM saw two boats together
and ran over to investigate. Celia
of Cojimar and another boat with
small marlin landed and a
Black Marlin of 26 arrobas
took pictures gave them
water and beer

A black marlin of 26 arrobas would weigh over 600 pounds, and would be celebrated by the whole community of fishermen. Hemingway would always be quick to use a camera for documentation, and the ritual of the photograph was the culmination of the celebration. Although the sense of brotherhood captured in the log was carried over into To Have and Have Not, it is conspicuously absent in Santiago's world. The reader has no idea here whether Hemingway himself enjoyed a moment of camaraderie, or if he felt burdened by the obligation he felt to assist the Celia. The log is only about what Hemingway observes, not what he feels.

Despite the detached quality of the log, Hemingway would later mine the month of April for images for both To Have and Have Not, and The Old Man and the Sea. Noting each species of marine life he encountered, on April 21st Hemingway writes:

---

15 Hemingway’s shorthand notations for time are impossible to duplicate in my word processing program. For 12:45 PM he would write “12” and then add the 45 in lower case letters, underlined twice. Rather than misrepresent an element of punctuation that did not exist, I have decided to type the numbers consecutively.
1015 saw two loggerhead turtles
hooked up
1025 small marlin on surface turning
in circles in search of bait – circled
him 6 or 8 times—he turning
smaller all the time—then went
down—a few minutes later saw large
hammer head fin

This image reoccurs in Book Three (Winter) of To Have and Have Not. Hemingway creates a conversation between Harry Morgan and his wife, Marie, prior to their lovemaking. Morgan has already lost his arm in a gunfight. In a passage that is not pleasant to read, Hemingway creates a dialogue with Harry as the first speaker:

“Listen, do you mind the arm? Don’t it make you feel funny?
“You’re silly. I like it. Any that’s you I like. Put it across there. Put it along there. Go on. I like it, true.”
“It’s like a flipper on a loggerhead.”
“You ain’t no loggerhead. Do they really do it three days? Coot for three days?”
“Sure. Listen, be quiet. We’ll wake the girls.” (113)

The loggerhead turtle was listed as a “threatened species” in 1970, which makes it an apt metaphor for Morgan. Although there is no evidence that Hemingway knew of the decline in the loggerhead population, he certainly must have been aware that they frequently ate the marine debris found floating in harbors. At this point in the novel, Morgan, barely scavenging for a living off the Gulf Stream, has taken on the qualities of a loggerhead, fulfilling Hemingway’s determinist design for the novel. In the Old Man and the Sea, Hemingway would again use the image of the loggerheads making love, writing: “(Santiago) had a friendly contempt for the huge, stupid loggerheads, yellow in their armour-plating, strange in their love-making, and happily eating the Portuguese men-of-war with their eyes shut”(37). Significantly, Hemingway feels liberated here to
express his “contempt” for loggerheads in a way that his naturalist design for To Have and Have Not restricted him. In the universe of the Gulf Stream, Harry and Marie Morgan are the Darwinian equivalent of scavengers, eating the Portuguese men-of-war, “the falsest thing in the Ocean”(35).

One of the more intriguing entries encountered in the 1933 log is the one Hemingway made on Saturday April 22nd. The log begins by following the established form, entering the time, the weather, the wind direction and speed, and then noting who is on board. Yet the language then evolves into a very deliberately constructed outline of the setting of Santa Cruz, as Hemingway crafted within each line a distinctive image inscribed for later use. Unfortunately, several key words were illegible; as with other entries, Hemingway uses hyphens rather than formal punctuation. He wrote:

saw Celia flying Cuban flag and
got bill and tail of yesterday’s
black marlin from them—fish
dressed out 19 *arrobas*—23 in the market—tail measured 49 inches
across—meat was very dark
and so only sold for 4 cents a pound. Marlin have sold this year from 12 to 8 cents a lb.

No more strikes as we trolled to Santa Cruz and went to look over anchorage or (illegible) wharf Carlos had not been there for 30 years at which time there was a small dock—No dock now on left some sort of oil tanks some sort of factory
nice clear cove—steep

---

*16 Nineteen *arrobas* are equal to 475 pounds.*
limestone cliffs undercut
by sea—dungy looking
small town—Royal palms
and (illegible) behind (illegible) gauge
RR station labeled Santa Cruz—
car on right bank—saddled
horse—crowd of kids—houses
with balconies overhanging
harbor—Karl’s fish was
first marlin we have had a
jump from in 8 days

Within the passage, there is nothing that can be directly linked to Hemingway’s later fiction. Yet in a log that has been consistently objective, dry, and inquiring, it shows how the purpose of the logs can shift instantly. The use of poetic language is notable because it reveals how closely aligned Hemingway’s scientific inquiry was with his creative impulses. To explore the Gulf Stream scientifically was a creative pursuit, an endeavor that would ultimately yield enhanced, fully informed fiction. From the line “no dock now” the entry has changed; Hemingway is recording specific details that he may want to draw on later for his fiction. He is not recording information that will assist him fishing; rather, he is isolating the details that will help him reconstruct the scene later. Each phrase, therefore is like a snapshot, a piece of his experience he is trying to freeze in the log so that, later, sitting in Key West, or Havana, he can revive the place, and the moment. A phrase such as “steep limestone cliffs undercut by the sea” demonstrates Hemingway’s best poetic language, blending his painterly eye, with concise representational language, foreshadowing his technique in The Old Man and the Sea.

The shift in the use of the log also demonstrates again how Hemingway completely integrated fishing the Gulf Stream with his creative life.
Several of the May entries may have been reshaped into the marlin fishing sequence in To Have and Have Not. In the novel, Morgan narrates: “I was at the wheel and working the edge of the stream opposite that old cement factory where it makes deep so close to shore and where it makes a sort of eddy where there is always lots of bait. Then I saw a splash like a depth bomb, and the sword and eye, and open lower-jaw and huge purple-black head of a black marlin”(20). In the log entry for May 13th, Hemingway wrote:

Out at 110 trolled to Cojimar
close to shore—saw one marlin
opposite cement factory and
a huge covey of flying fish—
made turn and Josie saw
another marlin with (illegible)
tail out—too far already
to catch—opposite target
range a (black) marlin cut
across (illegible) from shorewards
like a dolphin chasing
fish—bit EH’s bait—
slacked and hooked in second
slack—at 229 jumped about
8 times—gaffed at 234

The location of the two moments is the same. The cement factory would become a regular feature of the log, and a place where Hemingway caught many of his larger marlin. According to Gregorio Fuentes, the first mate aboard the Pilar, Hemingway tried to fish the same edge of the Gulf Stream, where the green water met the blue, along a stretch of coastline now called the “Hemingway mile.” “The Hemingway’s mile is somewhat longer than the orthodox mile, and was measured from the shooting range in

17 This passage is examined further on page eight of Chapter Two.
La Cabanas fortress at the mouth of Havana Bay to the House of the Priest (or the Pink House)”(Fuentes 117). Hemingway’s entry captures both the thrill of sighting a large marlin, and the satisfaction of catching one. Hemingway is particularly interested in the dynamics of the marlin’s motion—“like a dolphin chasing fish”—and also what technique was required to hook him. By recording the number of jumps and the precise time it took to land the marlin, Hemingway is recording for his own satisfaction evidence of his improved skill as a fisherman. The cement factory would be the site of another notable catch on May 17th. Again, the language of the log would later appear in To Have and Have Not. The log reads:

```
1255 opposite Cojimar and
cement factory big striped marlin
struck EH kingfish bait
in a smash and surge—
slacked him long and hooked
him solid—swung shoreward
and jumped high—came
toward us and jumped again—
out and high toward shore—
fought deep from then on—
came in close to shore—
opposite cement factory—
line caught on rock—
broke at 150—line chafed
through along a six inch
stretch nearly through in
two other places—lost about
100 years of line—some evidently
caught on spire of rock when
fish swang (sic) it against
current—EH felt it but (rods?)
but couldn’t believe it—seems
```

18 Norberto Fuentes’ book, Hemingway in Cuba is more anecdotal than scholarly, and it is filled with inaccuracies. This description of the “Hemingway mile” should be taken as a rough approximation.
impossible to lose a marlin like that—while broken line came in we did not know what had happened—EH fighting weight of boat swinging in current which was really like a mill race—we would go toward fish—gain line then (illegible) fish stayed down and long we throw out the current would carry boat away—didn’t know this at the time that it was strength of fish—most punishment I ever took—was a beautiful striped marlin to weigh 150 lbs gutted and head off Carlos said (underlining Hemingway’s)

More directly than other log entries, this incident appeared in To Have and Have Not. Recreating the moment, Hemingway transformed his own loss of a striped marlin into Mr. Johnson’s loss of a blackened marlin. Using the flying fish from the entry of May 13th, in the novel Hemingway wrote:

The nigger was still taking her out and I looked and saw he had seen a patch of flying fish burst out ahead and up the stream a little. Looking back, I could see Havana looking fine in the sun and a ship just coming out of the harbour past the Morro (13).

When Johnson loses the fish, it is for the same reason that Hemingway did. Morgan explains to him:

“Listen,” I told him. “If you don’t give them line when they hook up like that they break it. There isn’t any line will hold them. When they want it you’ve got to give it to them. You have to keep a light drag. The market fisherman can’t hold them tight when they do that even with a harpoon line. What we have to do is use the
boat to chase them so they don’t take it all when they make their run. After they make their run they’ll sound and you can tighten up the drag and get it back” (18).

Although Hemingway, the relative novice would lose the actual fish in 1933, in the novel, Hemingway uses the voice of Morgan, the expert, to chastise and educate Johnson, the urban outsider, and fishing amateur. A few pages later, Hemingway recycled the simile of the “mill race”:

About four o’clock when we’re coming back close in to shore against the Stream; it going like a mill race, us with the sun at our backs; the biggest black marlin I ever saw in my life hit Johnson’s bait (19).19

The “mill race” is meant to illustrate the motion of the Gulf Stream current; in the middle of the stream it flows eastward, and along the edges, it flows westward. A fishing boat leaving Havana benefits from the current as it heads out for the day, and again, when it returns to harbor. For the thirty-three year old Hemingway, this battle with a striped marlin was “the most punishment he ever took,” and it is one of the few places in the log in which he used underlining for emphasis.

Evidence of Hemingway’s evolving understanding of the Gulf Stream is present throughout the 1933 log. Initially, every lost fish was an occasion for expressions of disappointment and assigning blame, by May, Hemingway is becoming more of a connoisseur of the battle. On the 18th of May, he created a detailed entry:

opposite rifle range Julie saw
tail of fine striped marlin
about 3 feet of tail out of

---

19 According to Webster’s Ninth Collegiate Dictionary, a “mill race” is a “canal in which water flows to and from a mill wheel” (755).
water—we chased him—he
came to right teaser—then
to left—EH bait teaser away
from him while reeled in
marlin struck was hooked—
jumped to left—ahead of
boat—chased him—he went
to NE jumping—got belly
in line—we chased him—
EH working to get belly out—
jumped 8 times in huge
bounds—broke line against
belly on 12th jump—
beautiful striped marlin
of about 150 lbs.—4th
striped marlin we’ve lost
today—4th well hooked
fish lost today

The deliberate repetition of the phrase “we chased him” demonstrates that Hemingway crafted this entry to capture the drama of the moment. Although they lost the fish on the twelfth jump, Hemingway’s admiring summation—“beautiful striped marlin”—masks any disappointment. Indeed, without the fish, the long log entry becomes the only evidence Hemingway would have to show for this extraordinary moment, and he takes care to recreate it in precise detail.

The next day, Hemingway again experiences a moment on the Gulf Stream to savor and draw on in his fiction. No longer just a sportsmen preying on the fish, Hemingway’s perception of the Stream is expanding. He records:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{at 535 hooked marlin opposite} \\
\text{cement factory—Bumby strike}^{20} \\
\text{at same time—fish jumped}
\end{align*}
\]

---

20 “Bumby” is the nickname for Hemingway’s son, John. He was the child from his marriage to his first wife, Hadley Richardson. He would have been nine years old in May of 1933.
24 times—rode a tail like
a flying fish—tail slowing
threw hook on first jump and
was re-hooked at the base of
Dorsal fin—never saw finer
jumping—mate followed him
to boat—refused Bumby’s
bait—gaffed at 605 PM
took photographs—sky
overcast

The log from 1932 was a dry, objective document, but here, Hemingway is providing commentary and imposing his own evaluation on the natural world, as the twenty-four jumps represented something exceptional to Hemingway; he “never saw finer jumping.”

More importantly, however, are the lines that follow: “mate followed him to boat—refused Bumby’s bait.” In The Old Man and the Sea, Hemingway would write about the mate of a marlin refusing to leave a female hooked fish, writing: He was beautiful, the old man remembered, and he had stayed”(49-50).21

He remembered the time he had hooked one of a pair of marlin. The male fish always let the female fish feed first and the hooked fish, the female, made a wild, panic-stricken, despairing fight that soon exhausted her, and all the time the male had stayed with her, crossing the line and circling with her on the surface. He had stayed so close that the old man was afraid he would cut the line with his tail which was sharp as a scythe and almost of that size and shape. When the old man had gaffed her and clubbed her, holding the rapier bill with its sandpaper edge and clubbing her across the top of her head until her colour turned to a colour almost like the backing of mirrors, and then, with the boy’s aid, hoisted her aboard, the male fish had stayed by the side of the boat. Then, while the old man was clearing the lines and preparing the harpoon, the male fish jumped high into the air beside the boat to see where the female was and then went down deep, his lavender wings, that were his pectoral fins, spread wide and all his wide lavender stripes showing.

21 The passage from The Old Man and the Sea will receive thorough examination in Chapter 5.
The contrast between the eight words written in the log to the fully developed passage in the novella is sharp, yet the figure of the loyal mate is present in both. Hemingway would draw immediately from the logs for scenes in To Have and Have Not, and then, later, use carefully recorded kernels such as this one to expand into heavily weighted passages in The Old Man and the Sea. The log shows too, that, even in a matter of months, Hemingway’s appreciation of the Gulf Stream could shift from seeing as a space of conquest, as his character Harry Morgan does, to the subtle savoring of the natural world that would characterize Santiago.

Just as the reader begins to find a pattern in the content and language of the fishing logs, Hemingway would create something unexpected. The entry of June 3rd, 1933, demonstrates again how Hemingway began to use the logs for a more intimate literary journal when inspired by his surroundings. The long entry begins in the morning and evolves into an imagist poem that documents Hemingway’s day. Although it is long, it is a remarkable example of the shifting purposes of the logs, and, since it has not been examined elsewhere, it deserves to be quoted in full.

Cabanas—June 3
Left at 7am on a flat calm cloudy, a mist
rising from bay,—mountains a
pale blue, royal palms back as
p_____ (illegible), white huts like the
mist—urn burial—
rising fish and shoal of fish
breaking metallic calm—

---

22 Again, the passage from The Old Man and the Sea will be revisited in Chapter Five.
23 Although the 1933 log continues through July 15th, my discussion of it concludes with this examination of Hemingway’s most complex entry.
24 Michael Reynolds paraphrases this poem of June 3, 1933, in Hemingway: The 1930s on pages 134-135. Yet his abridgement does not do justice to the full flavor of the entry, and thus, I quote it in full.
long line of mountains
Bay made up of many lagoons
old Spanish blockhouse and
fort on point—
high hill of mahogany and
cedar below bay and sea
(illegible) green of young cove
new church on hill
one street town up from water
Ferreleria Viscayara—Hotel
(“Len Ser”—Cuartel de Guradia
Rural—bien customs (illegible)
horses—calves—poultry—women
old fort round storehouse
sexseced (sic) wooden pavillion tops
slave stables and house behind
stone wall
steep roofed thatched houses
(on left below light house)
like Valencian barraca
light at hill
red roofed house—steel framed
skeleton tower for light
across channel by right
beautiful wooded hills—
tall palms against morning sun—
fisherman in channel
freighter aground (illegible)
Looking back—old fort
line of grey trunked palms
wide tops
rising line of grey blue
mountains
the bay already open on both sides—
hills covered with royal palms
leaning toward the mountains—
red roofed house on Cayo Suacio
to left looks in—outside
long sand beach—
a point where houses under cieba
hills—pale green of cane—
the mountains showing dark
softly notched—to the high
rounded coves of Bealicia Honda
at 4am coffee ground—I
breakfast at 6—tortilla—
develed ham—guava paste—
(illegible)—3 eggs soft boiled
in a glass—Spanish sausages
—champagne cider—coffee
Harbor—buoy that has dragged
(left hand going in) Blue gulf
almost to buoy—aguya boats—
old fashioned equipment—inside
bay—water brown
To left town entrance to river
through mangroves—winding
carpan rolled—saw alligator
often into lagoon (illegible) swelled
river to sea
thousands of egrets
may regret ham
at house—3 bedrooms—kitchen
arrangement—bathroom—porch—
all open—mosquitos
dores colores of pigeons
the two quail crossed path
shooting at buzzards with 22
buzzards came for aguya
entrails—(illegible) of the
pareja
our reception—rolling in pm—
garfish up river—out
caught jack at dark—
suffer—the mosquitos bad
Next morning—early coffee
grinding—breakfast—beat calm
breeze—the (illegible)—
aguya (illegible) soup
she sick—came in at
115 that lunch—wash after lunch
down to boat—ride before suffer
into other part of bay
cocktail 3 jiggers rum—
1 bottle cider-lime-sugar

Each of Hemingway's lines is meant to be distinctive, and to later evoke in him a
memory of the time in Cabanas, a small harbor west of Havana. Certain phrases have a
laser-like precision to them, such as “tall palms against the morning sun,” and “hills covered with royal palms/leaning toward the mountains.” On one level, Hemingway is trying to capture on paper his view of the harbor from the boat, and in that view, see everything. He notes, too, the buildings, a fort, church, red roofed house, a “steel framed/skeleton tower for light,” and “steep roofed thatched houses.” He notes the animal life: “thousands of egrets,” an alligator, mosquitos, buzzards, garfish, and aguya (black marlin). On another level, he is trying to freeze a precise moment to savor, and he layers on the element of appetite, transcribing even what he has put in his stomach: coffee, tortilla, guava paste, three eggs boiled in a glass, Spanish sausages, champagne cider, and deviled ham. The ham, of course, plays into his rhymed line “thousands of egrets/ may regret ham,” and that small touch adds to the intimacy of the log entry.

More significantly, this entry represents a nexus where Hemingway’s earlier method of wanting to “write like Cezanne painted” intersects with his transformation as a writer. The Gulf Stream in Cabanas demands a different formula of composition. The mist, the fish, and the mountains all “rise” here, and the repetition of the word rise mirrors Hemingway’s use of repetition in the first paragraph of A Farewell to Arms:

In the late summer of that year we lived in a house in a village that looked across the river and the plain to the mountains. In the bed of the river there were pebbles and boulders, dry and white in the sun, and the water was clear and swiftly moving and blue in the channels. Troops went by the house and down the road and the dust they raised powdered the leaves of the trees. The trunks of the trees too were dusty and the leaves fell early that year and we saw the troops marching along the road and the dust rising and leaves, stirred by the breeze falling and the soldiers marching and afterward the road bare and white except for the leaves. (3)
Here the dust is “raised” and “rises” through the movement of the troops, a connection that signals how the war disrupts the natural world. Yet Hemingway uses “rising” in the log entry to unify the scene and evoke a harmony within the natural world, showing how humans can be integrated with their environment. The word “rising” thus adds another dimension to his description. He captures the water, “a mist rising from the bay”; the life within the water “rising fish and shoal of fish/breaking metallic calm”; and the “rising line of grey blue mountains.” In Cabanas, Hemingway is like Santiago, at one with the Gulf Stream; he views the scene from the Anita, suspended above the calm water, in the thick of the mist. Indeed, the scene seems to resemble Winslow Homer’s 1885 watercolor, “Sponge Fishing, Nassau.” (See Figure 4.) Creating a composition of parallel horizontal elements, Homer shows a view of a wharf from the water, creating a hazy horizon line of palm trees and buildings. There are no mountains. In the words of Helen Cooper: “Against a blue sky almost completely obscured by the pale gray and white clouds, watery strokes of gray and green form the palm trees, while the blinding white light of a Caribbean morning reflecting off the glittering sea is achieved through reserved paper”(135). Quite clearly, Hemingway’s poetic log entry foreshadows the style and perspective he would employ fourteen years later, when he began *The Old Man and the Sea*. 
CHAPTER 4:

THE SEA CHANGE PART II:

THE PILAR, MARLIN THEORIES, AND THE INTERNATIONAL GAME FISH ASSOCIATION

I. The Pilar log: July 28, 1934-February 2, 1935

Hemingway's next fishing log differs in both circumstance and content from the logs created while fishing from the Anita. The intensity of Hemingway's activities seems to hint at turmoil and dissatisfaction within. In the words of Carlos Baker: "In the past year he had fished waters as far apart as the Caribbean Sea and the Indian Ocean. He had witnessed the start of a major Cuban revolution. He had crossed the Atlantic twice and gone from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. He had watched a season of bullfights in Spain, shot pheasant and deer in the Sologne and made a memorable safari in Kenya and Tanganyika" (Life 263). In May, his new fishing boat, Pilar arrived in Key West, and Hemingway began writing Green Hills of Africa.

When Hemingway had returned from Africa, he found waiting for him a letter from Charles B. Cadwalader, Director of the Academy of Natural History in Philadelphia. Cadwalader inquired if he would be interested in cooperating with Academy scientists in conducting research in Cuban waters. There was a need to remedy the "lack of knowledge concerning the classification, life histories, food (and) migrations of the... sailfish, marlin, tuna and other large game fishes (and) to secure specimens and
information in order that our knowledge of these fish may be advanced” (Martin 5).

Criticism of the number of days that Hemingway spent on the Gulf Stream may have spurred him to invite promptly Cadwalader to join him on the Gulf Stream. With Esquire providing an audience, Cadwalader’s presence would encourage Hemingway to take his observations more seriously in a way that expanded on his boyhood instincts as a naturalist. In his reply to Cadwalader, Hemingway wrote: “it would be very interesting to have a complete collection of these fish and determine scientifically which are truly different species and which are merely sexual and age variations of the same fish” (Reynolds 1930s 171). On July 18th, when Hemingway and crew arrived in Havana for the marlin season, Cadwalader and ichthyologist Henry Fowler were there to meet him.

The log for the 1934 fishing season is also notable for another reason: it is not in Hemingway’s hand. 2 Arnold Samuelson, an aspiring writer from Minnesota, had hitchhiked to Key West to question Hemingway about writing, and in response was hired on as a general helper on the Pilar. Despite knowing next to nothing about either fishing or seamanship, Samuelson gamely tried to be of assistance to Hemingway, and the rest of the crew. Samuelson’s memoir of his experience, entitled With Hemingway: A Year in Key West and Cuba, provides a more rounded portrait of life aboard the Pilar in the

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1 Hemingway named his boat Pilar in honor of the shrine and feria at Zaragoza, Spain, and also for his wife Pauline, who used Pilar as one of her secret nicknames when they first fell in love. See Baker, Hemingway, A Life Story, page 259.

2 It is impossible to verify whether the language of the log is a direct transcription from Hemingway, or Samuelson’s approximation. When the log was purchased in 1989 by the Friends of the Hemingway Collection, it was considered Hemingway’s dictation. Conversation with Megan Desnoyers, Senior Archivist, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, July 30, 2001.
company of professional marine scientists. Indeed, with Fowler and Cadwalader aboard, the fishing log becomes a more exploratory, inquisitive document. Hemingway is trying to add another layer of precision to the log so that he can use it to support his theories on marlin migration and development. According to Linda Patterson Miller, the “log differs significantly from the others in being less provisional and more expansive and detailed...(it) assumes an intricate and sustained narrative weave complete with plot, characters, a protagonist (Hemingway), atmospheric coloring, and emotional heightening”(106).

Most of the entries in the *Anita* logs followed a specific shorthand form, beginning with the time of departure, the temperature, wind direction, and a list of passengers. The increase in the amount of detail in the 1934 log is striking. Quoting the complete entry in the *Pilar* log for July 31 illustrates the change:

July 31
Put in 10 gals gas in port tank (8 inches)
Barometer 30.02. Out at 8.20.
Current far out, school of cero mackerel jumping in the harbor entrance—
Light breeze coming up from the East.
Last night starboard six inches
fifty gal 31/2 port 100 gal (o)
fifty gal six-added ten made eight
or forty gal. In market six striped marlin from 125 to 175 lbs
At ten o’clock off Cojimar raised a big marlin (250-300) which
came behind EH’s bait—then Cadwalader’s, then swerved between birded back and forth and once

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3 My examination of this log will be less exhaustive since it was the subject of Linda Patterson Miller’s article, “The Matrix of Hemingway’s *Pilar* Log, 1934-1935,” *North Dakota Quarterly* 64:3 (Fall 1997): 105-123.
bit EH bait but dropped it. We made a turn onto a sunny tack and he hit EH bait but Carlos speed up when asked to slow and he pulled the bait down. Lousy boat handling—with Josie would have had the fish by now—saw a Cojimar fisherman landing what looked like a marlin coming over found two mako—took pictures and Fowler sketched and identified fish and we took some teeth as specimens. Was the same kind we had helped out with a big marlin two years ago ½ Went in for lunch and swim at the Punta del Cobre long beach at 12-30. Out at 1-45. At 2-25 Juan and Arnold shouted out that there was a marlin behind the teaser (green tease) EH took rod and Juan was holding with J getting teaser in got fish to take bait. Shouted to Carlos to cut out the engine (we were running on the little engine). He pulled down on the lever of the big engine, result fish feeling pull at line and leader, jumped and threw the bait ten feet. Was a handsome brightly striped marlin of 125-140 pounds. At a quarter past four Arnold caught a 15 pound barracuda on the feather. Fish had hit so hard on a tight line that he was hooked in the gills. We noticed sepia black oozing from the wound the gaff made. Carlos opened him and in the belly found a small octopus freshly swallowed and a very large squid that had been sliced in two pieces. An hour later at 5:15, Juan caught a very small barracuda
that would not weigh more than
a pound on the feather. Both
barracuda were in the Gulf
at least two miles from the
edge of the stream. It might be
that the barracuda we catch
far out in the Gulf Stream
in the late spring are there
feeding on the squid.

The density of detail establishes that Hemingway was no longer just creating notes for
himself; the document has a full narrative structure, complete characters, and a plot full
of digressions. The details are more explanatory than evidentiary. Hemingway notes the
bait—"green teaser"—which engine they are using, and the specific mistakes that Carlos
made in boat handling. Hemingway is creating a document that is meant to teach the
reader why things happened, rather than merely record their occurrence. Now that
Fowler and Cadwalader are on board, the fishing trip has become a scientific expedition,
and he must create a record of appropriate depth, specificity, and gravity. The log is also
meant to supplement the scientific data that they are gathering. Hemingway notes their
actions—sketching, taking photos and specimens—and uses his own descriptive language
to fill in the scene: "We noticed sepia black oozing from the wound the gaff made. Carlos
opened him and in the belly found a small octopus freshly swallowed and a very large
squid that had been sliced in two pieces." Hemingway is asking the question, "Why is
this barracuda bleeding black?" As a scientist, he must cut it open to find the octopus and
the answer to his question. At the same time he is crafting evocative phrases—"sepia
black oozing from the wound," and the "small octopus freshly swallowed"—he is
learning about life below the surface of the Gulf Stream.
This fluctuation in the tone and content of the log continues, as incidents that have little to do with the “expedition” on the Gulf Stream are also recorded in a way that fleshes out the narrative of the summer. On August 5th, Hemingway wrote:

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Out at 9.50 after going to market. Fowler found two new parrot fish — Mass at San Franciscan church (illegible) Very little current. Bought a kingfish off the Morro to have for lunch and immediately afterward Arnold caught one on the feather bait.
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Although Fowler’s “discovery” of new parrot fish at the market is noteworthy, Hemingway’s attendance at mass is an inclusion inessential to the log, that transforms it again into a diary. And the ironic catch of the kingfish so soon after one was purchased seems to be included only to add color to the narrative.

Hemingway invested more creative energy in these entries, as he layered over events to enhance the narrative. On August 8th, he relates the details of another fisherman’s inability to land a marlin, recording:

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Went into cove for lunch, swam, played records, came out at 2:20. At 2:25 off cove EH hooked and landed a small sailfish which was under great disadvantage with too heavy tackle. Hooked on a mackerel bait and a 140 hook. Brought in five minutes. He
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4 Since his marriage to Pauline Pfeiffer on May 10, 1927, Hemingway had been a practicing Roman Catholic. After their divorce on November 4, 1940, Hemingway’s professions of religious faith became ambiguous, and his beliefs and practices need more scholarly attention. The best source on the subject is Larry Grimes’ *The Religious Design of Hemingway’s Early Fiction*, (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1985).
lunged 8 times but never cleared
the water. No. 3 sailfish 7 feet
5 inches, male, bill about ten
inches long, by weight thirty pounds.
(Log by Arnold)
As we were coming into the
Morro we saw Woodward in a small
boat running in small circles
like a merry-go-round. He said he
had a huge marlin. The merry-go-round
continued with no one making any
effort to fight the fish...

Now that Hemingway has Samuelson’s assistance, he has time to create more expansive entries, and the incompetence of the Woodward party seems to be an inconsequential event to record in the log. Yet an image of a merry-go-round, like the mill race in the

Anita log, would surprisingly reappear in For Whom the Bell Tolls (1940). Although it is a long quotation, the full text is necessary in order to understand the connection.

Hemingway writes:

It’s like a merry-go round, Robert Jordan thought. Not a merry-go-round that travels fast, and with a calliope for music, and the children ride on cows with gilded horns, and there are rings to catch with sticks, and there is the blue, gas-flare-lit early dark of the Avenue du Maine, with fried fish sold from the next stall and a wheel of fortune turning with leather flaps slapping against the posts of the numbered compartments, and the packages of lump sugar piled high in pyramids for prizes. No, it is not that kind of merry-go-round, although the people are waiting, like the men in caps and the women in knitted sweaters, their heads bare in the gaslight and their hair shining, who stand in front of the wheel of fortune as it spins. Yes, those are the people. But is another wheel. This is like a wheel that goes up and around.
It has been around twice now. It is a vast wheel, set at an angle and each time it goes around and then is back to where it starts. One side is higher than the other and the sweep it makes lifts you back and down to where it starts. One side is higher than the other and the sweep it makes lifts you back and down to where you started. There are no prizes, either he thought, and no one would choose to ride this wheel. You ride it each time and make the turn with no intention ever to have mounted. There is only

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one turn; one large, elliptical rising and falling turn and you are back
where you have started. We are back now and nothing is settled (225).

The connection here between the images is, at first, thin. *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is a
novel about the Spanish Civil War, and in content it has little in common with the events
of the summer of 1934. On the Gulf Stream, the merry-go-round parallels the action of
characters; in the log, Woodward always ends up back where he started, unable to catch
the fish; in the novel, Jordan is back where he started again, by the regression in his
relationship with Pablo, the leader of the Loyalist rebels.

Yet in theme, the two documents are indeed connected, as both the log and the
novel attest to the interconnections between humans and the natural world. From the John
Donne epigraph ("No man is an *Il*land, intire of it self; every man is a peece of the
*Continent*, a part of the *maine*"") Hemingway’s novel begins with Jordan laying flat on the
"brown, pine needled floor of the forest" and ends as Jordan “could feel his heart beating
against the pine needle floor of the forest”(1, 471). The log, too, is about the
interconnections between humans and the natural world, as each entry is an inquiry into
dimensions of that relationship. In 1940, Hemingway explores this theme through
Jordan’s relationships with other characters, and his heightened awareness of the natural
world. In *The Old Man and the Sea*, the exploration would be continued. Even in 1934,

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5 The entire Donne epigraph reads:

No man is an *Il*and, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the
*Continent*, a part of the *maine*; if a *Clod* bee washed away by the
*Sea*, *Europe* is the lesse, as well as if a *Promontorie* were, as well
as if a *Mannor* of they friends or of thine owne were; any mans
dearth diminishes me, because I am involved in *Mankinde*; And
therefore never send to know for whom the *bell* tolls; It tolls for
*thee*(i).
the ideas that would come to fruition in that novella were growing from Hemingway’s experiences on the Gulf Stream.

Here, too, in the August 8th entry, it is noted when Arnold Samuelson wrote in the log. Samuelson’s memoir is organized chronologically, so it provides a companion text to the log, expanding further on the characterizations and descriptions. The Friends of the Hemingway Collection bought the carbon copy of the log from the Samuelson estate, and it seems clear that Samuelson used the log as Hemingway would, to ignite his memory and resuscitate details as he composed his memoir. Fashioning a scene that explains his role in the creation of the log Samuelson wrote:

I handed E. H. my rod with the feather that was fished between and far behind the two mackerel baits and he held a rod in each hand while I went for the heavy notebook with the silver pencil marking the place. I spent a few minutes every day taking his dictations in the log. It was the one thing I could do better than anybody else on board, Carlos and Juan not being able to write English. I got the logbook and pencil and sat down between E.H. and Cadwalader.

“Where did we leave off yesterday? E.H. asked. Went into cove for lunch, I said, reading the last sentence in the log. Swam, talked to Rutherfords who had lost another teaser on a marlin,” E.H. dictated, “trolled back without seeing anything or having any strikes except one small barracuda Maestro caught on a feather coming into the Morro.” Now today, ‘On board Cadwalader, Fowler, E.H. A.S., Carlos Juan. Four blue marlin in the market today, 11, 12, 12, 14, arrobas. Of these three were females and one a male. Out at 9.20. Wind east, freshening, current in close to shore, beautiful dark Gulf water within a quarter of a mile’”(141).

Samuelson’s memoir is especially helpful in creating more complete characterizations of Cadwalader and Fowler, as Hemingway never wrote about their personalities.

Introducing them, Samuelson wrote:

We were waiting for the científicos. Marlin had never been classified scientifically, and E.H. was disgusted with the reports of
fishermen who were constantly discovering and naming new species. E.H. did not believe the so-called white marlin, striped marlin, silver marlin, blue marlin, black marlin and the giant Tahitian black marlin were different species. He believed they were growth stages and sex and color variations of the same fish. The colors had never been scientifically described because the ichthyologists had only studied them after they were killed and brought in on the dock, by which time their colors had disappeared. In a letter to C.M.B. Cadwalader, Director of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural History, E.H. suggested he send an ichthyologist to Havana to study marlin from the _Pilar_ and see the colors of the fish alive in the water. He wanted them scientifically described so that fishermen could identify their catches and know what they were talking about. Cadwalader agreed to send his man down and offered to come himself and pay half the gas. E.H. told him he did not take paying guests but he was welcome to come and fish for ten days, and suggested the gasoline money be used to keep the ichthyologist in Havana for a month so he would be sure to see a variety of fish. E.H. told him to come by the end of July, probably the time of the biggest run this year.

Not masking his feelings, Samuelson described Cadwalader:

(S)hort-legged, slightly pot-bellied, (Cadwalader) always wore the same club-room conversationalist expression on his freckled face, and when he talked to one person he spoke as if he were making a speech to a crowd or speaking for the benefit of those who might be trying to overhear, like a lecturer answering questions of people in his audience.... I had not yet been told that this bachelor philanthropist was the last of a distinguished line of money-making, money hoarding Cadwaladers. It was not until later that I was told he kept twenty-seven servants in his house and was very much upset because an old woman intended to retire and it would be like losing one of the parts in a smooth-running machine. This was the first man I had run into who had so many ancestors and so much money, and I had difficulty understanding him. He would not drink vermouth with us before dinner or wine with his meals or whiskey in the evenings, but would only drink bottled mineral water, and half the mornings he forgot to bring his mineral water

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6 Samuelson is incorrect when he states that Hemingway initiated the correspondence. According to Larry Martin, it was in March, 1934, that Hemingway received a “surprising letter from an American stranger,” Cadwalader. See Martin, “Ernest Hemingway, Gulf Stream Marine Scientist,” page five.
and E.H. would have to send Juan ashore for it before we could leave. Cadwalader never gave Juan any money. He must be worried about his investments, I thought. He had to spend so many thousands to keep the museum going and as an economy measure he let E.H. pay for his mineral water (125).

Clearly, the Midwestern born and bred Samuelson was unimpressed by the gentleman scientist from Philadelphia

While Cadwalader and Fowler were aboard, Hemingway would haul in one of the largest marlin of the 1934 season. Samuelson’s description of the fish is written under the influence of Hemingway’s newly scientific style:

He slammed down hard on the cockpit deck, lying on his side, a huge blue monster, round as a barrel, reaching the full length of the cockpit with his sword in the cabin door and tail almost touching the fish box. The bare hook was set firmly in his jaw. The colors divided by a well-defined straight line running from his mouth down the middle of his body to his tail, dark blue above and silver below began fading the instant he came on board, the vivid blue turning almost black and the silver belly darkening to the color of lead. Carlos knelt by the fish’s head and kissed it with a loud smack....Henry Fowler drew a sketch of the marlin and E.H. helped him take at least twenty measurements with a steel tape. The fish was twelve feet two inches long from the head of his bill to the tip of his tail, and his girth was four feet eight inches. Carlos covered the marlin with a wet canvas and we spent the rest of the afternoon speculating on how much he weighed. In a drizzling rain, we ran in at Casa Blanca, the small town underneath the Cabanas fortress, across the harbor from Havana, where fishing smacks lay at anchor, side by side, and a crowd of curious natives, naked brown children and barefooted men gathered to see the fish and helped pull him on the dock. They laid him on a scale, which he tipped at 420 pounds, and, tying a rope around his tail, raised him with block and tackle and left him swinging heavily from the scaffold, head down. E.H. sent for Dick Armstrong, the Hearst correspondent; when Dick came, he set the Graflex (camera) on a barrel and, telling everybody to be steady and chasing the kids away, began taking pictures. E.H., holding the fishing rod, stood next to the fish, his guests and crew forming a semicircle around
him, and the natives crowded in from all sides in order to be in the picture (129-130).

Following the established ritual of deep documentation, many photos were taken. (See Figure Five.) Hemingway beams at the camera in the foreground as Cadwalader, small in stature, stands in the background striking a formal pose with his pipe tucked in his mouth. Hemingway sent Samuelson ashore for an extra quart of whiskey, and it became a “night of celebration”(130).

Samuelson’s memoir contains important encounters that were not included in the fishing log, two of which may have contributed to elements of The Old Man and the Sea. In the first, Samuelson writes:

We traveled three or four miles across the lake to the small town of Cabanas at the foot of the mountain and tied to the low pier, where the barefooted men and naked children had gathered to see the boat. Going ashore, we took a path up a hill past huts built of palm branches, with open doors and windows and no furniture of any kind to be seen inside. We stopped at the top of the hill at an old concrete house with bars across the windows where the town delegate lived and E.H. presented him with the boat’s papers. The delegate’s son, a market fisherman, gave E.H. the sword of an 800-pound marlin that had towed his skiff three miles out to sea before he could kill it (117).

The tale contains two key elements of Hemingway’s later novella; the towing of a fisherman far to sea, and the death of an enormous marlin. In the second, Samuelson states:

7 Since the carbon copy of the 1934 log was in the possession of the Samuelson family, it would seem likely that Hemingway retained the original to file with his other logs. Yet the original was not given to the John F. Kennedy Library with Hemingway’s other papers. Ultimately, it is impossible to know whether Hemingway reviewed the 1934 log during the composition of The Old Man and the Sea.
The only fishermen who cared to be out in that sea were the young daredevil Chicuelo, who had won the marathon rowing championship by rowing seventy six hours without stopping, and his brother. They were leading all the market fishermen, having brought seven marlin, three well over two hundred and fifty pounds, into the Havana market, while their father, fishing in another boat, had drifted forty five days without a strike (138).

This episode has another two elements; the figure of the father who has continued to fish despite his prolonged drought, and the contrast between this figure of aged perseverance with youthful vitality, as his sons become local success stories in the midst of his defeat. Neither of Samuelson’s two tales is found recorded in the log, and there is no way to know if they were as notable to Hemingway as they were to him. For Samuelson, however, these two episodes must have reverberated with the published novella.

The lackluster fishing season allowed Hemingway to plunge into the work that would become Green Hills of Africa, merging his memory of the landscape of Africa with the reality of the Gulf Stream. Linda Patterson Miller is very astute in assessing the importance of fishing log as a document that prefigures the book. She writes:

Hemingway’s 1934 Pilar log is about seeing “exactly,” both in fishing and in art, and it illuminates Hemingway’s creative process at a point of personal and artistic change....In 1934 he came back from Africa to follow the Gulf Stream’s currents and the marlin’s run, whose mystery and unpredictability intrigued him. As he carried in his mind both Africa and Cuba, and went with the current’s flow during the 1934 summer, he began to shape a book, Green Hills of Africa, that has structural and thematic parallels to his 1934 log. Both these manuscripts, arrived at simultaneously, recreate the thrill and disappointment of pursuit; and they both confirm that memory, rendered timeless through art, is the greatest trophy (119).
IV. Marlin Theories

The research that was done from the Pilar in August of 1934 was only one form of Hemingway's collaboration with the Academy of Natural Sciences. In later months, Hemingway would send iced specimens from Havana to Philadelphia for Fowler's inspection. Lawrence Martin notes, through 1935, Fowler would make requests of Hemingway, "virtually ordering" him to gather specific marine life. In a letter dated April 22, 1935, Fowler wrote: "we would like you to... get samples of... the high finned marlin.... We would like a small striped marlin.... Of the tuna I would like to get a young specimen.... (We) would like a specimen skinned out of a large (wahoo)... with the first gill arch cut off.... I am only concerned with getting the young of (the African pompano)" (Martin II). Yet it is also clear that Hemingway was much more than a research assistant to the Academy scientists.

Hemingway's marlin theories were rigorous enough to earn Fowler's respect. In other correspondence, the evidence is clear Fowler built off Hemingway's insights. In a letter from August 8, 1935, Fowler wrote:

The chances are you are right about the degenerated black marlin. I do not look for any undescribed species. We have certainly too many nominal ones now, and what I am trying to do is to hook up the west Atlantic ones with those of the east Atlantic, or the Madeiras, Canaries, Gulf of Guinea, etc. Over ten years ago I find from galley sheets just going through the press that I had suspected all these marlins to be one and the same species. So far I have nothing to militate against this. Your letter, especially where you speak of variation, seems further vindication. I refer to the asymmetry of the pectoral fins. If at any time you notice further asymmetry in the specimens, that is the fins larger on one side than the other, or apparently rights and lefts, I wish you would bear it in mind and keep details if possible (Fowler).
This same letter also engages Hemingway on the topic of Blue fin tuna, which
Hemingway was then fishing in the Gulf Stream in Bimini. Although Hemingway never
wrote about tuna in his fiction, again, he had theories about them. Fowler’s remarks to
Hemingway once more affirm that he respected his opinion on this subject. Fowler wrote:

The photograph of the small tuna you caught last year and sent to
us must...be placed with the young of the Great Tuna. Since then I
have examined quite a number of our east coast tunas and find that
the pale white or grey lines, so clearly shown and contrasted in
your photograph, appear that was in the very small specimens. As
they grow older a parallel row of spots appear in the alternating
inner spaces. This is quite interesting and I would be glad if you
kept it in mind with respect to any other albacore or tunas you may
happen upon (Fowler).

In a letter from Cadwalader to Hemingway, dated 16 April 1935, it is clear that the
Academy was interested in expanding their study into the waters off Bimini, as
Cadwalader wrote: “Let me know as soon as you get back from Bimini. By that time I
will have more definite information in regard to Fowler’s plans and also as to what we
could do in cooperation with you in getting some of these fishes studied”(Cadwalader).

Apparently, the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia was unable to
organize a formal study of the bluefin tuna (Thunnus thynnus). In the fishing files of the
Hemingway Collection, there are four reports from a joint study conducted in 1952 by the
University of Miami Marine Laboratory, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the Woods
Hole Oceanographic Institute, and the University of Miami Marine Laboratory. Luis
Rene Rivas of the University of Miami supervised the study. The extent of Hemingway’s
involvement in this study is unknown and requires further research. Hemingway retained
the four dense, highly specialized reports alongside his personal newspaper clippings
related to fishing. In a letter dated 20 January 1961, less than six months before he
committed suicide, Hemingway wrote to Peter Barrett, an author of fishing books:

“We’re waiting for the weather to clear to go down the coast to the westward again to scout for that Atlantic Bluefin Tuna investigations outfit. Louis Rivas from the Miami University (sic) outfit was here yesterday. They are doing a good sound job” (Trogdon 322).

Hemingway’s efforts on behalf of the Academy of Natural Sciences were not unappreciated, as Cadwalader later wrote that “with Hemingway’s excellent knowledge of these fishes and their habitats, (Fowler) was able to secure enough information in order that they may revise the classification of the marlin insofar as the Atlantic Ocean goes” (Martin II). For his efforts, Fowler named a species of fish after Hemingway, the “Neorithe hemingwayi,” stating it was for “Ernest Hemingway, author and angler of great game fishes, in appreciation for his assistance in my work on Gulf Stream fishes” (New Scorpanenoid). (See Figure Six.)

Hemingway’s first published theories on marlin migration and breeding appeared in Esquire in the fall of 1933. He was free to choose the topic, and the length, which took the form of personal essays, labeled “letters.” In his the premier issue of the magazine, Hemingway wrote:

The white marlin run first in April and May, then come the immature striped marlin with brilliant stripes which fade after the fish dies. These are most plentiful in May and run into June then come the black and striped marlin together. The biggest run of striped marlin is in July and as they get scarce the very big black marlin come through until into September and later. Just before the striped marlin are due to run the smaller marlin drop off altogether and it seems, except for an occasional school of small tuna and bonito, as though the Gulf Stream were empty. There are so many colour variations, some of them caused by feeding, others by age, others by the depth of water, in these marlin that anyone seeking
notoriety for himself by naming new species would have a field day along the north Cuba coast. For me they are all colour and sexual variation of the same fish. This is too complicated to go into in a letter. (142)

Hemingway’s speculation that the striped, blue and black marlin are all variations on the same fish continues, as he writes: “I believe they (black marlin) are mostly old, female fish, past their prime and that is age that gives them that black colour. When they are younger they are much bluer and the meat too, is white”(143). It is revealing, too, that Hemingway would so boldly announce his theories when he had only, at this time, spent two seasons fishing marlin.

Published in August, 1934, at the same time that Cadwalader and Fowler were with him, Hemingway’s next Esquire letter about fishing the Gulf Stream sets forth a series of scientific questions that beg to be answered, and expands on his marlin theory. Because of its complexity and detail, the long passage needs to be quoted in full. In “Out in the Stream: A Cuban Letter,” Hemingway writes:

Are not the white marlin, the striped marlin and the black marlin all sexual and age variations of the same fish? For me, with what data I have been able to get so far, they are all one fish. This may be wrong and I would be glad to have anyone disprove the theory as what we want is knowledge, not the pride of proving something to be true. So far I believe that the white marlin, the common marlin caught off Miami and Palm Beach, whose top limit in weight is from 125 to 150 lb., are the young fish of both sexes. These fish when caught have either a very faint stripe which shows in the water but disappears when the fish is taken from the sea or no stripe at all. The smallest I have ever seen weighed twenty-three pounds. At a certain weight, around seventy pounds and over, the male fish begin to have very pronounced and fairly wide stripes which show brightly in the water but fade when the fish dies and disappear an hour or so after death. These fish are invariably well rounded, obviously maturing marlin, are always males and are splendid leapers and fighters in the style of the striped marlin. I believe they are the adolescent males of the marlin. The striped
marlin is characterized by his small head, heavily rounded body, rapier-like spear, and by the broad lavender stripes that, starting immediately behind the gills, encircle his body at irregular intervals all the way back to his tail. These stripes do not fade much after the fish is dead and will come up brightly hours after the fish has been caught if water is thrown over him. All varieties of marlin breed off the Cuban coast and as the roe brings from forty cents to a dollar and a quarter a pound in the Havana market all fish are carefully opened for roe. Market fishermen say that all the striped marlin are males. On the other hand they claim all the black marlin are females. But what is the intermediate stage in the development of the female of the white marlin from the handsome, gleaming well-proportioned though rather large-headed fish that it is as we know it at 100 pounds, before it becomes the huge, ugly headed, thick-billed, bulky, dark purple, coarse-fleshed, comparatively ugly fish that has been called the black marlin. I believe that its mature life is passed as what we call the silver marlin. This is a handsome, silvery marlin, unstriped, reaching 1,000 pounds or more in weight and a terrific leaper and fighter. The market fishermen claim these fish are always females. That leaves one type of marlin unaccounted for; the so called blue marlin. I do not know whether these are a colour variation stemming from the white, whether they are both male and female, or whether they are a separate species. This summer may show....This time last year we caught a striped marlin with roe in it. It wasn’t much of a roe it is true....But it was roe and the first one any of the commercial fishermen had ever seen in a striped marlin. Until we saw this roe, and I wish I could describe it too you without getting too medical, all striped marlin were supposed to be males. All right then. Was this striped marlin how shall we put it or as I had believed for a long time, do all marlin white, striped, silver, etc., end their lives as black marlin, becoming females in the process? The jewfish becomes a female in the last stage of its life no matter how it starts and I believe the marlin does the same thing. The real black marlin are all old fish. You can see it in the quality of the flesh, the coarseness of the bill, and, above all in the fighting them, in the way they live. Certainly they grow to nearly a ton in weight. But to me they are all old fish, all represent the last stages of the marlin and they are all females. Now you prove me wrong. 8

8 According to Bruce Henderson of the Billfish Foundation, white, blue, black and striped marlin are all distinct species. Although all black marlin are not females, they are characterized by sexual dimorphism, which means the females grow larger and
Frequently addressing the reader directly, Hemingway's casual tone contradicts the earnestness with which he puts forth his theory. In a magazine that served as a showcase for conspicuous consumption in the midst of the Depression, Hemingway, while establishing his credentials as an authority on the subject, is giving the readers perhaps more information than they needed.

Hemingway was eager to gain an audience for his theories of how marlin evolve. In his twenty-six page contribution to Eugene Connett's *American Big Game Fishing*, published in 1935, Hemingway presented his theories once more. In “Marlin Off Cuba,” he writes:

> Another possible theory on the blue marlin is that they are from the spawn of the degenerated old black fish, while the striped and silver marlin are bred from fish in their prime. But this is all conjecture and is only put in to start more sportsmen wondering where their fish come from and how and where they go. We know very little about them yet; the sea is one of the last places for a man to explore; and there is wonderful exploring yet for any fisherman who will travel and live for months on the ocean current in a small boat (78).

“Marlin Off Cuba” is perhaps Hemingway’s most exhaustive contribution to marine science, and sport fishing in the Gulf Stream. The article contains two maps, both “drawn by Lynn Bogue Hunt from information supplied by Ernest Hemingway.” The first map, entitled “Marlin Off Cuba,” labels the locations Hemingway can verify as worthwhile to fish. The evaluations range from “very good both well out and in close depending on current” for the area west of Havana, to “said to be fair—have not worked stronger than males to ensure ample supply of offspring to continue the species (Skorupa 44).

9 I am indebted to Gail Morchower, librarian at the International Game Fish Museum, for providing me with a copy of this obscure article.
it enough to know" for the coastline east of Bahia Honda. (See Figure Seven.) According to Hemingway:

Fishing is good either way from Havana Harbor, to the eastward as far as Jaruco; to the westward as far as Bahia Honda. Fish the edge of the current. If it is out, go out; if it is in close, you can fish right into the hundred fathom curve. A few barracuda will bother you, but there are not many. The biggest marlin are as liable to be close into the edge of soundings as to be far out. Often the current will be well out in the morning and in close in the afternoon. You will find plenty of sharks around the garbage that is dumped out in the current from lighters, but the marlin avoid the discolored water. Stay clear of it or you can foul a propeller badly. There are good beaches to swim about twelve miles to the eastward, you can anchor off and swim into the beach. Don’t swim in the Gulf Stream. Sharks really hit you off the north coast of Cuba no matter what you hear. There is very little feed and few small fish in the stream; that is probably why the marlin come there to spawn, and the sharks are very hungry (80).

The other map is entitled “World Distribution of the Marlins” and has darkened areas along the coastlines known for good fishing. (See Figure Eight.) Hemingway also included seventeen photographs. Twelve of the photos illustrate how to prepare “mackerel bait for trolling for marlin,” and were apparently taken by Hemingway. The specificity of the directions below the photos is a model of economy:

Hook is drawn out until only eye is left in bait. Then hook is turned and point is re-inserted into bait and pushed through to other side. A slit is cut along line of the shank so that shank of hook lies parallel with backbone and eye of hook is well drawn inside mackerel’s gullet (71).

Four other photos are of trophy marlin, two of which were caught by H.L. Woodward, a friend a Hemingway and an American resident of Havana. The other two photos are of marlin caught by Hemingway, the 420 pound marlin caught with Cadwalader on board, the other is of a 343 pound striped marlin. (See Figure Five.) Clearly, Hemingway chose
these photos as advertisements for the Cuban waters, and examples of fish that readers of Connett’s book may catch. Hemingway also includes a photo of a striped marlin “showing shape of head, fins and stripes” (75). This photo illustrates the important identifying characteristics of a striped marlin that distinguish it from blue and black marlin, and also support the text that contains Hemingway’s theories on the different marlin species. According to George Reiger:

Hemingway’s 26 page thesis on marlin fishing is less a manual on how to catch the fish than a complete natural history of their breeding habits, migration patterns, and incidental peculiarities... The text of “Marlin Off Cuba” is instructive reading for today’s students of maritime science. The thoroughness of Hemingway’s research, and the variety and interest of details couched in his lucid prose, make this chapter one of the most satisfying monographs ever written on a fish. Ultimately, “Marlin Off Cuba” is Hemingway’s most notable offering to the memory of Louis Agassiz and his own naturalist father (255).

Significantly, the “thesis” also demonstrates how Hemingway’s contact with the Gulf Stream was transforming him as a writer and thinker. When set against the transcribed interview with Carlos Guiterrez from July 14, 1932, the reasoned thoroughness of Hemingway’s marlin theories becomes more impressive. With the detailed observations of his logs supporting them, the theories convincingly demonstrate how quickly, and how deeply, Hemingway was learning about the Gulf Stream.

Importantly, too, in elaborating on his theories of marlin in his essays, again and again, Hemingway translated his observations into precise, representational prose, rendering what he saw without elaboration. The essays in Esquire and in American Big

10 Figures nine through eleven provide a key to billfish identification of nine different species of billfish. According to Lawrence Martin “Hemingway frequently uses
Game Fishing prove how all the writing Hemingway did—journalism, fiction, and the fishing logs—was overlapping at this time. In “Marlin Off the Morro,” Hemingway wrote:

> But the prevailing wind is the north-east trade and when this blows the marlin come to the top and cruise with the wind, scythe tail, a light, steely lavender, cutting the swells as it projects and goes under; the big fish, yellow-looking in the water, swimming two or three feet under the surface, the huge pectoral fins tucked close to the flanks, the dorsal fin down, the fish looking a round, fast moving log in the water except for the erect curve of that slicing tail. (141)

Although I was unable to find this specific language, the description seems to have been lifted from the fishing logs. The “log” image reappears almost verbatim in “Marlin Off Cuba”: “the big fish, yellow looking in the water, swimming two or three feet under the surface, the huge pectoral fins tucked close to the flanks, the dorsal fin down, the fish looking a round fast moving log in the water except for the erect curve of that slicing tail”(57). Hemingway then reused the image of the marlin as a “log” in To Have and Have Not, writing: “Then he came out again and smashed the water white and I could see he was hooked in the side of the mouth. The stripes showed clear on him. He was a fine fish bright silver now, barred with purple, and as big around as a log”(16). Other examples exist, too, as the language of the August, 1934 Esquire essay overlaps with the description of a marlin’s “wagging” in To Have and Have Not. In the essay, Hemingway wrote:

> He can see the slicing wake of a fin, if he cuts toward the bait, or the rising and lowering sickly of a tail if he is travelling, or if he

the common name ‘black marlin’ for a kind of Gulf Stream fish. Today the name ‘black marlin’ identifies a Pacific species”(14).
comes from behind he can see the bulk of him under water, the
great blue pectorals widespread like the wings of some huge,
underwater bird, and the stripes around him like purple bands
around a brown barrel, and then the sudden upthrust waggle of a
bill (171).

The passage in To Have and Have Not reads: "He came on like a submarine and his top
fin came out and you could see it slice the water. Then he came right behind the bait and
his spear came out too, sort of wagging, clean out of the water"(15). Hemingway had
now learned enough about the Gulf Stream to store up material on breeding habits,
migration patterns, and fishing techniques that would gestate until the composition of The
Old Man and the Sea. It was the method of writing that also would come to its fulfillment
in a novella published in 1952.

III. The International Game Fish Association

Perhaps still stung by criticism of Death in the Afternoon and early responses to
Green Hills of Africa, Hemingway also presented his most elaborate definition of sport in
"Marlin Off Cuba." He writes:

As I see big-game fishing with rod and reel it is a sport in which a
man or woman seeks to kill or capture a fish by the means which
will afford the fisherman the greatest pleasure and best
demonstrate the speed, strength and leaping ability of the fish in
question; at the same time killing or capturing the fish in the
shortest time possible and never for the sake of flattering the
fisherman's vanity, using tackle unsuitable to the prompt capture
of the fish. I believe that it is as bad to lose fish by breaking
unsuitable tackle in an attempt to make a light tackle record as it is
to allow animals to escape wounded in an attempt to get a record
bag or a record head. Talk of giving the fish a sporting chance on
excessively fragile tackle seems nonsense when one realizes that
the sporting chance offered the fish is that of breaking the line and
going off to die. The sporting thing is to kill your fish as promptly
as possible on suitable tackle which does not prevent him running

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or pulling or jumping to the best of his ability, while you fight him as rapidly as possible to kill him as quickly and mercifully as possible (70).

As Hemingway spent more and more time on the Gulf Stream, he came in more intimate contact with members of the sporting class, such as Michael Lerner, S.Kip Farrington, Zane Gray, Dick Cooper, Tommy Shevin, and Winston Guest. Competing against each other and sharing a common interest in record keeping and conservation, they recognized the need to create a formal organization.

A small circle of big game fisherman finally put together a governing body called the Bahamas Marlin and Tuna Club on November 23rd, 1936. In an article in the New York City World Telegram, Ray Trullinger wrote:

Another new big fish angler’s club has just bloomed in our midst, and judging from the eligibility requirements, it doesn’t appear the Membership Committee ever will be snowed under with applications. Officers of the new club include Ernest Hemingway, president; Michael Lerner, Thomas Shevlin and A.O.H. Baldridge, vice presidents; Julio Sanchez, treasurer; and Erl Roman, historian. (Trullinger) 12

According to Trullinger, the noteworthy rules were: “1. All fish must be hooked, fought, and brought to gaff by the angler unaided. 6. A mako shark is considered a game fish and should be gaffed and tail-roped. A mako may not be killed by any means other than a club.” As an officer of the club, which would evolve into the International Game Fish

11 In 1935, 1936, and 1937, due to political turmoil in Cuba, Hemingway would spend more time fishing off the coast of Bimini than off the coast of Havana. For excellent information on these years see William Braasch Watson’s “Hemingway in Bimini: An Introduction,” North Dakota Quarterly 63.3 (1996): 130-144, and Jane Day’s “Hemingway in Bimini” South Florida History Magazine, 4 (Fall 1989): 5-9. 24

12 Perhaps revealing his pride in his own role, this article was kept by Hemingway in his fishing files that now reside at the J.F.K. Library.
Association, Hemingway was now ineligible to hold fishing records. He was sent to the Big Island to investigate a possible world record catch of a black marlin off the Kona coast by Charles Clapp, a tourist from California. On his return to Havana, Hemingway wrote to La Monte:

The Clapp catch used a fishing chair built something like a rowing seat. The rod butt was in a socket which was a part of the chair of which could be rolled back and forth by the attendant. Being attached to the chair the pull of the fish would pull the chair and rod forward. The guard or attendant would then pull the back of the chair back thus gaining line on the fish which the angler would only need to recover by turning the handle on the reel. The entire fishing device was designed to make it possible for anglers who had never fished before to catch big fish without being subjected to any strain on any part of their bodies except their reeling hand...It is very possible that an affidavit (that the fish was legally caught) was filled out and rushed through. Tourist associations and others interested want to claim a large record fish for Hawaii but my impression in Hawaii was that everyone was disgusted with

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13 E-mail to author from Doug Blodgett, World Records Administrator of the International Game Fish Association, December 3, 2001. Hemingway at one time held records for the largest marlin caught off the Cuban coast (468 lbs., 1933), and the world record for blue fin tuna, (381 lbs., 1935). He caught the third largest mako shark (786 lbs.) off the coast of Bimini in June, 1935.

14 LaMonte was the author of four books on marine game fishes, including Game Fish of the World, which included an article on Cuban fishing by Hemingway LaMonte’s other titles include: North American Game Fishes (1945), A Review and Revision of the Marlins, Genus Makaira (1955), Ichthyological Contributions to the International Game Fish Association (1941).

15 For more information on this trip and Clapp’s catch, see my article “Hemingway’s Hawaiian Honeymoon,” The Hemingway Review, Fall (1997): 58-67.
Finlayson’s lack of ethics and honesty in fishing and wished that he had fished honestly and ethically in order that Hawaii might have had a record fish instead of a fish which we must obviously discard as having been caught by unethical methods. (Hemingway to LaMonte, 18 July 1941).

Deeply offended, Hemingway concluded that “there was no possible question about the fish being legally caught” (Hemingway to LaMonte, 18 July 1941). The methods that Clapp had used had disqualified him, and the island of Hawaii, from claiming the marlin as a record catch. For efforts such as this, Hemingway was inducted in the IGFA Hall of Fame in January, 2000.

IV. Hemingway’s Library

The final component of Hemingway’s education into the complexities of the Gulf Stream involved patiently assembling a library, as the active life on the Pilar had to be supplemented by a thorough reading list. By reviewing Joseph Sigman and William Braasch’s Hemingway’s Library: A Composite Record, I have created an appendix of books that may shed light on the composition of To Have and Have Not, and The Old Man and the Sea. Not included are the books on hunting in Africa, of which there are well over a hundred, or the books on the American West. Both topics influenced Hemingway’s thoughts on the Gulf Stream. The first two titles indicate the commitment that Hemingway had to learning about the Stream: Wilfrid Alexander’s Birds of the Ocean: A Handbook for Voyagers Containing Descriptions of All the Sea-Birds of the World, with Notes on Their Habits and Guides to Their Identification, and Augusta Arnold’s The Sea-beach at Ebb-Tide: A Guide to the Study of the Seaweeds and
the Lower Animal Life Found Between Tidemarks. Neither title represents casual reading. The range of titles related to the Gulf Stream is the index of Hemingway's commitment to learning all he could about his subject; tides, sea-birds, seashells, freshwater fish, saltwater fish, conservation, astronomy, whaling, angling, voyaging, and ichthyology are all represented in general and specialized texts. By reviewing the assembled list, it becomes much more clear what Hemingway meant when he explained his "iceberg principle," stating: "Anything you know you can eliminate, and it only strengthens your story" (Plimpton 125). The library does not reveal what Hemingway actually knew; that is best shown through the complexity of his fiction and non-fiction. Yet writings on fish and fishing in the library does give evidence of the knowledge he valued, and the quantity and breadth of titles demonstrate how much Hemingway felt he needed to know before he could begin "eliminating" material. The culmination of Hemingway's Gulf Stream education is, of course, The Old Man and the Sea. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the novella was his doctoral dissertation.

16 According to Braasch, "Hemingway held every book in his hands." E-mail to author, January 12, 2002.
CHAPTER 5:

ILLUSTRATING THE ICEBERG:

WINSLOW HOMER AND THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA

One of the most popular games in the field of Hemingway studies is trying to set the date at which Hemingway began The Old Man and the Sea. If the date is placed when Hemingway first encountered the key narrative elements of the story, then the earliest he began the novella was on July 14, 1932, when he first heard Carlos Guiterrez tell him about a giant marlin, eaten by sharks. This story was retold by Hemingway in “On the Blue Water: A Gulf Stream Letter,” published in Esquire in April, 1936. If the date is

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1 My footnote in “Hemingway’s Hawaiian Honeymoon” that summarizes this inquiry reads: “Michael Culver asserts that the story is founded upon a combination of commercial fisherman Carlos Gutierrez’s experience and the actual events of the Strater-Hemingway Bimini trip of 1935 (31-37). Dos Passos suggests that a shark attack on a tuna Hemingway caught near Bimini in 1934 provided the impetus for the story (60-67). Rose Marie Burwell claims that Hemingway found inspiration for the marlin off Bimini in 1936 (61). Dos Passos’ dates are clearly in error, as Hemingway was not in Bimini until 1935, which was the only time Dos Passos joined him there.

2 In that article, Hemingway wrote:

Another time an old man fishing alone in a skiff out of Cabanas hooked a great marlin that, on the heavy sashcord handline, pulled the skiff far out to sea. Two days later the old man was picked up by fishermen sixty miles to the westward, the head and forward part of the marlin lashed alongside. What was left of the fish, less than half, weighed 800 pounds. The old man had stayed with him a day, a night, a day and another night while the fish swam deep and pulled the boat. When he had come up the old man had pulled the boat up on him and harpooned him. Lashed alongside the sharks had hit him and the old man had fought them out alone in the Gulf Stream in a skiff, clubbing them, stabbing at them, lunging at them with an oar until he was exhausted and the sharks...
placed when Hemingway declared unequivocally his intention to write the story, then it
must be placed on February 7, 1939, when he wrote to his editor Max Perkins that he had
three long stories to write:

One about the old commercial fisherman who fought the swordfish
all alone in his skiff for 4 days and four nights and the sharks
finally eating it after he had it alongside and could not get it into
the boat. That’s a wonderful story of the Cuban coast. I’m going
out with old Carlos (Gutierrez) in his skiff so as to get it all right.
Everything he does and everything he thinks in all that long fight
with the boat out of sight of all other boats all alone on the sea. It’s
a great story if I can get it right. One that would make the book.
(Letters 479)

The final choice of course would be to put the date in January, 1951, when he was
definitely working on the novella, which he would finish in draft form by the end of
February. On September 1st, 1952, it was published in its entirety by *Life* magazine.

The real purpose of reviewing the story’s genealogy is to point out how
Hemingway wrote, and the transformation his method of writing underwent from 1932 to
1952. If the fifteen years from 1926 to 1941 can be understood as a time of enormous
creativity for Hemingway, then the time from 1941 to 1951 stands out as a period of
stunning unproductiveness. During what should have been the years of his greatest
industry, Hemingway wrote nothing but poorly executed journalism. After he returned
from Europe at the end of World War II, Hemingway began the “Land, Sea and Air”
book, an “Ur-text” that became *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1951), *The Old Man
Old Man and the Sea* emerged from that manuscript in January, 1951. Writing to Charles

had eaten all that they could hold. He was crying in the boat when
the fishermen picked him up, half crazy from his loss, and the
sharks were still circling the boat (230-231).
Scribner about the novella in October, Hemingway proclaimed: "This is the prose I have been working for all my life that should read easily and simply and seem short and yet have all the dimensions of the visible world and the world of a man’s spirit. It is as good prose as I can write now" (Letters 738). The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how Hemingway’s cumulative education in the Gulf Stream manifests itself in The Old Man and the Sea. My argument is that this period from 1941 to 1951 is one of extended gestation, resulting in the stylistic and thematic transformations since To Have and Have Not (1937). And, by exploring the aesthetic and thematic connections between Winslow Homer’s paintings and The Old Man and the Sea, the broader changes in Hemingway’s understanding of the natural world become apparent.

I. The Gulf Stream Cosmos: An Interconnected Whole

Read against the backdrop of Harry Morgan’s violent frontier adventures, the tranquility of Santiago’s world seems to have sprung forth from the mind of a completely different writer. The language that was practical, and unadorned portraying the Gulf Stream as a highway has become lyrical, evoking it as a symbol of organic unity within the universe. The naturalism that inspired the evidentiary quality of To Have and Have Not has been transposed into an informed style in which the self-taught Santiago reveals broad dimensions of the planet. The brotherhood of cowboys has disappeared, replaced by Santiago’s brotherhood with all the flowing life of the Gulf Stream. And, while the floating Morgan’s final words were that “A man alone ain’t got no bloody f***ing chance,” the resilient Santiago proclaims that “A man is never alone on the sea.” In theme and writing style, Hemingway is portraying the Gulf Stream completely anew.
To Have and Have Not begins with a shootout, The Old Man and the Sea begins like a folktale, which, on one level it is: “He was an old man who fished alone in a skiff in the Gulf Stream and he had gone eighty-four days now without taking a fish.” In that one sentence, the core of the story resides: a solitary figure is engaged in a struggle with the natural world. In a dramatic transformation, the Gulf Stream has become a space of harmony, as a fisherman moves in silent reverence across the water. For Hemingway, the Stream has always been connected metaphorically with Africa, a land with its natural cycles still, in his perception, undisturbed. He was just growing in his appreciation of the complexity of the Stream when he went to Tanganyika for his safari. That trip even included deep-sea fishing on the Indian Ocean. Thus the richness and vitality Hemingway encountered in the natural world of Africa was extended to the Gulf Stream. In contrast to Morgan, a character without an inner life, Hemingway introduces his narrator through Santiago’s dreams:

He was asleep in a short time and he dreamed of Africa when he was a boy and the long and the white beaches, so white they hurt your eyes and the high capes and the great brown mountains. He lived along that coast now every night and in his dreams he heard the surf roar and saw the native boats come riding through it. He smelled the tar and oakum of the deck as he slept and he smelled the smell of Africa that the land breeze brought at morning….He no longer dreamed of storms, nor of women, nor of great occurrences, nor of great fish, nor fights, nor contests of strength, nor his wife. He only dreamed of places now and the lions on the beach. (24-25)

Whereas the raw appetites of Morgan were fed by violence, drink and action, the aging Santiago identifies intimately with the young lions and their vitality. He is a reflective

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3 The trip, which included famous sportsmen of the era Phillip Percival, Alfred Vanderbilt, and Baron von Blixen, was unexpectedly successful. The party caught kingfish, amberjacks, dolphin and sailfish. (See Baker, A Life, 257.)
character. As he finds his own strength and passions diminished by time, the lions remind him of the energy that he once possessed, that he now hopes to recapture by catching a fish.

The differences in Hemingway's world view extend to his informed portrayal of the Gulf Stream. He establishes the sacred tranquility of the milieu in his opening description:

Sometimes someone would speak in a boat. But most of the boats were silent except for the dip of the oars. They spread apart after they were out of the mouth of the harbour and each one headed for the part of the ocean where he hoped to find fish. The old man knew he was going far out and he left the smell of the land behind and rowed out into the clean early morning smell of the ocean. He saw the phosphorescence of the Gulf weed in the water as he rowed over the part of the ocean that the fisherman called the great well because there was a sudden deep of seven hundred fathoms where all sorts of fish congregated because of the swirl the current made against the steep walls of the floor of the ocean. Here were concentrations of shrimp and bait fish and sometimes schools of squid in the deepest holes and these rose close to the surface at night where all the wandering fish fed on them. (28-29)

The intense observation inscribed into the fishing logs is now manifesting itself in Hemingway's fiction; details such as the "phosphorescence of the Gulf weed," the contrasting smells, and the precise locations of shrimp, bait fish, and shrimp reveal a world that was nonexistent for the raw character of Harry Morgan. Hemingway is now a different writer, and Santiago is a new character. He frames a world that will stretch from seven hundred fathoms deep to the heights of Rigel.

In order to create a richer portrayal of the Gulf Stream, Hemingway expanded his portrayal of the senses. He would highlight the element of smells in the novella, as well as enhancing the role of sounds. The scene establishing the setting continues, as Hemingway writes:
In the dark the old man could feel the morning coming and as he rowed he heard the trembling sound of flying fish as they left the water and the hissing that their stiff set wings made as they soared away in the darkness. He was very fond of flying fish as they were his principal friends on the ocean. He was sorry for the birds, especially the small delicate dark terns that were always flying and looking and almost never finding, and he thought, the birds have a harder life than we do except for the robber birds and the heavy strong ones. Why did they make birds so delicate and fine as those sea swallows when the ocean can be so cruel? She is kind and very beautiful. But she can be so cruel and it comes so suddenly and such birds that fly, dipping and hunting, with their small sad voices are made too delicately for the sea. (29)

The universe of birds is outlined from the flying fish, terns, sea swallows to the robber birds, creating a background that foreshadows Santiago’s struggles. Finally, the Gulf Stream, the element that establishes the interconnectedness of all living things, is set forth in its complexity:

He always thought of the sea as la mar which is what people call her in Spanish when they love her. Sometimes those who love her say bad things of her but they are always said as though she were a woman. Some of the younger fishermen, those who used buoys as floats for their lines and had motorboats, bought when the shark livers had brought much money, spoke of her as el mar which is masculine. They spoke of her as a contestant or a place or even an enemy. But the old man always thought of her as feminine and as something that gave or withheld great favours, and if she did wild or wicked things it was because she should not help them. The moon affects her as it does a woman, he thought. (29)

Santiago’s language of love, of fickleness, is at odds with the deterministic universe of Morgan. For Hemingway in the 1930s, the harsh laws of nature prevailed, regardless of the acts of man. There is no relationship between man and nature. Yet for Santiago, kinship and flirting with the Gulf Stream is a result of his deep knowledge of its complexity.
If Morgan is a man of action, Santiago is first and foremost an observer. He savors the details he beholds, as he tries to live through his eyes. Hemingway writes:

The clouds over the land now rose like mountains and the coast was only a long green line with the gray blue hills behind it. The water was a dark blue now, so dark it was almost purple. As he looked down into it he saw the red sifting of the plankton in the dark water and the strange light the sun made now. He watched his lines to see them go straight down out of sight into the water and he was happy to see so much plankton because it meant fish. The strange light the sun made in the water, now that the sun was higher, meant good weather and so did the shape of the clouds over the land. (35)

As an interpreter of the natural world, Santiago savors the subtle shifts in color he notices, and the plankton and the clouds are elements of nature that he can interpret and act on. The plankton and the good weather are not random facts, but instead signs of the connections within an ordered natural world.

In To Have and Have Not, the enemies Morgan encountered were all men, and the men came in various forms: the rich, the ignorant, and the politically motivated. Santiago’s enemies exist within nature, and yet nature also has its own scales of justice that sustains balance and order in a delicate world. Although sharks are his most serious enemy, Santiago also worries about Portuguese men-of-war. He narrates:

But the bird was almost out of sight now and nothing showed on the surface of the water but some patches of yellow, sun-bleached Sargasso weed and the purple, formalized, iridescent, gelatinous bladder of a Portuguese man-of-war floating close beside the boat. It turned on its sided and then righted itself. It floated cheerfully as a bubble with its long deadly purple filaments trailing a yard behind it in the water. “Agua mala,” the man said. “You whore.” From where he swung lightly against his oars he looked down into the water and saw the tiny fish that were coloured like trailing filaments and swam between them and under the small shade the bubble made as it drifted. They were immune to its poison. But men were not and when some of the filaments would catch on a
line and rest there slimy and purple while the old man was working a fish, he would have welts and sores on his arms and hands of the sort that poison ivy or poison oak can give. But these poisonings from the agua mala came quickly and struck like a whiplash. (35-36)

The falseness of the Portuguese man-of-war is one of the ironies of the Gulf Stream that is corrected by another natural element, the turtle. The passage continues:

The iridescent bubbles were beautiful. But they were the falsest thing in the sea and the old man loved to see the big sea turtles eating them. The turtles saw them, approached them from the front, then shut their eyes so they were completely carapaced and ate them filaments and all. The old man loved to see the turtles eat them and he loved to walk on them on the beach after a storm and hear them pop when he stepped on them with the horny soles of his feet. (36)

The satisfaction that Santiago takes from his revenge is clear, and it implicates him further in the ordered world of the Gulf Stream.

Hemingway continues to extend Santiago’s world as he describes a “communion” with the marine life of the Stream. Santiago’s communions exist in his sacramental relationship with turtles and sharks. Santiago’s love for the turtles is synonymous with reverence; if he pays tribute to them, he will receive blessings in return. Hemingway writes:

He loved green turtles and hawk-bills with their elegance and speed and their great value and he had a friendly contempt for the huge, stupid loggerheads, yellow in their armour-plating, strange in their love-making, and happily eating the Portuguese men-of-war with their eyes shut. He had no mysticism about turtles although he had gone in turtle boats for many years. He was sorry for them all, even the great trunk backs that were as long as the skiff and weighed a ton. Most people are heartless about turtles because a turtle’s heart will beat for hours after he has been cut up and butchered. But the old man thought, I have such a heart too and my feet and hearts are like theirs. He ate
the white eggs to give himself strength. He ate them all through May to be strong in September and October for the truly big fish. He also drank a cup of shark liver oil each day from the big drum in the shack where many of the fishermen kept their gear. It was there for all fishermen who wanted it. Most fishermen hated the taste. But it was no worse than getting up at the hours that they rose and it was very good against all colds and grippes and it was good for the eyes. (36-37)

Santiago has the “heart of a turtle” that will beat, as his soul, long after his death.

Drinking the foul tasting oil of the hateful sharks is, to Santiago, a duty, reflecting his dedication to his vocation as a fisherman, and as an observer, he wants to fortify his eyes.

Moreover, the Stream sustains Santiago by providing him nourishment in his battle with the marlin and the sharks. Hemingway writes:

So he hooked a patch of yellow Gulf weed with the gaff as they passed and shook it so that the small shrimps that were in it fell onto the planking of the skiff. There were more than a dozen of them and they jumped and kicked like sand fleas. The old man pinched their heads off with his thumb and forefinger and ate them chewing up the shells and tails. They were tiny but he knew they were nourishing and they tasted good. (98)

Again, Santiago uses his accumulated knowledge to take advantage of all the Stream offers, and the sacrificial shrimp taste good, unlike the oil of the shark. And, when Santiago’s hands begin to bleed, he dips them in the sacramental healing water of the stream:

Now he knew there was the fish and his hands and back were no dream. The hands cure quickly, he thought. I bled them clean and the salt water will heal them. The dark water of the true Gulf is the greatest healer that there is. (99) (Italics mine.)

The mystical qualities that Hemingway imparts to the Gulf Stream were absent from the straightforward descriptions of To Have and Have Not. Harry Morgan and Santiago have
distinctly different relationships with the sea. Hemingway had to live with the Stream, day after day, writing his observations carefully in the logs, so that, once he was knew, intimately its dimensions, he could write about it fully to construct Santiago’s world.

More so than any other form of life in the Stream, the marlin represents a spiritual equal to Santiago, a brother and a partner. Santiago is a widower, still mourning his wife’s passing, and the devotion between mated marlin echoes his own devotion. In To Have and Have Not, when Morgan dies, his wife screams and cries to mourn his death. Santiago’s mourning is not public, but manifests itself in the observations he makes on the Gulf Stream. Santiago narrates:

He remembered the time he had hooked one of a pair of marlin. The male fish always let the female fish feed first and the hooked fish, the female, made a wild, panic-stricken, despairing fight that soon exhausted her, and all the time the male had stayed with her, crossing the line and circling with her on the surface. He had stayed so close that the old man was afraid he would cut the line with his tail which was sharp as a scythe and almost of that size and shape. When the old man had gaffed her and clubbed her, holding the rapier bill with its sandpaper edge and clubbing her across the top of her head until her colour turned to a colour almost like the backing of mirrors, and then, with the boy’s aid, hoisted her aboard, the male fish had stayed by the side of the boat. Then, while the old man was clearing the lines and preparing the harpoon, the male fish jumped high into the air beside the boat to see where the female was and then went down deep, his lavender wings, that were his pectoral fins, spread wide and all his wide lavender stripes showing. He was beautiful, the old man remembered, and he had stayed. (49-50)

The fact that the marlin had “stayed,” having stood by his mate’s side, enduring her death model behavior for Santiago, as his own perseverance in the face of this trial is strengthened by his memory of his wife. Thus, where Marie Morgan is shown mourning in isolation on a dark dock in Key West, Santiago handles his grief by turning to the Gulf Stream for sustenance and models of endurance.
Although Santiago’s solitude in the midst of his battle with the marlin informs it with an epic dimension, he is never self-pitying in his isolation. In contrast to Morgan’s famous last line, Hemingway, now working fifteen years later, finds that “a man alone” does, indeed, have a chance. Hemingway writes:

He looked across the sea and knew how alone he was now. But he could see the prisms in the deep dark water and the line stretching ahead and the strange undulation of the calm. The clouds were building up now for the trade wind and he looked ahead and saw a flight of wild ducks etching themselves against the sky over the water, then blurring, then etching again and he knew no man was ever alone on the sea. (61)

Drawing on his sustaining role in the organic unity of the Gulf Stream, Santiago’s isolation is diminished. In the literary naturalism of To Have and Have Not, Hemingway was using an “evidentiary eye” in his descriptions of Key West, Havana, and the Gulf Stream: he was giving the evidence, unadorned of his observation. It is important to note here, that Santiago’s isolation is assuaged by what he observes—the “flight of wild ducks etching themselves against the sky over the water, the blurring, then etching again”—and his knowledge of what that means. Observation, living through one’s eyes, is the path to redemption. Yet one must have essential knowledge, to have studied the Gulf Stream, in order to interpret fully the observation.

His fight with the marlin takes him beyond observation into a deeper participation and further communion with the Gulf Stream. The marlin of To Have and Have Not were trophies, and resources. They had value as a testament to a man’s skill, and value in their worth in the fish market. In the unified world of Santiago’s Stream, however, the relationship with his prey is intimate. Santiago states: “I love and respect you very much. But I will kill you dead before this day ends” (54). Santiago’s vocation as a fisherman
gives him a role in the natural order of the Gulf Stream that accommodates the marlin’s
death. Hemingway writes: “You did not kill the fish only to keep alive and to sell food,
he thought. You killed him for pride and because you are a fisherman. You loved him
when he was alive and you loved him after”(105).

Unlike Morgan, a man without religion, closed off to transformation, the wiser
Santiago is still enhancing his humanity. The marlin has the power to change him. Once
Santiago surrenders the value of victory, it becomes possible for him to triumph.
Hemingway writes: “You are killing me, fish, the old man thought. But you have a right
to. Never have I seen a greater, or more beautiful, or a calmer or more noble thing than
you, brother. Come on and kill me. I do not care who kills who”(92). The marlin has the
power to give something over to him, once Santiago puts “all he has” against the fish.

The battle continues:

He took all his pain and what was left of his strength and his long
gone pride and he put it against the fish’s agony and the fish came
over onto his side and swam gently on his side, his bill almost
touching the planking on the skiff and started to pass the boat, long
deep, wide, silver and barred with purple and interminable in the
water. (93)

Through his death, the marlin becomes unified with Santiago, as Hemingway writes:
“When the fish had been hit it was as though he himself were hit”(102). This union
between man and fish generates within Santiago the only thing of value he will take from
his experience, a lesson, as Santiago’s words stand juxtaposed against Morgan’s: “A man
can be destroyed but not defeated”(103).

The unity that Santiago achieves is in contrast with the “brotherhood” that
Morgan sought. In the 1930s, Hemingway created a world in which a brotherhood of
working men was an ideal that could be “defeated” by the rich, by politics, by an
indifferent universe. The proletarian ideal displayed in Morgan had limitations, that, by 1952, Hemingway was acutely aware of. Santiago’s brotherhood, in contrast, exists within the world of the Gulf Stream, within his deep connection to the lives it sustains. Hemingway writes:

It was dark now as it becomes dark quickly in September. He lay against the worn wood of the bow and rested all that he could. The first stars were out. He did not know the name of Rigel but he saw it and knew soon they would all be out and he would have all his distant friends. “The fish is my friend too,” he said aloud. I have never seen or heard of such a fish. But I must kill him. I am glad we do not have to try to kill the stars....I do not understand these things, he thought. But it is good that we do not have to try to kill the sun or the moon or the stars. It is enough to live on the sea and kill our true brothers. (75)

Santiago’s solace comes from his understanding of his role with the larger unity of the Gulf Stream, a world that extends to the sun, moon, and stars. Within that sphere, the death of the marlin is clearly, the death of an equal. As Santiago says, “I have killed this fish which is my brother”(95).

As a figure at peace with his role in the natural order, Santiago’s auto-didacticism leads to an informed narrative style. Santiago’s world is not merely the world that is seen, but the world he cannot see but knows exists. Morgan’s narrative voice was a lens for the reader to the observed world, not the informed world. Now that the mature Hemingway has studied and lived with the Gulf Stream, he can create a character that sees above and below the surface of the water. Santiago narrates:

He could not see the green of the shore now but only the tops of the blue hills that showed white as though they were snow-capped and the clouds that looked like high snow mountains above them. The sea was very dark and the light made prisms in the water. The myriad flecks of the plankton were annulled now by the high sun and it was
only the great deep prisms in the blue water that the old
man saw now with his lines going straight down into the
water that was a mile deep. (40)
Even though he cannot observe it, Santiago knows the shore is green, he knows the
plankton is there, and he knows the Gulf Stream is a mile deep. The style of the
paragraph is reminiscent of the opening paragraph of *A Farewell to Arms* in its use of
repetition. The three images of white hang above the “very dark” sea. Yet Santiago is
also aware of the high sun, the great blue prisms of the *water* and the depth of the *Stream.*
His is an informed vision; he knows what exists below the sea, below the visible part “the
iceberg.” Appropriately, Hemingway returns to the image of Africa in his final
paragraph, writing: “Up the road, in his shack, the old man was sleeping again. He was
still sleeping on his face and the boy was sitting by him watching him. The old man was
dreaming about the lions”(127). Metaphorically, the Gulf Stream is no longer a frontier,
it is an extension of a unified, ordered natural world. Having spent twenty years studying
it, Hemingway now has the knowledge that connects him fully with all the dimensions of
the Gulf Stream.

II. The Iceberg Principle and the Thing Left Out

After 1928, Hemingway’s vocabulary of writing shifted. He no longer
pronounced that he wanted “to write like Cezanne painted.” Indeed, up until that time,
the Cezanne comments were always private remarks, in letters, and unpublished sections
of manuscripts.4 With the publication of *Death in the Afternoon* in 1932, the public

4 In famous interviews with Lillian Ross in 1952, and in 1958 with George Plimpton,
Hemingway again remarked on his debt to the Cezanne. To Ross, he said: “I can
make a landscape like Mr. Paul Cezanne. I learned how to make a landscape by
walking through the Luxembourg Museum a thousand times with an empty gut,
and I am pretty sure that if Mr. Paul was around he would like the way I make
Hemingway emerged. Hemingway, the personality, the authority on the subject at hand, became a character within his texts. To be an authority, knowledge, hard earned knowledge gained from firsthand experience, was essential. In *Death in the Afternoon*, Hemingway wrote:

> A good writer should know as near everything as possible. Naturally he will not. A great enough writer seems to be born with knowledge. But he really is not; he has only been born with the ability to learn in a quicker ratio to the passage of time than other men and without conscious application, and with an intelligence to accept or reject what is already presented as knowledge. There are some things that cannot be learned quickly, and time, which is all we have, must be paid heavily for in their acquiring. They are the very simplest things and because it takes a man's life to know them the little new that each man gets from life is very costly and the only heritage he has to leave. (191)

With this statement, Hemingway is making his shift away from Cezanne and the uninformed abstraction that his painting represented to him. When he was writing like Cezanne, Hemingway was using colors and repetition to write a canvas for the reader. In the early 1930s, as he is spending more time learning about the Gulf Stream, Hemingway is aware of his own ignorance. Knowledge has become more important to his writing method than affect. The passage in *Death in the Afternoon* continues:

> If a writer of prose knows enough about what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of the movement

them and be happy I learned from him”(60). To Plimpton, Hemingway lists Cezanne as a “writer” he has learned from, pronouncing: “I put in painters because I learned as much from painters about how to write as from writers”(118). In *A Moveable Feast* (1964), which he began writing in 1957, Hemingway states: “I was learning something from the painting of Cezanne that made writing simple true sentences far from enough to make the stories have the dimensions I was trying to put in. I was not articulate enough to explain it to anyone. Besides it was a secret”(13).
of the ice-berg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water. A writer who omits things because he does not know them only makes hollow places in his writing. (192)

In To Have and Have Not, Hemingway’s naturalist method consisted of him “putting in what he knew.” The Gulf Stream world was observed, and recorded in the narrative in unadorned language. Hemingway did not know enough about the Gulf Stream to omit things. Yet as was recorded in his fishing logs, he was aware, too, that he was accumulating knowledge that could be used or submerged later.

After The Old Man and the Sea was published, Hemingway’s “iceberg” principle was used to explain the power and popularity of the novella. The reader’s participation was essential to the success of the method. In the words of Robert Stephens: “The reader’s response was necessary for the sensing of what was submerged seven-eighths might be. The reader had to respond as much as the writer did to the stimuli of observation, but the stimuli for him came from the created world rather than the raw, experiential world”(216-217). In the Paris Review interview with George Plimpton, Hemingway elaborated on his principle of the “iceberg,” stating:

If it is any use to know it, I always try to write on the principle of the iceberg. There is seven-eights of it underwater for every part that shows. Anything you know you can eliminate and it only strengthens your iceberg. It is the part that doesn’t show. If a writer omits something because he does not know it then there is a hole in the story. The Old Man and the Sea could have been over a thousand pages long and had every character in the village in it and all the processes of how they made their live, were born, educated, bore children etc. That is done excellently and well by other writers. In writing you are limited by what has already been done satisfactorily. So I have tried to learn to do something else. First I have tried to eliminate everything unnecessary to conveying experience to the reader so that after he or she has read something it will become a part of his or her experience and seem actually to
have happened. This is very hard to do, and I’ve worked at it very hard. Anyway, to skip how it is done, I had unbelievable luck this time and could convey the experience completely and have it be one that no one had ever conveyed. The luck was that I had a good man and a good boy and lately writers have forgotten there still are such things. Then the ocean is worth writing about as man is. So I was lucky there. I’ve seen marlin mate and know about that. So I leave that out. I’ve seen a school (or pod) of more than fifty sperm whales in that same stretch of water and once harpooned one nearly sixty feet in length and lost him. So I left that out. All the stories I know from the fishing village I leave out. But the knowledge is what makes the underwater part of the iceberg. (235-236)

Hemingway’s method, in his mind, is distinctly different from writers that have a “phony style,” such as Thomas Wolfe, and Dos Passos. In a letter to Max Perkins, Hemingway wrote: “Guys who think they are geniuses because they have never learned to say no to a typewriter are a common phenomenon. All you have to do is to get a phony style and you can write any amount of words” (Letters 501).

Since he had been studying the Gulf Stream since 1932 and recording his observations in the fishing logs, his articles for Esquire, and his essays for fishing texts, it is possible to find the passages that Hemingway did, indeed, leave out. The experience with the sperm whales happened on October 10, 1934, and appears in the Pilar log. Hemingway then used it in his May, 1936 Esquire article “There She Breaches! or Moby Dick Off the Morro.” Yet to the more literal reader of The Old Man and the Sea, there

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5 According to Allen Josephs, James Michener is a writer that would best illustrate the opposite of the “Iceberg” principle. See “How Hemingway Wrote,” page 54.
6 Since Linda Patterson Miller examines the whale incident in her article, I do not explore it further here. See page 112-113, “The Matrix of Hemingway’s Pilar Log, 1934-1935.” In the Esquire article, Hemingway wrote:

As we looked astern to the eastward, there were spouts rising almost as far as you could see. It looked like a small geyser basin in Yellowstone Park. There were at least ten whales blowing at
are questions about the story that are unanswered. Perhaps there is no need to include "every character in the village," but more straightforward elements such as the shape of Santiago's boat, and how he was fishing and moving about are unclear to readers unfamiliar with marlin fishing in the Gulf Stream. Hemingway left out background information that he had worked hard to accumulate, after determining it was inessential. Thus, because the story is told through the character of Santiago, the whole scene is sacrificed. George Reiger provides supplementary information to the scene for the uninitiated:

Some fishermen have attempted to reach large fish by drifting for them.... Probably the most difficult form of drifting is carried on by commercial fishermen who use this method in taking marlin off the north coast of Cuba between the ports of Cabanas and Santa Cruz del Norte. They call their nearly flat-bottomed skiffs cuchuchas. A small sail carries these fifteen or eighteen-foot craft out to the fishing grounds but, once there, the mast is unstepped; the sail unfurled, and--it is up to the oarsman. Three lines are used, the first one known as the avio de mano or hand tackle and this is lowered to a depth of 90 fathoms. The second line is called avio de hondo or depth tackle, goes down 75 fathoms and is made fast to a stout cane pole which is projected from the bow of the skiff. Any activity on the forward line can be seen by watching the pole. The fisherman at the oar loops the medium line around his big toe and the long line is held by the second fisherman who is in the stern. (262)

Santiago repeatedly states that he misses the boy, Manolin. Hemingway never explains explicitly how his presence would have eased things for Santiago, as this information does. It is an element of the iceberg that is submerged. In "Marlin Off Cuba,"

once and while we watched more than twenty showed; some close, some far out, some far to the east. Some spouts were high thin plumes spreading on top. Others were low, squat, wide. (241)
Hemingway provided background to the scene that explains more fully Santiago’s condition. He wrote:

The Cuban fishermen—there are as many as seventy boats fishing marlin regularly within a distance of thirty miles each way along the coast from Havana—set out each morning during the season two or three hours before daylight and drift with the current of the Stream eastward. When the northeast trade wind rises about ten o’clock in the summer mornings, they row their skiffs into the wind to keep their lines straight down from the limber sticks from which they are looped and which by their sudden dipping will show a fish taking the bait. (55)

In the novella, Hemingway does not include such elements as measured time because it would not be part of Santiago’s existence. The number of boats and the distance they travel in a day is also unnecessary background that he chose to exclude; it would distract the reader from the essential, reduced conditions of the narrative that give it power. Another clear example of what Hemingway “left out” is apparent by examining the passage when Santiago first hooks the marlin; Hemingway writes: “The boat began to move slowly off toward the north-west. The fish moved steadily and they traveled slowly on the calm water”(45). Again, in “Marlin Off Cuba,” Hemingway had already addressed this moment, writing:

A big black marlin may jump at once if he is hooked in a tender place, but if he is not being caused any particular pain he will move slowly and heavily, almost like a big shark, circling deep or even swimming toward the boat, and you can often bring him close to the boat before he realizes he is being led, or that he is hooked at all. But when he does realize it he heads straight out for the northwest like an underwater speed boat. (62)

Hemingway is not concerned in the novella with what a marlin “may do”; it may jump if it is in pain, it may move like a speed boat. Rather, he is providing the reader with
essential information about what this marlin does, based on his acquired but submerged knowledge of what they may do.

Beginning in 1932, Hemingway was accumulating very specific facts that he would seek to include as part of the visible iceberg. Thus, there were sections of "Marlin Off Cuba" written in late 1934, developed from the initial interview with Carlos Guiterrez on July 14, 1932, that were clearly transformed into passages in The Old Man in the Sea. Hemingway wrote in the log "males always looking for females—pair when find them—male rush boat and refuse to leave when female hooked." In "Marlin Off Cuba," Hemingway expands on his shorthand:

Marlin when they are paired are very devoted. The fishermen claim the male fish always hangs back until the female fish has taken a bait, but since the male is often only a fraction of the size of the female this may not be true altruism. I know that we have frequently hooked the female fish of a pair and had the male fish swim around all during the fight, staying close to the female until she was gaffed. I will tell an incident that anyone is at perfect liberty to doubt but which will be couched for by Captain Joe Russell and Norberg Thompson of Key West who were on the "Anita" at the time when we hooked one fish out of a pair of white marlin. The other fish took a bait a few seconds later but was not hooked. The hooked fish was brought promptly to gaff and the unhooked marlin stayed close beside it, refusing a bait that was passed to it. When the hooked fish was gaffed the unhooked fish swam close beside the boat and when the hooked marlin was lifted in over the gunwale, the unhooked fish jumped high in the air close beside the boat as though to look and see where the hooked fish had gone. It then went down. I swear that this is true but you are quite at liberty to disbelieve it. The hooked fish was a female full of roe. (77)

The passage, as it appears in The Old Man and the Sea, has already been examined as an example of Santiago's identification with the marlin, but it is intriguing to note how Hemingway transformed the material. In 1932, Hemingway is a novice to the world of
the Gulf Stream and he is gathering raw material. By 1934, he has become a marine scientist, an authority on marlin behavior, stating further in his essay that he has no great respect for them since "the black marlin is a stupid fish," and that "the meat of the very big old black fish is almost uneatable" (64). Then, by 1947, when he is composing the novella, Hemingway is a wizened intimate of the Gulf Stream, able to appreciate the marlin as a spiritual equal to Santiago, a brother and a partner.

Santiago, in many ways, is the perfect narrator to illustrate the iceberg principle. He has a religious devotion to the art of observation, but as someone lacking formal education, he relates information without making scientific pronouncements. An example of what to exclude from the visible part of the iceberg is shown by how Hemingway handles the issue of weather. In "Cuban Fishing," an article written in 1949 for Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald and Francesca LaMonte's *Game Fish of the World*, Hemingway wrote:

A fisherman, with luck, will find good fishing in almost every month of the year. However the hurricane months are August, September, and October, and when these storms occur the heavy rains flood the rivers so that the inner edge of the Gulf Stream prevents the pelagic fish from traveling over their usual fishing grounds or, at least, keeps them away. The mass of fresh muddy water also pushes the current of the Gulf Stream out several miles to sea, especially if the current is weak, and a series of hurricanes can ruin the September and October fishing for large marlin off the coast of Cuba. (156)

Hemingway is trying to be fully informative in his essay, since this is essential information for his audience to have. At this time, Hemingway was addressing the same issue in the novella:

7 The interview is transcribed in full in Chapter 3.
If there is a hurricane you always see the signs of it in the sky for days ahead, if you are at sea. They do not see it ashore because they do not know what to look for, he thought. The land must make a difference too, in the shape of the clouds. But we have no hurricane coming now. He looked at the sky and saw white cumulus built like friendly piles of ice cream and high above were the tin feathers of the cirrus against the September sky. (61)

Santiago is reading the signs within the atmosphere, and making sense of them for his own purposes. Santiago does not share with the reader all the facts that he, and Hemingway know, such as that heavy rains “flood the rivers so that the inner edge of the Gulf Stream prevent the pelagic fish from traveling over their usual fishing grounds or, at least, keeps them away.” As an observer, Santiago is reading the Gulf Stream, and translating his essential findings.

Hemingway’s iceberg principle did not require him to be “truthful” all the time. Truth, or knowledge, was the starting point; it allowed him to then elaborate and to shape his material. The only serious writing that Hemingway did from 1941 to 1947 was edit and write the introduction to the anthology, Men at War (1942). Hemingway wrote: “A writer’s job is to tell the truth. His standard of fidelity to the truth should be so high that his invention out of his experience should produce a truer account than anything factual can be. For facts can be observed badly; but when a good writer is creating something, he has time and scope to make it of an absolute truth” (205). There are inaccuracies in

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8 Although he did write journalism, Hemingway published no fiction in the years from 1941 to 1951. Much of 1941 was lost to travel to Hawaii, China, and the Philippines, (February 11 to May 6). From July, 1942 to September, 1943, Hemingway used the Pilar to hunt submarines in the Caribbean. They never encountered an enemy vessel. From May 17, 1944 to March 6, 1945, Hemingway was in Europe covering and participating in World War II. In January, 1946, Hemingway began writing a novel set on the French Riviera, the Ur-text that would generate The Old Man and the Sea, along with other works. Because of this stunning absence of imaginative activity, I would place the onset of
The Old Man and the Sea. Robert Weeks has objected to the characterization of Santiago, calling it “superhuman,” and also the description of the marlin and the sharks, labeling them “preposterous natural history” (36-37). In “Hemingway’s Extended Vision: The Old Man and the Sea,” Bickford Sylvester replies to Weeks’ criticisms:

Hemingway is working here partly with new artistic means to match his new vision. Formerly, convinced of the absence of a perceptible order in the world, Hemingway made a fetish of presenting objects exactly as they appeared, so that latent meaning could shine through them without distortion. But here, convinced of the principle behind the facts, he can occasionally take poetic license and present objects for any associational value they may have. Mr. Weeks thinks it is merely a lazy error on Hemingway’s part, for example, that Rigel, the first star Santiago sees one night, actually appears close to midnight in the Caribbean. But Rigel, after all, is a first-magnitude star in the constellation of Orion, the hunter. And it is entirely appropriate, symbolically to call attention to Santiago’s attunement with the stars in this way. Hemingway is in this story at least attempting to pull the world together, rather than reveal its ironic division. Thus, “the way it was” need no longer be his sole guide as an artist. (95)

To Sylvester, because Hemingway is “convinced of the principle behind the facts,” he can extend his ideas beyond them, and take poetic license in his representations of the Gulf Stream. In other words, because of his thorough knowledge of what is beneath the surface of the water in his iceberg, the visible part of it can be transformed into something that is representational, rather than realistic.

III. Conclusion: Winslow Homer and Hemingway’s Realism of the Gulf Stream

Hemingway’s alcoholism to July, 1942, when Martha his third wife leaves Cuba to resume her career and his drink soaked submarine patrols begin.
When reading *The Old Man and the Sea* it seems natural, now, to link that work with Winslow Homer’s canvases. Yet for Hemingway, the connection had to be earned. It was not until 1948 that Hemingway finally declared his artistic affinity with Winslow Homer, stating, “If I could write a book that took place in the Bahamas I would like it to be illustrated by Winslow Homer, provided he did no illustrating but simply painted the Bahamas and what he saw there” (viii-xi). Hemingway values Homer for his “realism”; he paints what he “sees.” Like Santiago, Homer is an observer, a man who lives through his eyes. Just as Cezanne had provided Hemingway with a model for a method of writing, so too, would Homer. Hemingway’s style changed not because he spent hours viewing Homer’s paintings, rather, it was transformed by his intimate contact with the Gulf Stream. Homer’s work gained Hemingway’s admiration because it portrayed with precision the world he was immersed in, giving him a visual correlative to the work of his imagination. What Homer represented to Hemingway was a form of selective realism, an objectivity that resided in the observed world. Homer’s oil painting *The Gulf Stream* (1899) and his watercolors of the Caribbean served as dual exemplars for Hemingway, as thematically he embraced the former, and in method he embraced the latter. (Figure 14, *The Gulf Stream*.)

Homer and Hemingway are also united in a belief that realism must be earned. Hemingway worked towards realism every day he was on the Gulf Stream as he recorded his observations, as he questioned other fisherman, as he read about the stars, the tides, and the marine life. According to James D. Hart, unlike literary naturalism, realism in literature “as an attitude, is relative and no chronological point may be indicated as the beginning of realism” (698). In other words, it is a timeless aesthetic, available to
everyone. "Hemingway's style," Derek Walcott wrote, "is realism based on an intimate experience of weather, essential observation that achieves authority" (108).

Although his method of expression was oil paint and watercolors, Homer's style, too, was rooted in observation. Again, the affinities between Hemingway and Homer through realism are meant to be provocative, rather than definitive, yet they are united in their reliance on observation. According to Barbara Novak, Homer's work would fall in the category of "conceptual realism—in which the presentation of the object is controlled by a knowledge of its properties that is tactile and intellectual, rather than optical or perceptual" (223). In 1875, Hemingway's literary ancestor, Henry James, wrote:

Mr. Homer goes in, as the phrase is, for perfect realism, and cares not a hot for such fantastic hairsplitting as the distinction between beauty and ugliness. He is a genuine painter; that is, to see and reproduce what he sees is his only care... He not only has not imagination, but he contrives to elevate this rather blighting negative into a blooming and honorable positive. He is almost barbarously simple, and to our eye, he is horribly ugly; but there is nevertheless something one likes about him. (Novak 165)

Not only did Homer portray the Gulf Stream in a direct, representative style, but he also deliberately sought to expose the violence, death, and ugliness that other painters chose to ignore. Like Hemingway, Homer believed in creating from his observations. Although his Caribbean watercolors were done while visiting the region during the winter of 1885-1886, Homer's oil paintings were composed long after he returned to Maine. The Gulf Stream was a work of imagination that evolved from careful studies and rough sketches.

The artists are also united in their creation of pastoral images. In cities, Homer's paintings of the Caribbean and the Gulf Stream were received as images of an untouched, uncontaminated tropical pastoral. As Thomas Flexner said, The Gulf Stream was
evidence of the fact that “tragedy could strike even in this tropical Eden” (163). In the words of Homer’s biographer, William Howe Downes:

> It is the most elaborately literary of the artist’s tropical motives. (sic) In this composition... we see a stalwart negro sailor afloat on a dismasted derelict, at the mercy of the elements, in the deep blue Caribbean waters. His drifting craft is surrounded by hideous and voracious sharks, waiting impatiently for their prey to fall into their hungry maws... At some distance from the derelict is a waterspout. The tragedy is enhanced in its horror by the strange beauty of the southern sea. (133)

Yet Downes here does not recognize that this scene is not a tragedy; it is the natural world revealing its laws. The image on the canvas is not a “tropical Eden”; the subject of Homer’s painting is the mortality of an individual, at the mercy of the Stream.

In *The Old Man and the Sea*, Hemingway’s esteem for Homer is manifested thematically, as Santiago’s world, too, is neither a frontier, nor a pastoral. It is a home, place where he is “never alone.” Hemingway uses the Gulf Stream as the stage for Santiago’s actions, matching him with the isolated sailor in Homer’s painting. Homer’s sailor is like Santiago, adrift with the Gulf Stream uncertain of his fate, surrounded by sharks. The narrative impulse that accompanies Homer’s image would have appealed to Hemingway. The sailor’s fate, while seemingly hopeless, invites speculation. He could have been a fisherman, like Santiago, who ventured too far out into the Gulf Stream, although they share the experience of isolation, Hemingway writes “no man was ever alone on the sea” (61). The words of Santiago fulfill the narrative gap that is present in Homer’s *The Gulf Stream*, and provide a life-affirming interpretation for the picture.

Santiago’s journey includes a return trip from the extremes of the Gulf Stream. In the labor of that journey, Santiago affirmed the dimensions of his character with the resolution embedded in the phrase: “A man can be destroyed but not defeated” (103).
Hemingway creates a unified environment blending Santiago into a system of predators and prey. The contradiction of cruelty and reverence towards nature that beset Hemingway in his *Esquire* letters of the 1930s is gone.

In a number of ways, the iceberg principle can be seen as clarifying Hemingway’s appreciation of Homer’s work. From Homer’s stark canvases, Hemingway would learn what details to leave out of his descriptive passages. The verbal technique that Hemingway employs in creating the imaginative landscape shares an affinity to the visual language of Homer. In describing a Homer watercolor, John Wilmerding wrote:

Homer re-creates the sunlight and reflections of the surface of the water through differing intensities of blue applied by changing lengths and widths of his strokes. He has begun with an underlying pencil sketch to establish the essential network or structure of the picture, over which he has laid horizontals and verticals of varying sizes his overlapping washes of color reveal a full comprehension of the demands of watercolor for selectivity and boldness. A painter can easily go too far in filling in too much, but Homer’s sense of major and minor accents and for expressiveness in dry or fluid brushstrokes makes his work technically polished. Subtle, too, is the compositional balance between animate and inanimate. (155-156)

In the novella, Hemingway strives to unify the elements of the natural world, while applying the lessons of Homer. The passage examined earlier serves once more as the example:

He could not see the green of the shore now but only the tops of the blue hills that showed white as though they were snow-capped and the clouds that looked like high snow mountains above them. The sea was very dark and the light made prisms in the water. The myriad flecks of the plankton were annulled now by the high sun and it was only the great deep prisms in the blue water that the old man saw now with his lines going straight down into the water that was a mile deep. (40)
Hemingway’s carefully wrought adjectives establish the range of colors—“white,” “snow capped,” “green,” “very dark sea,” “blue water”—in a way that is applying them to a white canvas, creating an effective response in the reader that is similar to a Homer watercolor. Hemingway’s sense of “major and minor” accents and compositional balance is established through his descriptive style. The architectural structure is intact. As with Homer’s brushstrokes, each word is perfectly positioned in a sequence that is representational, not abstract.

Hemingway’s personal metamorphosis reaches its apogee with The Old Man and the Sea. In To Have and Have Not Harry Morgan’s primitive perceptions are all that matter. Fifteen years later he would try to harmonize his perceptions, “trying to make a picture of the whole world” (Letters 397). In the precise observations of the fishing logs, Santiago’s world was created: the wind, the colors of the Gulf Stream, the constellations overhead, and the fish. From all those details, Hemingway chose what to leave out of Santiago’s created world, creating the visible, and submerged dimensions of the iceberg.

**CONCLUSION: AN AMERICAN STUDY**

When I began this dissertation, my goal was to answer the question: what is the image of the Gulf Stream in the American imagination? As these five chapters attest, my goal has narrowed, but there is much about Hemingway that makes him an intriguing American study. In his essay “Reading Hemingway Without Guilt,” Frederick Busch points out: “It is not fashionable these days to praise the work of Ernest Hemingway” (1). This dissertation is not meant to praise Hemingway, yet by constructing this dissertation through the lens of his intense contact with the Gulf Stream, a more interesting portrayal
of Hemingway emerges. The transformation within Hemingway’s philosophy and
creative work has not been recognized by either Hemingway scholars, or literary critics
working in the field of American Studies, but like the Gulf Stream, it is a fact. In 1929,
Hemingway strives for abstraction in his writing, creating his Cezanne inspired passages
of repeating images of rain, dust, wind, and leaves. The natural world is a place of
conquest, a proving ground for his American self. Yet once he immerses himself in the
“unexploited country” of the Gulf Stream, he undergoes a subtle, but important
transformation. The fishing logs reveal Hemingway as a complex, subtle, and evolving
writer, a man on whom nothing was lost. By 1952, Hemingway’s Gulf Stream is a
harmonious ecosystem, interconnected from its deepest fathoms to the heights of Rigel.
What is difficult to convey through a selected presentation of passages from the logs is
the sensation that comes after reading page after page in Hemingway’s hand; the reader is
overcome by an immediacy, an intimacy more striking than anything in his fiction. The
Gulf Stream becomes real, and the fishing logs are artifacts of a usable past. A
dissertation is an extended written treatment of a subject. This dissertation has aimed to
shed light on Hemingway’s dissertation, The Old Man and the Sea. Hemingway drew on
the lessons he learned from other American writers of sea fiction—Melville, Cooper,
Crane, and Dana—to create his own study, pouring all his knowledge of the Gulf Stream
into The Old Man and the Sea to arrive at his aesthetic destination, a mirror of Homer’s
crystalline, soaked canvases, portraying the blue water of the sea.
APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY

1932

April 20  Hemingway leaves for Cuba and his first sustained experience fishing the Gulf Stream. He rents Joe Russell’s launch, the \textit{Anita}.

July 14  Hemingway meets Carlos Gutierrez, gaining essential knowledge about the Gulf Stream and marlin. In his initial interview, he hears the story of an old fisherman, pulled out to sea by a giant marlin.

May 20  Hemingway returns to Key West.

Sept. 23  \textit{Death in the Afternoon} is published in New York City.

1933

Jan. 25—May 15  Hemingway returns to Cuba with the \textit{Anita}, and fishes the Gulf Stream.

February  Hemingway begins “One Trip Across,” Part One of \textit{To Have and Have Not}.

July  Hemingway catches a 468 lb, 12 ft. 8 in. long marlin, the biggest marlin ever caught off the Cuban coast with rod and line.

August  “Marlin Off the Morro,” Hemingway’s first contribution to \textit{Esquire}, appears in the premier issue of the magazine.

\footnote{The dates for my chronology are taken from Michael Reynolds, \textit{Hemingway: The 1930s}, Rose Marie Burwell’s \textit{Hemingway: the Postwar Years and the Posthumous Novels}, Robert Trogdon’s \textit{Hemingway: A Literary Reference}, and Carlos Baker’s \textit{Hemingway, A Life Story}, as well as the fishing logs at the J.F.K. Library in Boston.}
October  Hemingway departs for his African safari. He completes “One Trip Across,” while in Paris.

October 27  Winner Take Nothing, Hemingway’s collection of short stories is published in New York City.

December 20  African safari begins in Tanganyika.

1934

February 28  Safari ends.

March 3  Hemingway receives a letter from Charles Cadwalader, Director of the Academy of Natural Sciences, asking for his assistance in conducting research in Cuban waters.

April 12  Returns to Key West. Hemingway writes Max Perkins that he is working on a Gulf Stream book.” “One Trip Across” is published in Cosmopolitan.

May 11  Accepts delivery of the Pilar, his new fishing boat, and begins working on Green Hills of Africa.

July 18  Joined by Arnold Samuelson, Hemingway takes the Pilar to Havana, where he is met by Charles Cadwalader and Henry Fowler from the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.


Oct. 18  John Dos Passos arrives in Havana to join Hemingway.

Oct. 26  Hemingway and Dos Passos return to Key West.
Nov. 16  Draft of *Green Hills of Africa* is finished.

1935

April 14  Hemingway takes the *Pilar* to Bimini for tuna fishing.

May  First installment of *Green Hills of Africa* is printed in Scribner’s magazine.

May 15  *American Big Game Fishing*, edited by Eugene Connett is published, with chapter two, “Marlin Off Cuba,” written by Hemingway.

May 25  Hemingway catches a world record 381 pound blue fin tuna off Bimini.

June 22  Hemingway catches a 786 pound mako shark, the third largest ever landed in the world by rod and reel off the coast of Bimini.

Aug. 15  Hemingway returns from Bimini to Key West.

Sept. 17  “Who Murdered the Vets?” is published in *The New Masses*.

Oct. 25  *Green Hills of Africa* is published.

1936

April  Hemingway writes “The Snows of Kilimanjaro” and “The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber.” “On the Blue Water: A Gulf Stream Letter” is published in *Esquire*, containing the story of a fisherman, pulled out to sea by a huge marlin that he eventually loses to sharks.

April 27  Hemingway takes the *Pilar* to Havana for marlin fishing.

May  “There She Breaches! of Moby Dick off the Morro” is published in *Esquire*.

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June 4  Hemingway leaves for Bimini.

Aug.  "Snows of Kilimanjaro" is published in *Esquire*.

Sept.  "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" is published in *Esquire*.

Nov. 23 Bahamas Blue Marlin and Tuna Club is founded in Bimini by Hemingway, Michael Lerner, Thomas Shevlin, A.O.H. Baldridge, Julio Sanchez, S.Kip Farrington, and Erl Roman. The club is the precursor for the International Game Fishing Association.

Dec.  Meets Martha Gelhorn in Key West.

1937

Jan. 2  *To Have and Have Not* is finished.

Feb. 7  Hemingway arrives in Paris, and travels to Spain to cover the civil war.

May 12  Hemingway returns to New York.

May 26  Hemingway leaves for Bimini, which will be his base in the midst of trips to New York, the White House, and Hollywood. The additional travel was to raise money for the Loyalist cause in Spain.

Aug. 3  Returns from Bimini to Key West.

Oct. 15  *To Have and Have Not* is published.

Dec.  *Atlantic Game Fishing* by S. Kip Farrington is published with an introduction by Hemingway.

1939

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Feb. 7 Hemingway writes his editor Max Perkins that one of three long stories he wants to write is about a commercial fisherman fighting a marlin alone for four days.

May Martha Gelhorn rents the Finca Vigia in Cojimar, Cuba.

June 7 The International Game Fish Association is formally launched. Hemingway will serve as vice president until his death in 1961.

Dec. 19 Hemingway returns from Idaho, finds his Key West home closed up, and joins Gelhorn in Cuba.

1940-44

1945


1946

1947

1948

Sept. Hemingway probably begins writing Islands in the Stream.

1949

July “The Great Blue River” is published in Holiday

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2 Hemingway’s extremely diverse activities through these years do not bear directly on this dissertation, and except for his time hunting German submarines in the Caribbean from April, 1942, to February, 1944, do not involve the Gulf Stream.
Nov. Game Fish of the World, edited by Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald and Francesca LaMonte is published with a chapter entitled “Cuban Fishing” by Hemingway.

1950

April Hemingway begins writing “Cuba” section of what will become Islands in the Stream.


1951

Jan. Hemingway works on The Old Man and the Sea through the end of February, calling it finished at 26,531 words.

Oct. Hemingway writes Charles Scribner about The Old Man and the Sea, proclaiming “This is the prose I have been working for all my life.”

1952

Sept. Life publishes The Old Man and the Sea in a single issue, having paid Hemingway $40,000.
APPENDIX B: SELECTIONS FROM HEMINGWAY'S LIBRARY


Austin, A.B. comp. *An Angler’s Anthology*.


Based on Sigman and Braasch’s *Hemingway’s Library: A Composite Record*, this appendix includes books that may shed light on the composition of *To Have and Have Not*, and *The Old Man and the Sea*. Not included are the books on hunting in Africa, of which there are well over a hundred, or the books on the American West, two topics that also influenced Hemingway’s thoughts on the Gulf Stream. If an incomplete citation exists, it reflects the incomplete citation in Sigman and Braasch. According to Braasch, “Hemingway held every book in his hands.” E-mail to author, January 12, 2002.


Breder, Charles Marcus. *Field Book of Marine Fishes of the Atlantic Coast from Labrador to Texas: Being a Short Description of Their Characteristics and Habits with Keys for Their Identification*.

Camp. Raymond Russell, ed. The Fireside Book of Fishing: A Selection from the Great


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Shells, and Other Forms of Life Found on the Seashore. Nairobi: Highway Press,
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Fields, 1859.

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Library, 1946.

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Descartes, Rene. Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reasoning and
Seeking of Truth in the Sciences. Translated by John Veitch. LaSalle, IL: Open
Court, 1945.


Glazier, Willard. Down the Great River; Embracing an Account of the Discovery of the Source of the Mississippi, Together with Views, Descriptive and Pictorial of the Cities, Towns, Villages, and Scenery on the Banks of the River, As Seen during a
Canoe Voyage of Over Three Thousand Miles from its Head Waters to the Gulf of Mexico. Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1893.


Gregg, William H. Where, When and How to Catch Fish on the East Coast of Florida.


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Figure 1. Paul Cezanne, "Rocks—Forest at Fontainebleau" (1894-1898)
Figure 3. Map of Gulf Stream, Key West and Cuba.
Figure 4. Winslow Homer, “Sponge Fishing, Nassau,” (1885).
Figure 5. Marlin catch of 1934: 486 lb. with Charles Cadwalader on board.
Figure 6. Neorinthe hemingwayi
Figure 7. Hemingway's map of "Marlin Off Cuba"
Figure 8. Hemingway's map of "World Distribution of Marlins".

Drawn by Lynn Bogue Hunt from information supplied by Ernest Hemingway.
(1) Hook is inserted in mouth of fish and brought out a little behind pectoral fin.

(2) Hook is drawn out until only eye is left in bait. Then hook is turned and point is re-inserted into bait and pushed through to other side. A slit is cut along line of the shank so that shank of hook lies parallel with backbone and eye of hook is well drawn inside mackerel's gullet.

(3) Shows how hook projects after it has been brought out through mackerel the second time.

(4) A strip is now cut along back of mackerel from tail to back of head and along belly from tail to throat. These strips have attractive movement for game fish when bait is trolled and also act as rudders to prevent spinning. The mackerel jaws are tied shut on the leader and bait is tied fast to leader so it cannot be pulled down.

(5) The bait is now tied around belly and around gills.

(6) Completed baits. A mackerel on left; a guagua or small barracuda-like fish on right.

PREPARING MACKEREL BAIT FOR TROLLING FOR MARLIN

PHOTOGRAPHS COPYRIGHT 1935 BY ERNEST HEMINGWAY
Ernest Hemingway with a 420 pound marlin, July 1934. Sidney Franklin, U. S. bull fighter on the right.

Capt. Joe Russell and C. P. Thompson of Key West with 68 and 87 pound white marlin caught off Cuba on our 1932 trip.

468 pound marlin showing length of fish.

Small striped marlin, 138 pounds.

Big marlin coming out to jump.

Tail and fin of a big marlin showing as he is being brought to gaff.

Figure 10. Hemingway's photo - Marlin Off Cuba: Trophy Fish
A KEY TO BILLFISH IDENTIFICATION

The following keys help even when the fish is briefly alongside the boat for tag and release. The shape of the dorsal and the length and diameter of the bill are helpful characteristics for tagging identification. It is of course much better to release the billfish even when not sure of its identification, rather than to gaff and kill it just to find out what it is.

What to look for:

Broadbill
(WORLDWIDE, ATLANTIC AND INDO-PACIFIC)

Long, flat oval jaw; in adults fins immovable; first dorsal high, same shape as upper lobe of tail; body compressed into flat keel at junction of body and tail.

Sailfish
(ATLANTIC, INDO-PACIFIC)

Slender round bill; straight mandible (lower jaw); very high dorsal (almost length of body); dorsal highest in middle; tail slightly veed; pectoral fins very long, lateral line clearly visible.
**Black marlin**
(INDO-PACIFIC)

Heavy round bill; down-curved heavy mandible (lower jaw); low rounded dorsal less than half body depth; pectoral fins curved and aerofoil in section—fixed (immovable) in black marlin more than 55 kg (120 lb); second dorsal in front of start of second anal fin; anal fin depth about equal to height of dorsal; tail semicircular; single lateral line visible in most weights, particularly juveniles and jumbo size marlin.

![Black marlin diagram](image)

**Striped marlin**
(INDO-PACIFIC)

Slender round bill; long straight mandible (lower jaw); high dorsal—first three high rays almost equal height; dorsal about equal to body depth—not so obvious when larger than 120 kg (264 lb); pectoral fins tapered and flat; second dorsal behind start of second anal fin (anal fin deep); tail slightly veed, cut away at tips of both lobes of tail; flesh above eye shows eye when skin is removed; single lateral line clearly visible.

![Striped marlin diagram](image)

**White marlin**
(ATLANTIC)

Slender round bill; straight mandible (lower jaw); dorsal high and rounded—tapers to rear from 9th ray onwards; anus close to anal fin—less than half depth of anal fin; second dorsal slightly backward of start of second anal; lateral line visible.

![White marlin diagram](image)

**Figure 12. Key to Billfish Identification Page Two**
Black marlin
(INDO-PACIFIC)
Heavy round bill; down-curved heavy mandible (lower jaw); low rounded dorsal less than half body depth; pectoral fins curved and aerofoil in section—fixed (immovable) in black marlin more than 55 kg (120 lb); second dorsal in front of start of second anal fin; anal fin depth about equal to height of dorsal; tail semicircular; single lateral line visible in most weights, particularly juveniles and jumbo size marlin.

Striped marlin
(INDO-PACIFIC)
Slender round bill; long straight mandible (lower jaw); high dorsal—first three high rays almost equal height; dorsal about equal to body depth—not so obvious when larger than 120 kg (264 lb); pectoral fins tapered and flat; second dorsal behind start of second anal fin (anal fin deep); tail slightly veed, cut away at tips of both lobes of tail; flesh above eye shows eye when skin is removed; single lateral line clearly visible.

White marlin
(ATLANTIC)
Slender round bill; straight mandible (lower jaw); dorsal high and rounded—tapers to rear from 9th ray onwards; anus close to anal fin—less than half depth of anal fin; second dorsal slightly backward of start of second anal; lateral line visible.

Figure 13. Key to Billfish Identification Page Three
Figure 14. Winslow Homer, "The Gulf Stream," (1899).
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