*Oeditorial Repression:
The Case Histories of Hemingway
and the Fitzgeralds*

MARGARET VANDENBURG

WITH THE persistence of repetition compulsion, Modernists define their movement vis-à-vis the classic Freudian assumption that sexuality is the mainspring of virtually everything, including literary merit. The most libidinous of their aesthetic manifestos is Ezra Pound's characterization of creativity as a "phallus or spermatozoid charging, head-on, the female chaos . . . driving a new idea into the great passive vulva of London."¹ Though C. G. Jung is far less enamored of the phallus, he endows masculinity with the "creative and procreative" power of Logos, which, echoing Pound, he calls the "spermatic word."² As if to fend off "scribbling women," Jung warns that "mental masculinization of the woman has unwelcome results," most notably frigidity, homosexuality, and "a deadly boring kind of sophistry."³ Gertrude Stein's iconoclasm notwithstanding, her paradoxical assertion that her genius is masculine simultaneously reifies and defies this theory that biology determines literary destiny. In the Modernist canon, the pen is a penis, even when a cigar is just a cigar. The most influential of the movement's manifestos, T. S. Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent," codifies aesthetic essentialism, positing an Oedipal model of canonicity contingent on the authority of literary fathers. Even Virginia Woolf's rejection of gendered canonicity in *A Room of One's Own* assumes its tenacity, as if she were protesting too much against the inevitable.

Woolf is not alone in protesting too much. Modernism's swaggering canonicity masks a castration anxiety that debilitated F. Scott Fitzgerald and even bedeviled Papa Hemingway in *The Garden of Eden*. One of Hemingway's most famous letters to Fitzgerald, written during the tortured composition of *Tender Is the Night*,⁴ provides a paradigmatic example of the Modernist crisis of masculinity:

We are all bitched from the start and you especially have to be hurt like hell before you can write seriously. But when you get the damned hurt use it — don't cheat with it. . . . You see, Bo, you're not a tragic character. Neither am I. All we are is writers and what we should do is write. Of all people on earth you needed discipline in your work and instead you marry someone who is jealous of your work, wants to compete with you and ruins you.⁵

Fitzgerald felt "bitched from the start" not only by Zelda but also by his fear that "he himself was the true homosexual in his choice of vocation," triggering professional insecurities that Angus Collins diagnoses as "a paralyzing sense of

vocational emasculation.¹⁶ Though Hemingway equated feats in prose with the virility of matadors in bullrings, Fitzgerald remained unconvinced, suspecting that writing was more the domain of sentimental scribblers than "rough riders." On her part, Zelda actually accused F. Scott of having a homosexual liaison with Papa, whose macho facade she considered "bogus" and as "phony as a rubber check."¹⁷ Joining wholeheartedly in this invective fray, Hemingway blamed Fitzgerald's vocational anxieties on Zelda, whom he condemned as the embodiment of "precisely the kind of manipulative, man-destroying, work-destroying female" that could ruin even the genius of F. Scott Fitzgerald.¹⁸

Freud's cure for Modernism's acute castration anxiety is the Oedipus complex, which, when successfully completed, reinstates the traditional primacy of fathers. Sophocles's *Oedipus the King* is a patricidal tragedy precisely because the play lacks the matricidal denouement of Freud's Oedipus complex whereby desire for the mother is sacrificed in the name of allegiance to the law of the father. Though Eliot's Oedipal model of canonicity does eventually give rise to what Harold Bloom calls the *anxiety of influence* – fear of castration by literary fathers – the real, more imminent danger is being "bitched" by competing women like Zelda and (s)mothering mothers like Grace Hemingway.¹⁹ From a cultural perspective, Freud's Oedipal imperative effects the rejection of Victorian and Sentimental mothers in favor of the Modernist father.²⁰ Similarly, T. S. Eliot's insistence that a writer's latent genius emerges when "the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously"²¹ precludes Virginia Woolf's theoretical premise "that a woman writing thinks back through her mothers," thus successfully Oedipating women out of the canon.²² This Oedipal imperative is reiterated a generation later when Hugh Kenner, the self-appointed dean of Modernist letters, defines canonicity as an interconnected system of homeomorphs: "Joyce saw that the plot of the *Odyssey* and that of *Hamlet* were homeomorphs, one concentrating on the father, one on the son, but comparable in their structure of incidents."²³ In Modernism, the urtext of these homeomorphs is *Oedipus*, Freud's canonized prototype of the sacred patrimony that was profaned by the "feminization of culture."²⁴

Master sleuths, Freud and Eliot can find Oedipus anywhere. Freud insists, for example, that the difference between *Oedipus Rex* and *Hamlet* is merely one of "the secular advance of repression in the emotional life of mankind," which enables Shakespeare's Hamlet to sublimate the "wishful phantasy" that "is brought into the open and realized as it would be in a dream" in Sophocles.²⁵ Like Freud, Eliot is so invested in the Oedipus homeomorph, he reads *Hamlet* as "an artistic failure" because Shakespeare does not adequately dramatize the play's "objective correlative" – the "chain of events" that motivates the aging prince's fixation on his mother. Defining his central literary concepts in Oedipal terms, Eliot implicitly validates the psychoanalytic as well as aesthetic premise that the objective correlative of Modernism as a whole is the canonization of the beleaguered relationship between fathers and sons. Hence "Tradition and the Individual Talent" posits an Oedipal model of canonicity in which patrilineal genius is bequeathed from Vergil to Dante, from Homer to Joyce, and from Sophocles and Shakespeare to Freud and Eliot rather than to Woolf and Stein, despite their androgynous pretensions.

In Modernism's version of the Oedipal paradigm, the original play's tragic failure of patriarchal authority is redeemed through the replacement of patricide by matricide. This homeomorphic inversion pervades Modernism. Even Woolf

whose recipe for literary innovation consists of "tampering with the expected sequence"¹⁶ of canonical homeomorphs, commits her own matricide, killing the "angel in the house"¹⁷ to expunge her passivity altogether. Modernist form as well as content bears the scars of this violence. According to Ann Douglas's argument that Hemingway's iceberg technique constitutes a stylistic matricide, his sharp, muscular prose severs the umbilical cord connecting Modernism with the treacly idealism and flowery prose of its Sentimental mother.¹⁸ In High Modernism, texts that do not seem to resemble matricides by any stretch of the literary imagination often conform to the movement's Oedipal imperative.¹⁹ Classic examples include *The Garden of Eden*, *Save Me the Waltz*, and *Tender Is the Night*, a triumvirate of works by Ernest Hemingway, Zelda Fitzgerald, and F. Scott Fitzgerald in which thwarted matricidal impulses spawn a volatile Oedipal triangle that is played out both symbolically in the novels themselves and biographically in their inextricably connected publications histories.²⁰

Originally titled "The Boy Who Killed His Mother," *Tender Is the Night*'s first working plot was a matricide, reflecting Fitzgerald's virulent reaction against his own vocational femininity as well as his competition with Zelda over the right to write about what they called the "material" of their lives. F. Scott's insistence that as a professional writer he had proprietary rights over their autobiographies extended even to Zelda's diaries, which "he could not permit [her] to publish since he had gained a lot of inspiration from them and wanted to use parts of them in his own novels and short stories."²¹ In book 2 of *Tender Is the Night*, F. Scott actually excerpts letters Zelda wrote from a Swiss asylum while in the throes of a particularly malignant nervous breakdown.²² Fittingly, the protagonist of the novel is a psychoanalyst, a direct acknowledgment of the fact that, like Freud before him, some of F. Scott's most valuable matériel is female hysteria. Psychoanalytic theory attributes hysteria to a young woman's persistent attachment to her mother in conjunction with resistance to the required repression of the active clitoral or masculine phase of her sexuality.²³ Accordingly, hysterical women gripped by the inappropriate desire to write should channel their creative energies into the propagation of children rather than texts.²⁴

Ambitious in her own right, Zelda pursued careers as a writer, a painter, and a dancer, choosing the latter to embody her embattled professional aspirations in her only published novel, *Save Me the Waltz*. Though inexplicably lost, the original manuscript of *Save Me the Waltz* purportedly had more in common with *Tender Is the Night* than the expurgated version published by Maxwell Perkins. In a short-lived conciliatory mood, Zelda felt compelled to defend her decision to send the novel secretly to Scott's editor: "I was also afraid we might have touched the same material."²⁵ When ultimately coerced to revise her novel, however, Zelda denounced Scott's aesthetic territorialism:

However, I would like you to thoroughly understand that my revision will be made on an aesthetic basis: that the other material which I will elect is nevertheless legitimate stuff which has cost me a pretty emotional penny to amass and which I intend to use when I can get the tranquility of spirit necessary to write the story of myself versus myself.²⁶

Though F. Scott successfully translated his wife's "story of myself versus myself" into *Tender Is the Night* – material that is conspicuously absent from the

published version of *Save Me the Waltz* – Zelda's literary pretensions infuriated her husband. Accusing her of converting institutionalization into creative asylum, Fitzgerald refused to "stand always between Zelda and the world and see her build this dubitable [writing] career of hers with morsels of living matter chipped out of my mind, my belly, my nervous system and my loins."²⁷ In retaliation, harkening back to the regimens of 19th-century rest cures, F. Scott launched a campaign pressuring Zelda's doctors to forbid her writing.²⁸

In *Tender Is the Night*, this autobiographical duel is fought between the novel's protagonist, Dick Diver, and his wife Nicole, the thinly disguised portrait of a triumphant Zelda. Nicole's assault on Dick's loins notwithstanding, F. Scott stages his fictional revenge against Zelda. A textbook Freudian, Dr. Diver counsels a nameless female patient, whose body is a gaping psoriatic wound, that her illness is the price she must pay for waging war with men. Having pathologized what Jung calls "mental masculinization," F. Scott then eliminates this threat with the patient's precipitous death. But Nicole Diver survives her hysteria to become "precisely the kind of manipulative, man-destroying, work-destroying female" Hemingway vilifies in his letter. Through the process Freud calls *antagonistic inversion* – the psychological "transformation of an element to its opposite"²⁹ – the novel's original matricide is transformed into a kind of patricide, the progressive emasculation of the novel's protagonist, Dick Diver. A psychoanalyst, the aptly named Dick's symbolic castration directly violates the law of the father. As the novel concludes, the doctor overtly takes on the role of priestly father, blessing the beach as though performing last rites over his murdered manhood, ultimately the boy who is destroyed by the mother he had originally set out to kill.

Underscoring the symbiotic relationship between *Tender Is the Night* and *Save Me the Waltz*, Zelda's novel also culminates in the castration of its protagonist. Once again, antagonistic inversion effects a reversal, and the victim is the female Alabama Beggs. Far from a transgressive crime against the law of the father, this castration of Zelda's phallic woman is performed in defense of Oedipal authority. According to Freud's dictum that there is only "one libido which behaves in a male way," the prerogative of the penis as the "only proper genital," Alabama's autonomous desires must be cut short.³⁰ The prototype of the series of phallic women who people the pages of Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden*, Alabama is submitted to what amounts to a symbolic castration of the active or clitoral phase in women so that vaginal "passivity now has the upper hand . . . which clears the phallic activity out of the way, smooths the ground for femininity."³¹ To achieve Freud's "final normal female attitude," Alabama must "acknowledge the fact of her castration, and with it, too, the superiority of the male and her own inferiority."³² A bizarre surgical mishap thwarts her professional career as a dancer:

"Will I have crutches?" she asked.

"No – nothing at all. The tendons are cut and they had to scrape through an artery, but you will be able to walk with a slight limp. Try not to mind."

"Oh, my body," she said. "And all that work for nothing!"³³

The symbolic import is clear: Alabama's "tendons are cut" to signify her castration, the severance of her phallic access to artistic expression. Just prior to

surgery, castration images haunt the delirious Alabama in the form of "phallic poplars" and "long tentacular stems with no leaves at all, swishing balls of iodine."³⁴ Like Dick Diver, Alabama Beggs succumbs to debilitating professional emasculation at the conclusion of the novel. A single artist emerged from this dangerous maze of fact and fiction. Whereas Zelda was silenced along with her protagonist, F. Scott sacrificed Dick to save himself.

In purely literary terms, F. Scott uttered the last word in their debate, publishing *Tender Is the Night* two years after the appearance of *Save Me the Waltz*. Zelda never published again.³⁵ In the broader cultural context of Oedipal canonicity, F. Scott's ultimate triumph parallels Freud's successful transformation of *Dora: Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* into one of the masterpieces of psychoanalysis, even though he was forced to "doctor" the facts in order to maintain his authority. Both Freud and Fitzgerald successfully maintained their Oeditorial right to the autobiographical material of their subjects, but only after suffering the anxiety of what Toril Moi calls "epistemological castration," the psychoanalytic version of the threat of being "bitched from the start." Lending philosophical weight to psychological assumptions, Moi deconstructs Freud's sexual epistemology. Fear of epistemological castration compels Freud to suppress Dora's phallic desire for Frau K, which challenges the Oedipal paradigm of the masculine libido, giving voice to what should be a void:

Like Oedipus he is ravaged by a terrible anxiety: the fear of castration. If Freud cannot solve Dora's riddle, the unconscious punishment for this failure will be castration.³⁶

The psychoanalytic method creates an epistemological vicious circle. The Oedipal imperative demands censorship of Dora's actual autobiography, which in turn leaves narrative holes that can be filled exclusively by the "only proper genital," Freud's mediated knowledge. To achieve canonical status both as a woman and as a text, Dora, like Alabama in *Save Me the Waltz*, must be castrated.

Though Freud readily admits that the "circuitous path" to a "final normal female [castrated] attitude" is a masochistic catastrophe, the alternative – an intrinsically female libido/voice – leads to "abnormal" denouements, including "general revulsion from sexuality,"³⁷ hysteria, and homosexuality, precisely the characteristics shared by the female protagonists in *Tender Is the Night*, *Save Me the Waltz*, *The Garden of Eden*, and, of course, *Dora*. To avoid these horrors, a woman must commit a kind of suicidal matricide, severing her "phase of exclusive attachment to the mother, which may be called the *pre-Oedipus* phase," by "acknowledg[ing] the fact of her castration."³⁸ Should a woman's masochism fail her, intervention becomes necessary in the form of the mediated knowledge wielded by doctors, including Freud, Dick Diver, and the surgeon whose scalpel severs Alabama's tendons.

I call this preemptive intervention *Oeditorial repression*, the mechanism whereby female subjectivity and voice are muted, even silenced, in Modernism. Though *oppression* or *suppression* may seem more accurate terms insofar as they reflect the agency of an outside force, Oeditorial repression actually simulates the Oedipal internalization of the law of the father. When a woman fails to "acknowledge the fact of her castration" on her own, Oeditors intervene to enforce what should have been an internal process, the repression of allegedly

inappropriate desires. The result is the reinstatement of Oedipal authority, complete and intact.

Freud's *Dora* provides a quintessential example of Oeditorial repression. Freud expurgates Dora's actual homosexual desire for Frau K. — her pre-Oedipal phallic libido — in favor of her supposed desire for a surrogate father figure, Herr K. Dora's denial of the truth of this reading is immaterial. The incontrovertible Oedipal imperative is capable of transforming Dora's fact into fiction, and Freud's fiction into psychoanalytical fact. The mediated authority of the masculine libido is maintained at the expense of Dora's autobiographical voice.³⁹ In *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria*, whose very title concedes "epistemological hole[s]," Freud describes Dora's so-called incompleteness in terms reminiscent of the tendon mutilation scene in *Save Me the Waltz*:

In the face of the incompleteness of my analytic results, I had no choice but to follow the example of those discoverers whose good fortune it is to bring to the light of day after their long burial the priceless though mutilated relics of antiquity. I have restored what is missing.⁴⁰

In pretending to have "restored what is missing," Freud himself resorts to antagonistic inversion. Far from discovering and re-membering Dora's "mutilated relics," he is actually responsible for the dismemberment of her transgressive pre-Oedipal desire.

Though Freud, F. Scott, and even Zelda Fitzgerald adhere to the paradigm of female mutilation and enforced silence, Ernest Hemingway departs from the Oedipal urtext in the manuscript of *The Garden of Eden* by creating, literally, a phallic woman aptly named Peter. Hemingway's 1,500-page manuscript presents not a mutilated, truncated novel but a text in which, to use Freud's words, Hemingway succeeded in "restor[ing] what is missing" from *Save Me the Waltz* and *Tender Is the Night*. The first and most obvious restoration is the female phallus, which, beginning with Zelda's protagonist Alabama Beggs, symbolizes the heroine's voice and artistic aspirations.

The Garden of Eden begins innocently enough with what looks like a Fitzgeraldesque account of Catherine and David Bournes' honeymoon on the French Riviera. Their expatriate Eden is disrupted when Catherine crops her hair "as short as a boy's," a tonsorial act that prefigures her ominous decision to don a phallus, thus inaugurating their postlapsarian life beyond the garden of mutually exclusive gender designations.⁴¹ That very night, after having instructed David not to "call me girl," Catherine introduces him to the "something" he had "never even heard of or imagined":

He lay there and felt something and then her hand holding him and searching lower and he helped with his hands and then lay back in the dark and did not think at all and only felt the weight and the strangeness inside and she said, "Now you can't tell who is who can you?"

"No."

"You are changing," she said. "Oh you are. You are. Yes you are and you're my girl Catherine. Will you change and be my girl and let me take you?"

"You're Catherine."

"No. I'm Peter. You're my wonderful Catherine."⁴²

Assuming the moniker of the phallus, Peter/Catherine insists that David/Catherine has also been "changed," metamorphosed by her phallic penetration into "my beautiful lovely" girl. Later, when David and Catherine make the "change" again, he "held her close and hard and inside himself he said goodbye and then goodbye and goodbye"⁴³ in what sounds suspiciously like an androgynous Steinian farewell to the exclusively feminine identity of his wife as well as his own monopoly on masculinity in their marriage. Together, David/Catherine and Catherine/Peter fall from the Oedipal grace of polarized gender "maturity," regressing back to pre-Oedipal bisexuality until the Bournes are as bisexual as the day they were born.

Despite Hemingway's reputation as the rough-and-tumble Papa, evidence of his fascination with bisexual "changes" extends well beyond his last novel. A mock interview transcribed in *How It Was* by Mary Welsh, Hemingway's wife throughout the decade of *The Garden of Eden* manuscript's composition, provides an autobiographical context for the wandering phallus in the Bournes' bedroom:⁴⁴

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

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

Reporter: "What are your favorite sports, sir?"

Papa: "Shooting, fishing, reading and sodomy."

Reporter: "Does Mrs. Hemingway participate in these sports?"

Papa: "She participates in all of them."⁴⁵

In addition to her eclectic athleticism, Mary Welsh sported a cropped haircut reminiscent of Catherine/Peter's Steinian coif. Though Hemingway certainly wore his femininity more securely than Fitzgerald, advertising his "obsession with androgyny"⁴⁶ with matching spousal haircuts, bisexual changes were not always achieved with impunity, despite the playful tone of Mary's mock interview. Zelda is not alone in suggesting that Hemingway's aggressively virile persona masked Fitzgeraldesque fears of the feminine within, embodied symbolically as early as the swamp in "Big Two-Hearted River" at the conclusion of *In Our Time*.⁴⁷

Despite the remorse his protagonist feels when he joins his wife in dark bisexual changes, Hemingway valiantly attempted to finish *The Garden of Eden* manuscript without castrating Catherine/Peter. Though in the manuscript he was successful, leaving the voice of her transgression intact in the character of her double, Marita, they are both silenced in the published novel by the Oeditorial intervention of Scribner's editor Tom Jenks. In Jenks's version, published in 1986, the threat of epistemological castration is almost completely elided. As a result, one of Hemingway's greatest achievements — "breaking the sequence" of canonical homeomorphs — has been destroyed by Oeditorial repression. But since Hemingway's manuscript⁴⁸ has been saved from the censorious fires that consumed Zelda's original *Save Me the Waltz*, the "mutilated remains" can be reconstructed in their thematic and, in this case, phallic entirety.

Though titillated by his wife's phallic antics in *The Garden of Eden*, David begins to suffer from fears of "vocational emasculation," the literary equivalent

of psychoanalytic epistemological castration. The real danger of these bisexual changes transcends the mere politics of the bedroom when Catherine claims that "now I'm a boy too and I can do anything and anything and anything."⁴⁹ Sounding as if she too were suddenly transformed into a crew-cutted Gertrude Stein, Catherine's phallic pretensions awaken artistic aspirations that directly threaten her husband David, who writes novels in a locked atelier when he is not otherwise engaged with his phallic wife in the bedroom.

Catherine is particularly interested in what she calls the "narrative" David is writing about the logistics of their sexual experimentations. The indistinguishability between the "narrative" and their actual lives recalls the "material" the Fitzgeralds also transformed into fiction. Predictably, a fierce creative competition ensues. In an effort to exert aesthetic control over their autobiographical narrative, Catherine entreats David to emulate Marcel Proust by faithfully rendering the complete, unexpurgated story of their sex life rather than censoring their transgression in the manner of the much more circumspect, not to say prudish, Rudyard Kipling. By way of illustration, she cites an expressly bisexual, "lovely proverb" about "women for breeding, boys for pleasure, and melons for delight" that embodies the repressed or excised subtext of Kipling's African tales:

"I always thought of it [the proverb] as everything Kipling left out," Catherine said. "Imagine how he would have been with all that in. Sometimes it's almost there but then it moves away. He knew it for a while and then he was ashamed of it. That's what I want David not to leave out."⁵⁰

Though Catherine's version of "what I want David not to leave out" sounds suspiciously like Freud's "restor[ing] what is missing" in Dora's "fragment," they are actually diametrically opposed insofar as Catherine's prototypical narrative is based on bisexual autobiography whereas Freud's is an Oedipal fiction. Increasingly threatened by Catherine's narrative, David also resorts to Oedipal fictions in the form of Kipling's African tales, a series of bildungsroman sketches in which he desperately tries to reestablish his alliance with his father and with his own beleaguered masculinity.

Remarkably, Catherine's "that's what I want David not to leave out" passage was excised from Scribner's *The Garden of Eden*, a particularly blatant and thematically problematic example of Oedipal repression that obscures the extent to which Hemingway is commenting on and revising his own literary trademark, the iceberg technique. Since the coming-of-age tales emerge in the muscular, pared-down prose that is Hemingway's signature, Scribner's editor Tom Jenks claims that "the elephant hunting story within the novel needed virtually no editing."⁵¹ Nevertheless, even in the published novel, the African tales are little more than small islands in the vast sea of the narrative of bisexuality. Together, they represent the two poles of a gender dichotomy that ultimately collapses in the manuscript, giving way to an undifferentiated, damned bisexuality that, true to the Faustian premise of the novel, is the source of creative inspiration.

Hell-bent on "restor[ing] what is missing" by enacting "what I want David not to leave out," Catherine becomes obsessed with the narrative, while David becomes increasingly focused on the African tales. In an effort to create gener-

ate bisexual material, Catherine invites another playmate, Marita, to join their ménage. Her plan backfires, though, when David and Marita refuse to play their assigned androgynous roles. Losing ground, Catherine burns the hunting stories and is promptly incarcerated à la Zelda in a Swiss asylum. With Catherine exiled like Lilith from the Garden, David and Marita return to a prelapsarian state of grace in which David attempts to rewrite the African tales.

At first, Marita seems the perfect antidote to Catherine's competitive bisexuality. In the published novel, the supremely supine Marita gives up her lesbianism as effortlessly as she defers to David's genius. Even in the manuscript, where Catherine resents the African tales, Marita loves David's work, readily acknowledging that his writing is their mutual master and "we are its servants."⁵² Yet despite – or perhaps because of – this fleeting reinstatement of David's phallic mastery, he proves incapable of recreating the prelapsarian Eden of his lost stories. Attempting to rewrite the tales in Papa's trademark style, David only manages to compose a single "well-lighted" declarative sentence before suffering an unprecedented bout of what the manuscript expressly refers to as authorial "impotence," thus challenging the canonical gender of creativity.⁵³ Catherine's "work-destroying" pyromania may be the immediate catalyst of David's writer's block, but his creative impotence is perpetuated by his attempt to monopolize the phallus. Where in Freud the only libido is masculine, in Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden*, virility is expressly bisexual. Like Fitzgerald's debilitating writer's block during the composition of his matricidal *Tender Is the Night*, David's impotence suggests that Woolf was right: "Perhaps a mind that is purely masculine cannot create, any more than a mind that is purely feminine."⁵⁴ David's ability to write is actually contingent on, rather than at odds with, his bisexuality.

Fortunately for David, Marita's sexual and aesthetic deference is short-lived, at least in the manuscript. Though Jenks edits out Marita's own phallic proclivities, they are, if anything, even more pronounced than Catherine's. Flaunting a new androgynous haircut, Marita reads and enacts the bisexual narrative with great relish, tempting David to perform even more transgressive sexual, if not textual, acts: "We're darker than she was inside I know. (Things don't belong to her because she did them first.)"⁵⁵ Schooled by Catherine in the bilingual language of the phallus, the pupil surpasses the teacher. David chooses one phallic Eve after another because, paradoxically, his writing actually emanates from this "forbidden" bisexuality.⁵⁶ Far from proving fatal or even debilitating, David's fall is a fortunate one.

In the published novel, however, the creative face of bisexuality is censored, leaving only its destructive visage. A consummate Oedipal, Jenks fabricates the illusion that David overcomes his authorial impotence through the exclusively masculine virility depicted in the conclusion of the published version of *The Garden of Eden*.⁵⁷ To achieve this Oedipal sleight of hand, Jenks castrates both Marita and the manuscript itself by deleting three subsequent chapters wherein her phallic proclivities remain intact, inspiring rather than impairing David's creativity. In addition, Jenks's concluding paragraph, which is but a fragment of Hemingway's original, belies the very intactness it ostensibly celebrates:

Not a sentence was missing and there were many that he put down as they were returned to him without changing them. By two o'clock

he had recovered, corrected and improved what it had taken him five days to write originally. He wrote on a while longer now and there was no sign that any of it would ever cease returning to him intact.⁵⁸

In the several missing sentences elided from the manuscript, David repeatedly sharpens his pencils so that they lose exactly one half of their length, thus symbolically reflecting a mirrored inversion of Marita's acquisition of the phallus. The pen/penis is literally whittled down as each successive page of writing is inspired by his phallic muse, who waits seductively for him to rejoin her in their bisexual garden.⁵⁹ The Oedipal reading of this incremental loss of the phallus recalls Fitzgerald's fears that writing is tantamount to a progressive castration or "vocalational emasculation." Little wonder Jenks deleted all references to symbolic castration from his version of the novel's conclusion. But in the manuscript, Hemingway revises the symbolic value of castration so that the shrinking phallic pencils are actually becoming "intact" in pre-Oedipal terms. As David continues to move toward bisexuality, he ultimately becomes a vaginal rather than castrated man, the perfect counterpart to his phallic female collaborators.

Jenks's *Garden of Eden* constitutes a worthy eulogy for Papa Hemingway, whose public persona has become so sacrosanct his estate no longer grants permission to quote from the original manuscript. Surely even in my most fantastic flights of critical fancy, I could not have dreamt up more palpable proof of the persistence of Oeditorial repression in contemporary letters. Yet I would gladly sacrifice this incriminating evidence in exchange for the privilege of quoting Hemingway's astonishingly iconoclastic manuscripts rather than merely paraphrasing them. In the published novel, the "old African tales" depicting David's Oedipal relationship with his father are intact in precisely the same paradoxical way that Freud's *Dora* is "intact": their completeness is a function of expurgation. No such paradox exists in the urtext where the "recovered, corrected, and improved" tales are intact because they are bisexual. In the real *Garden of Eden*, Papa effectively commits patricide by desecrating his own canonical image.

Though Jenks presents the African tales as stylistic and thematic foils to the sprawling androgyny of the narrative, they are actually infiltrated by proximity, ultimately exposing their bisexual source. Even in the published novel, encoded bisexuality remains "intact" despite Oeditorial liberties. In the final elephant tale in particular, David denounces his father and mourns rather than celebrates the elephant's role as totem sacrifice:

The tusks were stained with the dried blood and he scraped some of it off with his thumbnail like a dried piece of sealing wax and put it in the pocket of his shirt. That was all he took from the elephant except the beginning of the knowledge of loneliness.⁶⁰

An Oedipal son, David is expected to acknowledge his father's ultimate masculine authority by participating in the elephant's ritualistic castration. Actually sickened by the sight of his father's Oedipal trophy, the mutilated tusks, David chooses instead to commemorate the hunt by enclosing blood "in the pocket of his shirt," thus identifying with an alternative form of blood kinship, that of menstruation.⁶¹ Peeling the "dried blood" off like "sealing wax

and placing it in a symbolic vaginal "pocket," he seals his return to pre-Oedipal bisexuality.⁶²

In *The Garden of Eden*, Hemingway performs an act of creative audacity that critics and editors like Tom Jenks, nostalgic for the iceberg technique and suspicious of Papa's feminine effluvia, mistake for the last rambling gasp of an enfeebled literary giant. Despite Jenks's Oeditorial repression, Papa has actually progressed (though Freud would say regressed) to what Woolf "meant by man-womanly, and conversely by woman-manly"⁶³ writing, the very essence of her androgynous aesthetic manifesto in *A Room of One's Own*. In so doing, Hemingway "is tampering with the expected sequence" of the Oedipal paradigm "not for the sake of breaking, but for the sake of creating"⁶⁴ art that defies Freud's dictum that biology, and by extension canonicity, creates gender exclusive destinies.

Finally committed to confronting his own version of "Milton's bogey," androgyny, *The Garden of Eden* is Hemingway's most ambitious and experimental work.⁶⁵ A revolutionary revision of psychoanalytic gender dichotomies, Papa's last word on the subject of Modernist gender politics ultimately equates prelapsarian with pre-Oedipal bisexuality. Accordingly, David regains rather than falls from a state of aesthetic grace. In *The Garden of Eden*, Hemingway joins Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein, Djuna Barnes, H. D., and other champions of androgyny who revolt against the threat of castration posed by none other than Freud himself. Far from "restor[ing] what is missing," the epistemology of the phallus actually castrates prelapsarian bisexuality, leaving only the "mutilated relics" of Plato's intact androgynes.⁶⁶ To say that Hemingway is "what Coleridge [and Woolf] meant . . . when [they] said that a great mind is androgynous"⁶⁷ is to liberate Papa in particular, and the Modernist canon in general, from the kind of gender typecasting Freud imposed when he locked the "third sex" into a prefabricated, pre-Oedipal closet.

NOTES

In recognition of his profound influence on my life and letters, I wish to dedicate this essay to my former professor and perpetual mentor, Jack Salzman.

1. Ezra Pound, postscript, xi.
2. Jung, "Anima and Animus," 207.
3. Jung, "Woman in Europe," 124. This gendered battle over the right to write has been waged for centuries. Nathaniel Hawthorne's famous indictment of that "d—d mob of scribbling women" exemplifies the competition that has plagued the American literary marketplace almost from the beginning (*Letters of Hawthorne*, 1:75). Contemporary champions of Hawthorne's nemesis continue to defend the cultural if not aesthetic value of Sentimental literature against attacks marshaled by American Renaissance scholars. See especially Tompkins, *Sensational Designs*.
4. For a particularly useful, concise account of the complicated compositional history of the novel, see Donaldson, "A Short History." He quotes key letters and psychiatric transcripts, including Zelda's claim that "what is the matter with Scott is that he had not written that book and if he will ever get it written, why, he won't feel so miserable and suspicious and mean towards everybody else" (192).
5. Letter dated May 28, 1934, from Hemingway to F. Scott Fitzgerald, in Hemingway, *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters*, 408.
6. See Collins, "F. Scott Fitzgerald," 171, 167.
7. Lynn, *Hemingway*, 186.
8. *Ibid.*, 288.

9. See Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*.
10. For a brilliant portrait of Modernism as a masculine backlash against the "feminization of culture," see Douglas, *Terrible Honesty*. She characterizes Modernism as a "bi-gendered venture of siblings intent on decimating the mother and reinventing the father" (252).
11. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," 48.
12. Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 97.
13. Kenner, "Making of the Modernist Canon," 33.
14. See Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*.
15. Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 265. Freud attributes Hamlet's famous delay to his identification with Claudius who "shows him the repressed wishes of his own childhood realized" – the desire to kill his father and consummate his passion for Gertrude in classic Oedipal fashion – making the Prince "literally no better than the sinner whom he is to punish."
16. Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 81.
17. See Woolf's "Professions for Women."
18. Douglas, *Terrible Honesty*, 224.
19. According to C. G. Jung, this matricidal impulse is writ large in Western culture's progressive repression of the anima. See especially "The Psychological Aspects of the Kore," in which Jung explores the Greek cult of Demeter, providing a classic example of the ritualistic celebration of the anima that is largely absent in modern culture.
20. My reading of this textual triumvirate has been most profoundly influenced by Mark Spilka's groundbreaking *Hemingway's Quarrel with Androgyny* (1990), which also paved the way for subsequent revisionist readings of Papa's gender politics, including Comley and Scholes's seminal *Hemingway's Genders* and Burwell's *Hemingway*.
21. Milford, *Zelda*, 71.
22. *Ibid.*, 284.
23. See Freud's "Female Sexuality."
24. See Freud's "Femininity."
25. Milford, *Zelda*, 220.
26. Brucoli and Duggan, *Correspondence*, 290–91.
27. Milford, *Zelda*, 222.
28. Whereas F. Scott attributed the mounting tensions in their marriage to Zelda's literary aspirations, she blamed his chronic writer's block. Reflecting the Fitzgeralds' own conflicting diagnoses, Dr. Forel of Les Rives de Prangins sanitarium in Switzerland was convinced that Zelda's creative urges themselves contributed to her illness, where Dr. Rennie of the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore attributed both their psychological and marital problems to what Milford calls "the struggle between them as creative artists, each jealous of the other" (*Zelda*, 261). Throughout the decade during which F. Scott labored over *Tender Is the Night*, they remained locked in a debilitating embrace of mutual outrage.
29. Freud, "Hysterical Phantasies," 230.
30. Letter dated July 7, 1935, from Sigmund Freud to Carl Mueller-Braunschweig, quoted in Freud, *Freud on Women*, 340–41.
31. Freud, "Femininity," 356.
32. *Ibid.*, 326.
33. Fitzgerald, *Save Me the Waltz*, 195.
34. *Ibid.*, 194.
35. Zelda seldom proved capable of convincing her doctors that writing was therapeutic rather than debilitating. The unpublished manuscript of Caesar's Things (1942–48), her fictional account of the "story of myself versus myself" that was edited out of *Save Me the Waltz*, was destroyed in the institutional fire that killed Zelda herself.
36. Moi, "Representation of Patriarchy," 195.
37. Freud, "Female Sexuality," 327.
38. *Ibid.*, 326.
39. Christine Froula's brilliant "When Eve Meets Milton: Undoing the Canonical Economy" demonstrates that female desire, beginning with Eve, constitutes a form of autobiography that threatens the mediated knowledge of the law of the father, beginning with God and extending to virtually all forms of canonicity. Dora's desire is doubly transgressive: In desiring another woman (as does Eve in the pool scene), she thwarts

- the mediation of the "libido which behaves in a male way" (phallic subject); she also robs Freud of his own designs on her Oedipal impulses, thus disrupting the transference that would have elevated him to the role of surrogate father. According to Freud's own admission, this failure of Oedipal transference ultimately undermined the success of his treatment of Dora.
40. Freud, *Dora*, 27.
41. In "Ernest Hemingway and the Mirror of Manhood," Carl Eby points out that "Hemingway's work abounds with such 'phallic'/'castrated' women" (32). Whereas "Brett Ashley with her fetishized short hair possesses the phallus by virtue of Jake's lacking his" and "Margot Macomber wields her Mannlicher and phallic authority by virtue of Francis' emasculating cowardice and crew cut" (48), Eby maintains that even they do not qualify as one of Leslie Fiedler's "castrating bitches" because they embody Papa's fetishistic "desires as well as his fears." In *The Garden of Eden*, Hemingway takes this conversion of bitch into muse one step further by making Catherine and especially Marita the cause of aesthetic virility rather than impotence.
42. Hemingway, *The Garden of Eden*, 17.
43. *Ibid.*, 18.
44. Another example of the biographical dimension of Hemingway's interest in androgynous sexual experimentation is provided in "Come Back to the Beach ag'in, David Honey!" wherein Carl Eby quotes from a page in Mary's diary where Hemingway himself has intruded and written, "She has always wanted to be a boy and thinks as a boy without ever losing any femininity. . . . She loves me to be her girl, which I love to be, not being absolutely stupid" (112). Eby notes that "the act of writing in Mary's diary" itself is "vaguely transvestic," though an equally valid adjective is "androgynous."
45. Hemingway, *How It Was*, 368–69.
46. Spilka, "Hemingway's Barbershop Quintet," 39.
47. Throughout *In Our Time*, the swamp symbolizes the threat of feminization, or being "bitched" (23). At the conclusion of "Big Two-Hearted River," Nick Adams reassures himself that "there were plenty of days coming when he could fish the swamp" (156), implicitly articulating a vow Hemingway finally explicitly fulfills in *The Garden of Eden*. That these two novels frame his career attests to not only the persistence of Hemingway's own Oedipal repression but also his remarkable courage in ultimately confronting the return of repressed androgyny.
48. The manuscript of *The Garden of Eden* is housed in the Hemingway Collection at the Kennedy Library in Boston, Massachusetts. Since the Hemingway estate no longer grants permission to quote directly from the manuscript, Nancy R. Comley and others have resorted to quoting scholarly sources, including those written by themselves, in which excerpts were previously published. Though forced by legal considerations to follow her lead, I also provide manuscript citations for the sake of scholars devoted enough to visit the Hemingway Collection in spite of the prohibition against quoting or even duplicating excerpts. These references to *The Garden of Eden* manuscript will be cited according to their Kennedy Library folder item numbers (before the semicolon), and the manuscript book, chapter, and page number of the quotation (after the semicolon). Omissions in this format result when, for example, segments of the manuscript are not identified as actual chapters or as parts of one of the three books in the original manuscript.
49. Hemingway, *The Garden of Eden*, 15.
50. Manuscript, 422.1–6; 3.9.14–15; quoted in Spilka, *Hemingway's Quarrel with Androgyny*, 303.
51. Brucoli, "Interview with Tom Jenks," 86. Describing his overall editorial strategy, Jenks declared that "when you go into something like this, you go totally under the law established by the writer. In this case, the law of an ancient god." This ancient law of the Oedipal father certainly governs canonicity, the very aesthetic system Hemingway dismantles in *The Garden of Eden*.
52. Manuscript, 422.1–26; 3.32.16; quoted in Spilka, *Hemingway's Quarrel with Androgyny*, 306.
53. Manuscript, 422.1–35; 44.1.
54. Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 102.
55. Manuscript, 422.1–36, 14–15; quoted in Modellmog, "Protecting the Hemingway Myth," 95.

56. In "Elephant Hunt in Eden," Robert Gajdusek identifies the encoded androgyny in David's African tale: "The story David writes and the life he lives both tell of the dangers and costs of feared yet desired, destructive and creative androgynies" (19). In this, the novel truly is a Modernist reworking of Genesis, the "original scene of androgyny" in "both the Gnostic gospels and in rabbinical tradition" (Kennedy, "Hemingway's Gender Trouble," 202).

57. In "The Endings of Hemingway's *Garden of Eden*," Robert E. Fleming argues that "Hemingway wrote chapter 30 [Jenks's conclusion], in which all these positive things happen, but he wrote it only to intensify the shock of an ironic ending" (290). The "ironic ending" in question is the "Provisional Ending" where David obliquely agrees to a suicide pact with Catherine, who insists death is preferable to continued treatment for mental illness in Swiss sanitariums. A majority of critics agree that, far from definitive, this "Provisional Ending" testifies to Hemingway's continued struggle with the problem of how to resolve the novel's complicated thematic conflicts. Though Fleming suggests that "the only discernible direction of events leads toward tragedy" and a "darker conclusion," this reading assumes David's sexual and textual experimentations are perverted, and that darkness is destructive as opposed to liberating. But if David's fall is a fortunate one, a more Byronic understanding of his dark transgressions transforms tragedy into transcendence.

58. Hemingway, *The Garden of Eden*, 247.

59. "In search of lost time" provides a broader context for this symbolic equation of penises and pencils, or, as Ira Elliott puts it, "of David's 'manhood' and his skills as a writer, for the two are always linked in Hemingway; in order to be 'complete,' one must perform competently at the writing desk and in the conjugal bed. In *Death in the Afternoon* Hemingway sneers that gay writer Raymond Radiguet 'knows how to make his living with both his pen and his pencil'" (263). With the possible exception of D. H. Lawrence, Hemingway is Modernism's most devoted aficionado of phallic symbolism.

60. Hemingway, *The Garden of Eden*, 201.

61. With regard to the phallic tusks, Carl Eby contends that "the killing of the elephant with his oversized tusks, which the adult David clearly associates with the 'ivory-haired Catherine, and David's subsequent boyhood rejection of his father and Juma, force the adult David into Fiedler's second archetype, an incestuous love for a woman who looks just like him and repeatedly calls him 'brother'" ("Come Back," 105-6). Therefore, the elephant is symbolically allied with androgyny through Catherine. In addition, "The now famous early 'twinning' of Hemingway and his older sister, Marcelline - whom Hemingway as a boy nicknamed significantly enough 'Ivory' (Mellow, 22) - with its concomitant gender-flipping and hair-matching" (Elby, 107) demonstrates the tangled web of Hemingway's androgynous symbolism in the novel. Sometimes a phallic symbol is not just a phallic symbol in Hemingway, and he has often been sold short as a mere masculinist.

62. Even though Daniel Kempton attempts to refute Comley and Scholes's decisive argument that David's sexual transgressions inspire his "breaking into new aesthetic territory" (*Hemingway's Genders*, 94), they reach a critical consensus that the thematic content of the African tales is at odds with the "narrative" of bisexuality. But Kempton's assertion that "the writing about Africa has no thematic connection . . . with the three, some's transgressive sexual activities" ("Sexual Transgression," 138) rests on the premise that Marita does not duplicate Catherine's role as phallic muse. And Comley unnecessarily accedes "the primacy of the male writer and, symbolically, of masculine discourse which [in the (oedipal) African narrative] rises phoenix-like from the flames with renewed strength" ("Madwomen on the Riviera," 292). Though the African tales function as stylistic foils to the bisexual narrative, they share the "thematic connection" of pre-Oedipal gender fluidity.

63. Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 98.

64. *Ibid.*, 81.

65. *Ibid.*, 114.

66. Plato, *The Symposium*.

67. Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 102.

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Ring Lardner's You Know Me Al: Up from Popularity

CHARLES A. KUPFER

I. INTRODUCTION: PRAISE AND BURY

RING LARDNER'S position in American literature suffers more from the praise he gains than the criticism he receives. His reputation as an acerbic journalist, mordant satirist, master dialectician, and popular sportswriter still draws clouds of suspicion across the minds of highbrow critics weighing his stature as a serious writer.

Lardner himself did nothing to debunk the notion that he was at heart a pulp author, never tearing away from his journalistic roots as did other authors who started their careers in the newspaper business. It may have been comfort with his preferred environment, or a reverse snobbery, but Lardner always disdained self-conscious artfulness, instead preening his image as a wordsmith and copy-slave. Max Perkins, his Scribner's editor, noted this self-defined low-brow posture: "He always thought of himself as a newspaperman, anyhow. He had a sort of provincial scorn for literary people."¹

Provincial scorn notwithstanding, Lardner was a prominent member of Perkins's stable. Contemporaries at Scribner's included Thomas Wolfe, Ernest Hemingway, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. Perkins, a literary talent scout with a knack for coaxing maximum output from mercurial writers, devoted ample time and attention to cultivating Lardner's work. Few writers of any stripe could boast more lustrous friends and colleagues, and, in his lifetime, Lardner's proper place in the American literary pantheon was accorded with scant complaint. It was only after his death in 1933 that the diminishing process began.

Today, Lardner is seldom mentioned when the topic of Scribner's 1920s' glory days comes up; he seems not to fit. This demotion is due in large part to the send-off he received from his cronies, Fitzgerald foremost among them. A cutting obituary by Lardner's former Long Island neighbor bemoaned the absence of a novel from Lardner's repertoire. Fitzgerald's contention that no such book existed passed into conventional wisdom with no protest, becoming the key piece of incriminating evidence cited by critics downgrading Lardner's status. He was talented, critics tut-tutted, but, regretfully, he diluted that talent following trivial literary pursuits. Edmund Wilson encapsulated the attitude when he complained about Lardner's predilection for ephemeral subjects, especially sports. That athletes were *infra dig* was axiomatic for Wilson; Lardner's subjects were thus unsuitable for literary art. Ultimately, the scribe was a cowardly flop for his refusal to "go on to his *Huckleberry Finn*."² In Lardner's