Chapter IV

"NO MAN IS AN ILAND"
Hemingway was not even twenty when he joined the first world war as a member of the Redcross Ambulance crew, and got severely wounded. This experience sustained the young writer a pretty long period through his fictional writings. The trauma of the wounding affected Hemingway much more than the thrill of the war that possibly had prompted him to get enlisted. Obviously, almost all his fictional writings since the 1920s (when he started writing in fact) show a consuming interest in violence.

The preceding chapter demonstrates how the horror of war has consistently found itself as the central theme of all the short story collections and the two novels (The Sun also Rises and A Farewell to Arms) of the 20s. But it is quite surprising to find that except in a few stories there is no direct reference to war anywhere. We have already discussed stories like "Now I Lay Me", "A way you'll Never Be", "In Another Country" and some Vignettes of In our Time where the wounded protagonist refers to the nightmare of war. In most of the stories, on the other hand, the after-effects of the war on its victims like Nick Adams are shown at length. The famous story "The Big-Two-Hearted River" is typical of this approach of the writer to the war. Years later, describing the composition of this story, Hemingway wrote in his A Moveable Feast:

The story was about coming back from the war but there was no mention of the war in it. (76)

Finally, Hemingway's accumulated experience, reaction and inspiration got culminated in A Farewell to Arms. The approach to life and reality as we see in Frederic Henry has already been
discussed in the previous chapter. In the course of the novel, Frederic Henry is repeatedly asked why he joined the war. And invariably, everytime, Henry either tries to avoid the issue or gives an evasive reply. Early in the book on one occasion when Catherine Barkley asks Frederic, he says:

I don't know. There is not always an explanation for everything. (FTA, 18)

Again later, when a bartender asks him why he went to war, Frederic says:

"I don't know. I was a fool". (FTA, 256)

In "Now I Lay me" the orderly John asks Nick why he joined the war. The answer that Nick gives him is quite similar to Frederic Henry's:

Nick Says,

"I don't know, John I wanted to, then." (NAS, 150)

Stephen Cooper says:

Whatever romantic or idealistic notions of the war Frederic Henry may have had are quickly destroyed by the reality of the war. (37)

Further, when Frederic leaves the line, escapes through the river and joins Catherine in the Hotel he even hates to read the newspaper, to hear anything about the war.

It becomes evident that no conviction, no commitment, no strong reason ever prompted Henry to go to war. It was a youthful euphoria, a sense of adventure and a vague ideal that
prompted him to go to war (which Malcolm Cowley aptly calls "spectatorial"). And that precisely explains why Frederic Henry got disillusioned and dejected about the whole thing so soon.

Whereas, the cases of Robert Jordan, even Philip Rawling (The Fifth Column) are very different. They are almost of Henry's age and are in love like Henry and pressurized directly or indirectly to look forward to some cozy place of comfort and privacy, away from war-torn Spain. It was directly in the case of Philip Rawlings as the lady wants him to go for a 'separate peace' like Frederic Henry and indirectly in the case of Jordan because his girl Maria has been more sinned against than sinning. After a long spell of trauma and despair since she was violated by the Fascists and found her parents killed, it was Jordan who gave her the first ray of hope. Thus, for Jordan, there is enough moral responsibility to ensure her happiness.

But no pressure, no temptation, no sentiment succeeds breaking their commitment. They remain firm simply because of their commitment to the cause, their awareness of the individual's inherent, and inalienable bond with the larger mankind beyond one's self. This awareness, this realization, in turn, brings these protagonists to their final target, the thing they had been seeking right from the beginning from young Nick Adams through Jake Barnes and Frederic Henry. What a deep commitment, a complete identification this piece of monologue shows as Jordan ruminates:

I have fought for what I believed in for a year
now. If we win here we will win everywhere (FWBT, 467)

This awareness of the human solidarity, a feeling of universal brotherhood is the clear, visible part of the transformation that Hemingway's protagonist underwent after the Spanish Civil War.

In Hemingway's writing career two political events of his life had significant decisive influence. One was the First World War, the other the Spanish Civil War. In both the cases he did not fight directly but participated actively. While in the First World War he was seriously wounded, he passed through the Spanish Civil War safe and intact. But both the experiences had far-reaching impact on his writing, though in different directions.

The early writings of Hemingway, as we have already discussed, were entirely the writer's post-War creations, and carried unmistakably the deep mark of his exposure to the horror of the war. The works, therefore, present a negative, rather nihilistic approach to life in general. And their protagonists, whom Philip Young rightly calls the "generic Nick Adams" or Carlos Baker as "The Wastelanders" invariably suffer from an acute sense of insecurity, ineffectuality and disillusionment.

Whereas, Hemingway's participation in the Spanish Civil War brought about a drastic change in his approach to life in general from the hitherto negative and nihilistic approach to a highly positive and constructive approach to life. The feeling of
insecurity, ineffectuality, sentimentality and purposelessness and narrow individualism gave way to confidence, vigor, boldness, conviction and affiliation and commitment to the larger mankind.

Besides, the Spanish Civil War inspired Hemingway to write extensively on his experience that finally brought about one great novel, For Whom the Bell Tolls, one Play, The Fifth Column, one film script Spanish Earth, six short stories and thirty war dispatches of great distinction.

In these writings, fact and fiction freely interplay as the barrier between the two is fragile and blurred. An examination of Hemingway's war dispatches will show how some of them were later reconstructed into stories and how at many points, the dispatches anticipate the novel For Whom the Bell Tolls which was to come out almost two years later.

Hemingway had gone to Spain with a contract from NANA (North American Newspaper Alliance) to report on the Spanish Civil War. Hemingway sent thirty-one dispatches from there out of which twenty-eight were printed in different newspapers throughout the United States, Canada and various countries in Europe at that time. In By-line: Ernest Hemingway (1967) William White reprint-ed nine of them and the rest of the dispatches were in obscurity till The Hemingway Review brought out all the existing thirty dispatches in an anthology for the first time, in its spring issue of 1988. The first dispatch, was written on March 12, 1937 and the last on May 10, 1938. The period of his reporting was little more than a year and one covered the most crucial phase of
the Spanish Civil War. Hemingway, in the course of his reporting, shows his deep political insight, historic sense, and his knowledge of geography and military strategy. The dispatches bear ample evidence of the fact that right from the time of his arrival in Spain Hemingway realized the genuineness of the Republican cause till the very end. But it should not be construed that his dispatches were pro-Republican and anti-Fascist only. His dispatches conveyed the situation of war from time to time in an honest and truthful manner with the obvious limitations of a reporter operating in a chaotic situation in which a ruthless press censorship distorted the facts beyond recognition.

As the editors of this anthology of dispatches in the special issue of the Hemingway Review painfully observe:

What he wrote and what newspaper readers in America and elsewhere read were not the same things. Days of hard work, days of personal risk, days of intense cold or heat, some days with little sleep at the end of them -- all this to get a story out that would then be caught or suppressed or altered in ways the correspondent couldn't control ... The printed story, therefore, was often truncated, adulterated version of what had been written. (HR. 7-2 (Spring 1988):3)

Hemingway, despite all such handicaps, continued to remain faithful to his job till the very end. As I have pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the Spanish Civil War was to play
a significant and decisive role in the life of Hemingway as a writer. As soon as he arrived in Spain as a NANA Correspondent, he was instantly drawn to the cause of the democratic republic that was gravely in danger under the threat of Fascism. This sudden change in Hemingway's attitude to life and society is clearly felt when one compares his response in the context of America's involvement in any European crisis a few months before with its sudden reversal soon after he arrived on the Spanish Front. We have already discussed this point at length in the previous chapter.

It is quite interesting to note that long before the western powers realized that the Spanish Civil War could be a potential threat to their safety and integrity, Hemingway (and Orwell too) had first sounded the alarm call and pronounced prophetically about its dangerous consequences. In all his journalistic jottings of this period, such as the NANA dispatches, articles for Ken, Pravda, his script for the film The Spanish Earth and his address to the second American writers' Congress in Carnegie Hall, Hemingway consistently and unequivocally pointed out the dangerous possibilities of the Spanish Civil War if the Republicans failed in their resistance. He has raised a continuous alarm and urged all the western countries to realize that Spain gave them the last and the ultimate chance to save Democracy. As he asserted in Carnegie Hall:

There is only one form of Government that cannot produce good writers, and that system is Fascism.

(Baker, Life, 478)
That partly explains why Hemingway was so much drawn to the internal conflict of Spain, a minor European country and a peripheral power. The other factors responsible for bringing about such dramatic transformation of Hemingway will be clear in the process of examining the war dispatches, the short stories, the film script, the play and the novel that Hemingway wrote on the Spanish Civil War theme.

- II -

The thirty NANA dispatches that Hemingway wrote during the most critical phase of the Spanish Civil War give the harrowing picture of untold atrocities and violence perpetrated by the Fascists on the civilian population of Spain. They show the chaotic atmosphere of Madrid and Spain, with frequent shellings and strafings by the Fascist air force. Amidst all the details of this wild violence, Hemingway's profound humanitarianism is reflected in his concern for his fellow human beings, irrespective of racial and national barriers. The uncertainty, horror and misery of the people during the war is portrayed in vivid detail. At times, the situation is dramatized in a highly artistic manner, keeping the tragic undertone of the issue intact.

By and large, the dispatches, with their maddening variety and diversity, project inevitably the writer's genuine concern for human suffering. This very aspect is a clear manifestation of his change of attitude to life, as Carlos Baker rightly calls it.
Hemingway's "recent conversion to social consciousness" (Life,478) shows a marked improvement upon his protagonists' general egocentric approach to life as found in The Sun Also Rises and A farewell to Arms. Now onwards the protagonists demonstrate a remarkably affirmative approach to life. They see things not through the narrow perspective of their own individual self, but through a broader, larger perspective of common social considerations and values.

In a few dispatches we notice Hemingway reporting the matter in a comical and lighter vein, making the whole atmosphere genial and lively. They look like comic interludes in a tragedy.

Another important aspect of the dispatches worth noting is that out of the on-the-spot reporting on war-torn Spain, Hemingway found and later incorporated several plots into some of his short stories. Even there is a general consensus of critical opinion that the very portrayal of the protagonist of Hemingway's Spanish Civil War novel For Whom the Bell Tolls, Robert Jordan, is based on a real life figure who participated in the Civil War and that Hemingway makes a special mention of his gallantry in the war.

Thus it becomes imperative to examine the text of some of the key dispatches to explore the nature of Hemingway's transformation and to reaffirm the corresponding changes that followed in his writing. To begin with, as Carlos Baker points out Hemingway's intention behind his acceptance of NANA reportership:

His intent in working for the NANA would be to
serve as anti-war-war correspondent seeking to keep the United States from becoming involved in the future conflict. (Life, 456)

But interestingly, as we find from the very first dispatch Hemingway who, just a short while ago, was a great advocate of American isolationism (from any sort of European or international crisis) get miraculously transformed as soon as he lands in Spain. In this (first) dispatch which he files from Toulouse, dated March 12, 1937; Hemingway strongly resents the U.S. Non-intervention policy. He points out that while the United States is observing its "strictest neutrality", Italy is busy pumping its forces and weaponry into the hands of the Insurgents to be used against the Republicans and the Civilians. (HR, Spring 1988: 14).

Such is the change, the transformation that swept Hemingway thoroughly as a man and an artist as well. It reminds one of Orwell's transformation at the magic touch of the Spanish Civil War atmosphere we have discussed in the first chapter.

We may recall how Hemingway went back to the U.S.A. after his first visit and madly pursued his mission of fund-raising and arousing public opinion in favor of the Spanish Republic. With his shyness, he gave his first public (and formal) speech to the Second American writers' conference in Carnegie Hall and willingly accepted several offices of responsibility to aid the Spanish Republic. All this dedicated and enthusiastic endeavor that Hemingway voluntarily undertook is amply suggestive of his.
warmth, sincerity and commitment to the cause.

The ghastly, diabolical aspects of the horror of war catch Hemingway's attention most. He is horrified seeing the indiscriminate bombing of the civilian population. As he reports in his dispatch dated 11th April:

They killed an old woman returning home from the market, dropping her in a huddled black heap of clothing, with one leg suddenly detached whirling against the wall of an adjoining house. (27)

Invariably, like the old woman here, the innocent civilians were the inevitable victims of the carnage. In the next dispatch Hemingway reports how after an aerial attack he sees a policeman covering "the top of the trunk from which the head is missing". (30)

More shocking than such ghastly murder is the growing apathy of the people. As Hemingway writes in his usual understatement, "The dead man was not you nor any one you know and everyone is very hungry up at the Guadalajara front." (30)

In another dispatch, dated March 22, 1937 from Madrid, Hemingway gives yet another account of such senseless, brutal killing. This time he reports on the death of some Italian soldier fighting for the insurgents. He painfully describes how these three Italians are lying dead "with waxy gray faces."

They did not look like men, but .... like curiously broken toys. (19) (emphasis mine)
In the description of such gruesome violence, Hemingway's profound humanitarianism emerges clear. This account of the Italian's killing partly speaks against the unjust allegation that Hemingway's reporting was pro-loyalist and anti-fascist. Secondly, the above account makes one aware of the fragility and transience of human life—a rare phenomenon in the quasi-existential Hemingway world.

On another occasion, Hemingway's broad humanitarianism is reflected in his response to a dead rebel officer: "We ... left him with his serious waxen face where tanks could not bother him now or anything else." (87)

This shows how Hemingway responded to the suffering and death of a friend and a foe as well. This is another evidence of his broad humanism.

Another significant angle of Hemingway's art of reporting is his sense of detachment. (Which Orwell admits to have cultivated since Homage to Catalonia(CEJLs, 29). A poet as he was basically, in his taste and sensibility, Hemingway is often seen relapsing into his poetic self in the midst of bombing and strafing. While coming into Valencia through the dark highway he could feel the sweet smell of the orange groves in full bloom and he writes that it seemed "to this half-asleep correspondent like a wedding". (18)

In another dispatch there is a wonderful mixture of the serious and the comic which only a deeply detached artist like
Hemingway could accomplish. In this dispatch dated April 14, 1938, Hemingway reports on the suspected routing of the Lincoln-Washington battalion including the great Robert Merriman (who later served as Hemingway's model for Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*) in a somewhat comic manner. He describes the overturned truck with its load of ripe oranges on its way to the front:

But nobody touched his oranges and they lay a shining yellow tribute to something as we pulled out of there (72)

In his 24th dispatch dated April 15, 1938, Hemingway shows another feat of artistic detachment while serving a heavily disheartening news on the Republican defeat with dispassion and complete self-control. In fact, this was a major and decisive break-through of the Fascist forces across the painfully guarded defensive of the Republican militias over months. As Hemingway gives an effective visual aid:

Ahead of us all this time the Heinkels were circling and diving with the mechanical monotony of the movement of a quiet afternoon at a six day bike race. (80-81)

Again, he reports on the enthusiastic action of the young Republican Volunteers in the face of defeat and despair:

Boys were working, hammering and nailing and sawing as fast and hard as a good crew on a vessel in distress at sea. (82)
The image is so befitting and the spirit so natural in this recreation of the atmosphere that despite the gravity of the situation the reporter's art and imagination come out conspicuously. In this dispatch the picture of evacuation of the civilians from the Ebro basin anticipates Hemingway's famous short story "Old Man at the Bridge".

Another lively piece of reportage that we come across is the one which Hemingway sent from Paris, on his way back after his first trip. This finally came out subsequently as a short-story with the title "The chauffeurs of Madrid". In this dispatch Hemingway gives an account of his four successive drivers in his tours across the country. In the process, Hemingway draws the character in such imaginative yet vivid detail that they almost represent a cross-section of Spanish people with their typical as well as common features. Those four chauffeurs largely represented the Spanish Republic, with all their virtues and vices, their strengths and weaknesses. As this dispatch was later on developed into a story it would be better to take it up along with Hemingway's other stories on the Spanish Civil War.

When one goes through these war dispatches from Spain, another thing that impresses us is Hemingway's sense of history, geography and even a fair measure of military tactics and strategy.

For example, in a comparatively lengthy dispatch dated May 9, 1937, Hemingway makes a very insightful analysis of the fate of the Spanish Civil War in the perspective of the American Civil
War and the Russian Revolution. As he reflects, during the four year struggle the federal troops in America were thoroughly forged and stood like a granite wall on which Gen. Lee's Army "rose and curled and fell". In Russia too, despite a series of debacles the Red Army triumphed finally because of "a united people, geography and time" (40). On the basis of these evidence of history, Hemingway's analysis ends in an optimistic note in favor of a Republican victory in Spain.

In this dispatch, Hemingway's sound historic sense and wonderful power of assimilation is reflected. Besides, in an attempt at analyzing the battles of Brihuega and of Bilbao, Hemingway shows a keen sense of geography and a knowledge of the logistics of warfare when he concludes like any professional military strategist that Madrid is simply an "impregnable fortress". (40)

Another situation that Hemingway reports in his dispatch dated October 6, 1937 from Madrid shows his insightful analysis and his diplomatic perception of the issue. Speaking of the rebel strong-holds he reports:

They are holding fortified towns unconnected by any defenses, but which dominate the country around them as castles did in the feudal days. (58)

Again, Hemingway's keen diplomatic perception enables him to see the skull beneath the skin. As he writes:
The fate of Spain is being decided in Berlin, where Mussolini and Hitler are conferring. (59)

Very much like a war-expert, Hemingway sends his analysis of the latest strategic position adapted by both the armies. As he writes about Franco's:

Franco's tactics in this whole offensive have been to feel for the soft points and, finding them, concentrate artillery and planes to make the break. . . .(78)

It is well acknowledged that in Hemingway's writings, fact and fiction overlap frequently and with felicity. As we have seen in the case of "The chauffeurs of Madrid" many such facts were later converted into Fiction directly or obliquely. For instance, in one of the early dispatches Hemingway says:

This is a strange new kind of war where you learn just as much as you are able to believe. (33)

This very observation of Hemingway gets into his novel For Whom the Bell Tolls in the course of time. (Where the protagonist makes an identical statement.)

In another dispatch, dated September 3, 1937 from Valencia Hemingway makes a special mention of the great heroic performance of an American University professor who subsequently served as the model for Robert Jordan in For Whom the Bell Tolls (1940). As Hemingway reports:
Robert Merriman, a former California professor and now chief of staff of the 15th brigade was a leader in the final assault. Unshaven, his face smoke blackened, his men tell how he bombed his way forward, wounded six times . . . but refusing to have his wounds dressed until the cathedral was taken. (49)

Similarly, one of the most popular and oft-cited Spanish Civil War stories of Hemingway, "Old man at the Bridge" is based upon his dispatch he sent from Tortosa dated April 15, 1938. The dispatch draws a vivid picture of the evacuation of the civilian population in the wake of the collapse of a Republican resistance. As Hemingway reports: It was a four-fingered push towards the sea" (81). And about the bombing that went on unabated Hemingway writes:

Above us in the high cloudless sky fleet after fleet of bombers roared over Tortosa. When they dropped the sudden thunder of their loads, the little city on the Ebro disappeared in a yellow mounting cloud of dust. The dust never settled as more bombers came and finally it hung like a yellow fog all down the Ebro valley. (80)

Thus, in the course of this treatment of Hemingway's war dispatches from Spain the many-sided talent of Hemingway is once again established. His accuracy of reporting, his objectivity, his thorough grasp of the matter, and his insightful analysis are
evident besides his sound sense of history and geography. Above all, his artistic detachment and craftsmanship leave strong impressions on the Reader's mind. Even in the most crucial points Hemingway shows his great restraint by not allowing his emotion to run high and presents the stark reality with dispassion.

Another important point worth noting is the emergence of Hemingway's "hitherto well-hidden social consciousness" (Life, 487) a remarkable transformation that is reflected clearly in the dispatches.

The vivid presentation of the gruesome violence that Hemingway saw with his own eyes, to my thinking, served as an effective antidote to counteract the trauma he carried since his wounding at Fossalta in the first world war. As Carlos Baker observed in this context:

His first visit to war time Spain had destroyed his belief in the after-life, but it had also eliminated all his fear of death . . . (Life, 481)

In dealing with the Spanish Civil War dispatches, it would not be possible to deal with Hemingway's other writings during the period strictly according to chronology. As such Hemingway visited Spain four times during the course of the troubled civil war period and spent about a year in Madrid on several fronts. His dispatches naturally covered the entire span from the point he arrived in Spain for reporting till he finally left broken-hearted seeing the imminence of the Republican fall.
It was during the first visit (March 1937-May 1937) itself that Hemingway plunged headlong into the production of a documentary film entitled The Spanish Earth and during his second visit (August 1937- August 1938) he made a sincere attempt to write a realistic play, The Fifth Column from a Madrid Hotel when the city was under heavy fire. Besides, many of his short stories were written in the course of his four visits to Spain during the Civil War period.

The very idea of the film and the project was initiated by a group of pro-loyalist American intellectuals called "Contemporary Historians". Besides Hemingway, the group comprised novelist John Dos Passos, play-wright Lillian Hellman and poet Archibald MacLeish. But eventually the whole thing was managed by Hemingway with the Dutch director Joris Ivens and the Photographer John Ferno. The shots were taken in actual war conditions often under direct fire and aerial bombing.

Besides helping the shooting all along, Hemingway gave the script and the voice for its commentary. The emotionally charged voice and the words straight from his heart made the film deeply evocative and served its purpose immensely. The film was intended to serve two objectives. First, it was supposed to counter the Pro-Fascist press campaign that catered blatant lies and distorted facts in America and the World around. Second, it was to be shown for raising funds to equip the medical and ambulance corps for the Republican army. And precisely, the film did its job excellently well.
The film, in fact, is a series of random shots in six-reels showing the real Spanish tragedy as projected on the terrible plight of the Spanish people. Particular care is taken to focus the camera eye on the agonized women, old men, children, gypsies and the young recruits and soldiers. Arthur Coleman rightly comments that "it is more precisely a general report of suffering than a political commentary" very much in the manner of "Picasso's Guernica. (HR, Fall 1982 : 64) The film concentrates on two aspects of the Spanish life: The inherent bond between the peasants and their land; the dislocation, chaos and the tragedy that the internecine conflict has brought about. "It is a picture which tells the truth and not a pack of dirty lies", thus says Jasper Wood in his introduction to the script. (ii) The film opens with Hemingway's words in his own voice:

The Spanish Earth is dry and hard and the faces of the men who work on that earth are hard and dry from the sun. (The Spanish Earth, 19)

The simple, primitive Spanish peasants, who are ever contented with their little necessaries like potato, wine and onion have been long denied their rightful share of land and harvest. Now they make a fresh renewed attempt to reclaim their land, to irrigate them and to bring out their harvest.

The camera then quickly moves to shoot the "true face of men going to action". The houses are left empty, deserted for the few survivors of the aerial bombardment who are in the trenches now. As the editor comments: "this picture wasn't acted, it is what
is real and true and horrible". (12) The commentary too mentions
the same: "Men cannot act before the camera in the presence of
death". (23)

The commentary arouses profound pathos as when Julian, a
young recruit on the front, writes a letter to his father in the
village:

Papa, I will be there in three days. Tell our
mother. (24)

The audience is left to speculate whether the boy could
really keep his appointment in the horrible uncertainty of the
time. But the tension is dramatically released when Julian
catches an empty truck and reaches home "sooner than he
expected". (42) Then the Camera moves and the commentary comes:

You stand in line all day to buy food for supper,
sometimes the foods run out before you reach the
doors. Sometimes a shell falls near the line and at
home they wait and wait and no body brings back
anything for supper. (41)

The Camera then focuses on a book keeper on his way to his
office in the morning "who has nothing to do with War"
absolutely. The Commentary follows:

So now they take the book-keeper away, but not to
his office or to his home. (41)

Such typical understatement of Hemingway in the commentary,
like his stories and novels, adds a special appeal.

Moving to the front has become a regular feature now. The typical scene of a married man going to battle is frequent, pathetic and moving. The commentary runs:

They say the good-byes that sound the same in any language. She says she'll wait. He says that he'll come back. . . . No body knows if he'll come back. Take care of the kid, he says. . . . They both know that when they move you out in trucks, it's to a battle. (45)

Then the commentary reminds us of how "Death comes each morning" (45) to the people of this town from the Rebels in the Hills. And there is a strong appeal to the olfactory sense when the commentary asserts:

The smell of death is acrid high explosive smoke and blasted granite. (45)

Hemingway does not preserve his feelings for the Spaniards alone. His concern for the dead Italians who fought for the Fascists is equally deep and genuine.

This film, though a minor project, compared to Hemingway's other more impressive literary response to the Civil War in Spain is greatly a trend-setter. During the course of his involvement in the production and the subsequent presentation of the documentary Hemingway shows his great commitment and devotion to the cause. After the shooting was done in a situation where life
was at risk every moment, the commentary was written, as Jasper Wood writes, "in bomb-ridden hotels and in the seclusion of continually shelled trenches". (12) That was not all. When the film was ready, Hemingway, with his image and influence, saw to it that the premiere was arranged at the White House and they were the honored guests of President Roosevelt. Then he moved on to California to make a show for the film colony to raise funds for the ambulances and medical supplies for the Loyalists. F. Scott Fitzgerald who was there at one such gathering later recalled how Hemingway blew into Hollywood like a whirlwind and radiated an intensity that had "something almost religious about it", scooping up close to 14,000 dollars in a single evening. (Fitzgerald Letters, 300-1)

This shows the dramatic transformation of this great artist from an isolationist stand to a total identification with a purely humanistic cause. Besides, the commentary of the film, as the initial response of Hemingway to any common cause, looks forward to his subsequent major literary work, For Whom the Bell Tolls.

For instance, the focus on La Passionaria, the most famous woman of the Spanish Civil War in this film anticipates his treatment of women in For Whom the Bell Tolls. "She is not a romantic beauty", the commentary clarifies. "She is", on the other hand, "the wife of a poor minor in Asturias". She is not an individual, for she represents the million voices of "the new Spanish Women". And the Commentary stresses the point that "it is
a new nation forged in the discipline of the bravery of its women". (32)

Again, Hemingway's broad vision of common humanity, that runs through the entire novel For Whom the Bell Tolls, is clearly anticipated in the brief commentary of this documentary. In the course of the commentary, Hemingway mentions the sad letters found invariably from the dead Italian soldiers in Spain. This very fact closely anticipates the Fascist whom Jordan kills in the morning only to discover from the letter in his pocket that he came from a village that Jordan knew so well. (FWBT, 302)

In spite of all its merits this piece of documentary, however, did not receive universal acclaim. A reviewer in the New York Times dismissed the film, particularly Hemingway's narrative as mere propaganda. (Manus, New York Times Aug.37:7). A distinguished film critic Ferguson however comments that the film's speciality lies in its "abstention from bombast and sloganism". He calls attention to the "Carrying power" that Hemingway's understatement gives it. (Philip, 35)

-III-

After the successful production of the documentary The Spanish Earth, Hemingway's second literary response to the Spanish Civil War was a full-length play, The Fifth Column. He wrote this play in a Hotel when Madrid was under siege and its
fall was imminent (October 1937). During the period of writing, as Hemingway mentions in his preface, the hotel "was struck by more than thirty high explosive shells (v). Hugh Thomas, in his famous book, The Spanish Civil War corroborates Hemingway's note on the nightmarish atmosphere of the time.(495)

Set very realistically in Madrid mostly in the Hotel Florida; the piece is a three-act play on the theme of counterespionage, with the conflict of love and duty, of individual happiness and social commitment as its central motif. The main character Philip Rawlings is an American correspondent secretly engaged in counterespionage for the loyalists. He lives in Hotel Florida and leads an apparently affluent and bohemian life. By the time the play begins and we see him; he says that he has been in the job for about a year. We see him somewhat tense and worn out possibly for the dangerous nature of his job. As he confesses to another official of the same Loyalist counterespionage ring Antonio:

With me its on the nerves now for a long time . .

. Too bloody much. And I am . . . tired too. (44)

Obviously the unsavory nature of his job got on his nerves and he feels as if he were in a veritable "death-trap". (85) May be for the exhaustion and weariness he, for quite some time, thinks of marriage, home, and a sort of quasi-separate peace we may say. In the course of this phase of fatigue and exhaustion, Philip speaks out to Antonio that he "would like to marry a girl named Bridges" because "she's got the longest, smoothest,
straightest legs in the world" (44)

Philip's conflict gets deepened and we hear him talking repeatedly about his run down state of mind. He again tells Antonio complaining:

I am very tired, see, and I am also disgusted with my job, and I'm nervous as a bastard because I'm worried . . . (53)

The persisting tension of the circumstance in which he operates strains him very badly and he looks forward desperately to some possible means of release and relief. As he tells Dorothy, "I'd like to marry you, and go away, and get out of all this." (75)

Harriet Fellner observes on this crisis of Philip:

In The Fifth Column, where Madrid's oppressive atmosphere is again linked to the shelling, the bombardment also serves as a backdrop for the Venus-Mars conflict. (74)

At this point of the play, Philip seems to be a continuation of Nick Adams, Jake Barnes and Frederic Henry. He is weak, he is threatened and he wants to run away from reality. But this period of weakness and proposed escape of Philip, unlike the case of all his predecessors, does not stay long. We soon find him gathering himself up wonderfully and asserting his commitment to the greater cause. Gone are those thoughts of marriage, home, privacy, quietness, personal comforts and happiness.
The brief conflict between his own self and the larger mankind beyond finally resolves. Philip stands fully to execute the deathbed conversion of Harry Morgan in To Have and Have Not. When Philip's friend Max asks him about his commitment to Dorothy, he replies resolutely and unequivocally:

"I'm going to break it with her". (101)

He further declares:

We're in for fifty years of undeclared wars and I've signed up for the duration. (101)

Presently, Philip has no wavering, no indecision, no conflict, his revulsion for the dirty job of counterespionage, his sickness for war and violence temporarily makes him disillusioned about the cause he is committed to. But the spell goes away as quickly as it comes. The conflict between personal comfort and happiness on the one hand, and social responsibility and commitment on the other, fails to obstruct the powerful urge for self-abnegation.

In his last meeting with Dorothy, Philip shows his decisiveness, clarity of vision and his firmness when he dismisses her passionate appeal thus:

And where I go now I go alone, or with others, who go there for the same reason I go. (104)
This changing response, as it becomes clear in the above statement of Philip, is in sharp contrast to the attitude manifested in all his predecessors including Harry Morgan, save his moment of realization before his death.

At this point of our discussion it may be relevant to refer to the Carnegie Hall speech of Hemingway to the second American Writers' Congress. In course of his seven-minute speech, amidst thunderous applause, Hemingway called upon his fellow writers to "Write truly" and to project one's findings of truth "in such a way that it becomes part of the experience of the person who reads it". (Baker. Life, 477)

In his play The Fifth Column, Hemingway has made a consistent attempt to project his experience in the most realistic manner without much artistic restraint. Carlos Baker points out the extensive autobiographical parallels:

Rawlings had 'big shoulders and a walk like a guerrilla', commonly skipped breakfast, read all morning papers... drank regularly at Chocote's Bar... (Life, 488)

The very setting of the play is mostly in the Hotel Florida of Madrid where Hemingway himself was staying and the lady correspondent Dorothy Bridges resembles Martha Gellhorn, with her long smooth legs. (488)
Hemingway thus draws his emotions from his real experience in life and transmutes them into art, not of course in a Wordsworthian sense strictly. (Tanner, 4) What Hemingway thought to be his points of strength by giving the factual details are treated as his points of failure by the critics. The critical consensus settles largely on his failure as a playwright. However, after the Theater Guild had adapted the play the situation improved and the play started receiving a favorable response. To Brooks Atkinson, it was a "strikingly convincing drama" (New York Times, March 7, 1940 :18), while Joseph Wood Krutch saw it as a "fine play" and felt greatly optimistic about its success. (Critical Heritage, 291)

On the other hand, critics like Edgar Johnson and Edwin Berry Burgum believe that the Spanish Civil War experience was the main driving force behind the transformation of both Hemingway and his hero. (Stephens, 217). Like Philip Young, Edgar Johnson too attributes the transition in Hemingway's writing to his first visit to Spain after the outbreak of the Civil War. This is reflected in the ending of To Have and Have Not. They further argue that after coming back from Spain after his first forty-five days' stay, Hemingway made some important change in the ending of To Have and Have Not. As Edgar Johnson clearly maintains, Harry Morgan's realization of the futility of his inglorious individual attempt to win a victory is a step forward to
the "tone of social co-operation" in The Fifth Column. (Sewanee Review, XLVIII 1940: 289-90) Similarly, Edwin Berry Burgam considered the Spanish Civil War as instrumental in his transformation from "Bohemianism to Democracy" (New Masses Nov 22, 1938: 21) Again, John M. Muste, commenting on the clear transition from Hemingway's earlier writings (which we may call the pre-Spanish Civil War writings as well) to his later (Spanish Civil War and Post-Spanish Civil War) writings says:

The play presents a stoic posturing in the face of danger and hardship which almost parodies such earlier Hemingway heroes as Jake Barnes and Frederic Henry. (66)

Thus all the pre-Spanish Civil War protagonists of Hemingway including Harry Morgan (till the moment of his fatal injury that precedes his ultimate realization) are grossly immersed in their own selfish pursuits. The young Nick Adams is ever on his heels in frantic effort to save his soul. Jake Barnes, running hopelessly from Paris to Pamplona in search of peace and stability for his restless mind and self. Frederic Henry, in his escapade from the War front is desperately attempting to make a separate peace for his own future and happiness, Harry Morgan too succumbing to the injury that he has received in his strife to bring comfort and cheer to his small family. But it is in Harry's last words that we see the transformation, with the shifting of emphasis from the narrow bounds of his self to the larger world beyond taking shape. But Harry does not live to bring his life's reali-
zation to action. And it is Philip Rawlings (The Fifth Column) who fulfills the sacred ritual, the last wish of Harry, the desired object of the continual search of all the protagonists since Nick Adams.

As Angel Capellan asserts:

The central and most decisive element in Hemingway's fiction is the presence of a Protagonist whom we can follow from childhood to old age, through several reincarnations and adaptations. (67)

In view of the seminal role that Philip Rawlings performs in the growth of Hemingway's protagonist, The Fifth Column, despite its imperfections, serves as an indispensable link between To Have and Have Not and For Whom the Bell Tolls.

Apart from the dispatches, the documentary, the play and of course the much acknowledged novel, Hemingway has written six short stories on the Spanish Civil War background. Excepting "The Old Man at the Bridge" all other stories remained in obscurity since their publication in late thirties in Esquire and Cosmopolitan till as late as 1969 when Charles Scribner's Sons brought out four of them with The Fifth Column. In 1971 an anthology published from Moscow included another two from this group including "The Old Man at the Bridge". It was in 1987 finally that an anthology entitled Hemingway's Complete Short Stories brought
out all these stories.

While Hemingway's writings received abundant critical response, these pieces were mostly deprived of such scholarly attention. Though apparently there seems to be no reason why this happened, the causes for this can possibly be two. First, after the disappointing fall of the Loyalists Hemingway himself did not take any interest in further inclusion of these stories in any of his anthologies. Secondly, the sentimental and partly propagandistic nature of these pieces did not attract any scholarly attention possibly, particularly after the publication of the major novel For Whom the Bell Tolls.

But in the context of this study these stories, despite all their limitations, still have much bearing. It is because, very much like the dispatches, the documentary, and the play; these stories were the direct products of Hemingway's Spanish Civil War experience and they further looked forward to his major work For Whom the Bell Tolls. As one critic rightly points out, this major group of stories on the Spanish Civil War background are no less important than the Nick Adams group. (Smith) In fact all of them were written during a period when the loyalists were mostly on the defensive and their line of control was fast receding. Besides, these stories reflect the various moods and aspects of the Civil War and show the transition that finally becomes conspicuous in For Whom the Bell Tolls. They cover varied themes ranging from conflict to resolution, futility to affirmation, senseless killing to spiritual transcendence and above all, from self to selflessness.
The first of this series, "The old man at the Bridge" was first published in Ken in its May 1938 issue.

In one of his late dispatches we may recall, Hemingway mentions an Old Man whom he met near a pontoon bridge when there was a great exodus of civilians following the failure of a Republican resistance. In this story, in a thinly covered disguise, the narrator, a war correspondent obviously, relates his meeting with an old man.

Against the background of hectic movement, great tension, and apprehension following the collapse of the Loyalist resistance, the narrator meets "an old man with steel rimmed spectacles and very dusty clothes sitting by the side of the road." Further up, the last batch of civilian refugees are hastily crossing the pontoon bridge. "But the old man sat there without moving. He was too tired to go any further".

Where do you come from? asks the narrator.

"From San Carlos," came the brief reply with a smile. I was taking care of animals, the old man added.

He further tells that he was "the last one to leave the town of San Carlos". (311) (Moscow ed.).

In the course of this brief conversation the narrator comes to know that the old man was greatly worried about his animals that he was forced to leave behind. As the old man says, "there
were two goats, a cat and four pairs of pigeons."(312)

"And you have no family?" asks the narrator while his gaze was fixed on "the far end of the bridge where a few last carts were hurrying down the slope of the bank". (312)

No', says the old man and adds that the animals that he mentioned are the only members of his family on earth. While talking with the narrator, the old man is busy analyzing the crisis to himself and feels slightly relieved to think about the cat who can look out for itself. Interrupting the old man in his deep concern for his animals the narrator asks again:

"What politics have you?"

"I am without politics", comes the reply. (312)

But the old man ought to go somewhere, the narrator reminds him. He looked at me very blankly and tiredly"(313), while the old man was lost in his thought for the animals. After feeling a little relieved about the cat, he remembers that the dove cage has been unlocked which brings some more relief to his anxiety. Finally, not able to find any more clues for the possible escape of the goats he instructs himself (in the manner of all later Hemingway protagonists at the hour of crisis and helplessness) not to think about them rather. "Then the old man tried to be on his feet, but he couldn't. He sat down backwards in the dust." (313).

And the story ends at this point, with the narrator's note:

There was nothing to do about him. It was Easter
Sunday and the Fascists were advancing toward the Ebro. It was a gray overcast day with a low ceiling so their planes were not up. That and the fact that cats know how to look after themselves was all the good luck that old man would ever have. (313)

This story, with its brevity, compactness and a profound tragic undertone looks forward to Hemingway's later works in more than one way. The great detachment, the negation of self and supreme commitment to duty are strongly manifested in the character of the old man. Even at a moment, when his own life is under terrible threat, particularly in the chaotic, maddening atmosphere of evacuation in a war time situation; the sort of yogic detachment about his own self and safety that the old man shows is unparalleled. This supreme detachment, negation of the self and commitment to duty that make the character of the old man so admirable is a complete new trend that Hemingway's writings show in the wake the Spanish Civil War. The old man thus looks forward to Robert Jordan and Santiago in Hemingway's two subsequent major works.

The next three stories that came out in Esquire between November 1938 and February 1939 are all set in Chicote's, a famous bar in Madrid. "The Denunciation," the first of this series is based upon the conflict of self and social commitment. The story is set in Chicote's against a background of terrible tension when Madrid was under indiscriminate aerial bombing and
The story is overtly autobiographical and thus shows the writer's initial apolitical stand. He makes it clear at the beginning as to why Chicote's was the best bar in Madrid. Besides its team of modest and decent attendants, Chicote's was one of the very few places where "you did not talk politics". With the break of the Civil War the regular visitors to this bar are now mostly on Franco's side while a few are committed to the Loyalists. Why the number of visitors committed to the Loyalist Camp has drastically fallen is reasoned out by the narrator thus:

Because it was a very cheerful place, and because really cheerful people are usually the bravest, and the bravest get killed quickest, a big part of Chicote's old customers are now dead.

(Complete S. Stories, 421)

The above observation and analysis show a contribution of the writer's existential awareness as it is reflected in Frederic Henry's perception of life in A Farewell to Arms. Soon we are, however, introduced to the main crisis in the plot. The narrator confronts a grave moral crisis when one of the old waiters of Chicotes draws his attention to an old visitor, and an old acquaintance of the narrator who is now a Fascist in the guise of a Loyalist sympathizer. The instant reaction of the narrator was isolationistic, non-committal. "It's not my business", he sharply dismisses the waiter. The Waiter who is an old man speaks out his own state of mind, his conflict between emotion and duty, and, by the way, mentions how he has a son on the front and another
killed fighting for the peoples' cause. Nevertheless, the narrator still continues to maintain his stand telling repeatedly, "It is thy problem, I am not a politician". But the old waiter wouldn't relent. He comes again finally with his conflict resolved by now and says: "It is my responsibility". Under these circumstances the narrator feels pressurized and at last gives the telephone number of the secret police to the waiter and tries to wash his hands clean. While taking the telephone number the old waiter makes his stand clear to the narrator:

"I have nothing against him. But it is the causa".

Until this point the narrator, however, continues to maintain his stand. He does not want to denounce the man himself: "But I am a foreigner and it is your war and your problem". (emphasis mine) This very feeling of being a foreigner as a result of his failure to identify himself with the causa takes a drastic turn when the old waiter shows his high sense of duty and his commitment to the cause by denouncing the customer at last. Soon after passing on the information to the secret police over phone the waiter again comes and confesses:

He was an old client and a good client.

Also I have never denounced anyone before.

I did not denounce for pleasure. (427)

The old waiter's admirable commitment to the causa, as he says and, his high introspection visibly transforms the narrator from his firm apolitical, non-committal stand to an identification with the people's cause. Although the narrator leaves the bar
hurriedly before the police arrive to round the man up, he passes through a horrible phase of conflict that brings out a dramatic change in him finally. He quits the place obviously to keep his hands clean of the matter, but reaching his Hotel finds himself in a deadly conflict. He is not able to get over the conflict by any means and in the end calls up the secret police Head Quarters:

"Tell him I denounced him . . . " , thus speaks the narrator and resolves his conflict dramatically. Then we hear, "as I walked up the stairs now, I felt much better". (428)

This story has much to contribute to the growth and transformation of the writer's approach to life, a significant role to play in bringing about a big change in his major works following the Spanish Civil War. First, it shows the writer's hitherto apolitical, non-committal and isolationist stand that dramatically gave way to a total commitment to and identification with the cause of the Spanish Republic. This process continues through the novel For Whom the Bell Tolls in which the theme is based on human solidarity: "No man is an island"; and finally culminates in the cosmic vision of Santiago in The Old Man and the Sea. As we find, in For Whom the Bell Tolls the protagonist Robert Jordan regrets,

That I am foreigner is not my fault. I would rather have been born here ...(FWBT, 15)

The next story of this series that is set in the Chicote's against the same tension-ridden atmosphere of Madrid is "The Butterfly and the Tank". It was first published in the Esquire in
its December issue of 1938. This story is comparatively more tragic than the previous one, as it concerns the brutal killing of a highly innocent and well-meaning civilian with plenty of jest and good humor particularly in a period when the mood was generally dark and tempers short. The story is based on a symbol ("The Butterfly and the tank") that finally makes the whole issue clear and poignant in its perspective.

This story too set in the Chicote's begins with a sickly winter shower. The rain itself occasions the story as the narrator is forced into the bar to wait out the rain. Yet another instance of rain as an ominous bringer of misfortune and tragedy in the Hemingway world. The mood in general and the atmosphere corresponds to this sickly winter shower in the war-torn city. The narrator himself sets the mood of the time thus:

It was the second winter at shelling in the siege of Madrid and everything was short including tobacco and people's tempers and you were a little hungry all the time and would become suddenly and unreasonably irritated at things you could do nothing about, such as the weather.

(Moscow ed, 314)

It was on such a gloomy, irritating evening that the man got into the bar with a flit gun loaded with eau de cologne. He was one of the very few civilians present in the bar packed with the uniformed people of the militias.

He started his fun by squirting one of the waiters with the
flit gun. The waiter was of course quite indignant about it and gave a note of protest. But the man wouldn't stop. Some uniformed militia people got up and threw him out of the bar. But unfortunately, the flit gun man did not think of the consequences of his action and broke in once again and resumed his fun. This time the militia men pushed him between the tables and shot him dead at a close range. The poor man lay dead in a corner on the floor and the killers escaped confidently while the police made a lot of fuss about it and held up the civilians till midnight.

The next day when the narrator went to the bar the whole issue became clear in the course of his talks with the manager and the waiters. They all realized that "it was really just an unfortunate misunderstanding". (Moscow Ed, 323)

The narrator recalls how the flitgun man lay miserably on the floor with his shirt ripped open without any undershirt and with a pair of worn out shoes. And the manager adds how his wife came and mourned bitterly over the body until she was taken away by the soldiers. She dropped down by him crying: "Pedro, what have they done to thee, Pedro? who has done this to thee? Oh, Pedro." (323)

The tragedy of Pedro, as the Manager of the bar suggested to the narrator, was a sort of metaphor that he expressed through "a butterfly and the tank". The very act of killing the poor civilian, the smooth escape of the killers and the very nightmarish, chaotic atmosphere of the time with bombings, shellings and casualty every moment tend to make Pedro's
death appear comical. The individual, as such, was as fragile and as insignificant in that atmosphere as a butterfly would be in the face of a tank.

Commenting on the title and its irony Charles Molesworth comments:

... the misunderstood gaiety coming in contact with the deadly seriousness that is here always.(87)

If we recall the writer's story "The Killers" and compare Nick Adams, its protagonist with the narrator here, the issue appears clearer. In "The killers" the predicament of Ole Anderson appeared so much grave and a matter of the utmost concern for Nick while here, the death of Pedro in much more tragic and senseless circumstances does not affect the narrator correspondingly. The endurance that we observe in the narrator of "The Butterfly and the Tank" has possibly grown out of the protagonist's recurring encounter with the sinister forces of the world. Particularly, the violence and horror that was let loose in the wake of the Spanish Civil War acted therapeutically to counteract the trauma that the First World War wound had left in him. That explains why the narrator here does not feel thwarted and vulnerable as Nick Adams and Frederic Henry felt previously. This shows the consolidation of the disturbed, unsettled psyche of the early protagonists and thus anticipates Robert Jordan and Santiago in the days to come.

Finally, the story anticipates For whom the Bell Tolls in
its objective treatment of the loyalist follies. The uniformed militia men who gunned down the innocent carpenter Pedro and deprived his wife and children of their husband and father, were the Republicans, the people's militias, and not the Fascists. Hemingway, throughout his writings, never discriminates between the Fascists and the Loyalists. That is one of the reasons why he was subject to some scathing criticism by the anarchists and the Marxists. (Like Alvah Bessie, Arturo Barea etc).

The third story of this series, "Night Before Battle" which was published in the February issue of Esquire in 1939 is set in the Chicote's mostly. This story gives a realistic picture of the state of affair during the advanced months of the Civil War when the Loyalists were mostly on their defense and were losing their ground steadily. Ineffective organization, lack of proper planning and inadequate supply of arms were the major reasons for the fall of the Republican resistance. This story gives a glimpse of the whole set up and the prevailing atmosphere of the time. As AL Wagner, the tanker, one of the characters of the story, tells disgustingly: I don't mind dying a bit. Dying is just a lot of crap. only it's wasteful. (Comp.S.Story, 443)

The reaction of the tanker is not a sign of his cowardice or his fear of death. It is against the gross mismanagement, disorganization and total absence of planning that he is reacting. Presently they have reached a point when the death of an individual does not serve any purpose. It is simply a "wasteful" death, as he tells rightly. His views directly look forward to the dialogue between Gen. Golz and Robert Jordan at 262
The story concerns three characters; a tanker who fought that day and shall be fighting the next day too; a pilot who has survived a burial in a bombardment and the narrator himself. They sit in Chicote's and then move into the narrator's room in Hotel Florida and try to spend the night, that seems too long and endless, playing cards and gambling. The atmosphere, in spite of the bright electric lights and activity, has a smell of disaster and death about it. The tanker Al Wagner does most of the talking with the narrator and his voice brings out the whole atmosphere of the night. He refers to their assault next day on the church of the hill. He complains how they "haven't got enough artillery to give any kind of real covering fire to keep them down". Besides, they have to fight in such ill-equipped manner against a powerful and well-equipped enemy. So he feels strongly that "It's going to be murder" (Comp. S. Stories, 441-42).

In a war, when both the armies are not more or less matched in their weapons or artillery, it really becomes a senseless, wasteful murder of individuals. And that is what the story precisely conveys with a small fragment of the Loyalist forces pitted against a far superior rival force toward the end of the civil war. This anticipates the dreadful night of the cave of Pablo where Robert Jordan lay waiting for the next day's blowing up the bridge. Like Pilar smelling the odour of death in Jordan's hands, Al Wagner, the tanker feels it himself. He is almost con-
vinced about his imminent death in the next day's assault. So, before they sleep, AL hands over an envelope to the narrator to be sent to his brother in New York. And he retires wishing to meet the narrator in the Chicote's the next night. But when the narrator wants to know at what time, he dismisses him telling: "Listen, that's enough", he said," Tomorrow night at Chicote's, We don't have to go into the time" And he went out).(459)

The tanker AL Wagner directly looks forward to Robert Jordan in For Whom the Bell Tolls with his preparedness and courage to die. But Jordan goes a step higher in his manner of acceptance of the reality. He never reacts, though the circumstances in which he operates are no better than AL Wagner's.

"All you need is a perspective". (458) AL Wagner says and finally calms down when he gets it. And Robert Jordan never seems to have lost the "perspective" any moment in his brief life. So he maintained his poise and equanimity throughout, though he was directly exposed to death all along.

The last two stories on the Spanish Civil War background, "No Body Ever Dies" and "Under the Ridge" were published in the Cosmopolitan in its March and October issues of 1939 respectively. The first one "No Body Ever Dies" is considered to be the weakest of this group for its tone of open propaganda, without any conviction or practical philosophy. Therefore it lacks in realism and literally gets lost in a vague idealism and romantic adventurism.

The theme is based on the life and adventures of Enrique,
the protagonist, who has just returned to Cuba from fifteen months of fighting in Spain. There is a parallel political struggle in Cuba against the same Fascist forces as in Spain. Enrique is led by his friends to a house where he spends the last few hours of his life with his girl Maria. The house is then raided, Enrique is killed by the police and Maria is taken into police custody.

The story, as such, marginally anticipates the last few hours of Jordan with Maria in Pablo's camp and the tragic separation of the two lovers thereafter, in For Whom the Bell Tolls. The stoic posture of Maria, the girl in this story, to some extent resembles that of Jordan's girl, in the novel.

The story presents the last few hours of the two lover's lives before the boy dies. In the course of their talk the boy Enrique tells Maria:

There are no foreign countries, Maria . . . Where you die does not matter, if you die for liberty.

(Comp.S.stories, 475)

The words of Enrique anticipate Robert Jordan. Like the tanker Al Wagner in the story "Night before Battle" Enrique too complains about the inadequate artillery coverage and the force that was insufficient which, in fact, led to the tragic deaths of a number of young volunteers including Vicente, the brother of the girl.

Besides, the few moments when the two lovers become one in
ecstasy anticipate the sleeping bag scene of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. As they lose themselves in the darkness of the room:

Then, in the dark on the bed, holding himself carefully, his eyes closed, their lips against each other, the happiness there with no pain, the being home suddenly there with no pain . . . the comfort of being loved and still no pain . . . (477)

They were jerked out of their ecstasy by the sharp, piercing police siren and Enrique soon fell a prey to the police bullets and Maria was taken away into the police custody.

The last story of this group "Under the Ridge" is the most realistic and the best one of this lot. It is because, this story gives a realistic and objective picture of the Loyalist operation in the Civil War and shows the causes for its eventual defeat. At the same time, it seems to be partly a continuation of some major strain of *A Farewell to Arms* while it clearly points to the next novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

The maturity of the vision of the artist which is reflected in this story is mainly for the sum total of experience that the writer put into it after his four extended visits to Spain and his first hand experience of the state of affairs during the course of the struggle. This story was published in the October issue of the *Cosmopolitan* in 1939, after Hemingway finally left Spain disheartened seeing no hope for the Loyalists.

The writer, with all his direct experience and wisdom,
accumulated through months of painful association with the Republican cause, effectively introduces a character as his spokesman. He is a young Spanish soldier who knows no fear, and has a terribly blunt manner. The dialogue between the narrator and this young Spanish soldier is the focal point of the story. The narrator, though he seems to get shocked at the beginning by the bluntness of the young Spaniard, encourages him all through the conversation and admires his straight-forward, unadulterated approach to things.

This young Spaniard is from Extremadura. He has as much pride in introducing himself as an Extremaduran, as he has contempt for the foreigners, the Russians in particular. The narrator asks the young Extremaduran in the same way as in "The old Man at the Bridge":

"What are your politics?"

"I hate all foreigners; the Moors, the English, the French, the Italians, the Germans, the North Americans and the Russians". But he hates "the Russians most" (462)

"Are you a Fascist?", asks the narrator.

"No", says the man. "I am an Extremaduran and I hate Foreigners". (462)

This part of the conversation between the narrator and the Extremaduran sets the mood of the story and largely suggests the deeper implication of the issue. Why this Spaniard is so bitter about the foreigners and the Russians in particular, when they come voluntarily to help them fight against the Fascists? Is he
crazy? No, the issue is serious and greatly consequential. He, in the course of his talk, painfully reminisces the long tortuous past of his country. In a voice, charged with emotion he says:

I am from Badajoz. In Badajoz, we have been sacked and pillaged and our women violated by the English, the French, now the Moors.

And about why he hates the Russians he says: "Because they are the representatives of tyranny and I hate their faces." (464)

Against this background the story presents two live-examples of the diabolical conduct of the Russians in the name of discipline. The first is the case of a French man in the international Brigade who walked out of the line, seeing the hopelessness and stupidity of the attack against an unequal enemy. He was promptly rounded up by two Russians in leather coats and was shot on the very spot from where he had deserted. The second is the case of a boy Paco who was frightened during the bombardment and shot himself in the hands to get away from the front. But after he was cured in the Hospital the same leather coat Russians brought him over the same spot where he had wounded himself and coolly shot him in the back of his head. "He had no warning and no chance to prepare himself" (467) — these two cases show a continuation of the attempted "separate peace" and the ultimate sway of the sinister forces in the world of A Farewell to Arms:
When such people with the leather coats and pistols come it is always a bad Omen, thus says the young Extremaduran. (Comp. S. stories, 467)

The sinister symbol of "The leather coats" in the Spanish Civil War assume the manifestation of "Thought police in Orwell's 1984.

This story unveils the long drawn mask on the Russian hypocrisy and double-dealing in the course of the Spanish Civil War that becomes the central issue of the novel For Whom the Bell Tolls. The inadequate supply of arms and artillery, lack of proper planning and coordination and above all, the brutal and high-handed dealings in the name of discipline made the Fascist victory smooth and early. Finally the writer quite effectively brings out the hypocrisy and illusion of the whole thing by showing the tanks in their trail of retreat as victory march on the celluloid. He sums up:

On the screen they advanced over the hill irresistibly, mounting the crests like great ships, to crawl clanking on toward the illusion of victory (Comp. S. Stories, 469)

-VI-

In a recent book, The True Gen, Dennis Brian recalls that six days before Franco's men entered Madrid, Hemingway was back home in Key West starting his novel For Whom the Bell Tolls. Brian refers to a letter that Hemingway wrote during this period
to Max Perkins, in which he said that now that he was back in America, as a writer his only allegiance was to the truth. (121)

This declaration of Hemingway, in the context of his novel For Whom the Bell Tolls, is widely acknowledged as genuine and honest. The book, as such, marks the culmination of Hemingway's literary response to the Spanish Civil War. The novel For Whom the Bell Tolls is the direct outcome of the writer's commitment to the cause of the Spanish people in their historic Civil War.

The novel is based on the theme of the blowing up of a strategic bridge by an American Volunteer dynamiter with the help of a group of Spanish Guerrillas. The entire action centers around the bridge, in a rugged Spanish mountain range just below the Fascist line and the duration of the whole action is only seventy-two hours from the time the protagonist arrives in the guerrilla camp till the bridge is blown, the guerrilla band escapes and the protagonist dies. Hemingway shows wonderful precision and subtlety in handling the plot and achieves "The true union of passion and reason" that elevates this piece to "a work of art". (Robert Sherwood, 325)

For Whom the Bell Tolls is significant for two main reasons. Firstly, it marks Hemingway's break with his earlier, pre-Spanish Civil War writings as there is a new theme and a new type of protagonist altogether in this novel. Secondly, the novel also shows a corresponding change in the technique and style of the writer from his earlier writings.

Hemingway shows a consuming interest in violence and death in all his pre-Spanish Civil War novels and stories, including
the two non-fiction works which he wrote during the thirties, Green Hills of Africa and Death in the Afternoon. The theme of violence and death, of course, continues after the Spanish Civil War, but the whole perspective changes. As we see in the Nick Adams stories, and the first three novels (SAR, FTA, THAAN) the protagonist is invariably an isolated individual struggling desperately, both inside and outside, mentally and physically against an unequal, hostile, indifferent world. And lastly the protagonist gets crushed miserably before he finds out the clue, a viable rationale to justify his struggle. Life, as it were, is subject to the perpetual threat of suffering, violence and death. This is inevitable, not only in Hemingway's writing world, but outside in the world of reality as well.

So this theme with the inherent human tragedy continues in Hemingway's writing even after the Spanish Civil War. But the fundamental difference that the few later, post-Spanish Civil War novels show is in the transformation of the protagonists' approach to life. While the circumstances or the life as it is, in which the protagonist operates remains basically the same, these post-Spanish Civil War protagonists show a clear superiority over their predecessors in the very manner of their approach to and acceptance of the reality. What could have brought about such a fundamental change in Hemingway's writing? The first thing that comes to mind is the Spanish ritual of bull fight which fascinated Hemingway greatly and had considerable influence on him. The role of the matador, particularly in administering death to the savage bull in conformity with the strict rules of the
ritual impressed Hemingway greatly. Hemingway took it as a cold
defiance of Death and the manner in which the matador confronts
the savage in the arena convinced him as the ultimate standard of
courage and endurance on the part of any individual.

Was it then the Spanish bull fight that brought about the
change in the later novels like For Whom the Bell Tolls, Across
The River and Into the Trees and The Old Man and the Sea? Critics
like Laurence Broer (The Spanish Tragedy) have analyzed
Hemingway's works in this light.

-VII-

Here, the stand I have taken is different from that of critics like Broer who try to interpret Hemingway's entire writing in
the light of the Corrida de toros. The change that sets in For
Whom the Bell Tolls, in fact, starts from the "death-bed conver-
sion" (young, 71) of Harry Morgan in To Have and Have Not. And the
process continues all through the writings of Hemingway during
the Spanish Civil War (such as, Spanish Earth, The Fifth Column,
The War Dispatches, and the short stories) till it becomes con-
spicuous enough in For Whom the Bell Tolls.

As we have discussed earlier, Hemingway's protagonists,
right from Nick Adams to Harry Morgan undergo a bitter "internal
struggle, parallel to their struggle outside with the sinister
forces of the world. While Nick Adams is mostly guided by his
reflexes, the instinctive, unemotive factors. Jake Barnes, Frederic Henry and Harry Morgan are quite conscious and aware of the conflict inside. So as it happens in "The Killers" Nick Adams instinctively chooses to run away, without any reflection or analysis of the situation. But the motif, all the same, remains to find out a viable rationale, a meaningful pattern in this inherently tragic frame of life in order to make the struggle for existence tolerable and worthwhile. Nick Adams, thus, apparently for his age and immaturity fails to analyze or articulate his own internal struggle that must be tormenting him. It is Jake Barnes in The Sun Also Rises who makes the first ever utterance of their quest for the ultimate truth says thus:

All I wanted to know was how to live in it. May be if you found out how to live in it. You learned from that what it was all about. (SAR, 153)

To find a purpose and meaning in this struggle is the ultimate truth that all these protagonists strove for, all their life. And finally, it was Harry Morgan who got the enlightenment, at the end of his life when to make any amendment in the light of his realization was not possible any longer. The enlightenment or the regeneration or the realization that Harry Morgan got was subsequently materialized in action by Robert Jordan in For Whom the Bell Tolls.

Now the question arises what ultimately brought about this realization to the dying Harry that continued to illumine the lives of Robert Jordan, Colonel Cantwell and Santiago. It is certainly not the ritual of Spanish bull-fight that effected this
transformation. Had he been influenced by this ritual to that extent, he would have written about it long before To Have and Have Not. Secondly, had Hemingway been keen on developing his protagonist in the image of the bull fighter he would have preferred not to go for a non-fiction, a treatise on the Spanish bull-fight like Death In the Afternoon, where he points out its lapses along with its merits. Thirdly, instead of writing the non-fiction, and introducing such minor characters like Paco, the boy in the story "The Capital of the World" or Pedro Romero, the young bullfighter in The Sun Also Rises Hemingway could have introduced full-fledged heroes in his major works.

That the bull-fight did not effect the change in the later novels of Hemingway is strongly evidenced from the fact that Hemingway himself could not be free from his fear psychosis or trauma till he went to the Spanish Civil War, about which Carlos Baker writes thus:

Premonitions of possible death struck him periodically like twinges of rheumatism. (445)

Baker again writes:

His first visit to war-time Spain had destroyed his belief in the after-life, but it had also eliminated all his fear of death. (481)

Thus, the fear of death that continued to haunt Hemingway
was reflected in his early protagonists, along with the attendant complications like insomnia etc. A point worth noting here is that, in spite of all his exposure to the Spanish bull-fight rituals, Hemingway could not get over his chronic fear-psychosis. Even in Death In the Afternoon he writes:

There is no remedy for any thing in life. Death is the sovereign remedy for all misfortunes. (104)

He again writes in the same book:

All stories if continued far enough end in death. (122)

This clearly shows that the awareness of Death continues to be his prime concern, and in turn, the supreme controlling factor in Hemingway's life and his writing as well. In both Death in the Afternoon and The Green Hills of Africa, we get a clear account of Hemingway's experimentation with bull fighting and big-game hunting in his own life visibly to counteract his persisting "trauma". But all these attempts of Hemingway which were precisely directed towards getting over his own abnormal fear of death, remained incomplete till the Spanish Civil War.

It was during the Spanish Civil War that Hemingway finally succeeds in resolving the life-long conflict that keeps tormenting his protagonists as much as himself. There, at last, they realize what they were longing for all their lives. Their quest ends in their identification with the larger mankind that exists beyond their self'. They realize the divine touch of
human solidarity, of brotherhood and fellow-feeling. And in this process of transformation, they get over their narrow individualism, concern for the self, and their denial of the larger issues of mankind.

This point becomes clearer when one sets this newly emerging Hemingway protagonist against all his predecessors in the earlier pre-Spanish Civil War works. This new figure, as one sees in Robert Jordan or in Colonel Cantwell or Santiago shows a clean break with the "lost generation" traits like despair, indecisiveness and sentimentality of their predecessors. They are, on the other hand, bold, decisive, courageous, assertive and confident. And all these changes, so remarkable indeed, could only be possible for their denial of the self and their affiliation to the cause of human solidarity and universal brotherhood. Such commitment to a great cause gives them enough spiritual strength to confront the harsh reality of life, which bull-fighting or big-game-hunting couldn't possibly give. Robert Jordan declares in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*:

I have fought for what I have believed in . . . if we win here we will win everywhere. (*FWBT*, 467)

Jordan continues:

The world is a fine place and worth the fighting for and I hate very much to leave it. (*FWBT*, 467)

What Jake Barnes wanted to learn, Robert Jordan has already done. The quest to know the purpose of this struggle, to find a
meaning of this perpetual warfare in life, that commences with Nick Adams finds itself well resolved in Robert Jordan. Thus, as Ivan Kashkeen (1961) justly puts it: "Here, in Spain, Hemingway at last found the right words to be said about victory over death (167).

Thus the change is conspicuous from Nick Adams to Robert Jordan through Jake Barnes, Frederic Henry and Harry Morgan. The transformation is clear and promising: from NADA and nihilism to affirmation, from defeatism to conviction, from despair to optimism, and above all, from self to selflessness, from atomic individualism to social commitment and universal brotherhood. Jordan's complete negation of his own self is manifested in his dedication and commitment to the cause of the Republic. As he ruminates:

It gave a part in something that you could believe in wholly and completely and in which you felt an absolute brotherhood with the others who were engaged in it. It was something that you have never known before but that you had experienced now and you gave such importance to it and the reasons for it that your own death seemed of complete unimportance. (FWBT, 235) (emphasis mine)

In all the short stories and early novels Hemingway's protagonist only pursues his own self, his own happiness and security. Either he is totally horrified and baffled as in the case of Nick Adams, or completely confused and rendered helpless
in case of Jake Barnes or desperately attempting to find out a separate peace away from bombs and bullets like Frederic Henry or struggling to bring comfort to one's wife and kids like Harry Morgan.

-VIII-

It is in For Whom the Bell Tolls at last, that the protagonist succeeds in rising above his self and acts for a greater cause. As regards the earlier ones, Paolini (1961) rightly observes that the protagonist is "caught in a deep and unresolved antagonism: The antithesis between the "self" and the "anti-self" (132-33).

In For Whom the Bell Tolls thus, the long persisting conflict is finally resolved. This became possible, as Jackson J. Benson believes, owing to Robert Jordan's emotional stability "that can arise only from a strong general faith in humanity"(162). Commenting on the new role that Robert Jordan plays as a Hemingway protagonist in For Whom the Bell Tolls Michael F. Moloney writes that "devotion to any cause outside themselves was something new for the creatures of Hemingway's pen." (190) Yet another critic Robin H. Farquhar maintains that Robert Jordan's role is exemplary as he proves that "man may find purpose in life through love for his fellow man". (277) Even Santiago, with his superhuman endurance, composure and control over his situation does not get so much scope as Robert Jordan to merge in a global
Robert Jordan, an American professor, presently a volunteer dynamiter in the Republican International militia in Spain is dispatched with order to blow a strategic bridge across the Fascist line. The blowing of the bridge is carefully scheduled to synchronize with a proposed crackdown on the Fascists. But, from the very beginning, things move unfavorably. Jordan, as per the instruction, is supposed to receive aid and advice from Pablo, a Republican guerrilla leader who camps close to the bridge. But this host of Jordan, who is supposed to help the execution of the plan goes against the very idea of blowing the bridge and puts his entire weight against Jordan's effort to fulfill the act. And finally, a few hours before the scheduled moment of crack-down, Pablo escapes with the detonators. This is not all that Jordan confronts in executing his assignment. During his three days camp there Jordan gets enough indication that the Fascists have already got the information about their proposed crackdown. In view of this situation the blowing of the bridge, the entire mobilization of the troops and the artillery would fail to strike its target. So Jordan sends Andres, one of the guerrillas to the area commander of the Republican army suggesting the calling off of the assault. But his message does not reach its destination owing to gross mismanagement and lack of co-ordination in the Army Headquarters itself. But, despite all such monstrous handicaps, obstacles and tensions, Jordan finally (as he was instructed) blows up the bridge just at the scheduled hour. As the Republican attack becomes a failure, which Jordan knew much in ad-
vance, the Fascists make a prompt counter attack, chasing the guerrillas out of their hideout. Robert Jordan sustains a fatal injury in his leg as his horse falls down on it rendering him immobile. He chooses to stay behind alone to cover the escape of the guerrilla band with his machine-gun till the Fascist infantry arrives.

The brief three days time that the novel covers not only shows in rare precision the wholesome personality of a new type of Hemingway protagonist that Robert Jordan is, with all his dimensions, it also presents in microcosm the entire gamut of the Spanish Civil War, with all its merits and lapses. In this context Leo Gurko observes that "the sense of microcosm is worked out exquisitely". (120) Hemingway brilliantly and effectively telescopes the Spanish Civil War of three years duration into three days time. The fight between the Loyalists and the Insurgents (Rebels) has a strong universal note as it represents the perpetual fight that goes on everywhere and everytime in the world between the forces of good and the forces of evil. Similarly, Hemingway realistically presents a cross-section of characters from Pablo and Rafael at one extreme to characters like Anselmo, Jordan and Pilar at the other, representing broadly the evil and the good respectively. The treachery of Pablo, the lack of commitment to the cause in people like Rafael, who chases rabbits when he should guard the entrance, the eccentricity of people at the helm of affairs like Andre Marty, the half-heartedness of General Golz, the double-dealings, the lack of adequate supply of arms and ammunitions by the Russians and above all, a general mismanagement of things.
finally led to the Republican failure. On the other hand, foreign volunteers like Robert Jordan and the native civilians and peasants like Anselmo, Pilar and El Sordo who fight and sacrifice their lives for the cause add meaning and justification to the whole struggle. As Williams rightly comments, this set of characters whom Robert Jordan represents achieves a "spiritual triumph over material disaster." (141) Arthur Waldhorn observes that with For Whom the Bell Tolls, Hemingway creates a new ground and successfully creates "a promise of transcendence, a unifying and sustaining spirituality that binds not only all Spaniards but all men" (163).

The entire focus of the book is on the bridge which, as Jordan strongly believes, "can be the point on which the future of the human race can turn" (FWBT, 43) Thus, the issue is not confined to the Spanish Civil War alone. It is a symbolic presentation of the perpetual struggle going on everywhere in this world, between the good and the evil. And people like Jordan rightly realize the issue, in its true perspective, and sustain their commitment till the last. When Jordan approaches Pablo, the latter tries to demoralize him by dismissing him as a foreigner.

Jordan meets this charge with complete detachment and conviction. He answers:

If I ask you to help me, you can refuse and I will find others who will help me... I have to do what I am ordered to do. (15.)
Again, Jordan shows his firm commitment to the cause when he says:

That I am a foreigner is not my fault. I would rather have been born here. (15)

The undiluted sincerity, and commitment to a cause that Jordan considers to be ideal and worth pursuing shows the depth of his morals, the strength of his personality. Jordan, in this respect, rises far above his predecessors.

The circumstances in which Jordan operates are no less challenging and disappointing than Santiago’s. The hostility of Pablo keeps Jordan on tenterhooks all the while, culminating in his shocking act of decamping with the detonators. But, despite all such giant obstacles, Jordan carries out his assignment with complete grace and self-control. Again the affair that he develops with Maria is no less an emotional pressure than any other consideration. But he gets over that conflict between duty and love with great ease which is the manifestation of his firm, unwavering commitment to the cause that he is determined to serve at all cost.

After he is fatally wounded in his leg and lies immobile when the Fascist troops are chasing the guerrillas out of their hide-out, Jordan persuades everyone to leave and covers the escape of the group with his machine gun till the Fascists arrive. During that brief period of time, Jordan undergoes excruciating pain and has a bitter conflict in his mind whether to pull the trigger and put an end to his agonizing pain. But he
soon restrains himself and says in an internal monologue:

No, it isn't. Because there is something you can do yet. (470)

And he says again:

And if you wait and hold them up even a little while or just get the officer that may make all the difference. One thing well done can make ---

(470)

The above internal monologue gives a clear view of Jordan's mind. The tremendous pressure he is subject to, during his stay in Pablo's camp and finally after he is wounded till he confronts the Fascist officer and dies, is no less than Santiago's classic struggle with the giant Marlin and the pack of killer sharks in the sea. The endurance, the "grace under pressure", and above all, the clear reasoning that upholds Jordan's commitment to duty can, under no circumstances, be treated as a lesser achievement than Santiago's. Besides, the humility that arises from the negation of the self that marks Jordan's character from the very beginning till the end is a clear mark of superiority over all his predecessors. Further, as is evident from these monologues, his entire attention is focused on serving the cause of mankind, which Santiago does not have. In his case, there is a great commitment to his duty as a fisherman which is being accentuated by his superhuman endurance. But in Jordan's case, as John M. Muste observes:
We have for the first time a Hemingway hero who believes that his actions can and will affect the destinies of other men. (96)

This new orientation of Hemingway's protagonists from self to selflessness, from 'I' to 'We' in conformity with his commitment to some greater cause; such as a service to a noble cause (like Jordan) or simply a high sense of duty (as in Santiago) brings about a drastic change in their attitude to violence. In all the pre-Spanish Civil War writings, as we have seen, violence is accepted "as simply a condition of life and a constant threat to the individual". (Muste, 95) None of the earlier protagonists ever resort to violence before Harry Morgan who kills one Chinese Mr. Sing and justifies the killing as necessary to prevent further killings by him. In For Whom the Bell Tolls we find violence and killing are justified on a regular basis, as a creed in the interest of the larger community.

Robert Jordan strongly believes that violence can be ethical when it is necessary to prevent greater violence, the new trend set by Harry Morgan in THAAN. He says:

No man has a right to take another man's life unless it is to prevent something worse happening to other people. (304)

Thus, violence, for the first time in Hemingway's canon is pressed into the service of the people, of the larger mankind.
"This is a drastic change", as John M. Muste comments. (97). In his life, Robert Jordan fully justifies Donne's meditation that Hemingway chooses to begin as his epigraph and a part of it as the title of his Novel:

No Man is an island, intire of itself ... any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind: and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee.

The influence of the Spanish Civil War was enormous and far-reaching on Hemingway's writing. Hemingway's participation in the cause brought about a complete reorientation of his approach to life that was marked by a change in the thematic pattern of his writings as well as style. In fact, with For Whom the Bell Tolls, a clear departure from Hemingway's previous writings is strongly realized on the point of his narrative technique and style.

The first two novels of Hemingway, The Sun Also Rises and A Farewell to Arms are in the first person narrative mode. The autobiographical nature of the two novels and the typical psychology of their protagonists could be effectively communicated through the first person narrative. The success and popularity of these novels was mostly due to the effective use of the first person narrative. The protagonists are out and out self-oriented, withdrawing and complex. Thus, as Halliday rightly
observes, the first person narrative technique in the first two novels is quite effective in producing an effect of "singularity," in the context of the "emotional isolation" of the protagonists in the novels' theme of moral atrophy. (175)

The next novel To Have and Have Not, which shows Hemingway's initial break with his previous pattern is a mixture of the first person and third person, to my thinking, is mainly for the shifting of focus from I to we, from singularity to plurality in Hemingway's writing. The technical irregularity in To Have and Have Not, as pointed out by many critics, is primarily due to the "confusion of theme" (Halliday, 180) Nevertheless, the book reflects the transition in Hemingway's approach in general with its corresponding change in the narrative technique.

But this irregularity of technique owing to a confusion of theme as we mark in To Have and Have not gets completely cleared up in the next novel, For Whom the Bell Tolls. Presently, we see Hemingway in a very satisfactory position with perfect control of his narrative perspective. Another important point worth noting is that, the fumbling transition that starts in To Have and Have not completely settles down in For Whom the Bell Tolls.

The protagonist is no more cut off in his own sentimental world. He is no more bothered about his own safety or happiness, for he is now a part of the larger mankind. Hence, there is inevitably a corresponding change in the technique to facilitate an effective communication. As Halliday analyses this point, " No
man is an Iland could not have been adequately presented by means of first person narrative". (180)

Practically, for a theme like For Whom the Bell Tolls where the focus is on human inter-dependence and a global brotherhood, Hemingway very rightly and timely switches over to the Omniscient narrative pattern. Thus the narrator is free to move from one character to another and relate the past and the future quite naturally and easily. As Mark Schorer comments on this point:

In For Whom the Bell Tolls we may witness a new style, less brilliant but more flexible, as it integrates itself. That is a very exciting literary spectacle (87)

The effectiveness of Hemingway's changing technique is brilliantly reflected in the two spectacular accounts that Pilar gives in course of the novel. First, she recalls the first day of the revolution and describes in every detail how the Fascists were taken out one by one, beaten with flails and thrown over a cliff. In her second account she recalls her life with a bullfighter and the last dinner they shared before he died of consumption. In both the accounts, the psychology of the individuals with their general as well as particular traits are presented in a masterly manner in all their subtlety. This again becomes possible owing the omniscient narrative technique that Hemingway adapts here. In the first account, the psychology of the mob and the horror of human frenzy are portrayed in a life-like manner. Similarly, in her second account, Pilar effectively
presents the typical helplessness, the horror and the plight of the bullfighter, Finito, who is dying of consumption when a grand dinner is thrown in his honor. As Pilar narrates:

Everyone shouted and applauded, and Finito sank further back in the chair and then everyone was quiet and looking at him and he said, No, No, and looked at the bull and pulled further back and then he said, No very loudly and a big blob of blood came out and he didn't even put up a napkin and it slid down his chin... He looked around at the table and said No' once more and then he put the napkin up to his mouth and then he just sat there like that and said nothing and the banquet which had started so well and promised to mark an epoch was not a success. (FWBT, 188)

Pilar's story is held in very high esteem by many critics. As a very recent critic Edward F. Stanton observes, "Pilar's story recalls unmistakably Goya's Disasters of War and to a lesser extent Picasso's Guernica". (179)

Besides the effective use of the Omniscient narrative perspective, Hemingway makes frequent use of interior monologue and flashback techniques. Rovit is of the opinion that:

Hemingway made a fuller dramatic use of the memory flashback and of the interior monologue in this novel than in any of his fictions. (140)
Thus we have a considerably greater access to Jordan's past and about his thinking processes than any of the earlier Hemingway protagonists or even the later ones. They facilitate the communication of the past and the future, as well as the complex, inner working of human mind to a great extent. The characterization particularly becomes much more powerful. Carlos Baker acknowledges this aspect when he says "the principles of characterization-in-depth is strong in For Whom the Bell Tolls more so than in any of Hemingways' previous work". (Writer as Artist, 250)

Further, Carlos Baker points out another point of major departure of Hemingway from his earlier technique. Baker considers this change in For Whom the Bell Tolls as "ingestion" from the earlier technique of "suggestion". (Writer as Artist, 250)

The previous technique of "suggestion" and under-statement give way to "ingestion" in For Whom the Bell Tolls. This marks a "bearing within" and an expression of what, as Carlos Baker maintains,"formerly would have been excluded in favor of suggestion".(250)

This shifting from "suggestion" to "ingestion", as Carlos Baker observes, is closely linked to Hemingway's iceberg analogy.

"The larger, the visible part of the iceberg", argues Wylder, "the more there is beneath the surface"(131). Thus the point worth noting here is that what Hemingway theorizes in Death in the Afternoon is put into practice in For Whom the Bell Tolls.
Such change in Hemingway's narrative technique enriches his prose and style considerably. F.I. Carpenter (1961), in a very convincing essay, argues that in For Whom the Bell Tolls Hemingway really achieves the "Fifth dimension", which he had prophesied in Green Hills of Africa.

Hemingway, as Carpenter argues, attains the "fifth dimension" through the intensification of experience in an emotionally charged atmosphere of love or War, "Resulting in an ecstasy transcending the traditional limitations of time and of self."(198) On the other hand, contrary to these later works, Hemingway's early works lack this awareness of time and therefore fail to experience the ecstasy as their level of experience seemed largely sensational, often ending in a feeling of Nada. The telescoping of time and the intensity of experience during Robert Jordan's three days' stay in the guerrilla camp makes the "fifth dimension" possible. As Jordan ruminates:

May be that is my life and instead of being three score years and ten . . . I suppose it is possible to live as full a life in seventy hours as in seventy years . . . (FWBT, 165)

Jordan again says to himself:

" May be I have had all my life in 3 days ".

(FWBT, 355)

Carpenter then points out how Jordan achieves a mystic
transcendence of time in the final chapters of the book when, after being wounded he comforts Maria: "Thou art me too now. Thou art all there will be of me (464).

"Thus finally", Carpenter says, "the experience of 'the perpetual now' leads to the mystical experience", (198).

This intensity of experience that Jordan achieves in FWBT transcends time and achieves a new "value" or "dimension" (199). In this context Earl Rovit points out that "the suspension of space and time makes it possible for Hemingway to get the effect of always-time" (141).

For Whom the Bell Tolls, thus, is Hemingway's first full-length novel with a new approach to life marked by a new narrative technique and style. The critics are unanimous in acknowledging this fact. Howard Mumford Jones, commenting on FWBT says that here "manner has been replaced by style, and the mere author has died out in the artist". (316) Edmund Wilson acknowledges that "For Whom the Bell Tolls is a new departure" for Hemingway. (320) Robert Sherwood, in his review of this novel calls it "a work of art". (325) Joseph Warrenn Beach gives an exhaustive assessment of this novel thus:

This novel is the largest in scope, the most accomplished in technique and the strongest in effect of anything he has written (69).

Thus, with For Whom the Bell Tolls, we find a clear departure of Hemingway from his earlier writings. This break in
the pattern seems to be largely due to Hemingway's changing response to life in general which effected a corresponding change in the narrative technique and style. Now the question arises whether Hemingway's change in his philosophy of life as this novel after the Civil War shows, is decisive and lasting, or merely a passing phase. The point of serious concern, as such, is whether the admirable stand that Robert Jordan, (the new type of protagonist) takes in For Whom the Bell Tolls will last or collapse as quickly as it had set in.

-X-

Hemingway's earlier works are invariably affected by symptoms like nihilism, skepticism, ego and sentimentality which Robert Jordan successfully overcomes. Now, therefore, it should be our major concern to examine whether Hemingway's next novel Across The River And Into The Trees really perpetuates the change. This novel would determine whether Hemingway could keep up the new trend set in For Whom the Bell Tolls:

It is a fact that this novel ARIT, that came out a decade after the publication of FWBT, was greatly disappointing as the critics accorded a very cold reception to it. The critics mostly considered this novel as Hemingway's regression to his earlier writings, with its strong autobiographical nature and its obsession with death again.

But all such unfavorable criticism does not seem to dampen
the issue that we are concerned with. Across the River and Into the Trees may be a partial artistic set back, for its alleged lack of imagination, its autobiographical overtones and its ineffectiv dialogue. However, we are here concerned primarily with the question whether Hemingway's changing philosophy of life that commences in the wake of the Spanish Civil War (as For Whom the Bell Tolls shows) does really continue through ARIT.

To know the truth, we must examine the circumstance in which the protagonist Col Cantwell operates. Next, we must consider the protagonist's approach to life and the manner in which he confronts the reality.

Colonel Richard Cantwell, the protagonist of the novel ARIT is a fifty-year-old Army officer with a badly damaged heart. He is in love with Renata, a beautiful nineteen year old Venetian girl. When the story begins, we find the old Colonel coming to Venice to see his young mistress and for a duck shoot. Right from the beginning we are made aware of his serious heart condition of which he himself is acutely aware. But, in his action and talk, there is no sign of hopelessness, desperation or weakness. He at the age of fifty and with a worn-out heart is still capable of loving his teen-aged mistress with a rare intensity. Finally, after a very pleasant time in the company of the girl in Venice, he indulges in his favorite sport of shooting ducks and on his way back to the army Head Quarters has a fatal stroke and dies consciously, calmly without any fear or regret. As Wirt Williams very justly comments: "Cantwell resists his catastrophe delib-
erately, defiantly, even as he knows it is inevitable." (155)

Thus, the predicament of Cantwell, like that of Robert Jordan is not in any way less disappointing than that of Nick Adams, Jake Barnes, Frederic Henry or Harry Morgan. His world like Jordan's is still that of the individual set against an irrational, omnipotent force. But the Colonel, very much like Robert Jordan, achieves a spiritual victory over a material disaster, by confronting it boldly, squarely, right in its face.

Col. Cantwell, as far as his approach to life and the basic strength of his personality are concerned, comes closer to Robert Jordan than any of his predecessors. He is bold, positive, decisive and confident. He is courageous, affirmative, free from the touch of nihilism and Nadà. He is capable of profound love and high seriousness. Moreover, his timely decision to meet his beloved just before his death makes his life purposeful and his death meaningful. At this point, Cantwell's life comes closer to Jordan's. We may recall the fact that soon after Jordan reaches Pablo's camp, he knows the impending failure of the Republican offensive. Pilar too reads in his palm the mark of death and gets the smell of death around him.

Nevertheless, Jordan avails those last few hours of his life making love to Maria intensely and fulfills his commitment to the cause by blowing up the bridge and, finally, dies while covering the escape of his gang from the Fascists. Here, the point worth noting is that the knowledge of the impending death, for Cantwell and Jordan as well, does not make any difference in their life.
and commitment to things. They remain unperturbed, calm, and poised till the very last. And particularly, for their intensity of love, they attain an ecstasy that helps them transcend their fear of death.

Col. Cantwell comes closer to Jordan thus on three main points. First, he does not face an abrupt, violent death like Catherine or Harry Margan. Second, he knows for certain about the condition of his heart that refuses to serve him long. Yet he maintains his virility, his "old Wild-boar truculence" (ARIT, 71). He says calmly: "I know where I'm going" (ARIT, 252).

Never for a moment does Cantwell resign himself to a state of Nada or despondency. Nor does he ever make any attempt to seek a separate peace. On this very point, he is quite different from the earlier protagonists and much closer to the later protagonists like Jordan and Santiago.

On another point ARIT seems to be a continuation of FWBT. Like Jordan, Cantwell has no regret, no complaint about anything in life. He is highly positive in his approach and detached to a great extent.

Thirdly, he is a soldier like Jordan, used to discipline and team-works and ARIT is full of the Colonel's reminiscences of the war. He says,

"I'm a lucky son of a bitch and I should never be sad about anything." (ARIT, 254)

At this point he exactly echoes Jordan who says,
"You have had much luck." (FWBT, 466)

Another point that shows the continuity of ARIT from FWBT is the consummation of Cantwell's love for Renata. The ecstasy he experiences in his love for Renata is itself transcendental, a spiritual triumph over the biological force that threatens the old Colonel. In one of the intimate love scenes in chapter XXVIII, Col. Cantwell kisses her and embraces her during which "he only thought of her and how she felt and how close life comes to death when there is ecstasy". (219). "This radical intensification of experience", is described by F.I. Carpenter (1961) as the attainment of the "fifth-dimension" in prose in the context of FWBT. (196)

Again, both for Jordan and for Cantwell, "Death" means no horror, unlike in the case of their predecessors. As Cantwell says:

I have lived with it—nearly all my life and the disposing of it has been my trade. (ARIT, 220)

Death is no stranger to Cantwell. He has literally lived with Death almost all his life and he has no fear or anxiety. This experience particularly was the life-long quest or struggle for the Hemingway protagonist till Harry Morgan. It was during the brief moments of his life before death that Harry succeeds in realizing the truth, the secret of conquering it. And that triumph over death, the fear of death rather, is the speciality with FWBT and ARIT as well. In view of this, ARIT, with all its congenital limitations, is never a step backward. It is, on the other hand, a
clear step forward from For Whom the Bell Tolls to The Old Man and the Sea.

ARIT is replete with evidences that prove the strong positive attitude of Cantwell, very much in the manner of Robert Jordan and Santiago. Cantwell, in one of his interior monologues, addresses Death:

But you can sheath your scythe, old brother death
if you have got a sheath for it. (ARIT, 254)

Here Cantwell almost echoes Santiago's challenge to the sharks and his welcome to the giant Marlin to a fair fight.

Like Santiago again who loves the great fish who literally drags him out of life, Cantwell loves his enemies. When Renata asks Cantwell about Rommel:

"Did you really like Rommel?"
"Very much"
"But he was your enemy".
"I love enemies, sometimes, more than my friends". (286).

The above attitude of Cantwell shows his strength of personality, his broadness of heart and his heroic spirit. At this point, Cantwell comes very close to Santiago, Jordan and Anselmo, the old guerrilla with Jordan who stands by him till he dies. By their love for the enemy, they show their firm affiliation to the larger mankind, to the universal brotherhood. To reach such
Wylder makes the following observation on Cantwell:

He is not, like Jake Barnes or Frederic Henry, the man things happen to, with the exception of that one thing that happens to every man death which was denied to both Barnes and Harry within the confines of the novel. (169)

Finally, when Cantwell dies, he shows his great detachment, endurance and poise. The moment he senses the stroke he calmly (even in death-pain) comes to the back seat of the car, shuts the door and lies flat, closing all the pages of his life for good.

Thus, we can conclude that, despite all the apparent limitations of ARIT, it still keeps the new trend moving. Besides maintaining a "consciously developed style" (Oppel, 225) this book once again shows the spiritual transcendence that Hemingway's protagonist achieves through his sublimation of ego. Therefore, the trend that begins with FWBT continues in ARIT and The Old Man and the Sea.

- XI -

As it becomes clear from our preceding discussion all the protagonists of Hemingway, from Nick Adams to Colonel Richard...
Cantwell, move in a world that is basically the same where the lone individual fights with an unequal, hostile world around. But the fundamental difference between the post-Spanish Civil War writings and the pre-Spanish Civil War writings lies in "the perspective". While all the earlier Hemingway protagonists, from Nick Adams to Frederic Henry, struggle all their lives just to get "a perspective", the latter ones since Harry Morgan continue to have the "perspective" all along. We may recall Al Wagner, the tankman in Hemingway's Spanish Civil War short story "Night Before Battle" who knew very well that their next day's offensive would be disastrous. Yet he longs just for "a perspective" to gain emotional stability in the face of such a frustrating and frightening circumstance. What Al Wagner calls "a perspective" we call in several other ways like "purpose", "meaning" or "rationale". In fact, what subtly differentiates the latter protagonists from the earlier ones is their hold on the "perspective", which Harry Morgan attains before he dies.

This "perspective" is what Nick Adams unconsciously longs for, Jake Barnes searches all his life and Frederic Henry does not get till the last. And finally, their life-long quest comes to an end when the flash of illumination comes to Harry Morgan at last. From this point, therefore, there is a drastic change in the Hemingway-protagonist's approach to life in general, with the marks becoming more and more conspicuous till it reaches a point of culmination in The Old Man and the Sea.

The process of transformation that commences with Harry Morgan's death is complete with Santiago in the OMAS. In Philip
Rawlings (The Fifth Column) we see the first mark of change with his liberation from the cramping effects of the hitherto centralized self. The manner in which Philip resolves the conflict between love and duty in conformity with his strong commitment to a nobler cause, shows clearly the changing response of the Hemingway-protagonist. In the next major work For Whom the Bell Tolls, the change assumes a clear and concrete shape. Robert Jordan, its protagonist, along with some of the minor characters like the old guerrilla Anselmo, Pilar, El Sordo and Maria firmly establishes the newly shifted focus from an isolated individualism to the theme of human solidarity and interdependence as powerfully suggested through Donne's Meditation: "No man is an island".

The strongest point that all these three post-Spanish Civil War protagonists of Hemingway viz. Jordan, Cantwell and Santiago share is their "resoluteness". Each of them finds himself in a greatly disappointing and helpless situation, but with his resoluteness he stands up against all odds, and finally attains a moral transcendence over misfortune and death.

Another aspect worth noting about these three later protagonists is the telescoping of time. In case of Robert Jordan, his whole life is intensely realized in three day's time. Cantwell avails himself of the few days left in his life with his girl and tries to live a complete life before he dies. Santiago struggles with the Marlin and then with sharks on the sea for three days and learns what he had not learnt in his whole
Compared to Robert Jordan and Cantwell, Santiago's realizations in life are much more mature and extensive in scope. While Jordan saw an inherent fraternity in the whole of mankind and was thus committed to it, Santiago's vision of life is much larger, more complex.

The old man's feelings and concerns are not monopolized by the homo-sapiens alone. They are shared by the fish, the birds, the turtles, and the distant stars as well. Thus the old man's sphere is much larger than Jordan's, with his cosmic vision of life as against the 'global' in the case of the latter.

The sad plight of the sea-turtle draws the old man's attention when he finds them mercilessly butchered by people while their hearts keep beating still. The old man promptly identifies himself with the creature and thinks; "I have such a heart too and my feet and hands are like theirs" (OMAS,34)

Then Santiago welcomes the little warbler and says in a tone full of love and concern:

"Take a good rest, small bird", he said.

"Then go in and take your chance like any man or bird or fish". (OMAS,53)

In fact, here lies the very crux of the old man's philosophy.
of life. The old man, with his long experience from the struggle in life, perceives the bond underlying all the creatures in the world, who share the same capricious, violent life. It could be the little delicate warbler or the giant imposing Marlin or the deadly scavenger sharks. As Lawrence Broer observes, the old man feels in them a "primal relationship—the relationship of the hunter and the hunted" (105) This realization determines the old man's life and thoughts all along. As he addresses the Marlin:

I love you and respect you very much. But I will kill you dead before this day ends.

(OMAS, 52)

He loves the fish, respects it. Yet he has no compunction to kill it. He is very clear in his reason, thus the conflict between emotion and duty does not bother him.

He knows that he is a fisherman and it is his duty to kill the fish. He strongly believes, "I am as clear as the stars, that are my brothers. (OMAS, 76) Similarly, he kills the dentuso and justifies the act thus: "I killed him in self-defense" (OMAS, 105) This justification of violence is yet another trait of the post-Spanish Civil War novels of Hemingway. Santiago's stand here is very close to Jordan's who too believed that taking another one's life is not wrong "if it is to prevent something worse happening to other people". (FWBT, 304) Santiago goes a step further with his perception of the subtle unity in this vast and varied world where "everything kills everything else in some way" (OMAS, 106).
As the old man reflects further, "fishing kills me exactly as it keeps me alive" (OMAS, 106), and identifies completely with the fish, the bird and the turtle who are in the same existential struggle for survival. In such a world, where to kill or to get killed is the underlying principle Santiago, as Leo Gurko believes, finds "a unity and emotion which transcends the destructive pattern" in which everyone is caught. (162)

Thus the old man is completely free from the complexes and negative traits that the earlier characters like Nick, Jake and Henry have. The open and positive nature of Santiago's character is clearly reflected in his sportive challenge to the fish:

Come on and Kill me. I do not care who kills who. (OMAS, 92)

This is the loftiest realization, one may aspire to have, in the struggle of life. This knowledge not only develops one's acceptance of things, it brings in a tremendous feeling of detachment that acts as a powerful antidote to do away with the fear of death and make one really liberated. This knowledge precisely differentiates a Santiago from a Nick Adams or a Frederic Henry. Even Robert Jordan does not have this knowledge consciously as Santiago has. This explains the clarity and boldness that feature Santiago's assertion. At a single point, however, Jordan closely anticipates Santiago when he realizes:

Neither you nor this old man is anything you are instruments to do your duty. (FWBT, 43)
Another aspect which Santiago's personality reveals is his humility that he acquires in the course of his ordeal on the sea. It grows as a part of his increasing introspection, yet another mark of improvement on Robert Jordan. First Santiago realizes it in the context of the Marlin: "Man is not much beside the great birds and beasts" (OMAS, 67).

Presently Santiago realizes that "It was not disgraceful and it carried no loss of true pride" to have humility. (110) And the old man soon acknowledges the human interdependence when he thinks:

The boy keeps me alive, he thought. I must not deceive myself. (106)

And from this humility comes his further realizations. Now the whole perspective becomes clear to him. Besides the boy Manolin, he now remembers all his good neighbors who must be worrying for him. And he realizes "I live in a good town" (115). This shows his ultimate identification with mankind. And it proves the inappropriateness of Leo Gurko's comment that "The Old Man and the Sea is the culmination of Hemingway's disengagement from the social world", (171) In the end, when he reaches his shack and the boy comes to him, he immediately realizes "how pleasant it was to have someone to talk to instead of speaking only to himself and to the sea." (125)

Similarly, when Santiago sees a flying fish in the sea he regards them as his "principal friends in the ocean" (26). And
when he sees a flight of wild ducks, the old man thinks "No man was ever alone on the sea" (QMAS, 59). This shows the continuation of the theme of "No man is an island". (For Whom the Bell Tolls).

This feeling is further reinforced when the sharks fall upon the fish and tear it to pieces. The old man feels unbearable pain when he says:

I should not have gone out so far, fish, he said.
Neither for you nor for me. I'm sorry fish (110).

And, in the course of his introspection, Santiago realizes:

You violated your luck when you went too far outside. (117)

His suspicion now becomes confirmed that his misfortune is for his going "far out", "beyond all people in the world" where the Marlin had rightfully chosen to be "beyond all snares and traps and treacheries". (48)

This human solidarity and interdependence gives meaning and adds purpose to the otherwise existential struggle in life. Previously, the earlier protagonists could not see beyond their own shadow and therefore, could not get the taste of it which the later protagonists get plentifully. In spite of all their misfortunes and tragedy, these later characters could still maintain a positive, highly affirmative view of life. Santiago, after the terrible ordeals on the sea, still could say "I live in a good town"; Robert Jordan too, has no regret for all the
misfortune and tragedy that befalls him; Cantwell, on the threshold of death still considers himself as a "lucky son of a bitch" (ARIT, 254)

Santiago expresses this affirmative attitude thus:

"But man is not made for defeat", he said. "A man can be destroyed but not defeated"
(103).


Moloney, Michael. "Ernest Hemingway : The Missing Third Dimen-


NANA Dispatches. Hemingway Review. Special Number. 7.2 (Spring 1988).


***