Ernest Hemingway and the Geography of Memory

Edited by
Mark Cirino
and
Mark P. Ott

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Introduction

Mark P. Ott and Mark Cirino

> There are so many sorts of hunger. In the spring there are more.
> But that's gone now. Memory is hunger.
>
> —*Ernest Hemingway,* A Moveable Feast

> There were some other places I wanted to see since we would be going through them; places I was sure I remembered incorrectly due to haste or stress or the distortions of vision that being under fire bring, but we would see them sooner or later and I could make my corrections of memory then. There were certain places that I liked to show to Bill for their incredibility; to show them as museum pieces of the impossible in war. But I had shown him the positions on the road above the village of Guadarrama on the way up to the pass on the high road to Avila and they had been so obviously preposterous to hold that I did not blame him for not believing me. When I saw them I could believe them myself although the original memory of them was sharper than any photograph.
>
> —*Ernest Hemingway,* The Dangerous Summer

Ernest Hemingway had an uneasy relationship with the present; he seemed to believe it rarely made for the best fiction. Yet his mind was always attuned to the present, to the moment as he was immersed and absorbed within it, and that hypersensitivity to what he was experiencing would move into his memory, dwell there, and later become the fuel for his fiction. As every student of Hemingway's biography knows, Michigan, Italy, Spain, Paris, East Africa, and the Gulf Stream are some of the most distinctive places in the Hemingway oeuvre; in short fiction, novels, journalism, and correspondence, Hemingway revisited these sites, reimagining and transforming them into texts.

"Memory," to the surprise of no one, is a topic closely aligned with Hemingway's work. Nearly all of Hemingway's fiction exists as an extension,

dramatization, and condensation of his actual experience, yet it is not autobiography. Thus the ambiguity of the phrase "geography of memory" taken as our title underscores its usefulness. Returning to a place inspires a celebration of memory, providing a clarification of an essential truth of human existence, a contrast between then and now. The Italy of the eighteen-year-old Hemingway is returned to, again and again, as the writer evolves from an ambulance driver into a journalist, finally becoming the artist who creates *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) and *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950). The immediacy and urgency of the hunt is conveyed concisely in *Green Hills of Africa* in 1935. By 1955, when Hemingway is re-creating the events of his second safari in 1953, that conciseness is replaced by a free-flowing, occasionally comic account of the land and people in the manuscripts eventually published as *True at First Light* (1999) and *Under Kilimanjaro* (2005). Just as *A Moveable Feast* (1964) is a reinvention of the Paris depicted in *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), *The Dangerous Summer* (1960), chronicling the Spanish bullfight season of the summer of 1959, tries to recapture the authority and the vivid atmosphere of the best sections of *Death in the Afternoon* (1932).

Stylistically, Hemingway relied on a vocabulary of imagery to convey loss and the passage of time, a contrast between a younger self and a wiser, experienced self. Composing *A Moveable Feast* in 1959, he uses horse chestnuts to signal forms of change and loss, evoking the textures of life in Paris for the young Hemingway in 1924. In the memoir he writes, "Do you remember when the horse chestnuts were in bloom?" (54). Indeed, the roasted nuts are a cure for hunger (11) and the trees are beautiful next to the Seine (43). As a young man writing in Parisian cafés, he carries the horse chestnut in his pocket, along with a rabbit foot for luck. Thus, to the aging memoirist, the horse chestnut evokes this time in the idealized, youthful Hemingway's life, when he was a young father happily married to Hadley, when he was powerfully convinced that he could shape his own artistic future.

How do we understand Hemingway's use of "memory"? So much of his movement through the world was a process of continual self-exile as he sought new environments to bolster his identity as a writer and his essential self. As Donald Pizer notes, self-exile, or expatriation, through the pursuit of an alternative space is a condition in which "the world one has been bred in is perceived to suffer from intolerable inadequacies and limitations; another world seems to be free of these failings and to offer a more fruitful way of life." For Hemingway, travel was the engine of his creative life, as the continual contrast between spaces provided him evidence of his emerging identity as a

writer, here and there, of what he once was and what he now has become. In the case of Hemingway's Paris, J. Gerald Kennedy writes, "One cannot compare an 'actual' place with its literary representation, since there is literally no 'place' apart from an interpreting consciousness" (5). In many ways, the essays in this book are explorations of Hemingway's "interpreting consciousness" as his identity as a writer evolves through his travels and across the texture of his constructed images of different spaces.

Hemingway's use of memory is an element of a broader authorial strategy that allows him to separate himself from his narrative alter egos. In her groundbreaking study *Hemingway: The Postwar Years and the Posthumous Novels* (1996), Rose Marie Burwell explores how the two narratives published as *Islands in the Stream* and *The Garden of Eden* were composed as part of a "serial sequence," as Hemingway was deliberately mining his memory to compose a work modeled on Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past.* Burwell's work subsequently opened up the study of Hemingway's work in light of the posthumous publications. In her 2002 article "A Lifetime of Flower Narratives: Letting the Silenced Voice Speak," Miriam Mandel calls attention to how Hemingway "blurred the boundaries between fiction and nonfiction as much as he blurred those between life and art" (241). Mandel examined Hemingway's "flower narratives"—journalism for the *Toronto Daily Star* (10 June 1922), *Green Hills of Africa* (composed 1934), the *African Journal* (composed 1954–56), and *A Moveable Feast* (composed 1957–61)—in which he employs the narcissus, the blooms of a horse chestnut tree, and a flowering wisteria vine in stories on the subject of fishing, drinking, love, and marriage, noting how "original happy connotations (innocence, virtue, and young marriage) are undercut with unease, denial and guilt ridden subversion" (241). In *The Bones of the Others: The Hemingway Text from the Lost Manuscripts to the Posthumous Novels* (2006), Hilary Justice notes that Hemingway distinguished between two kinds of stories, the "Personal" and "Authentic," which allow him to distance himself from his subject and the roles he played in relation to it. Justice writes, "Personal refers to things he had done and experienced, in which he had played an actively participatory role, Authentic to things he had heard or witnessed, in which his role was that of the journalist, the observer, the voyeur . . . [in] his Personal writing, he would always represent his emotional response to his current situation by refracting it through his past, finding emotional points of contiguity between his present and his past, and using this doubled emotional intensity to make his readers 'feel more than they understand'" (4–5).

Indeed, the pervasive feature of memory in Hemingway's work belies a

critical view that equates it with merely romanticizing the past. In a 1980 call to arms previewing the future of Hemingway studies, Michael Reynolds implored, "Let us here declare a moratorium on nostalgia" (201). Describing one of his most maliciously created female characters, Hemingway's preface to his play *The Fifth Column* (1937) explains, "There is a girl in it named Dorothy but her name might also have been Nostalgia" (vi). The moniker is not meant as a compliment. In *Islands in the Stream* (1970) Thomas Hudson observes, "Nostalgia *hecha* hombre, he thought in Spanish. People did not know that you died of it" (233). The notion that nostalgia "makes a man" is further evidence of the danger of allowing the past to interfere with the urgent necessities of the present. As Stephen Tanner puts it, "Nostalgia can be a pleasant balm for Hemingway's wounded characters and a way of restoring their balance and confidence, but it must not distract from the task at hand" ("Hemingway's Islands" 83). At the time nostalgia was almost a disease to be avoided, while memory provides a clarification of the present, enhancing existence. Hudson enjoys the pleasant balm of nostalgia while indulging in a gin and tonic with lime and Angostura, a drink that provides a "pleasantly bitter" taste much like the memory it induces: "It reminded him of Tanga, Mombasa, and Lamu and all that coast and he had a sudden nostalgia for Africa. Here he was, settled on the island, when he could as well be in Africa. Hell, he thought, I can always go there. You have to make it inside of yourself wherever you are. You are doing all right at that here" (21). As in Proust, food and drink have the power to conjure up the past, making it accessible in a way that is dangerous for a writer; overindulgence in memory becomes nostalgia, a form of corruption.

Accompanying the indisputably nostalgic tone of *A Moveable Feast* is a more complex, instructive attitude toward the functioning of memory. Although much of *A Moveable Feast* casts a surface innocence to Hemingway's Paris years, the workings of memory also transcend simple nostalgia. In the vignette "A False Spring," for example, Hemingway's first wife tells him, "Memory is hunger" (57). If as an aphorism that statement does not mean a great deal, the rest of the volume pursues "hunger" as a significant theme in Hemingway's life during the 1920s. Hunger implies a lack, and memory also indicates the pursuit of something lost—be it time past, abandoned love, stolen manuscripts, broken relationships, the death of innocence, or the extinction of an old way of life. Later, Hemingway coaches himself on avoiding "hunger-thinking," harebrained thoughts emanating from a hysterical, food-deprived mind. The equating of "memory" and "hunger" also reveals the inherent inadequacy of recollection. Hemingway's memory of Paris may be a moveable feast, but Wil-

liam James explains that all a man's memory can provide is "a few of the crumbs that fall from the feast" (276). Just as *Death in the Afternoon* acknowledges the unavoidable falsity of memory, James says that memory takes an object or an emotion from the past and "either makes too little or too much of it" (276).

Hemingway was always concerned with the utilization of memory, trying to understand how it can be used as an aesthetically satisfying component of his fiction. It inspired his experimentation with narrative strategies attempting to create and uncover the most authentic, the most truthful depiction of human experience. Thus, in the foreword to *Green Hills of Africa* he famously wrote, "The writer has attempted to write an absolutely true book to see whether the shape of a country and the pattern of a month's action can, if truly presented, compete with a work of the imagination" (i). The artful selection of detail in narration was not, to Hemingway, a distortion of reality; rather, it heightened authenticity, making the subjectivity of his perspective ultimately—aesthetically—more objective.

In Hemingway's memory, an event, whether traumatic, painful, frightening, or tragic, could be revived and reinvented. Yet the passage of time was just as important as the artful selection of detail to the success of this method. Experience, gestating in the mind over a period of time, became more truthful as the knowledge of the essential elements of a moment were enhanced in the writer's memory. The composition of *The Old Man and the Sea* illustrates how the passage of time was essential to Hemingway's method of composition. In 1932 Hemingway heard the core of the story from Carlos Gutierrez, a Cuban fisherman, and transcribed it in a fishing log. In April 1936, in an essay for *Esquire* magazine, he wrote down the barest bones of a story of an old man, alone on his skiff and lost at sea, who had lost a great fish to the sharks ("On the Blue Water" 239). Yet Hemingway waited until January 1951 to write the story that would be published in *Life* magazine in September 1952 as *The Old Man and the Sea*. What Hemingway left out of the sea novella—all of Cuba, he asserted—were fishing stories not revealed in the tale and the depth of Santiago's knowledge of the craft of fishing. For the characterization of Santiago and the dramatization of the struggle with the fish, Hemingway chose to reduce his story to the essential elements of man's struggle with the natural world. And as Hemingway ruminated from 1932 to 1951 over the essence of the story—a valiant fisherman and an enormous marlin—his memory reshaped, reduced, and clarified the thematic tension that is so compelling to the reader. As he stated in his famous declaration of his "iceberg theory" of fiction, knowledge was essential to his method: "There is seven-eighths of it underwater for every part that shows. . . . *The Old Man and the Sea* could have been over a thousand

pages long and had every character in the village in it and all the process of how they made their living, were born, educated, bore children, etc." (Bruccoli 125). During the nineteen-year gestation, he was learning what to omit from the story so as to not create "hollow places" in his writing.

Hemingway's work reverberates with a continual blend of memory, geography, and lessons of life revealed through the trauma of experience. As we selected these essays, we were acutely aware that this volume would not be exhaustive and could not be "the final word" on the subject as it stands in 2010. This book originally emerged from a panel Mark Ott organized on behalf of the Ernest Hemingway Society for the annual conference of the American Literature Association in Boston in 2005. After the original broad call for papers, there was an enthralling variety of responses. What was exciting was the range of approaches to Hemingway's work that could use the concept of memory as an interpretative tool to enhance our understanding of his creative process.

We have divided the essays into four broad sections. The first, Memory and Composition, begins with Marc Hewson's exploration of notions of gender through the theme of memory. Hewson's reading of *The Garden of Eden* analyzes the protagonist David Bourne's negotiation with his own "recollected masculine self" and how David's writing within the novel might teach us about Hemingway's own fictionalizing of his experiences. Marc Seals also discusses *The Garden of Eden* in addition to other posthumous fiction as he unfolds the legend behind Hemingway's lost manuscripts of 1922. Seals treats Hemingway's memory of these manuscripts as emblematic of the author's enactment of traumatic memory in his texts and in his life. Seals shows that an analysis of Hemingway's fixation on this incident and his various attempts to write about it tell us much about the writer's own memory and his understanding of the way it works.

Memory and Allusion collects views of Hemingway texts spanning his entire career, critical work that suggests possible implications of Hemingway's use of memory and place. The first examination of memory and allusion is Mark Cirino's translation of Sergio Perosa's international perspective on Hemingway's entire body of work. Perosa's remarks evidence Hemingway's career-long strategy to invent from reality. In this way, he pinpoints the distinction between the memory of an event and then the fictionalization of it. Perosa draws from Hemingway's own comments in letters and writing to extract an ethic of writing that serves as a valuable guide for approaching Hemingway's work and his treatment of memory. Focusing on *In Our Time,* Matthew J.

Bolton writes a perceptive comparison of T. S. Eliot and Hemingway, giving fresh and expert perspective to these two writers whose intertextuality has never been satisfactorily mined. Bolton examines Hemingway's knowledge of Eliot as part of his Paris education, received under Ezra Pound's tutelage. The memory and desire that Bolton's essay discusses cover his poetry and early stories as well as his two important novels of the decade. Physical and mental geography figure in Larry Grimes's look at *The Old Man and the Sea,* which uses Santiago's final image of dreams of lions to conjure up a distant place, recalled through the lens of memory. The constant image of the lions resides in the "territory of dream," itself a phrase that joins the African terrain and world of the mind.

Our third section, Memory and Place, investigates not only the geography of memory but also the memory of geography. Laura Gruber Godfrey's elegant examination of the story "The End of Something" illustrates Hemingway's tendency to link geography with realities of cultural change and human condition. Godfrey stresses that the subjective memory of a setting contributes to its meaning at least as much as objective actualities. Godfrey equates Hemingway's narration in "The End of Something" to the tone of an oral history, contributing to its effect of recalling a place in time. To Godfrey, geography, far from a static fact, is seen in Hemingway to be "multilayered, kinetic, and constructed." Allyson Nadia Field then provides an authoritative look at 1920s travelogues and the way we can use the geography of Paris to understand *The Sun Also Rises* and read Jake Barnes as a de facto tour guide. Larry Martin discusses one of Hemingway's nonfiction texts of the 1930s, *Green Hills of Africa,* emphasizing its romantic lyric element, surveying the critical landscape and contemporary reception of the book, and making important deductions about distinctions between Hemingway's memory of his experiences and the textual representation of these events. Next, *Under Kilimanjaro* is the subject of a characteristically thoughtful, complex reading by Erik Nakjavani, who offers a new model for reading the narrative. What he terms an "alchemy" of "lived experience and memory" leads him to draw from Jung, phenomenology, and the tradition of fairy tale to show the various meanings of Hemingway's posthumous African text. We next include Verna Kale's valuable parallel reading of Kay Boyle's memoir with the 1920s and Paris, which not only provides a gloss on apprenticeship but also illuminates the city at the heart of *The Sun Also Rises.*

In the section treating Memory and Truth, we are mindful that Hemingway once asserted that "memory, of course, is never true" (DIA 100), he also demonstrated that in its inaccuracies it can yield greater truths than any emotionless

fact. Reading Hemingway's other great novel of the 1920s, *A Farewell to Arms,* Mark Cirino uses Frederic Henry's combative relationship with memory to explicate important scenes of the novel and employs theorists such as William James, Henri Bergson, Freud, and St. Augustine to discern Hemingway's understanding of the complex modernist theme of memory and its function in creating depth and tension within Frederic's character and narration.

Since geography and memory are two foundational elements of "Big Two-Hearted River," the story is an essential inclusion in this volume. Robert Paul Lamb traces the vast critical history of the story and also explicates "On Writing," an excised fragment from the story. Ultimately, Lamb explores the self-reflexivity of the story, demonstrating how the concrete details of the fishing trip allow us to explore Nick Adams's consciousness and his past. Lamb also convincingly demonstrates Cézanne's status as Nick's exemplar, both in the way he lived and the art he created. The "nostalgia strategy" in *Death in the Afternoon* figures in Emily Wittman's essay, which contextualizes Hemingway's bullfighting disquisition and shows how the text demonstrates his uneven relationship with the past and his varying efforts to portray it in literary forms. Not surprisingly, Hemingway's posthumous works—which often look backward—are also given significant attention in this volume. Our collection concludes with Barbara Lounsberry's close reading of memory's function in *The Garden of Eden,* offering up another piece of criticism that uses Hemingway's retrospective glance to shed light on the work that preceded it.

We are proud that these essays treat so many different Hemingway texts in so many different ways. In his writing—such as his preface to *A Moveable Feast* as well as his framing of *Green Hills of Africa*—Hemingway is cagey in blurring the line between fiction and nonfiction, effectively positing the subjectivity of memoir and the actuality of imagination. As vast and various as this topic is, we hope this collection of essays takes a step toward illuminating Hemingway's lifelong negotiation with this theme.

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PART I

Memory and Composition

1

Memory and Manhood

Troublesome Recollections in *The Garden of Eden*

Marc Hewson

While it may be going too far to insist that the whole of Hemingway's fictional enterprise was a remembrance of things past, a strong case can be made that the writing he did after his return from World War II is heavily influenced by the writer's use of his life experience, whether as a creative well or for psychological self-assessment. Certainly the work he accomplished during the remaining years of his life (most of it available to readers only after his death and in more or less bowdlerized forms) evidences a man and writer looking back over a career and trying to forge from it a sense of self in ways different from his earlier work. Hemingway was careful to emphasize his new attitude toward remembering and writing after 1946. While at work on *Across the River and Into the Trees,* for instance, he was fond of explaining that his method of writing, his very understanding of literary composition, had changed. Though in the past he had used admittedly complicated methods to illustrate his conception of the writer's art (whether it was by means of the "iceberg theory" or the elusive fourth dimension), his new explanations were even more difficult to understand. He described *Across the River* as being presented to the reader through a series of "three-cushion shots," saying, "In writing I have moved through arithmetic, through plane geometry and algebra, and now I am in calculus" (Breit 62). According to his fourth wife, Mary, he later defined his technique of exposing himself by exploring other people in *A Moveable Feast* as a sort of "biography by *remate,*" a jai-alai term denoting a complex rebound shot ("Making of a Book" 27). If both descriptions lead us to conclude that the

late works revolve around reflection and reflexivity, they equally hint at a man with a fragmented or at least disjointed sense of himself and a writer hoping to use memory to regain his equilibrium.

Returning from the European theater of war to Cuba in 1946, Hemingway began work on what he called at the time "the Land, Sea, and Air Book" that was to be an investigation of war's effect on a man. (As with much of his writing, of course, it might also be fair to call his intention an investigation of manhood.) At the time of Hemingway's death in 1961, the mammoth project had transformed, in Michael Reynolds's words, into "a multivolume portrait of the artist/writer in the first half of the twentieth century," a four-part vision of art's effect on a man (138). If Joyce's influence is to be seen lying behind those manuscripts as they metamorphosed over fifteen years, though, so too is Proust's, given the central place that memory and reminiscence play in what would be posthumously edited and published as *A Moveable Feast, Islands in the Stream, The Garden of Eden,* and *True at First Light,* which became *Under Kilimanjaro.* Indeed, à *la recherche du temps perdu* seems to have been much on Hemingway's mind as he worked on all of the intricately intertwined pieces, clearly bearing out Rose Marie Burwell's contention that his late writing was a "search for a form and a style that would express his reflexive vision of the artist" (1). Writing like this was not simply autobiography; it was self-analysis in the same vein Proust had tapped thirty years earlier and with a similar focus on questions of gender and sexual identity.

Like many others returning from the war, Hemingway felt the increased need for personal and cultural interrogation as social mores and gender roles began to change even more rapidly than they had after World War I. And the general impression from the writing of the 1940s and 1950s would seem to be that he hoped to turn to memories of his former years to perform that interrogation and to recoup or repair his gender identity. In *A Moveable Feast,* therefore, we meet a Hemingway character uncovering all those "facts" about his life that the writer manfully wanted to believe: the early struggle with poverty, the need of his friends for his knowledge and experience, the mistakes of his life being as much other people's faults as his own, and the unwavering diligence to his craft in the face of all this. Equally in *Islands in the Stream, The Garden of Eden,* and *True at First Light,* we glimpse a man nostalgic for his past and anxious to use that past to explain and erase his present doubts. Even the published works of the period follow this model. *Across the River and Into the Trees,* with its fantasy relationship of the battle-hardened, middle-aged Richard Cantwell and his beautiful (and significantly named) Italian heiress,

Renata, seems the work of a man reviving his youthful masculinity; and *The Old Man and the Sea,* with its insistent refrain that Santiago was a man who went out too far, could be viewed as Hemingway's attempt to cast his career as a manly history of literary experiment and trial continuing into the very writing of that novella itself.

Yet, to see the late fiction as an unalloyed submersion in the past and a restoration of gender stability is to overlook the troubling nature of Hemingway's relation to his own history, not to mention the strong editorial presence behind each of the posthumously published books. Hemingway himself is certainly responsible for the constructions of masculinity in books like *Across the River* and *Old Man* that he approved for publication. However, the stable sense of male self in *Feast* is due in large part to Mary's editing of the manuscript after his death and her re-creation of what Debra Moddelmog calls "the popular, commodified Hemingway and his work" (59). The effect of that editorial presence was to make the book sound more like the earlier pontificating Hemingway writer than the later, more speculative one. Those changes—and similar emendations to the other posthumous texts by their respective editors—belie the depth of ambivalence Hemingway felt toward the course his life had taken. If he comes to us in *Feast* in the guise of a grounded, masculine man, the truth of how Hemingway viewed the arc of his career from middle age is much less unshakeable than is apparent in that one text. Its narrator may indeed suggest a calm and collected Hemingway, but other Hemingway heroes of the late works are less sure of themselves. In fact, once we can see beyond the ego-mending done by Hemingway's literary inheritors, the general trend of those manuscripts can be seen not as a solidifying of character and identity but as an increasingly stark realization of the near-complete fragmentation of the male self and, more importantly, of the role memory plays in destroying instead of preserving the self.

Nowhere is this more visible than in *The Garden of Eden* (even in its heavily abridged published form), which many scholars now agree to be, in Jerry Varsava's words, "importantly and *honorably* different from Hemingway's other novels" (115). Viewed from afar, of course, this book, begun in Hemingway's flurry of postwar writing activity, seems quite in line with the fiction he had successfully brought to completion in previous years: a tale of marital woe involving two young expatriate Americans in Europe working through the troubles of their relationship. If it is similar to the earlier writing in its plot, in its elegiac handling of that plot or even in its use of the past to evaluate the present, though, *Garden* (which haunted Hemingway on and off until the

end of his life) diverges strongly in terms of the conclusions it reaches about memory and male identity.

The importance of memory in the book is clear once we realize, first, the story's autobiographical aspect (as a fictional revisiting and reworking of his second marriage, to Pauline Pfeiffer, in the late 1920s) and, second, its very revolution around reminiscence. In the published version, David and Catherine Bourne have recently married and are enjoying a honeymoon in Provence. As the book unfolds, Catherine asks David to engage in a series of sexual and gender inversions and then to commemorate them in a book about their life together. Most of what follows revolves around Catherine's and David's reasons for and responses to these experiments. She envisions them as an escape from restrictive, culturally dictated gender roles, but he worries that they jeopardize his masculinity and his professional life as a fiction writer (especially after Catherine asks him to leave aside his other work in favor of writing the autobiographical honeymoon narrative). In response, David attempts to reestablish what he considers his disintegrating manhood by rejecting that narrative—and eventually Catherine herself—and returning to stories of his youth with his father in Africa. He also begins a relationship with Marita, a recent acquaintance of the Bournes who earlier had a lesbian affair with Catherine.[1] Throughout the manuscript, Hemingway explores the ways in which gender identity is premised not only on personal action but also, and perhaps more significantly, on commemoration and recollection of that action. It is, after all, his writing of the transformations and games more than his participation in them that fuels David's self-doubt. Even though he eventually refuses to write about their inversions anymore, he is still willing to engage in them.

If Hemingway was at a gender crossroads at this point in his life (which seems likely when we recall the diverse depictions of masculinity and femininity in the postwar writing and his real-life engagement with Mary in sexual experimentation that closely mirrors incidents in *Garden*), this book would seem to reflect his quest for a palatable and livable gendered existence. More specifically, it argues the impossibility of remembering gender to reembody it. Given that memory is almost wholly bound up in *Garden* with the trouble in establishing gender identity, we can conclude that in the latter stages of his career Hemingway had come to worry that conscious recollection cannot easily lead to personal reconstruction. This is made clearest through a careful examination of David's attempts to regain his autonomy through written reminiscence after being led into the confusing world of Catherine's sexual