

"What Exile from himself can flee?": A Study  
of the Archetype of Exile in  
Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises  
and Canto One of Lord Byron's  
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage

by


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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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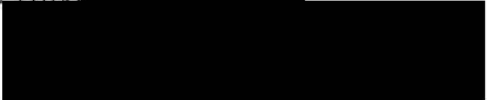
MASTER OF ARTS


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ABSTRACT

As writers who chose voluntarily to live in exile, Ernest Hemingway and Lord Byron were sensitive to the archetypal nature of exile experience. They articulated this experience in their first major works, The Sun Also Rises and Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.

Chapter One of this study develops the line of thought advanced by such early twentieth-century critics as Clifton Fadiman and Rosemary and Stephen Vincent Benét, who noticed the relationship, both biographical and literary, between Byron and Hemingway, as typified by their common fascination with foreign travel, artistic isolation, and acts of heroism. These biographical and literary aspects will be considered along with the notions of exile that have been advanced by other critics, such as Charles Zwingmann and Maria Pfister-Ammende, Michael Seidel, and John Hagopian, whose combined concepts will be distilled in order to produce a definition of the exile archetype.


Chapter 2 of this study offers an examination of the notions of exile that are articulated in Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises and in the First Canto


of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. In these works, the Hemingway hero and his Byronic counterpart share a common exilic experience: they respond to conflicts (whether socially or psychologically induced) by removing themselves from their homelands. This impulse to relocate is often connected to a kind of loss, which may be compensated by the heightened sense of place and greater self-awareness gained in exile.


Chapter 3 examines the relationship between the exile archetype and the quest motif. In both The Sun Also Rises and Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, the exile figure is induced to undergo a quest in order to regain a lost idealism; both authors chose to make Iberia the initial destination for these spiritual pilgrimages. While the exile figure may come to identify with saints and martyrs (who undergo a kind of spiritual exile), the questing impulse may lead him to take on the role of a chivalric hero or a warrior. In some instances, where the questing figure suffers failure or defeat, the result may be self-annihilation. This final metamorphosis of the exile figure is especially relevant to the lives of the authors, but its destructive overtones are counterbalanced by the more productive activities of the exile as artist.


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According to convention, scholars are required to reserve the pages directly following the end of a thesis for a list of "Works Cited"; here, we acknowledge those authors and critics whose ideas have influenced the course of our research. I find it fitting that the preliminary pages of a thesis may be reserved for acknowledging the contributions of colleagues, friends, and family. Many people have offered their encouragement and assistance during my academic career; they deserve credit for helping me to initiate my research for this thesis, and should be commended for the role they have played in bringing this project to fruition.

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the thanks that are due to a supportive and loving family; perhaps the best I can do is offer my work as the produce of a home environment that has always encouraged my activities as a reader. I dedicate this thesis, with love, to my parents, Allan and Mary Stubbs.

Dedication

To my father, Allan Stubbs

whose love of books led me  
to discover the  
universe

and to my mother, Mary Alice Stubbs

who taught me how to read  
and from whose gentleness and courage  
I have still so much to learn

## Preface

Writing as a foreign correspondent for the Toronto Star after the First World War, Ernest Hemingway came in contact with a Europe politically and socially in tatters. At Lausanne, in 1923, Hemingway saw another vestige of the old order pass away, as the peace conference sought to assert a new balance of power on the continent. In an article that combined dispassionate reporting with nostalgic remembrance, he recalled a romantic past amidst the present-day environment of social flux. While acerbically depicting the Château de Ouchy (where the Lausanne Conference was being held) as "so ugly that it makes the Odd Fellows' Hall of Petoskey, Michigan, look like the Parthenon" (Dateline: Toronto 253), the disillusioned reporter turns his attention briefly to the Ouchy of sixty years earlier:

a little fishing village of weather-stained houses, a white-painted, pleasant inn with a shady front porch where Byron used to sit resting his bad leg on a chair while he looked out across the blue of Lake Geneva and waited for the supper bell to ring, and an old ruined tower that rose out of the reeds at the edge of the lake. (253)

Hemingway quickly notes that the Great War has displaced all that is romantic about Ouchy; time has passed, and the machinations of progress have changed the nature of the alpine idyll:

The Swiss have torn down the fishing buildings, nailed up a tablet on the inn front porch, hustled Byron's chair into a museum, filled in the reedy shore with dirt from the excavations from the enormous, empty hotels that cover the slope up the hill to Lausanne, and built the ugliest building in Europe around the old tower.

(Dateline: Toronto 253)

This article reflects the disillusionment of Hemingway the romantic wanderer. Just as Europe itself is being restructured, the glories of the past (idealized here in the mementoes of Lord Byron) have been discarded to make way for the likes of "Mussolini, Europe's Prize Bluffer" (256). The post-war world of the dictator has unsettled the heritage of the exiled poet to the extent that even the integrity of the landscape itself has been compromised. Charles A. Fenton finds such a vision--combining Hemingway's literary recollections, references to the past, and specific descriptions of the landscape--as being typical of the author's world-view:

Hemingway's sense of place, as his novels in particular indicate, is an acute one. The erasure of significant landmarks has not only pained him for the loss of beauty, but also often destroyed, in his judgment, one of the valid instruments by which a writer may retain the truth of a given period or association. He has felt this more deeply in terms of his personal typography, so to speak, than even in such a vanished symbol as Childe Harold's tower . . . . What has happened to Oak Park and Kansas City and New York is only slightly more offensive to him than what had been done to Lausanne since the departure of Byron. (Fenton 198)

Hemingway's allusion to Byron in articulating this sense of loss--which often involves the disruption of the past and the prospect of a life in exile--is only one of many instances where Hemingway links himself to the famed Romantic. A few days after the publication of the Lausanne article, Byron was still fresh in the mind of the Toronto reporter; in his letter of January 29, 1923, to Ezra Pound, he disparages the poetic tyro "Left Footed" Dave O'Neil for his misuse of "Byronic

phrases" (Selected Letters 78). This manner of critique was characteristic of one who repudiated his contemporaries by judging their literary efforts against those of a more accomplished writer. However, Hemingway did not feel he had overstepped the mark when comparing his own self to the roguish yet introspective Lord Byron, and he may have sought willingly to cultivate a Byronic image. For instance, Hemingway's correspondence with publisher Charles Scribner suggests a penchant for role-playing, as well as a certain degree of His Lordship's coyness: "We ought to keep copies of our letters like Mr. Lord Byron and [his publisher, John] Murray. I know some funny things that [I] could write you if [I] wasn't so inhibited" (Selected Letters 661).

Such critical allusions were to be turned back upon Hemingway during his career as a novelist when, in an October 25, 1935, New York Times review, John Chamberlain evaluated Green Hills of Africa as "pretty evenly divided between big game lore and salon controversy. . . . His book is all attitude--all Byronic posturing" (19). Other critics, however, made more flattering comparisons. Rosemary and Stephen Vincent Benét proclaimed Hemingway the "Byron of our day" (New York Herald Tribune Books 3 Nov. 1940: 7),

and Clifton Fadiman dubbed him "an American Byron," a leader in an enclave of new romanticism:

Like Byron, he expresses the aspirations of his generation which genuinely feels itself lost and is eager to admire a way of life which combines courage and color.

(Nation 136 [Jan. 18, 1933] 64)

Fadiman's article remained an influential source for a variety of critics who traced Hemingway's career in the decades that followed. Several critics (including a number of German scholars) have remarked on the Hemingway-Byron connection; Jeffrey Meyers devotes a single page of Hemingway: A Biography to a point-by-point overview of the similarities between these two writers (564). However, like Meyers, few critics have been seriously concerned with following up the literary implications of such a parallel.

Although it would be incorrect to assume that Hemingway sought to emulate Byron outright, clearly he was captivated by the mystique surrounding the "Byronic hero," and like Byron, he was acutely aware of his own role as a leading voice for his generation. Hemingway did consciously style himself after the model of the rebellious artist, mirroring Byron's own transformation into "a star, the first modern celebrity, the artist as

performer and publicist," as the poet's biographer Frederic Raphael has observed (7). Furthermore, Raphael continues, Byron's activities anticipate the "Hemingwayesque fear that action alone can prove a writer's virility" (165), and demonstrate a tendency to compensate for his physical disadvantages with acts of stamina. Inevitably, it was their craft that presented these writers with a suitable outlet for their anxiety. The act of writing was also the means by which they counteracted the debility of exile, and the impotence forced upon them by an unpredictable social environment.

Reading about Byron was always a part of Hemingway's life. Young Ernest would have had an early exposure to Romanticism during his secondary-level studies in English. In his book Hemingway's Reading: 1910-1940, Michael S. Reynolds has noted that the Oak Park High School reading lists indicate a disproportionately high concentration of attention on British writers. At one point, Hemingway had to memorize Byron's "The Destruction of Sennacherib" (16, 106). Later, Ernest no doubt became aware of the Byronic mythos, since such flamboyant lifestyles fascinated the up-and-coming young writer. As a reporter newly arrived in 1921 Paris, he was anxious to

learn from biographies how one should cultivate the appearance of a literary legend. Reynolds notes:

Just as he was to do with his fiction, Hemingway supplemented experience by reading the lives of artists and their letters. The three who got the most attention were not American, but British: D.H. Lawrence, T.E. Lawrence, and Byron. Romantics all, these men had led monumental public lives, which, as Hemingway should have noted, eventually dwarfed their writing. Foreign travel, sexual extravagance, beards, costumes, public secrets, adopted countries, bizarre behaviour, heroism, isolation, the grand gesture--it wasn't their literature but their lives that Hemingway absorbed.

(Hemingway's Reading 24-25)

Records of Hemingway's book inventory, according to scattered references in Reynolds, show that he included a variety of Byroniana among his treasured volumes. When leaving Key West for Havana in 1940, Hemingway took Robert G. Howarth's edition of The Letters of Lord Byron (1936), as well as two seminal biographies--Peter Quennell's Byron: The Years of Fame

(1935) and Harold George Nicolson's Byron, the Last Journey: April 1823-April 1824 (1924). Among the books remaining in Key West were several worthy additions to a reading list: Byron (1912) and The Life of Lady Byron (1929), both by Ethel Colburn Mayne, and editions of Childe Harold and the Poetical Works of Byron.

Other bibliographic details also support Hemingway's enthusiasm for Byronism, and the extent to which he pursued such biographical studies. The Key West inventory of 1940 also contains André Maurois' Byron (1930), translated from the French by Hamish Miles; Reynolds indicates that Hemingway specifically ordered this book from Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Scribner's (Hemingway's Reading 157). Perkins is said to have recommended another book "for material on Shelley and Byron" (193), which amounted to another acquisition for the Hemingway library: The Adventures of a Younger Son by His Lordship's piratical co-adventurer, Edward John Trelawny. F. Scott Fitzgerald was also encouraged by Perkins to read this account of Byron's adventures with his circle in exile (ctd. in Kuehl and Bryer 71).

Even if Hemingway's appreciation of Byronism suggests a posture of self-identification, one cannot deny that he was reasonably well-versed in the

lifestyle of the lordly poet-adventurer. And Hemingway never sought to disown such a literary influence, once the observations of Fadiman and the Benéts began to hint at a deeper relationship between the tough expatriate and the swaggering romantic. This study will continue to develop the line of thought advanced by these early critics in exploring the relationship, both biographical and literary, between Hemingway and Byron. It will focus primarily on the notion of exile, as developed in their life and works, and as typified by their common fascination (noted by Reynolds) with foreign travel, adopted countries, heroism, and isolation. After establishing a definition of exile (based on several perspectives) in Chapter 1, these factors will be examined in a consideration of exile as a literary archetype. Chapter 2 will demonstrate how such works as The Sun Also Rises and Canto One of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage reveal the potency of this archetype through the use of similar thematic structures. This treatment will serve to illuminate the exile experience shared by both the Hemingway hero and the Byronic hero, who frequently respond to conflicts (whether induced by social or psychological factors) by removing themselves from their homelands. The impulse to relocate is often connected to some kind

of loss, and brings with it a sense of personal isolation and alienation. The exile figure's struggle to define an identity within a new environment may lead him to gain greater self-awareness, as well as a heightened sense of place.

Chapter 3 will consider the further thematic implications of exile literature, in terms of the relationship between the exile archetype and the quest motif. In both The Sun Also Rises and Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, the displaced character is induced to undergo a quest in order to regain a lost idealism. Both Hemingway and Byron chose to make Iberia the quester's initial destination in each of these first works; here, their heroes discover and attempt to come to terms with another world. A search for spiritual values may lead the exile figure to identify himself with those who are self-exiled from the world of carnality, such as saints and martyrs. The questing impulse may also motivate the displaced character to become the quintessential man of action, something of an extension of the chivalric hero. In many cases (including both the biographical and literary for Hemingway and Byron), this process entails the emergence of the exile figure as warrior. In other instances, where the questing figure experiences

failure or defeat, the sense of self-awareness gained in isolation frequently gives way to incidences of self-annihilation.

## Chapter 1 Exile in Theory and in Practice

Contemporary studies, such as Paul Tabori's The Anatomy of Exile, concentrate on examining exile from a sociological perspective. One cannot deny the importance of the displacement of entire populations (including the Jewish diaspora of ancient times, and the more recent exodus of oppressed peoples from trouble spots around the world). From a humanitarian point of view, these events are foremost in the popular perception of exile, along with such attendant problems as emigration, assimilation with host cultures, and the prospect of repatriation to the homeland. Consequently, the attention given to "exile literature" is often focussed on those writers who represent the voice of a displaced and oppressed culture. They form a literati predominantly interested in articulating the experience of a larger collective exile, of which they are a singular part.

In comparison to such cultural experiences, the literature of a group of discontented bohemians who feel "alienated" and who have deliberately distanced themselves from mainstream society may appear unnecessarily petulant and somewhat self-indulgent. Tabori considers such figures "expatriates" rather than

"exiles" (166). He cites J. B. Priestley's critique of these voluntary exiles, which maintains that "the writer should be the last of all people to sever his roots" and differentiates between genuine exiles and artistic poseurs in the following manner:

The real exile, with a hunger in his heart, may write more beautifully than ever he did at home, seeing the life he has lost as an old man sometimes sees his youth, something far away and glamorous yet wonderfully clear. Literature can be well served even by nostalgia, for passionate desire and dream are there. . . . The voluntary exile, unless he should be one of those very exceptional persons who finds their own souls only in a foreign land, is in an absurd position.

(Priestley 140; ctd. in Tabori 167)

Comments such as Priestley's typically underestimate the significance of an exile voluntarily embarked upon. Since this act is usually outweighed by the gravity of "genuine exiles" in society's political and ideological consciousness, the conditions behind such artistic isolation are too often disregarded as irrelevant. Yet these conditions may be as valid for the artistic exile as they are for the politically

displaced person. Certainly, the dissatisfied writer can experience a "hunger of the heart," and this nostalgic phenomenon is arguably present in the poetry of Byron and his contemporaries. Hemingway's description of the Château de Ouchy contains the sense of loss that Priestley attributes to true exile--both a loss of the Château's former prestige (as outlined in the anecdote about Byron) and the passing of the old Europe (apparent in the dealings of the Lausanne conference). On the basis of Priestley's criteria, it can be argued that both Hemingway and Byron shared in the experience of those who are considered "real exiles."

In order to demonstrate how an artistic community (such as the Lost Generation and the Byron-Shelley circle) participates in a collective exile experience, one must explore the fundamental aspects of exile which transcend political and ideological concerns, for the implications of displacement make it a universally recognizable human experience. The definitions of "exile" offered by the Oxford English Dictionary stress the displacement of the individual through unfavourable external circumstances. The O.E.D. first defines "exile" as "enforced removal from one's native land according to an edict or sentence; banishment."

It then goes on to include "prolonged voluntary absence from one's native land." This introduction of both voluntary and enforced circumstances suggests that either is valid as a criterion for determining the nature of exile. The definition of the individual as an "exile" refers generally to "a banished person; one compelled by circumstances to reside away from his native land." Again, it may be ascertained that such circumstances are not necessarily enforced by an authority with which the exiled figure is at odds.

Regardless of the motivation behind the state of being in exile, the acknowledgement of a sense of place is an operative concept in each of these definitions. The significance of a "native land" (drawing upon the basic human understanding of the archetype of "home") must be particularly meaningful for exile to be effective in any case. For the enforced exile, the native land must represent some intrinsic positive value, in order for the removal of the subject to constitute an effective form of punishment. In the case of the voluntary exile, the native land may represent a cultural climate that is somehow unsatisfactory, so that a change of locale becomes a preferable option.

Whether exile is enforced or voluntarily embarked

upon, the potency of this concept depends on an understanding that changes in one's sense of place correspond to changes in one's personal character. In this regard, a further definition of "exile" from the O.E.D. adds a sinister dimension to the condition of displacement. Exile also means "to devastate" and "bring to ruin." This is certainly supported by Biblical interpretations of exile; whether exile is enforced (as in the Babylonian captivity) or voluntary (as with the Prodigal Son), the results of leaving the homeland can be disastrous. Again, this definition emphasizes the correlation between the well-being of the individual and the proximity of the native land, with all its attendant values. Those who are forced to lose their status as citizens while in exile may also be expected to lose their sense of identity. On the other hand, those who reject their society and choose to live elsewhere do so with the belief that they will achieve a greater degree of self-actualization as the result of exile. However, they must often face some form of personal devastation: severing ties with the home culture may prove too painful, or the self-awareness provided by exile may be too acute, producing loneliness, extreme alienation, and even self-annihilation. Circumstances such as these

illustrate a commonality of experience for all displaced people, in that exile not only defines place as a concept, but it also contributes to defining the individual's own identity in relation to that place.

In their general review of emigration trends, Charles Zwingmann and Maria Pfister-Ammende acknowledge the ongoing tendency to distinguish between "voluntary and involuntary migration" (1). Their study suggests a common prerequisite factor for emigration of any kind, which can be applied to this consideration of exile. The necessary factor which induces one to leave a native land is a "conflict," which "may be caused by external circumstances and pressure or by inner psychological factors resulting from the personality structure of the individual" (1). The latter conflict is perhaps more relevant to the voluntary exile, for whom displacement is not enforced by an external authority, but is motivated by an inner sense of dissatisfaction. Zwingmann and Pfister-Ammende offer several criteria which motivate displacement. Among the more significant\_ for those who undertake voluntary displacement are social factors, such as "family trouble, housing and occupational difficulties--future of children, attraction by relatives or friends already moved," and psychological factors, such as "personal

conflict, escapism, restlessness, difficulties of adjustment to existing society, fear of persecution or war--transcultural interest, sense of adventure" (1). By providing this survey of potential causes for displacement, the authors acknowledge the validity of social and psychological concerns that might contribute to artistic exile, most of which were overlooked by a critic such as Priestley. Many of these factors had a pronounced effect upon the individuals who made up the Romantic circle in post-Revolutionary Europe, as well as upon those who established their artistic settlement on the Left Bank in the 1920s.

In addition to the sociological treatments of the displacement phenomenon, several literary critics have emphasized the importance of artistic exile; it is worthwhile to take into account their definitions, especially since they are specifically directed toward an understanding of exile literature. Michael Seidel begins his study Exile and the Narrative Imagination with a single declarative statement: "An exile is someone who inhabits one place and remembers or projects the reality of another" ("Preface" ix). This definition provides the basis for a consideration of exile in literature which focusses on the duality of the experience, implicit in the exile's sense of place

(both the place of origin, and the place of resettlement, and the exile figure's status in each). The state of being in exile is partially derived from an acute sensitivity to place, regardless of whether it is a place the subject was forced to leave and longs to return to, or one which constitutes an unfavorable environment that may still be significant in the subject's memory, even in its absence.

Consequently, through his presentation of a dualistic schemata, Seidel demonstrates the significance of the condition of "otherness" in exile. An artistic awareness of the "other" is an important concept for both the voluntary and involuntary exile. It contributes to the "imaginative sustenance" which can be gained from displacement, in which "experiences native to the life of the exile seem almost activated in the artist: separation as desire, perspective as witness, alienation as new being" ("Preface" x). Seidel's evaluation of literary notions of exile provides some useful techniques for examining the works of Byron and Hemingway; references to his criticism will be made throughout this study.

On the other hand, John V. Hagopian, a well-known Hemingway critic, avoids making a distinction between "exile" and "expatriate." Instead, he uses one term to

define the other: "Etymologically and literally, of course, an exile is an expatriate, he who is outside of where he belongs, a man away from his homeland, unable or unwilling to go back to it" (78). This definition emphasizes the status of the exile as outsider, thereby positing a contrast (or even a conflict) of values between the exiled figure and the insular world where (as the critic rather pointedly states) "he belongs." In the context of this definition, Hagopian maintains that "Hemingway was an exile" and, therefore, an outsider to his native land: "At nineteen he left Oak Park, Illinois . . . to volunteer as a Red Cross ambulance driver in Italy during World War I, and he never lived for long or happily in the United States after that" (78).

Hagopian has ventured to call Hemingway "the Ultimate Exile" in an article of the same name; the significance of this appellation is explained as the critic expands his definition of "exile" to formulate four basic types of exile experience among writers:

- (1) Those who, feeling alienated from their home place, attempt exile only to find that no other place can offer anything better. They return and become often the most eloquent spokesmen for their own regions [Hagopian cites Robert Frost and William

Faulkner as examples] . . . . (2) Those who, often for political reasons, are compelled to abandon their home place, but who set deep roots in a new culture, as did T.S. Eliot, or acquire a new language and shape compelling images of a new homeland [for example, Joseph Conrad and Vladimir Nabokov] . . . . (3) Those who, alienated from their home place, nevertheless cannot really set roots anywhere else, but avoid becoming lost souls by carrying their homelands in their hearts and imaginations and making a literature out of it: James Joyce. (4) Finally, those who cannot go home again and cannot find a new home anywhere else: Ezra Pound--officially and literarily insane--and Ernest Hemingway, who did lose touch with the soil and did become obsessed by death. (Hagopian 79)

This inclusion of Hemingway in the final exilic context is the prelude to a grim overview of the writer's career. Thereafter, Hagopian concentrates on discussing exile according to two significant motifs: the displaced person's relationship with the native soil (which, for Hemingway, incurs a loss of contact),

and a fascination with self-annihilation. The link between these two factors supports the notion of devastation implicit in "exile." To lose one's sense of place is to lose one's own sense of identity, which can result in the supreme act of self-devastation--suicide. The fine line between artistic isolation and self-destruction is also suggested in Seidel's treatment of Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness, where the critic observes:

[t]he dilemma that sets in for imaginatively charged individuals [is] when the image of the world is no longer commensurate with the fixed image of their selves, when they are self-dispossessed, no longer their own property in a world of common ideologies and common material pursuits. . . . Suicide or exile is the solution in the grimmest of these cases. (Seidel 49-50)

Hagopian maintains that the fascination with death was the impetus behind not only Hemingway's writing but all his experiences with relocation as well. Perhaps Hagopian's critique is too stringent when he states, "[w]henever Hemingway travelled, he travelled toward death" (79). After all, the travels and escapades presented in the Parisian memoir A Moveable Feast are

often bright and life-affirming, as are Hemingway's recollections of his early life with his wife Hadley.

There is an inherent tension between the concepts of exile put forward by these two critics. At times, Seidel suggests an adventuresome, outwardly-looking perspective, which is indicated through his comparison of the words "exile" and "exult," both of which derive from a common Latin root: ex salire, "to leap out of" (1). The notion of the exile leaping from one place into another is countered by Hagopian's observation that Hemingway's solitary crisis was precipitated by what Leslie Fiedler called "a lifetime of fearing the leap out of the dark" (Fiedler 403; ctd. in Hagopian 78). Seidel also maintains that "[t]he task for the exile, especially the exiled artist, is to transform the figure of rupture back into a 'figure of connection'" ("Preface" x). On the other hand, Hagopian upholds the observations found in D.H. Lawrence's review of In Our Time, with particular regard to the Nick Adams stories. Lawrence distills Hemingway's attitudes toward alienation into an exilic credo:

Nothing matters . . . Avoid one thing only:  
getting connected up. Don't get connected  
up. If you get held by anything, break it.  
Don't be held. Break it and get away. Don't

get away with the idea of getting somewhere else. Just get away for the sake of getting away. . . .

(Lawrence 93; ctd. in Hagopian 84)

The conflict between these critical evaluations of the exile experience is also reflected in the critics' attitudes toward the act of writing. In his consideration of Conrad's narrator Marlow, Seidel likens "the impulse to wander" to "an inscriptive impulse to write on the blank spaces of the map" (68). As a narrator, Marlow provides a voice for such exiles as Kurtz and Lord Jim, and he "take[s] them from the wild and remote to the ordered estate in which they can be read and powerfully remembered" (69). In contrast, Hagopian views Hemingway's narrative as being less accessible to the civilized world. The author's characteristically terse prose style "was in fact a device for the worst kind of exile of all--exile from himself. The style is one of exclusion--the exclusion of complexity, of emotion, of abstraction, of thought" (87). Seidel sees the potential (in Conrad's fiction, at least) for exile to explore; Hagopian focusses instead on the impulse in Hemingway's exile narrative to exclude.

Both critics present valid arguments, convincing

in and of themselves, yet at times the evidence of one critic threatens to contradict that of the other. This tension between literary interpretations underlines the complexity of the exilic experience itself. Depending on the exiled subject's own perspective on the conditions of displacement, "exile" can mean many things. The duality implicit in relocation--the relativity between the place of origin and the place of current habitation, and the cultural values which may be attached to both--presents the potential for a relationship with each of these cultures which may be exploratory or exclusive. Furthermore, the exile's response to his situation can lead him to wander inquisitively, or to desire a return home. Both are logical consequences of displacement; neither may be a satisfactory answer to the problems of exile.

In any event, each critical approach contributes to an overall understanding of the elusive experience known as exile. Formal definitions indicate the central importance of "native land" in the exile's consciousness, and establish the mutually-defining relationship between sense of place and sense of personal identity. Zwingmann and Pfister-Ammende present some social and psychological motivations to account for the phenomenon of displacement; the nature

of these "conflicts" will be examined in future chapters, especially as they contribute to the alienation and isolation of the individual. Akin to these motivations is what Priestley acknowledges as the "hunger of the heart," which is significant to all exiles, and which can sometimes be identified as a feeling of loss. Loss can either cause exile, or be among its consequences.

Much of Seidel's discussion focusses on exile's literary dimension, that is to say, the articulation of its experience. Consequently, this perspective emphasizes much of the self-awareness that is derived from such a condition, as the exile's perception of identity in relation to place requires him to consider reflexively the dual nature of displacement. For some artists, the reflexive thinking described by Seidel only reinforces their self-perception as outsiders. As Hagopian notes in his fourth type of exile experience, there is little comfort in this form of self-awareness, and the result can be an extreme form of alienation: the ultimate state of exile, self-annihilation. For Hemingway, this constituted an act of suicide. For many of his characters, self-annihilation takes the form of an exclusion or loss of personal identity. Arguably, in the same way that self-awareness and a

heightened sense of place are connected, the exile figure may struggle with a loss of identity at the same time that he struggles with a similar loss in terms of his sense of place. The reclamation of a place to which the exile figure attaches some particular value (regardless of whether or not it is his own home) can be connected with his own desires--to assert authority over his own self, to re-establish a sense of identity, to regain that from which he was dispossessed. Such compensatory measures may contribute to the formulation of the exile as questing figure, searching for a code that will provide him with a personal sense of value.

The overall definition of the exilic phenomenon which can be derived from these critical perspectives suggests an archetype of exile--a recurrent concept existing within both literature and reality. Besides providing Hemingway and Byron with subject-matter for their work, the phenomenon of exile had a discernible influence upon the course of their lives. Both writers felt alienated from the values of the home and experienced conflicts (both social and personal) which resulted in separation from their native soil. Both articulated a sense of loss in their early writings; at the same time, they developed a keen sense of place, or a sensitivity to the innate qualities of their new

surroundings. A new environment frequently provided fertile soil for introspection, as locational changes seemed to present these writers with a medium in which to redefine their own identities. The fulfillment of the exilic archetype for both of these men involved playing the role of a questing figure in search of military glory, as well as trying to regain spiritual completeness or a bygone idealism. While this transformation of displaced person into heroic quester may constitute the final metamorphosis in the exile experience, it might be more appropriate at this point to consider how this process was initiated in the lives of Byron and Hemingway.<sup>1</sup>

Young Ernest, who may have seen his own past reflected in Lord Byron's life during his reading, shared something of Byron's early experience as an outsider. Both writers came from respectable backgrounds, which included a reasonably comfortable homelife. For Byron, respectability was more a pretense than a practice; his kinship to "Mad Jack"

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<sup>1</sup>The biographical information in the following section, when not directly acknowledged through parenthetical citations, is mainly derived from Jeffrey Meyers' Hemingway: A Biography and Frederic Raphael's Byron.

Byron indicates a dissolute streak within the family. On the other hand, Hemingway's father was religious and straight-laced in his attitudes, while his equally-devout mother was artistic and yet authoritarian. As a youth, Ernest was under pressure from his dominating mother who, as Carlos Baker suggests, sought to exercise an effeminizing influence on her children. Consequently, home for Hemingway became a place to escape from, even at an early age. Byron's mother was similarly an authority figure: she is famous among biographers, not only for alternately bullying and doting upon her crippled young son, but also for subjecting his deformed foot to the strictures of painful "corrective" devices, administered by her coterie of orthopedic quacks.

Hemingway also felt physically encumbered during his adolescence. At school, Ernest put his body to the test to prove his virility and physical stamina, as a means of drawing attention away from his private and social infirmities. He "competed on the swimming, water polo and football teams," and, after viewing a professional boxing match, "became a keen boxer" (Meyers 18). Byron, similarly pressed to override the unpleasant legacies of his mother's influence, his physical handicap, and his precarious status within

schoolyard society, also demonstrated a precocious penchant for proving his manhood through rigorous exercise and sexual misadventures. The adolescent Byron excelled as a swimmer, and turned in a more than adequate performance as a cricketer at Harrow (Raphael 25, 28). Like Hemingway, he developed a taste for combative sports; Raphael notes that, besides taking fencing lessons, "he also learnt boxing from the famous pugilist 'Gentleman' Jackson" (31). Metaphorically, such activities presented these artistic young minds with the chance to explore beyond the boundaries imposed upon them by everyday life. For Ernest, this escapist impulse led to a regular series of trips to the Michigan woods, undertaken at first in the company of his father, and later with friends or by himself. There, he exchanged civilization (and the matriarchal environment of the Hemingway household) for an existence in the wilderness.

This early sense of domestic dissatisfaction (coupled with youthful curiosity) prompted both Hemingway and Byron to embark upon foreign travels when they reached maturity. Neither can be said to have experienced typical adventures. Ernest volunteered for ambulance service in 1917, and saw war firsthand on the battlefield in Italy (he was barred from participating

in combat because of defective vision). Being a fashionable young man, Lord Byron undertook the obligatory Grand Tour of Europe at the age of 21, and returned home all the more fashionably jaded from his travels. Quite atypical, however, was His Lordship's falling in with the Suliote warriors of the Adriatic, who helped to nurture his passion for Greek culture. The record of his wanderings, of course, became Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, the thinly-disguised exploits of a self-styled romantic wanderer. This monumental poem catapulted its author to that grand morning when he awoke to find himself famous. Hemingway's abilities as a writer were likewise enhanced by his experiences abroad. His participation in the Italian campaign impressed upon him the stark images of death and destruction that were to shape his subject matter throughout his career. He developed his technical skills during his post-war departure from Oak Park to work as a cub reporter for the Kansas City Star, and then as a correspondent for the Toronto Star. Journalistic practice sharpened his observational technique: he learned to write dispassionately, reporting facts effectively from the outside looking in.

For both Hemingway and Byron, then, the youthful

encounter with foreign relocation was the beginning of a life spent in exile, punctuated by literary achievements and contact with like-minded acquaintances. Sherwood Anderson convinced the newly-wed Hemingway (who married Hadley Richardson in 1921) to explore the cultural center of the "New Writing" at Paris. While working as an overseas contributor to the Toronto Star, he joined the exile community already populated by such luminaries as Gertrude Stein and Ezra Pound. His professional activities and artistic interests soon converged in the development of the hard-boiled Hemingway prose style. The characteristic bluntness of the journalistic dispatch surfaces throughout the vignettes of in our time, a literary hybrid of news reportage and unidealized prose sketches. Free from Oak Park and the homespun notions of "one nation indivisible," young Hemingway impressed upon his work the mark of a mature cosmopolitan awareness. This first manifestation of the Hemingway craft darkly chronicles the author's initiation into a world disrupted by violence.

The collection of vignettes was soon expanded to include a number of short stories published in 1925 under the revised title In Our Time. The effect was much like that of Byron's Childe Harold--society was at

once both shocked and fascinated. The literati of the United States were impressed by Hemingway's innovative style, unlike anything being published in America at the time. At the same time that he presented an expatriate voice outside mainstream America, Hemingway held a mirror up to his native culture through his vivid portrayals of crime and warfare. In Our Time was received by the reading public as a personal reflection on America's loss of innocence, both at home and abroad. In this regard, it was as much a pilgrimage through the dark heart of postbellum society as the picaresque journey made by Childe Harold's alter ego a century earlier.

Byron's early career contains certain parallels comparable to Hemingway's initiatory experience as a writer in exile. While away from home on the Grand Tour, the young poet developed a sense of perspective which, combined with an abundance of worldly experience, enabled him to fashion his poetic travelogue. Childe Harold's Pilgrimage contains his reflections on the state of post-Revolutionary Europe. He observes the trauma of the European psyche in the aftermath of Waterloo, and in the Congress of Vienna's efforts to redistribute power by redrawing the map of the Continent. Besides contributing to Byron's social

awareness, the process of relocation added maturity to the technique which the young poet had been developing in such early works as English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. The playfulness of Byron's satiric verse gives way to a more thoughtful consideration of exile and spiritual dissatisfaction in Cantos One and Two of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. The first canto indicates a growing awareness on His Lordship's part of the violence and destruction that have been left in the wake of Wellington's Peninsular Campaign through Portugal and Spain. Arguably, the war reportage and social commentary presented in this canto constitutes a Byronic version of In Our Time.

Just as a collection of prose vignettes would one day spark critical interest in a young Ernest Hemingway, the first two cantos of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage captured the imagination of Regency society, which soon turned its attention to the public life of the author. His Lordship's return to England exposed him to popular acclaim, and to the Byronic mystique that had been manufactured in his absence. As a consequence, he quickly developed a taste for notoriety, and acted the part of the lionized celebrity to the hilt. However, the days of fame in London cannot be counted as among his most productive, nor his

most reflective. Displacement was still the foremost catalyst for artistic creativity. In this regard, Byron's later wanderings were to prove instrumental to his poetic success.

The need for a foreign environment thus became an integral part of the creative process. Just as Ernest seemed to require a new woman as inspiration for each new book, he also needed a new locale. His first major novel, The Sun Also Rises, was born out of the Parisian exile of the 1920s, an experience which also proved conducive to the composition of A Farewell to Arms. Soon came Key West and the marriage to Pauline Pfeiffer, a move brought on partly by a degree of residual discomfort left over from his failed marriage to Hadley Richardson, and partly by the need to make a fresh start. Key West was remote enough to distance Ernest from the drawing-rooms of his Oak Park days, while still providing a touchstone to more exotic locales, such as Havana and the alluring waters of the Caribbean. However, safaris to Africa and trips to Spain disrupted this latest attempt at resettlement. Then Ernest travelled to Spain as a reporter in the Civil War; there he fell in love with Martha Gellhorn, bringing the Key West years to an uncomfortable close. From this experience, with its combined political and

emotional upheaval, he wrote his epic novel For Whom the Bell Tolls. His exposure to the world of the battlefield also signalled the re-emergence of the exiled artist's desire to prove himself as a warrior.

Like Hemingway, Byron discovered the oppressive nature of society, whose interest in his public life often superseded any appreciation of his art. Byron's romantic entanglements also seemed to keep pace with his creative endeavours; however, the combination of a neurotic ex-mistress (Lady Caroline Lamb), an amorous half-sister (Augusta), and a puritanical and vindictive wife (Annabella Milbanke) was too much to contend with. When stories of his incest and extramarital affairs circulated throughout polite society, Byron opted to leave England for a life of exile. While still a voluntary measure, it was nonetheless necessary if he was to retain what was left of his reputation.

This departure led Byron first to France, and then to Switzerland, where he attached himself to the exile community formed by Percy Bysshe Shelley, his wife Mary, and several of their friends. The poetic muse (witnessed in Manfred and the early cantos of Don Juan) flourished here, but, inevitably, so did scandal. Byron soon found himself entangled with Claire Claremont, the young step-sister of Mary Shelley. Wishing to avoid

any further embarrassment, Byron journeyed alone to Italy, where he resided in Venice and eventually fell under the spell of Countess Teresa Guiccioli. This episode in the poet's life is rich in poetic accomplishment (including the completion of the Childe Harold cantos), as well as in glimpses of the extravagant lifestyle of the aristocratic cad abroad. The decadence of the Venetian adventure was soon interrupted by a rapprochement with the Shelleys at Pisa, where the poetic enclave in exile was revived. The reunion was short-lived due to Shelley's untimely loss at sea, a tragedy that did not deter Byron from acquiring and fitting out his own seagoing brig. Much like Hemingway, in a later time of turmoil, the poet had visions of embarking on a free-lance military venture. Whereas Hemingway roved the Caribbean, searching for Nazi U-Boats in his fishing yacht-cum-Q Ship Pilar, Byron set sail for Greece as a participant in its struggle for nationhood and independence from the Turkish Empire.

The outbreak of World War II presented Ernest with another chance to experience warfare first-hand. Hemingway began his service as a war correspondent during the Normandy invasions; while stationed in London, he began his affair with Mary Welsh. Later, he

surrendered himself to playing the role of the Byronic warrior, and entered the hostilities as an unauthorized participant. Showing much bravado and grandes cojones, Hemingway led his band of irregular troops into Paris during the Allied liberation, and commanded them to "liberate" his favourite bars. After the war, a fourth marriage ensued upon his return to America, but his writing was still preoccupied with overseas locales. During a trip to Venice, Hemingway allowed himself (like Byron) to fall in love with a courtly Italian lady, Adriana Ivancich. The literary result of this tryst, Across the River and Into the Trees, was a pathetic account of an old soldier's fading glory which disappointed the author's following. His response was The Old Man and the Sea, which won Hemingway newfound respect as an artist, as well as a Nobel Prize. Apart from a number of posthumously published works, this novella marks the final stage of Hemingway's career, and of his life. Its theme of solitary perseverance serves as an ironic testimony to the remoteness of an artist whose last years would be spent in a state of estrangement--both from himself and from reality.

Byron's last venture was a well-intended endeavour, but one which ultimately yielded tragic results. The transformation of Regency lord into

warrior chieftain marked the final stage of the artist's exilic development. The loss of an old way of life, inherent in his separation from the domestic entanglements of the past, was replaced by a desire to find a new home for himself in Greece. Renewed contact with the Hellenic soil brought about an attendant change in the poet's sense of self-identity. The hopeful champion of Greek independence who disembarked at Missolonghi on January 4, 1824 had tailored himself into a questing figure, complete with "Homeric helmets and other glamorous accoutrements" (Raphael 190). A side trip to Ithaca had excited the poet's sense of place to the degree that Odysseus had now returned in the guise of 'Childe Harold (194).

However, Byron's idealism was somewhat frustrated by dissension among the Greek irregulars whom he was sent to aid. Among the most problematical of these factions were his old friends the Suliotes, whose main objective was to divide the spoils of conquest, rather than to liberate the homeland of the Hellenes. The funding which Byron made available for his expedition against the Ottomans was largely wasted, as were his amorous attentions toward his page boy, Loukas.

Byron's death, from a disease contracted in the marshes near his encampment, represents a most

ignominious end to the figure of the artist, as does the suicide which terminated Hemingway's pathetic final years. However, the literary legacy of Byron, and that of his future reader and indirect protégé Ernest Hemingway, remains vital as an articulation of their experience. The following consideration of two representative works by these authors--The Sun Also Rises and Canto One of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage--will demonstrate the interconnection that exists between the exilic phenomenon and artistic creativity.

Chapter 2    Notions of Exile: Conflict and  
Relocation in The Sun Also Rises and  
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.

Just as the biographies of Hemingway and Byron invite a certain degree of comparison, the circumstances surrounding the composition of their first great works also suggest a number of similarities. Both The Sun Also Rises and Childe Harold's Pilgrimage are products of an exile consciousness: Hemingway wrote his first novel while living among the expatriates in Paris from 1921 to 1926, and Lord Byron began the first two cantos during his European Grand Tour of 1809-11, and completed the third and fourth cantos during subsequent trips. Besides being born of an exilic environment, these works document the exilic experience: both Jake Barnes and Childe Harold undergo a type of spiritual journey as they travel beyond the bounds of their respective homelands. The kinship between these works, and between their creators, is further reinforced by their popular reception. The romantic wanderings of the exile were as well-received in Hemingway's day as they were in Byron's. Carlos Baker ironically mirrors Byron's recollection of Childe Harold's instant

notoriety ("I awoke one morning and found myself famous"), as he observes that "Hemingway awoke one autumn morning in Paris to find that the sun had also risen" (Baker, "The Wastelanders" 9).

Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises chronicles the spiritual condition of the Lost Generation in Paris after the First World War. The novel raises many questions about exile: its characters are voluntary expatriates, but their circumstances can be attributed to living in a state lacking spiritual values. The post-war condition of Hemingway's contemporaries (many of whom served as models for members of the novel's expatriate community) was aptly summarized by Clifton Fadiman, when he commented that this generation, like the post-Revolutionary Romantic movement that preceded them, experienced "a kind of splendid, often very beautiful, disease of the imagination noticeable during periods of social decay" (64).

Jake Barnes, the narrator of this post-war fable, alludes to this disease when he warns Georgette, the French poule, not to touch him intimately because he is "sick" (SAR 15). Physical contact has become a debased substitute for spiritual values among the exiles in Paris. However, Jake cannot benefit from the placebo effect of sexuality because of his war wound. He

explains to Georgette, "I got hurt in the war" (SAR 17), and then silently reflects upon the conflict that has been the source of his crisis. His final comment implies a certain degree of alienation among members of the Lost Generation:

We would probably have gone on and discussed the war and agreed that it was in reality a calamity for civilization, and perhaps would have been better avoided. I was bored enough. (SAR 17)

As the preceding episode attests, the personal crisis of one particular exile (Jake Barnes) has been precipitated by a conflict, much as Zwingmann and Pfister-Ammende have noted in their consideration of voluntary exile. In this case, the conflict has been of global proportions, and has left Jake physically wounded and unable to consummate his love for Lady Brett Ashley. Just as the larger conflict (World War I) has become localized in his own private affairs, the crisis of the European and North American psyche in the aftermath of the Great War has become localized in the predicament of the expatriate community in Paris, of which Jake is a part. To paraphrase the words of Gertrude Stein, they are all a lost generation. Although their exile is voluntary, it is nonetheless

motivated by a universal sense of social upheaval. Even those who do not literally share Jake's physiological wound still experience the inability to love, as is the case with such exiles as Brett Ashley, Count Mippipopolous, and Robert Cohn.

While Jake reflects upon the social and psychological conflicts which motivate his exile, he requires an impartial observer to delineate the key aspects of the expatriate lifestyle. Bill Gorton, visiting Europe from the United States, provides a tongue-in-cheek assessment of the exile's status, as seen from the home country:

" . . . You know what's the trouble with you? You're an expatriate. One of the worst type. Haven't you heard that? Nobody that ever left their own country ever wrote anything worth printing. Not even in the newspapers."

He drank the coffee.

"You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You are an expatriate, see? You hang around cafés."

"It sounds like a swell life," I said.

"When do I work?"

"You don't work. One group claims women support you. Another group claims you're impotent." (SAR 115)

Before Bill's joke turns sour with the mention of impotence, he posits a number of factors which typify the exile experience. At once, he acknowledges a conflict in Jake's life ("You know what's the trouble with you?") and then proceeds to link this to expatriation. Bill's diatribe consistently refers to the values of the home country beside those of the adopted culture. He suggests that their literary standards are appositional ("Nobody that ever left their own country ever wrote anything worth printing"), as are their cultural values ("Fake European standards have ruined you"), and he even indicates that an exile lacks a sense of place ("You've lost touch with the soil"). Bill directly correlates this shift in geographic location with a change in personal fortunes. As a result, the identity of the exile is defined by a list of supposed abnormalities: "You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working."

Significantly, Bill includes a talk versus work juxtaposition, as if to indicate that work is a guiding

principle to the prodigal, while café conversation is a pointless venture. For all that expatriation is, Bill offers a reminder of all that it is not. His delineation of exile's implicit sense of loss--of that which is missing, or which the exiled person is separated from--leads him to an unfortunate comment, and he mentions the factor that epitomizes the agony of exile more so than anything else for Jake: his impotence, the result of his physical incompleteness.

Bill's definition of the expatriate lifestyle (which, ironically, he has journeyed to Europe to take part in) is significant for two reasons. First, by comparing the old established traditions with the new habits absorbed in a foreign environment, he not only delineates the importance of place as a concept in the exile mentality, but also contributes to defining the exile's identity in relation to that place. Not only is there a change of scene, but there is an accompanying change of personality (or personal fortune) for the exile who makes this geographical crossing. Second, he equates the Parisian exile with some type of loss. The paradigm that he creates, which links the Parisian exile to loss, consequently posits that the loss of an old way of life is a precursor to personal incompleteness.

The attachment which Jake feels for his surroundings is of key importance in defining his character. He frequently becomes defensive about the qualities of his adoptive home, as is indicated when he berates the newcomer Robert Prentiss for inquiring as to whether or not Jake finds Paris "amusing" (SAR 21). Those who fail to appreciate the integral value of the city insult the sensitivities of Jake, for whom appreciation of place is one of the more satisfying aspects of the exile experience. Such people have no real reason to be in Paris in the first place, except to satisfy a taste for affectation, a trait which Jake despises.

While the city represents something of a playground for these self-styled bohemians, it provides Jake with an atmosphere in which to foster the quality of being alone in the world, which he later attributes to Pedro Romero. Jake seems to enjoy his environment most during these moments of solitude, when he can reflect on the city and its significance to him. His seasoned ability to define a sense of place is articulated in a later episode, when he travels alone in a taxi through the streets of Paris:

Crossing the Seine I saw a string of barges being towed empty down the current, riding high, the bargemen at the sweeps as they came

toward the bridge. The river looked nice. It was always pleasant crossing bridges in Paris. (SAR 41)

Although Jake later feels that the stretch of road along the Boulevard Raspail "always made dull riding" (SAR 41), he indicates that such judgments are generally the exception rather than the rule. For the most part, Jake feels at one with his surroundings, and his observations on the "nice" river and his "pleasant" crossing seem to reflect more accurately his own sense of inner peace. The simple act of crossing the Seine signifies a moment of harmony within the exile experience. It is a moment in which, as Michael Seidel puts it, the 'exile "transform[s] the figure of rupture back into a 'figure of connection'" ("Preface" x). In this respect, Paris provides a medium for exploration, both literally and figuratively. Jake's realistic observations of the landscape accord well with his sense of place, while the mental wanderings inspired by this environment bring him to a heightened awareness of his own self-identity.

In isolation, Jake is also confronted by a more unsettling side of his exile--the sense of loss that Bill unwittingly insinuates into his definition of the expatriate lifestyle. Alone in his bedroom at night,

Jake experiences a sobering moment of self-revelation: "Undressing, I looked at myself in the mirror of the armoire beside the bed. . . . Of all the ways to be wounded" (SAR 30). Standing in front of a simple mirror, Jake is faced with his own physiological incompleteness, and the psychic wound that this entails. His solitary reflection testifies to the painful side of the exile's self-awareness:

I never used to realize it, I guess. I try and play it along and just not make trouble for people. Probably I never would have had any trouble if I hadn't run into Brett when they shipped me to England. I suppose she only wanted what she couldn't have. Well, people were that way. To hell with people.

(SAR 31)

Jake's meditations on his wound lead to feelings of embittered anguish; he finds temporary relief only by thinking of Brett and crying, and by taking refuge in his appreciation of place: "I lay in bed and listened to the heavy trams go by and way down the street, and then I went to sleep" (SAR 31). As this instance of self-awareness gradually segues into the familiarity of the street sounds, the boulevards of Paris again provide Jake with an avenue of escape from his conflicts.

Many of the novel's other exile figures also experience this paradigmatic combination of sense of place and self-awareness, coupled with a sense of loss. These factors figure prominently in the expatriate career of the dissolute British divorcée Brett Ashley, who conducts a string of love affairs across Europe, but who can never be fulfilled while she and Jake remain physically distant. In addition to Jake's loss of sexual potency, the recent armed conflict has cost Brett her first love--who was laid waste by dysentery--as well as her husband, whose sanity was dispelled by shellshock after service in the Royal Navy. Her sometimes escort Count Mippipopolous (with whom she arrives at Jake's apartment after he awakes from his post-introspective sleep) is an exiled nobleman who attempts to purchase companionship through his wealth and his reputation as a connoisseur. He, too, is a wanderer who is no stranger to conflicts (having fought in "seven wars and four revolutions" [SAR 60]) and his need to participate in the social atmosphere of Parisian nightlife perhaps suggests his nostalgic desire to regain lost youth. Brett's relationships with men like the Count, although self-serving, are never self-satisfying. This feature of her personal conflict keeps her constantly a displaced person, as she moves across Europe:

"Then he wanted me to go to Cannes with him. Told him I knew too many people in Cannes. Monte Carlo. Told him I knew too many people in Monte Carlo. Told him I knew too many people everywhere. Quite true, too. So I asked him to bring me here." (SAR 33)

For both Jake and Brett, exile offers a means of escape from personal social and psychological conflicts which are symptomatic of the aftershock felt by society in the wake of the First World War. While Jake is never entirely free from his self-conscious sense of loss, his exile is characterized by connoisseurship, appreciation of his surroundings and, at times, by an artistic isolation. Brett, on the other hand, finds no particular attachment to place; instead, her exilic impulse is to escape from her conflicts by constantly changing locations. In this respect, she is like Robert Cohn, who also seeks to remedy his inner dissatisfaction by wandering from place to place.

Early in Book I of The Sun Also Rises, Jake comments on Cohn's irritating propensity to associate travel with an idealized desire to escape from internal conflict. Cohn's notion of exile strikes Jake as a romantic pre-fabrication, especially as his sense of place and self-image seem to be derived from the pages

of a popular novel, "The Purple Land": "It recounts splendid imaginary amorous adventures of a perfect English gentleman in an intensely romantic land, the scenery of which is very well described. . . . It was all that was needed to set him off" (SAR 9). When Cohn tries to enlist Jake as company for his proposed journey to South America, he is met by the following rejoinder, which serves as a caveat to all expatriates:

"Listen, Robert, going to another country doesn't make any difference. I've tried all that. You can't get away from yourself by moving from one place to another. There's nothing to that." (SAR 11)

Where the more seasoned traveller claims "[i]f you went there the way you feel now it would be exactly the same" (SAR 11), Robert Cohn is willing to believe that travel will transform him. Eventually, however, his exilic impulse is transferred from the romantic desire for travel to his amorous pursuit of Brett Ashley. Ironically, as Jake cannot resist pointing out, Brett is for Cohn a mesmerizing amalgam of carnal greed and spiritual inheritance. When they first meet in Paris, Jake notes in Cohn's reaction a different kind of wanderlust:

She stood holding the glass and I saw  
Robert Cohn looking at her. He looked a

great deal as his compatriot must have looked when he saw the promised land. Cohn, of course, was much younger. But he had that look of eager, deserving expectation.

(SAR 22)

Brett signifies for Cohn the end of his wanderings (Cohn, the incurable romantic, has lately been unlucky in love). Just as escape from a failed marriage brought him to Paris, the willingness to explore new (though far from virgin) territory eventually leads him to pursue Brett to Pamplona.

Mark Spilka has noticed that love and its failure is the impetus for Cohn's travels abroad, and constitutes the foundation of his romantic notion of exile:

Cohn's romanticism explains his key position in the parable. He is the last chivalric hero, the last defender of an outworn faith, and his function is to illustrate its present folly--to show us, through the absurdity of his behavior, that romantic love is dead, that one of the great guiding codes of the past no longer operates. (Spilka 27)

Although Cohn's romantic quest does reach absurd proportions, he is not alone in experiencing the

failure of this "great guiding code." Romantic love is also dead for Brett and Jake, and there are very few other traditional values left to guide them through the post-war wasteland. In the shadow of a larger world conflict, these characters have experienced a crisis of separation from a bygone way of life, as they have become both physically and spiritually distant from their home culture and the positive values that were once associated with it. The continuation of the exilic cycle leads these expatriates to wander next to Spain, where each undertakes a quest for substitute values to offset those which have been lost. The transformation of the exile figure into a type of chivalric quester during the Spanish section of the novel creates an even closer thematic link between the Hemingway hero and his Byronic counterpart.

## II

Lord Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage is something of a prototype for the exilic journey described in Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises. Like Hemingway's novel, Byron's poem is, on one level, a barely-concealed account of his own travels--what helped to capture the imagination of his 19th-Century readership (and even the Byronic aficionados of today) was the casting of this poem in the form of a romantic

travelogue. The poet develops Harold's journey into a series of intriguing adventures, as he departs from his home on a foreign expedition which takes him to Portugal, Spain, Albania, Greece, and then eventually from Belgium into Switzerland and Italy. To add to the poem's popular appeal, Byron includes traces of a failed love story between the threads of his geographic and historical discourse. The archetype of exile experience is also a powerful presence in the poem, and it is especially apparent in Canto One, which describes Harold's progress through Iberia. This section of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage combines exilic resonances with a quest narrative by focussing on a cycle of alienation and isolation (originating from a loss of spiritual values) which results in the desire to travel abroad. The impulse to wander leads the exiled subject to develop a heightened sensitivity to his surroundings, as well as a more acute level of self-awareness. |

Harold is introduced in the first canto as a "shameless wight" (1.2.5) who outwardly appears to be lacking in nothing. In fact, his life is full of richness and extravagance--as well as carnal pleasures, suggested by those consorts whose physical allure "[m]ight shake the saintship of an anchorite" (1.11.4).

However, as with the prosperity of American society that Jake Barnes later comes to criticize, such pleasures cannot hide internal corruption. Harold, like a jaded Hemingway hero, feels "the fulness of satiety" (1.4.7), and seeks to distance himself from this inner dissatisfaction:

Then loathed he in his native land to dwell,  
Which seem'd to him more lone than Eremite's sad  
cell. (1.4.8-9)

Already, the poem abounds with references that have relevance to the definitions of exile offered in the first chapter. Not only has the psychological conflict (acknowledged by Zwingmann and Pfister-Ammende) been introduced, but the rejection of the values of the home is made apparent in the reference to the "native land." Harold is in conflict with the innate values of the homeland: by rejecting these values, he is also reluctant "in his native land to dwell." To remain there would seem an act of imprisonment "more lone than Eremite's sad cell." Emotional loss is as potent a cause of exile as a vow of hermitage or any form of systematic reclusion.

Harold's angst stems from the consequences of his spiritual lack: in a manner of speaking, he has also been rendered impotent by his surroundings. He shares

the dilemma of another pleasure-seeker, Lady Brett Ashley, in that he has no end of carnal gratification, but he cannot have the one whom he truly loves:

Ah, happy she! to 'scape from him whose kiss  
 Had been pollution unto aught so chaste;  
 Who soon had left her charms for vulgar bliss,  
 And spoil'd her goodly lands to gild his waste,

(1.5.5-8)

Ironically, Harold's destructive influence on "her goodly lands" echoes the archaic meaning of exile--"to devastate" or "bring to ruin." In his homeland, the young knight has truly lost touch with the soil, and his spiritual deficiency threatens to blight the very landscape.

His reaction to these abysmal misfortunes is to distance himself physically from his homeland, as a means of escaping from his own inner conflict. Childe Harold resolves to wander abroad, alone, and to make the mythic descent into the hellish void of his own heart:

Apart he stalk'd in joyless reverie  
 And from his native land resolved to go,  
 And visit scorching climes beyond the sea;  
 With pleasure drugg'd, he almost long'd for woe,  
 And e'en for change of scene would seek the shades

below (1.6.5-9)

The first twelve stanzas of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage contain a number of references to the mutually-defining acts of leaving and venturing forth. The dualistic nature of these activities heightens Harold's exilic awareness of the dichotomy between the old place and the new (as mentioned by Seidel and Hagopian in their studies). Harold's impulse to exclude his old way of life from his present realm of experience also draws him onward to explore a new perspective on the world. The crossing from one state of being into another corresponds with a similar passage across the first of his geographical boundaries: "Without a sigh he left to cross the brine/  
And traverse Paynim shores and pass Earth's central line" (1.11.8-9). Byron dramatizes this moment of crossing in such a way that it at once becomes an exclusionary activity (in the rejection of the native land) and an ongoing exploration of what lies beyond the comfortable boundaries of home:

The sails were fill'd, and fair the light winds  
blew,  
As glad to waft him from his native home;  
And fast the white rocks faded from his view,  
And soon were lost in circumambient foam;

(1.12.1-4)

Besides the recurring images of leaving and venturing, the poem continues to emphasize the importance of the "native land," which is presented in this passage as the "native home." Byron emphasizes here the potency of not only the "native land" as an operational concept in the definition of exile, but also the concept of the "home"--the place where one not only lives, but belongs. By questioning the legitimacy of whether or not he belongs in an environment for which he no longer expresses any sympathy, Childe Harold challenges the nature of what constitutes a home. His voyage is to find satisfaction in another place. His exile begins when he can no longer observe his former home, and his vision turns inward. Here, at the periphery of his society, he composes a song:

"With thee, my bark, I'll swiftly go  
 Athwart the foaming brine;  
 Nor care what land thou bear'st me to,  
 So not again to mine.  
 Welcome, welcome, ye dark-blue waves!  
 And when you fail my sight,  
 Welcome, ye deserts, and ye caves!  
 My native Land--Good Night!"

For Byron, voicing his own sentiments through the persona of Childe Harold, this self-imposed exile was

based on a deliberate (if somewhat precociously affected) rejection of the native land. Even before the scandal which was to drive His Lordship from polite society, Byron's letters attest to a cynical distaste for all things English. Before setting out on his premier voyage to Iberia and the Balkan Peninsula (the settings for both Cantos One and Two of Childe Harold), Byron proclaimed his expatriate status to his friend Francis Hodgson: "I leave England without regret-----I shall return to it without pleasure. I am like Adam, the first convict sentenced to transportation, but I have no Eve, and have eaten no apple but what was sour as a crab" (Letters and Journals 1: 230). This off-hand comparison to the Edenic exile is intended to be self-deflating, but it does suggest that Byron appreciated the potency of the spiritual nature of the exile experience.

The loss of love which motivates Harold's exile has led to speculation that a similar loss was the impetus behind Byron's travels. However, William A. Borst attributes this to "motive-hunting" on the part of a restless young man with a natural inclination to travel, who was more than happy to hint at the failure of love as an explanation for his wanderlust (Borst xxi). The end of the relationship with Mary Chaworth

might be partially responsible for Byron's disillusionment and departure. Borst recalls that one of the farewell poems to Mary, entitled "Stanzas to a Lady On Leaving England," offers a rationale within the refrain "Because I cannot love but one" (note 1, xxi). The anxiety of leaving home as an Adam without an Eve was to become even more intense upon Byron's return to England in 1811. At this time, he was made distraught by the deaths of his mother, his friend Charles Skinner Matthews, and an acquaintance from Cambridge, the choirboy Edleston. As if to reinforce the importance of lost love in Byron's version of Edenic exile, a waggish contemporary noted that "Edleston" is a convolution of "lost Eden"--an ironic comment which reflects Byron's contribution to the boy's "decline from Edenic innocence" (Raphael 57).

Certainly, Byron's own impulse to travel, articulated through Harold's pilgrimage, implies the standard assumption that losing one's love, honour, or idealism logically leads one to find it elsewhere. Regardless of Byron's dubious sincerity in discussing matters of the spirit, the fabric of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage is interwoven with the archetypal quest narrative--the quest for that which is lost (so often equated with the motif of a "lost Eden," as in Milton's

Paradise Lost). Eventually, the process of self-imposed exile from the native land does bring both Byron and Harold into a higher state of beatitude. For Gordon Kent Thomas, who has travelled in Harold's footsteps through Portugal and Spain, this act of transcendence is nowhere more clearly witnessed than in the First Canto, which describes the Iberian crossing:

But the journey did more for Byron than merely this rejection of England and the English. . . . The spectacular scenery of Portugal, particularly the impressive harbor setting of Lisbon and the peaks and valleys of Sintra, had the power to transport him from sullenness to "glorious Eden." Not always very well informed about what he was seeing, but always possessed of powers of keen observation, Byron delighted in the beauties of these exotic places. (69)

When translated poetically into the adventures of Childe Harold, Byron's experience lends credence to the ongoing cycle that is inherent in exile: the initial stages of alienation and isolation, brought on by the dissatisfaction caused by lack, give way to a heightened sense of place within the exilic mind. Once Harold has made his sea-crossing, once he has seen

where he has come from and where he now is going, his perspective changes. The dour song that was his meditation upon the native land gives way to a more animated consideration of the new soil that he has landed upon.

Byron's acute sensitivity to his surroundings is well-matched by Hemingway's own appreciation of "the good place," articulated in the Spanish section of The Sun Also Rises. The change of scene from Paris to Spain offers Jake a temporary respite from his spiritual malaise; at the same time, it provides him with a fresh vantage point, from which to reflect upon his personal crisis. Along with his fellow expatriates, Jake will unknowingly follow Childe Harold's example by setting out in search of spiritual fulfillment. Ultimately, however, this goal eludes even the most persistent exilic quester.

Chapter 3 Exile as Quest: The Iberian Episodes  
of The Sun Also Rises and Canto One of  
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage

In his efforts to explain the "inexorable dilemma of the Romantic ego," Leslie Marchand suggests that the Byronic hero is motivated by "the compulsive search for an ideal and a perfection that do not exist in the world of reality" (38). The goals of the questing figure are ultimately unattainable; consequently, as Marchand goes on to indicate, the pilgrimage undertaken by Childe Harold is doomed from the start:

Childe Harold is the record of that search  
and of the states of mind that follow  
recognition of its inevitable failure:  
bitterness, remorse, sweet sadness, cynicism,  
forced stoicism, or exhausted resignation  
(and a dozen others that merge into each  
other). But the foredoomed pilgrimage goes  
on, for the longing that drives the Pilgrim  
is insatiable and it feeds on bright glimpses  
of the strange and unexplored, the far away  
and long ago . . . . (38-39)

These criteria for the archetype of the failed  
quester might easily apply to several of Hemingway's

exile figures, as well as to the persona of Childe Harold. Certainly, the image of an unsuccessful chivalric venturer is implicit in the working title of the unfinished "Jimmy Breen" novel (itself an incomplete venture): young Ernest had originally entitled his work "A New Slain Knight." Other Hemingway heroes also find a distant ancestor in Childe Harold. Harold's observation of the bullfight has a parallel in Jake Barnes' aficion in The Sun Also Rises. The young knight's encounter with the Suliote warriors and his sympathy for Greek independence resemble Robert Jordan's acceptance into the band of Spanish partisans in For Whom the Bell Tolls. In its juxtaposition of war and peace, the journey which Harold undertakes through the battlefield of Waterloo to Switzerland in the third canto of the poem anticipates Frederic Henry's own experience in A Farewell to Arms. In all three novels, the heroes become identified as outsiders; like Childe Harold, they undertake quests which have as their directive a journey from within their own society into the world outside. Whereas the successful quest would result in the reintegration of the hero with his society, the ventures undertaken by the Hemingway hero incur some aspect of failure. All become figures of exile, with the inability to return

inside from the world outside. All remain unfulfilled, because of the exile experience; they must remain incomplete, still removed from the action as outsiders.

In The Sun Also Rises, much textual evidence exists to connect the questing archetype with the exile experience. Hemingway's story is no less a record of a frustrated quest than Byron's tale of the dissatisfied knight-errant called Childe Harold. Jake Barnes's pilgrimage is partially based upon his adherence to ritual: he makes the trip to Spain every year in order to take in the bullfight, where he pays his respects to a distant primitive society by observing its archetypal custom. He also embarks upon this quest to find some satisfaction for his spiritual emptiness, which has been evidenced during his episodes of insomnia and embittered drunkenness in Paris. Consequently, Jake Barnes relocates from Paris to Spain in search of spiritual completeness, like a grail knight of old.

The tension of the exile experience for Jake is typified through his striving to cross from the carnal excesses of Paris to a state of spiritual satisfaction. In this respect, he is very much the descendent of Byron's Childe Harold, who similarly leaves a debauched society to wander in search of fulfillment. Even for the iconoclastic Bill Gorton, salvation lies with

making a crossing, getting away from the carnal excesses and worldliness of the human condition in Paris, and re-establishing closer ties to the land and a greater spiritual awareness in the Spanish earth. Like two pilgrims, Bill and Jake are trying to regain a lost state of grace in Spain, and to reclaim an earlier idealism.

Jake's impulse, when he crosses the border between France and Spain, is to transcend the figurative border between Parisian society and the primitive ritualism of the Spanish countryside. This act, where the exile goes from the exclusionary experience of the Paris nightlife (which F. Scott Fitzgerald likened to the Babylonian captivity) to an exploratory function, suggests a redemptive act, the rejection of the flesh for greater spiritual awareness, or the prodigal's return to a higher level of beatitude. While the other exiles indulge in the more worldly carnival atmosphere of the Pamplona festival, Jake finds greater personal satisfaction in his fishing trip with Bill to the Irati River. As Wendy Martin has observed, this activity signifies "a rite of purification," in that it "represents a release from social and sexual competition, an anodyne to the stress of café society" (78).

However, the redemptive possibilities of the Irati experience are undone when Jake and Bill rejoin Cohn, Brett, and Brett's fiancé Mike Campbell in Pamplona. Jake's act of pimping Brett to Pedro Romero not only results in the corruption of the matador, but, in the eyes of Montoya the hotel-keeper, it destroys Jake's claim to the rank of aficionado. The Jake Barnes who eventually travels alone to San Sebastian (earlier, the scene of his ironic "cuckolding" by Brett and Robert Cohn) is, according to Carlos Baker, both a "wounded fisher-king" and Brett's "half cynical squire"--a combination of two less-than-successful archetypal questers ("The Wastelanders" 21). In order to regain his personal integrity, as well as to mend his shattered emotions, Jake retreats to the coastal resort, and seeks redemption through submergence in its soothing waters.

The spiritual component of this quest connects Jake to the tradition of the pilgrimage. Bertram Sarason has pointed out that "[s]cattered throughout the book are references to Saints and religious institutions" (32). Religious references and places of interest become increasingly more prominent during the course of Jake's journey, beginning with his walks through the streets of Paris in Chapter Five, and continuing on into the Spanish expedition:

Jake has observed all this [referring to the man with the CINZANO paint-roller, and the street vendors] as he walks from the Madelaine to the Boulevard des Capucines, the latter named after a convent, the former, site of the famous church, after Mary Magdalene. . . . The bullfights are part of the fiesta of San Fermin. Jake's deterioration in the last chapter takes place in the resort of San Sebastian. The fishing episode with Bill is in the vicinity of the Roncesvalles monastery. (Sarason 32)

Even though Bill Gorton may poke fun at the Catholic pilgrims who ride the train (SAR 86), his companion is on no less of a pilgrimage; these locations are specific stations in his knightly quest.

Each place is connected with the life of a saint or a similar wounded hero. The fiesta honours San Fermin, the Pamplonan pilgrim who crossed over from Spain to France in the Third Century, and was consecrated as the first bishop of Amiens--only to be beheaded during the Roman persecution (Holweck 384). The town of San Sebastian commemorates another spiritual wanderer and one of the most famous of the early martyrs. Sebastian is also significant for being a warrior-turned-saint.

Another of the landmarks in Jake's journey, the monastery of Roncesvalles, has caught the attention of Michael S. Reynolds, who emphasizes its importance as the scene of Childe Roland's heroic stand as commander of the rearguard of Charlemagne's army (The Sun Also Rises: A Novel of the Twenties 57). Jake and Bill Gorton fish here, finding a sanctuary away from the chaotic world of the fiesta in a locale which combines chivalric legend with religious devotion. Reynolds also notes that Roncesvalles is an ironic reminder that "the age of knights is past. Roland's honor cost him his life and won him immortality, but that was in another time zone" (58). As Robert Cohn will soon find out, any attempt to revive the code of the chivalric quester in the modern age is doomed to failure.

Jake's presence in each location connects him to a tradition of exile; more specifically, he is synchronistically connected to a long line of outsiders whose pursuit of internal satisfaction was interrupted by an untimely demise. Jake confesses himself to be a "rotten Catholic" who cannot successfully adhere to the tenets of his religion, yet his recurrent visits to churches and to sites of religious significance indicate that he still struggles to regain the faith that he has lost. Like any spiritual exile, his

predicament is based on being outside of the state of grace, yet he has the potential to make the leap of faith. However, this sense of satisfaction continually eludes him, and his quest remains incomplete.

Jake is not alone as a failed quester. Several other characters in the novel also fit the archetype of the spiritual exile and questing figure, whose fluctuating fortunes are accentuated by changes in physical location. The Count, for instance, bears arrow-wounds which signify his kinship with Jake Barnes. Both are warriors who were shot at and injured; both have paid the price for being an outside presence in a foreign land. They both share this kinship, moreover, with Saint Sebastian, the third-century soldier of the Roman Empire who embraced Christianity, and who was shot to death with arrows for choosing this path. This is somewhat ironically reflected in the town of San Sebastian, where Brett has her liaison with Robert Cohn, causing Jake to go through a kind of passion as his faith in true love is sacrificed. Saint Sebastian recovered from his wounds to confront the Roman Emperor Diocletian, who ordered him then to be beaten with clubs (Farmer 352-353). Jake is later confronted by Robert Cohn after Brett goes off with Pedro Romero, and experiences a violent

reprisal, as Cohn beats him with his fists. The act of suffering turns out to be redemptive for Jake, as it was for Sebastian. His recovery from this incident is preceded by a regressive episode, in which he recalls returning home injured from a sporting event during his adolescence--perhaps the closest that the exile will come to a homecoming in the novel. This temporary alienation from reality proves to be somehow therapeutic. Even Jake's sense of place seems to have undergone a process of renewal, as he observes that "[w]alking across the square to the hotel everything looked new and changed" (SAR 199). Afterwards, when Cohn leaves for good, Jake travels alone to San Sebastian--this time for a more complete redemption.

Robert Cohn himself is also cast as a failed quester and a spiritual exile. As narrator, Jake presents Cohn as an outsider at the beginning of the novel, one who is quickly developed into Jake's antithesis. His Jewish background is emphasized throughout the novel, not only by the narrator but also by characters such as Mike Campbell and Bill Gorton.

Cohn is the supreme alien: even among the expatriates, he is a peripheral figure. He does not share Jake and Bill's aficion for the bullfight--he predicts that he will be "bored" by the bullfight (SAR

162). Similarly, the anti-Semitism of the other characters indicates that, because of his heritage, he does not share the same spiritual dimension afforded to a Catholic such as Jake. Consequently, for Cohn, such places as Roncevalles and the festival of San Fermin are not imbued with outright spiritual value. San Sebastian is only a place where he consummates his carnal desire for Brett.

When he eventually abandons his quest for "The Purple Land" to pursue Brett Ashley--his embodiment of "The Promised Land"--Cohn begins to undergo an exilic experience similar to that of the martyrs, as well as that of the chivalric quester. Like a martyr for a noble cause, "Cohn is always willing to suffer in public and to absorb insults for the sake of true love" (Spilka 32). Such saintly toleration is counterbalanced by his self-appointed role as the gentlemanly knight, who "is also 'ready to do battle for his lady,' and when the chance finally comes, he knocks his rivals down like a genuine knight-errant" (32).

Despite Cohn's physical dominance in his fight with Pedro Romero, his chivalric conduct proves to be entirely unheroic. His quest to win Lady Brett's love fails because he lacks a spiritual code of values,

which cannot be embodied in either his role as knightly battler or as long-suffering martyr. While Pedro Romero is physically battered because of their altercation, he remains spiritually intact. As a matador, he inhabits a realm that still has retained its ancient traditions, "one with established and sensible rules, honor, bravery, and a higher purpose"--which, according to Linda Wagner-Martin, makes him "as Christlike as any modern person could hope to become" (9). Like a saint whose presence is eternally esconced within the sanctity of the Spanish countryside, Romero manages to transcend the physical punishment of Cohn the non-believer. As a result, he epitomizes the lasting spiritual values that all exiles strive for, but which they can never achieve.

## II

As Harold ventures through Portugal from Lisbon, his port of debarcation, his observations tend to combine two thematic concepts related to exile. First, there is a recurrence of spiritual images and references. Second, there are ongoing reminders of war, especially the Napoleonic conflict being waged at the time of the poem's composition. Byron's views toward these two subjects are, at times, ambivalent.

The spiritual nature of the quest is connected to

the Edenic notion of exile, through which Leslie Marchand typified Childe Harold's "romantic dream . . . of escaping the flesh by some transcendent leap into the freedom of a world of spirit" (Byron's Poetry 212). While such an observation promotes the definition of exile suggested by its Latin root (ex salire, "to leap out of"), there is an underlying tension here in the author's own views on spirituality. His poem appears to hold out the possibility of a leap of faith, a return from the carnal into the spiritual world; however, Byron wished to speak out against the crimes against humanity perpetrated in the name of religion.

The duality of Byron's views is implied during Harold's wanderings through Lisbon and into Cintra. In a passage which has aroused the ire of many native Lisboans, Harold observes that the Portuguese capital contains "many things unsightly to strange ee; / For hut and palace show like filthily" (1.17.4-5), and then passes judgment on the inhabitants in a similar fashion: "the dingy denizens are reared in dirt" (1.17.6). To put it bluntly, the Lisboans, unlike Childe Harold, have no wish to distance themselves from their native soil. However, Gordon Kent Thomas offers a defense of the condition of Lisbon by explaining that the complexion of the city and its inhabitants

reflected the squalor of the times, in which "Portugal endured three separate invasions from Napoleon's troops, the second of which occurred only four months before Byron's arrival, with a great deal of destruction and demoralization" (8-9). Spiritually broken by war, the capital of Portugal that Harold sees is not unlike the capital of France depicted by Hemingway in the 1920s, which Georgette finds "expensive and dirty" in the aftermath of "that dirty war" (SAR 19, 17).

Still, the Portuguese are allowed no quarter, neither by the poet nor his alter ego. Byron has Harold remark scornfully upon the treatment of Portugal's British allies by the locals, who "lick yet loathe the hand that waves the sword / To save them from the wrath of Gaul's unsparing lord" (1.16.8-9). This mood of patriotic chauvinism is strangely reversed in later stanzas, where the Duke of Wellington (commander of the British Army in the Peninsular Campaign) is made out to be as formidable a butcher as Napoleon.

Harold's entry into the village of Cintra introduces another example of spiritual questing within the exile consciousness, as well as the poet's own spiritual ambivalence. At various points, Cintra

strikes the Byronic imagination as "glorious Eden" (1.18.3) and as a "Paradise" (1.22.7). In the landscape surrounding the nearby convent, Harold finds a saintly reminder of those who, like himself, have sought to exile themselves from earthly delights: "Deep in yon cave Honorious did dwell, / In hope to merit Heaven by making earth a Hell" (1.20.8-9). A counterpoint to the devotion of the spiritual hermit is the series of crosses that Harold encounters along the way. While these symbols represent a transition of the soul into eternal beatitude, Harold chooses instead to interpret them as signs of a violent departure from this world:

Yet deem' not these devotion's offering---  
 These are memorials frail of murderous wrath:  
 For wheresoe'er the shrieking victim hath  
 Pour'd forth his blood beneath the assassin's  
     knife,  
 Some hand erects a cross of mouldering lath;  
 And grave and glen with thousand such are rife  
 Throughout this purple land where law secures  
     not life. (1.21.3-9)

This verbal landscape-portrait, depicting both ascetic devotion and wanton carnage, is a misrepresentation on Byron's part. Honorious' enclave

was situated three miles away, and the crosses that lined the mountainside were established by the Convento da Santa Cruz, to act as stations for adoration of the Cross (Thomas 21-22). Still, Byron's conjecture indicates a sensitivity to surroundings, where the exiled wanderer romantically imagines a lawless frontier at "the purple land."

The destruction and loss of life incurred during warfare are brought into focus in Harold's discovery of the hall where the signing of the Convention of Cintra was held. The scene surrounding Marialva's Dome is one of devastation: Nature has overgrown its bounds, and has reclaimed the pleasure palace, illustrating the "theme of the transiency of earthly pleasures" that runs throughout Byronic literature (Borst 15).

Harold's sensitivity to his surroundings inspires within him a vision of chivalric failure. The hall of the palace becomes a place where the knights who recently fought in the Peninsular Campaign have been reduced to figures on a document, "where blazon'd glare names known to chivalry" (1.24.7). The conduct of these knights has not been valiant--they are mocked by the demon-dwarf of the Convention "that foil'd the knights in Marialva's dome" (1.25.2). The dwarf personifies the travesty of the Cintra Convention

which, contrary to the popular misconception shared by Byron, was not signed in Cintra, but was "negotiated at Torres Vedras (twenty miles northeast of Sintra) and signed at Lisbon" (Thomas 11). However, to Byron, the very location of Cintra was synonymous with the inglorious failure of his countrymen, in one of the most unchivalric episodes of the campaign against Napoleon:

Although the French had been totally defeated at Vimeiro, they were granted free passage on English ships back to France (instead of having to find their own way back across hostile territory); they were allowed to keep their arms and all their plunder, even including such Portuguese national treasures as the St. Jerome Bible; and there was no provision against future French invasions. (Thomas 11)

Despite the chivalric images that Byron uses to describe this episode, he dispels any sense of idealism that may be associated with the "foil'd knights" of Wellington's army. Instead, Harold views the scene of Portugal's betrayal with mounting disillusionment:

How will posterity the deed proclaim!  
Will not our own and fellow-nations sneer,  
To view these champions cheated of their fame,

By foes in fight o'erthrown, yet victors here,  
 Where Scorn her finger points through many a  
 coming year? (1.26.5-9)

Here, Byron anticipates the post-war angst that will be experienced by Ernest Hemingway, whose disillusioned commentary on the conference in Lausanne will echo the poet's sentiments about the Convention of Cintra (in 1923, however, it would be Mussolini, not Wellington, who would earn a reputation as "Europe's Prize Bluffer"). As it will be for Jake Barnes' generation a century later, the illusion of chivalrous conduct has no place in a world lacking spiritual values. The hypocrisy of these "knights" marks one more failed quest, foreshadowing the eventual dissolution of Harold's own chivalric venture.

However, the disgrace of human conduct associated with Cintra does not distract the young exile from his appreciation of place. Following these meditations, Childe Harold observes how "[s]weet was the scene" (1.27.3). Nevertheless, the exilic impulse--brought on by remembrance of "[h]is early youth misspent in maddest whim" (1.27.8)--leads him to wander again, with no clear view of what he is searching for:

Onward he flies, nor fix'd as yet the goal  
 Where he shall rest him on his pilgrimage;  
 And o'er him many changing scenes must roll

Ere toil his thirst for travel can assuage,  
 Or he shall calm his breast, or learn  
 experience sage. (1.28.5-9)

The "thirst for travel" that drives Harold on to wander further in his exile (perhaps a Byronic variation on Priestley's "hunger of the heart") eventually leads him to the border between Portugal and Spain. The landscape here is picturesque, but the "silver streamlet" (1.33.1) which forms the geographical boundary between these nations seems to understate the differences between their respective cultures. Harold shows something of the appreciation of place that Jake and Bill feel as they make their own border crossing into Spain over the Pyrenees. Although he does not traverse "the rocks that part Hispania's land from Gaul" (1.32.9), like his expatriate brethren in The Sun Also Rises, he is nevertheless conscious of the loftiness of the moment. Crossing the geographical boundary marks a moment of transcendence; like the original sea-crossing from the homeland, this border-crossing also signifies separation from a previous way of life, and entry into a new culture with a different set of values. According to Byron, even those peasants who face the Portuguese shore from the Spanish side of the river gain a heightened sense of

self-awareness that is underpinned by their geographical location: "Well doth the Spanish hind the difference know / Twixt him and Lusian slave, the lowest of the low" (1.33.8-9).

Byron himself may have seen in these waters the same regenerative powers that Jake Barnes experiences while fishing the Irati or swimming at San Sebastian. The poet could not resist the urge to bathe in the river before crossing into Spain, as if to wash away the dirt and dispiritedness that had clung to him since arriving in Lisbon.

The transcendent sense of spirit that Harold attributes to the Spanish earth is once again articulated through allusions to chivalric questing. While surveying the vistas of the Guadiana, Harold envisions the past glories of battle between "Moor and Knight, in mailed splendour drest" (1.24.6). This meditation on the liberation of Christian Spain from Moslem rule evolves into an invocation for Spaniards of the present day to overthrow the French invaders. Chivalry, it seems, will carry the day, even with the advent of modern weaponry:

Awake, ye sons of Spain! awake! advance!  
 Lo! Chivalry, your ancient goddess, cries;  
 But wields not, as of old, her thirsty lance,  
 Nor shakes her crimson plumage in the skies:

Now on the smoke of blazing bolts she flies,  
 And speaks in thunder through yon engine's  
     roar: . . . (1.37.1-6)

Despite such stirring language, the stanzas which follow seem to reverse Byron's initial attitude towards chivalric glory. Harold makes his way across Albuera, which is described as a "glorious field of grief" (1.43.1). Thomas notes that the victory of the Spanish and of their British allies resulted in "tremendous bloodshed, not genuine triumph. The field of glory was also a field of grief" (35). As is the case with all such desperate causes (including the martyrdom of the saints previously discussed), the price of freedom from oppression can be costly indeed. When Harold arrives in Seville (which, in Byron's day, would soon be subjected to a French invasion), the eloquent exhortation for the youth of Spain to take up arms has become transformed instead into an elegy on chivalric failure:

    And must they fall? the young, the proud,  
     the brave,  
 To swell one bloated Chief's unwholesome reign?  
 No step between submission and a grave?  
 The rise of rapine and the fall of Spain?  
 And doth the Power that men adore ordain  
 Their doom, nor heed the suppliant's appeal?

Is all that desperate Valour acts in vain?

(1.53.1-7)

Perhaps Byron is here pronouncing the fate of an earlier version of the "Lost Generation," for whom the carnage of modern warfare has destroyed the idealism of the past, while robbing the future of any promise. Just as Nick Adams witnesses the loss of spiritual values as the hero of Hemingway's In Our Time, so does Harold likewise become initiated into the world of experience through exposure to armed conflict in his own time.

Byron's views on warfare in Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, then, are noticeably ambivalent; so are his views on matters of the spirit. At times, the poetic narrative presented in Canto One seems to uphold the religious aspect of Spain's former military glory: the battles between Moor and Knight envisioned on the banks of the Guadiana are characterized by the clash of the "Paynim turban and the Christian crest" (1.34.9). However, Byron cannot be considered an advocate of Catholic hegemony. In fact, his irreligious and iconoclastic attitudes are well-documented in the poem's reference to the "Babylonian whore" who built the Dome in Mafra (1.29.6), and in his personal recollections of the artwork in the cathedral at

Seville: "I spit upon & abhor all the saints & subjects of one half the impostures I see in the churches and palaces" (Letters and Journals 5: 213).

Where Jake Barnes may perceive the past glories of the saints among the landmarks of the Spanish countryside, Harold detects instead the valourous quests undertaken by chivalric figures like himself. Byron carefully selects these secular "saints"--they are exemplary of the spirit of Spanish perseverance, without being spiritual in the orthodox sense of the word. Pelagio, whose legendary deeds inspired his descendents eventually to conquer Granada (Poetical Works, note 1, 21), is mentioned briefly in Stanza 35 before the patriotic exhortation to the "sons of Spain." However, Byron typically undercuts the status of this questing figure by mockingly referring to him as the subject of a folk-song: "When granite moulders and when records fail,/ A peasant's plaint prolongs his dubious date" (1.36.3-4).

The poet reserves his reverence for the Maid of Saragoza, who provided leadership during a prolonged French onslaught, when many of her male compatriots were either dead or in retreat. In his poetic account of the Maid's exploits, Byron all but creates a shrine to this modern-day chivalric heroine. Gordon Kent

Thomas notes the extent to which Byron's rapturous praise virtually amounts to a canonization:

[he wrote] six full stanzas devoted to the heroic lady and the mixture she embodied of qualities of "more than female grace," "form'd for all the witching arts of love," and yet resolute to "lead in Glory's fearful chase." If Byron still believed that war is hell, he nevertheless saw such a heroine as one of the "maids of Heaven." (36)

The reverence given to one of the "maids of Heaven, angelically kind" (1.59.9) is not necessarily shown to the Queen of Heaven. When Harold's quest continues into Cadiz, Byron is quick to condemn the townspeople for their perfunctory observation of the Sabbath. The poet's tone is both irreverent and suggestive: "Much is the VIRGIN teased to shrive them free/ (Well do I ween the only virgin there)" (1.71.5-6). At the same time that Byron does not uphold the traditions of the church, he is still critical of a society which appears to have debased its spiritual values, and which dishonours the Sabbath through attendance at a bullfight.

Neither Harold nor Byron feels any great respect for the traditions of the Spanish people engendered in

the bullfight; the chivalric hero's own disillusionment with this ritual perhaps indicates that he will not find the values of this culture to be any more agreeable than those of his native land. Exile has provided no real spiritual satisfaction for Childe Harold, a realization that has gradually become more apparent as the idealism behind his quest has deteriorated:

In fact, the violence and bloodshed of the bullfight formed part of the great theme of the first canto of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, that of lawlessness, assassination, brutality, the inhumanity of man. Over all of Iberia, from the cross-studded Sintra Mountains to the rolling hills of La Albuera battlefield, from the gore of Talavera to the gore of the bullring at El Puerto, "prowls Murder unrestrain'd." And the blood of men and animals spilt in the plaza de toros is certainly not the last of the violence . . . . (Thomas 55)

Byron ends the first of his cantos--which he refers to as "one fyttē of Harold's pilgrimage" (1.93.1)--with a poetic meditation on the bloody legacy

of the wars in Spain. Harold's own voice trails off with a similar note of gloom. He leaves Cadiz no closer to his unattainable goal of self-satisfaction, and with a growing awareness of his own bleak destiny as an eternal wanderer: "Pleasure pall'd victim! life-abhorring gloom / Wrote on his faded brow curst Cain's unresting doom" (1.83.8-9). The lay which he composes before the close of the canto intimates that the exilic cycle has been fully realized in his experience: after travelling abroad to Iberia to escape the personal conflicts he associated with his homeland, the young knight has become a keen observer of the mores and customs of these foreign lands. However, as the following verses from "To Inez" indicate, an appreciation of different climes and cultures cannot distract the exile figure from finally coming to know himself only too well:

It is not love, it is not hate  
 Nor low Ambition's honours lost,  
 That bids me loathe my present state,  
 And fly from all I prized the most:

It is that weariness which springs  
 From all I meet, or hear, or see:  
 To me no pleasure Beauty brings;  
 Thine eyes have scarce a charm for me.

It is that settled, ceaseless gloom  
 The fabled Hebrew wanderer bore;  
 That will not look beyond the tomb,  
 But cannot hope for rest before.

What Exile from himself can flee?  
 To Zones, though more and more remote,  
 Still, still pursues, where-e'er I be,  
 The blight of life--the demon Thought.

Ironically, Harold's casting of himself in the role of the "Hebrew wanderer" suggests a kinship with Robert Cohn--who is the recipient, not only of Jake's anti-Semitic barbs, but also of his pragmatic advice regarding exile: "You can't get away from yourself by moving from one place to another" (SAR 11). Harold reaches this same conclusion when he realizes "[w]hat Exile from himself can flee?" Like Robert Cohn, the failed chivalric hero who is gradually phased out of The Sun Also Rises after the post-fiesta debacle with Romero, Childe Harold is destined to become less of a distinct character as the poem progresses. When Byron began Canto Four of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage in 1818, he had completely supplanted the young knight as the

hero of the poem. The exile which the figure of Childe Harold began in 1812 eventually led him to be virtually excluded from the text altogether.

As Leslie Marchand has observed in his study of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, the ideals which the young knight searches for no longer exist. Any quest for internal satisfaction in the modern age is doomed to fail: idealistic questers such as Childe Harold and Robert Cohn will continue to wander in frustration, as the world of the present day no longer contains the romantic values they aspire to. While the chivalric code of conduct is proven to be outdated, other exilic questers are left with very few alternatives to choose from. Jake Barnes seeks redemption through the therapeutic possibilities of his fishing expedition, and by aspiring to transcend the border between the carnal world and the spiritual, based on the example set by the saints whose presence seems to permeate the Spanish landscape. While Jake does suffer from his physical and psychological wounds like a martyr, his salvation ultimately depends upon his acceptance of the reality of his situation. Eventually, he follows the example of Pedro Romero, whose spiritual values remain intact despite the corrupting influence of the exiles. Like Romero's artistry in the bullring, Jake's prowess

as a writer will afford him some degree of spiritual healing, and will lessen his exilic agony. While Childe Harold does not achieve this kind of redemption, his creator will benefit directly from his act of artistic composition. As a document of exile experience, Childe Harold's Pilgrimage will eventually serve to immortalize the name of Byron.

### Conclusion

While vacationing in Switzerland with his wife Hadley in 1923, Ernest Hemingway visited the Castle of Chillon, which held for him the romantic attraction of a past age. Here, he felt the presence of his exilic forerunner, Lord Byron, whose very identity had become indelibly inscribed upon the place:

Down in the dungeon, among the graffiti of forgotten tourists, the name Byron was carved into the third stone pillar where once Bonivard, the Prisoner of Chillon, was chained. There in the winter keep, Ernest could just imagine how it had been for Bonivard.

(Reynolds, Hemingway: The Paris Years 20)

In such moments of reflection, the young author's appreciation of a place and its romantic past inspired him to identify with the exilic despair of the solitary prisoner. Later, he was to instill in his own literary past a sense of romantic idealism. In 1953, when returning to Hendaye (where he had composed much of The Sun Also Rises), the aging author was moved to imagine himself as "a medieval knight riding his horse along the river bank," returning to the scene of an earlier

triumph (Baker, Hemingway: A Life Story 511). As these literary allusions (or, to put it more aptly, illusions) suggest, Hemingway's exile experience ran the entire spectrum from the self-conscious isolation of the romantic hero to the idealistic venturing of the chivalric quester.

The archetypal pattern of exile had been enacted throughout the author's life: whenever he had felt restless or dissatisfied with his domestic situation, Ernest had chosen to relocate as a solution to these social and personal conflicts. After witnessing the destruction of society's spiritual values in the wake of World War I, he shared with his generation a general sense of loss. By travelling abroad to Paris, he gained a clearer perspective on the nature of this spiritual malaise. Within this new environment, Hemingway continued to develop his finely-tuned sense of place, which he effectively articulated in the Parisian and Spanish sections of his first major novel, The Sun Also Rises. Like his hero Jake Barnes, who struggles with his heightened sense of self-awareness as he moves from place to place, the author found that each new location allowed him another chance to re-define his own self-identity. Accordingly, Hemingway cast himself in a variety of roles, including

those of the exiled artist, military adventurer and, eventually, the questing hero. With each of these transfigurations, he pursued an ideal which might have restored the spiritual values that he felt were missing--not only in his own life, but in the lives of all exile figures. At the same time, these activities might have obscured any real sense of who he truly was.

Hemingway's tendency to identify himself with Lord Byron is more than just another attempt at playing a role. Byron's career as a writer in exile is characterized by the same archetypal factors that are present in Hemingway's experience, including domestic dissatisfaction, relocation abroad, and appreciation of foreign lands and their cultures. Upon reaching the age of 21, the young poet travelled to Europe where he spent two years touring through Portugal, Spain, Albania, Greece, and Turkey. While travel allowed Byron to satisfy his wanderlust, it also provided him with some distance from the unhappiness that he had experienced in his native land (notably, his failed romance with Mary Chaworth). As the poet's horizons broadened, his self-awareness was altered in turn. Like Hemingway, he developed a keen sensitivity to place; he also came to realize that his sympathies lay with those who were oppressed by the political status

quo in Europe. Furthermore, he became aware of his own mature poetic voice, through which he would soon articulate his discoveries.

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, written during the course of Byron's travels abroad, constitutes a poetic record of his early quest for personal fulfillment. As in The Sun Also Rises, the enactment of this process begins when the quester arrives in Iberia to embark upon a spiritual pilgrimage. However, the possibility of Childe Harold's reintegration within a state of grace becomes increasingly remote by the end of the poem's first canto. Byron himself must have felt that such a goal was unattainable even in his own life; only four years after returning from the Grand Tour of Europe (and after the initial success of the first two cantos of Childe Harold), Byron left England in 1816, never to return again.

Neither Hemingway nor Byron holds out much hope for a successful completion of the quest undertaken by the exile figure. While Childe Harold comes to realize that he cannot escape from the hell within his own heart, Jake Barnes is eventually made to face the inescapable reality of his situation with Brett: as long as he remains physically incomplete, they cannot have a satisfying relationship. As Harold discovers

during his journey through war-torn Portugal and Spain, the brutality of the modern world has made romantic idealism a thing of the past. All those who go in quest of such lost values will ultimately find themselves lost as well. This bitter truth--that all exilic quests are doomed to fail--is nowhere better depicted than in the case of Robert Cohn. His attempt to win the love of Lady Brett through a code of chivalric conduct proves to be a travesty. Such a realization only intensifies Cohn's exilic despair, as he effectively annihilates himself within the context of the expatriate circle. Like Childe Harold, he becomes even more of a peripheral presence, both in society and in the text itself.

While Hemingway and Byron later cast themselves as heroic questers in times of armed conflict, they were much better suited to deal with exilic despair in their roles as artists. The artistic impulse often presents an effective solution to the debility of the exile experience. Such therapeutic possibilities are suggested by Jake's aficion for the artistry of the bullfight, and by his own activities as a writer. Michael S. Reynolds claims that the story which Jake puts down on paper (which we read as The Sun Also Rises) is "an act of redemption written by a troubled

man struggling to maintain some sense of dignity" (Reynolds, "The Sun in Its Time" 61). Even Childe Harold engages in acts of artistic creativity; he alleviates his anxiety by composing lays, through which he not only articulates his despair, but also asserts his own poetic voice. Apart from these instances of poetic authority, Harold's presence in the poem is steadily diminished after Canto One. Instead, the Byronic voice becomes ascendent, as the author of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage casts himself as the hero of his poem. In this manner, Byron succeeds in asserting his identity through his artistic endeavours, a technique he would recurringly put to use as a means of staving off exilic despair. Throughout his later works, such as Cain and Manfred, Byron frequently returned to the subject of exile; in Don Juan, he presents something of a comic version of exilic experience.

For Hemingway, writing also proved to be the most constructive approach for dealing with the problems of exile. The novels which followed The Sun Also Rises all focussed on displaced characters; their heroes were Americans who lived outside America (like Frederic Henry in A Farewell to Arms and Robert Jordan in For Whom the Bell Tolls), or who maintained a precarious

existence on its periphery (like Harry Morgan in To Have and Have Not). Writing truly was a redemptive act for Hemingway, one which helped him to fend off the depression and despair that were always close at hand. It was only when he returned to the United States from Cuba in 1960 that the ability to write suddenly left him. The painful self-exile which followed the loss of his art eventually led Ernest to commit suicide. With this desperate act of self-annihilation, the exilic cycle was finally completed for Ernest Hemingway. Just as the poetry of Byron expresses His Lordship's attitudes towards exile, Hemingway's novels and stories contain the record of a lifetime of exilic experience. The parallels between the later works of both these writers undoubtedly deserve continued critical attention.

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