

Fish Tale:
A History of the L. C. Bates Museum Marlin,
Taxidermist Fred C. N. Parke, and Ernest Hemingway
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The L. C. Bates Museum in Hinckley, Maine owns a twelve-foot marlin caught by Ernest Hemingway in 1935 and taxidermed by Fred C. N. Parke, then America's pre-eminent taxidermist of saltwater game fish. This essay asks why. A look at Parke's early career sketches the milieu of millionaire sportsmen and museum collectors Hemingway encountered when he began deep-sea fishing at Key West. Hemingway's taxidermy purchases illuminate not only his passion for saltwater angling and museum collecting, but his eventual alienation from their moneyed circles. In 1935, Hemingway not only abandoned his marlin, but also competitive deep-sea fishing, collecting for the Academy of Natural Sciences, and a book on saltwater fishing. For both men, the story of their marlin is one of professional triumph, disaster, and perseverance towards a lasting legacy.

KEY WORDS: Deep-Sea Fishing, Marlin, Taxidermy, Museum

What's in a Name?
Racial Transparency and the Jazz-Age in Hemingway's
"Hills Like White Elephants"

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Although critics have long speculated about the connotations of the nickname "Jig" in Hemingway's short story "Hills Like White Elephants," none have considered the story in light of the word's use as a racial slur for an African American. Exploring the history of the word and Hemingway's familiarity with this particular usage contextualizes the story amidst the oft-overlooked history of African American expatriates in Jazz Age Europe. This reading deepens prior interpretations of the relationship between "the American and the girl with him," while exploring new meanings that emerge when the girl's racial identity is reconsidered.

KEY WORDS: Jazz Age, Race, African-American, Identity

What's in a Name?

Racial Transparency and the Jazz-Age in Hemingway's "Hills Like White Elephants"

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Many interpretations of Hemingway's minimalist masterpiece "Hills Like White Elephants" consider the inclusion of the name "Jig." The American uses it twice when addressing the girl with him, presumably as a playful pet name. Joseph Flora's 2008 commentary explores the "lengthy history" of the word and highlights its connection to dance, along with the word's variety of sexual connotations.¹ Sherlyn Abdoo and Howard Hannum connect the girl's nickname to the phrase "jig-a-jig," and the French "zig-zig," both euphemisms for sexual intercourse, while Timothy O'Brien and Hilary Justice mention numerous other definitions and emphasize its connection to dancing. Stanley Kozikowski turns to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, selecting a usage from "among its various meanings [that] denotes a device that separates waste from precious ore" (108). Missing from these accounts is a consideration of the use of "jig" as a racial slur for an African American. The second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* includes the definition: "jig, *n.2*: U.S. slang (*depreciative and offensive*). A black person, an African American" (235). Failure to consider this definition may seem an insignificant oversight given the European setting of the story and the lack of other apparent racial markers in the text. However, rereading "Hills Like White Elephants" in light of the word's racist connotations opens up new avenues of interpretation for the story. It is impossible to know definitively whether Hemingway intended the word as a slur when he chose it as the girl's nickname. But the word's history, when considered amidst the broader European context of the story, has profound implications for the story's meanings. Following Toni Morrison's invitation to "play in the dark," this article is an attempt to plunge below the surface of the story to explore a submerged "Africanist presence" indicated by the slur's racist history.² This deep dive also amplifies prior interpretations of the relationship between the "American and the girl with him" and emphasizes the oft-overlooked history of African American expatriation.

Critical oversight of the racialized usage of "jig" is not due to a late provenance, as the slur became prevalent contemporaneously with Hemingway's

career. The first instance of the derogatory usage included in the *OED* is from 1924—three years before the publication of “Hills Like White Elephants.” The second instance listed, from the production of Kenyon Nicholson’s *The Barker: A Play of Carnival Life in Three Acts*, appeared contemporaneously with the story in 1927. The sixth *OED* quotation comes from none other than Hemingway’s *Green Hills of Africa*, published in 1935, with the line: “This jig we call Othello falls in love with this girl.” What is more, the fourth volume of Hemingway’s letters includes three instances from 1930 and 1931 which demonstrate Hemingway’s adoption of the slur, which he uses in reference to plans for a hunting trip to Africa.³

J.E. Lighter’s *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang* supplies further contextualizing information about the slur and its origins which demonstrate its widespread use in American colloquial speech by the early 1920s and amplify its relevance to “Hills Like White Elephants.” Lighter includes three instances of the slur that predate Hemingway’s story, the first from John Colton’s 1922 play *Rain*, and the second and third from Carl Van Vechten’s 1926 novel *Nigger Heaven*.⁴ More crucial context comes from Rudi Blesh’s 1950 book *All Played Ragtime*, which describes how the word originally came to be used as a slur for African Americans. In the excerpt, clarinetist Tom Ireland “recalls that up to [1897] ragtime piano was called ‘jig piano’ [in St. Louis], and the syncopating bands, like [Scott] Joplin’s, were called ‘jig bands.’ This term, taken from jig dances, even came a little later to be a designation for the Negro himself” (Lighter 276). Thus the slur arose from of the word’s connotation of dance applied to the African American musicians and bands spreading ragtime and early jazz music as they traveled across the United States and Europe during the three decades before the publication of “Hills Like White Elephants.” This convergence of jazz, dance, and an emergent racialized meaning of “jig” expands the focus of “Hills Like White Elephants” beyond the couple confined to a Spanish train station suspended “between two lines of rails in the sun,” and brings the broader context of Jazz Age Europe into view.

The couple, identified as “the American and the girl with him,” can be considered anew when the racialized history of the word “jig” is acknowledged. The history of the slur invites a reading of the story that incorporates Toni Morrison’s understanding of the Africanist presence and its importance for shaping white identity in American literature. In *Playing in the Dark*, Morrison claims that in American literary studies “American means white,” and prior critical assessment of the main characters in “Hills Like White Elephants” has

not challenged this presumption (47). The man is presumed to be white because he is “the American,” rather than the Afro- or African American (or “the black,” “the negro,” “the nigger;” all terms Hemingway uses to refer to Africans and African Americans in other short stories). And while the girl’s nationality has been considered, the question of her race has not been broached, for as with “the American,” the absence of a recognizable racial signifier has never led to the consideration that the girl could be anything other than white. David Grant, writing on Hemingway’s story within “the Tradition of Americans in Europe,”⁵ determines that the girl is, like the man, an American. He writes in a footnote: “Jig’s nationality is not made clear in Hemingway’s story but for the following reasons I have taken her to be American: her speech patterns; the implication that the American man has introduced her to life in Europe; the contrast between her as a “girl” and the European woman who is their waitress” (Grant 268). Grant’s sound conclusion about the girl’s nationality nevertheless fails to consider her racial identity, perpetuating the assumption that if the girl is American, then she must also be white.

Indeed, this assumption is not without both historical and legal precedent. The assertion of whiteness as a prerequisite for being or becoming American, was a legal reality for much of American history. Ian Haney-López’s *White By Law*, describes the beginnings of this legacy:

In its first words on the subject of citizenship, Congress in 1790 restricted naturalization to “white persons.” Though the requirements for naturalization changed frequently thereafter, this racial prerequisite to citizenship endured for over a century and a half, remaining in force until 1952. From the earliest years of this country until just a generation ago, being a “white person” was a condition for acquiring citizenship (1).

Although the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 dictated that: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside,” it was not until 1898 that the Supreme Court ruled that these rights extended to “native born children of aliens, even those permanently barred by race from acquiring citizenship” (Haney-López 29). The Fourteenth Amendment had countered the Dred Scott decision of 1857, in which Chief Justice Roger Taney declared “that Scott and all other Blacks, free and enslaved, were not and could never be citizens because they were ‘a subordinate and inferior class of beings’” (Haney-López 29). And not until 1870 did congress explicitly “extend the right to naturalize to ‘persons of African nativity, or African

descent” (Haney-López 30). These legal processes constitute the social and legal creation of “whiteness,” which first equated Americanness with whiteness, then granted access to citizenship only gradually to others. As Haney-López demonstrates, the question of what constitutes an American was long bound up with the question of who is white, and the conflation of Americanness with whiteness continues to have lasting effects.

Barbara Flagg’s “transparency phenomenon,” the “tendency among Whites not to see themselves in racial terms,” plays out in the tacit assumption of the girl’s whiteness (16). In his writing, Hemingway often identifies other races with various markers which, in Morrison’s words, exploit “the simple expedient of demonizing and reifying the range of color on a palette” (7). Whiteness is assumed as the norm by which others are judged and functions as the presumptive racial category into which his characters fit unless they are otherwise marked. While there are times that Hemingway uses “white” as a racial descriptor, these instances occur when he has already identified characters of another race, requiring him to clarify what sets these characters apart. “The most striking characteristic of whites’ consciousness of whiteness,” Flagg writes, “is that most of the time we don’t have any” (16).⁶ The result is that in Hemingway’s prose, a character is presumed white until proven otherwise. No wonder the Africanist presence in “Hills Like White Elephants” has remained submerged and unexplored, in the absence of a thorough treatment of the racialized history of the word “jig.”

But the Africanist presence disclosed by the racialized connotations of the name “Jig” is as substantial a part of the story as the shadows cast by the station and the cloud; seemingly inconsequential, easily overlooked, yet real and present in the text, inviting investigation and consideration. As Morrison emphasized in *Playing in the Dark*, “the concept of freedom did not emerge in a vacuum. Nothing highlighted freedom—if it did not in fact create it—like slavery” (38). Dynamics of bondage and freedom, coercion and control echo through Hemingway’s story: the man’s future, his freedom, and even his identity appear dependent on the girl’s submission to his desires and her acquiescence to his entreaties. Regardless of the girl’s race in the story, the Africanist presence frames the relationship between the man and the girl as one of power and the ability to exercise control, particularly over the female body and the bearing of children. The racialized connotations of the word “jig” evoke the legacy of relationships between white men and black women where the primary concern is the satisfaction of white male desire, the exertion of white male control, and

the preservation of white male freedom, whether in the slaveholding South, where an illegitimate child increased the workforce or could be sold for profit, or in 20th century Europe where such a child would be an expense, a burden, an inconvenience, even an embarrassment. The way the American seeks to control the girl in Hemingway's story follows the pattern set by the oppression of African Americans throughout American history. Even if she is white, the man seeks to control her as if she were black. When he looks at her, he sees both everything that he is not—defining himself through the negation of the girl—and that which he longs to possess and dominate in order to secure his own identity.

The man's struggle for control is bound up with desire, both the desire for mastery and sexual desire. In seeking to convince the girl to undergo the "awfully simple operation," the American attempts to regain the control he lost when he impregnated her. Up to this point, their lives have been ostensibly carefree and enjoyable. The man even says, with regards to the unspoken pregnancy, "That's the only thing that bothers us. It's the only thing that's made us unhappy," as if this were the first problem they have ever encountered and the sole barrier to a life of unending bliss (CSS 212). The accessibility and availability of the girl to be the object of the American's sexual desire is threatened by the unwanted baby, as is their freedom to continue a carefree, globetrotting lifestyle. If the girl is African American and the man is white, a mixed-race illegitimate child becomes both more taboo and more burdensome to the white man. The shallow fragility of their relationship threatens to rupture as the man pressures the girl to give up the child for the sake of regaining the freedom to "have the whole world." The contextual irony, of course, is that because of social and cultural conditions in Europe and the United States, the girl—whether she is black or white—will never have access to the "whole world" in the same way he does as a white American man. The man offers this illusory freedom because he truly wants her to liberate him from the responsibility of parenthood while affirming her own dependency upon him for the life they have lived together.

The girl, however, knows better than to believe the man's simplistic solution and evaluation of their situation. Several of the girl's comments (when she mentions absinthe, when she says she doesn't care about herself, when she asks if they can stop talking, when she threatens to scream) indicate the increasing strain bubbling beneath the surface of their relationship. This interpersonal conflict, the pregnancy, and potential abortion are never spoken

of directly in the text. These sources of strain on their relationship—alluded to, suggested, but unnamed—lurk beneath their conversations and the narrative descriptions of their actions. They shape the reader's inferences about the characters' situation and point to the substantial "Africanist presence" evoked by the word "jig" which lies submerged just below the surface of this complex tale. The baby, like the girl's race, is never directly acknowledged by the man or the girl, and every attempt is made to overlook, to ignore, to explain away, and to eliminate both its presence and its effects. Yet this conspicuous absence and avoidance is precisely what so profoundly shapes the story and its meanings.

The Africanist presence is therefore crucial for understanding the American's attempts to fashion his own identity through his attempts to control the girl and her decisions. The alterity of the Africanist presence evoked by the girl's nickname provides a framework for the man's understanding of his own freedom and identity. He attempts to access the legacy of male dominance by utilizing several modes of power historically undertaken by white Americans to gain and exercise control, particularly over people of color: economics (he can pay the bills and fund their travels across Europe, their drinking and partying), desire (he claims that he loves her and always has, but can't think about it for his worry), and education (he knows better than her). Through each of these factors, the man seeks to return the girl to her place of vulnerability and accessibility, where he can dominate her, control her, and sustain his own identity.

But the girl does not give in to the man's attempts at control. Her speech is the primary site of resistance and its patterns embody one of *Playing in the Dark's* primary markers of an Africanist presence. Morrison points to "patterns of explosive, disjointed, repetitive language. These indicate a loss of control in the text that is attributed to the objects of its attention rather than to the text's own dynamics" (Morrison 69). This story is full of such breakdowns, the conversation between the American and the girl constantly ruptures, coming to a head with the girl's emphatic insistence: "Would you please please please please please please please stop talking?" When the man persists, she interjects "I'll scream" (CSS 214). Hemingway's text prompts speculation about these explosive moments and their outcome, as the girl variously challenges, acquiesces to, averts, subverts, and meets head on the manipulative words of the American. Will she have the abortion? Will she have the baby? Will they stay together? When read in the context of Morrison's description of the Africanist presence, the girl's speech ceases to seem incoherent and becomes resistive,

even revolutionary, throwing into crisis the white imagination and identity of the American as she thwarts his efforts at control and coercion. The girl's disruption of his attempts to sway her decision asserts control over her own body, her child, and her destiny. Through threats of explosive screams and repetitive language, the girl ultimately wrests control of the conversation from the man. Whereas earlier the man pressed her to follow his promptings to go through with the "awfully simple operation," by the end of the story it is he that proclaims, "I'd do anything for you." What she requires is that he cease conversation, drop the matter, and end his attempts to influence her decision. The girl's smile and her words at the end of the story: "There's nothing wrong with me. I feel fine," punctuate her ultimate self-determination (CSS 214). The pregnancy has changed everything, beginning with the girl's cessation of dependence upon the man and assertion of her independence. And while the racialized history of the word "jig" reveals an Africanist presence in Hemingway's story that develops, solidifies, and deepens dynamics of control and identity at work in the text, it also invites further re-evaluation of the story, raising the question of whether the girl could in fact be African American? By considering the oft-ignored history of African American expatriates in Jazz-Age Europe, particularly in its cultural epicenter Paris, the possibility that she could be read as black becomes distinct and compelling.

Europe in the early 1920s was swept with a craze for American music and American entertainment, particularly in the form of jazz. Josephine Baker, who in 1925—at age 19—starred in "La Revue Nègre" at the Parisian Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, emerged as the focal center of this fascination. In their introduction to the reprinting of Paul Colin's lithographs of "Le Tumulte Noir," Karen C. C. Dalton and Henry Louis Gates Jr. wrote of the trend: "Since the turn of the century, a gradually swelling stream of African American music and dance, as well as African art, particularly sculpture, had been critically acclaimed in France" (4). Dalton and Gates outline a rich and burgeoning legacy of European exposure to African and African American music and dance, spurred in no small part by the "segregated black regiments and their bands that began arriving in France with other troops late in 1917," who helped popularize jazz (5). Baker rode the crest of this wave to become the most popular entertainer in France.

Hemingway, it turns out, had a long fascination and history with Baker. Carl Eby, in his study of Hemingway's fetishism, points to a conversation from 1950 recorded by A.E. Hotchner, in which Hemingway recalls one night at the

Paris club, *Le Jockey*:

Was in there one night with Don Ogden Stuart and Waldo Pierce when the place was set on fire by the most sensational woman anybody ever saw. Or ever will. Tall, coffee skin, ebony eyes, legs of paradise, a smile to end all smiles. Very hot night but she was wearing a coat of black fur, her breasts handling the fur like it was silk. She turned her eyes on me—she was dancing with the big British gunner subaltern who had brought her—but I responded to the eyes like a hypnotic and cut in on them. The subaltern tried to shoulder me out but the girl slid off him and onto me. Everything under that fur instantly communicated with me. I introduced myself and asked her name. “Josephine Baker,” she said. We danced nonstop for the rest of the night. She never took off her fur coat. Wasn’t until the joint closed she told me she had nothing on underneath. (Eby 155)

While Eby questions the truthfulness of this story as Hemingway tells it, the two American artists long inhabited Paris simultaneously and moved in the same circles. Still, it is highly doubtful that Hemingway would not have known who she was that night, given her meteoric rise to stardom. Janet Flanner, who wrote from Paris for *The New Yorker* called her “an unforgettable female ebony statue” (Flanner xx). Additionally, Hemingway should have recognized Baker because he very likely saw her in *La Revue Nègre* during its opening week. The second volume of Hemingway’s letters appears to indicate as much and contains what might be *La Revue*’s briefest and most tepid review. A letter written to Ezra Pound dated 7 October 1925 concludes with the following paragraph:

Find more and more that a lot of fucking, not too much to eat, no smoking, and drinking at meals only is what a man needs. Also read with difficulty. Find Spanish a pleasant language. Still could be very happy with \$2500 a year from Guggenheim Foundation. Maybe George will loan me 100f. From time to time. Write. Nice Nigger show—U.S.—in town. Send the Convegno. Yrs. Hem.” (*Letters vol. 2*, 400).

The letter is informative not only because of its oblique reference to Baker and *La Revue Nègre* (it had opened in Paris on 2 October), but also because, like the anecdote about dancing with Baker, it bristles with a hypersexual mascu-

linity that echoes the American man's apparent attitude in "Hills Like White Elephants." Additionally, the letter's date situates it within the timeframe of "Hills Like White Elephant's" development. Paul Smith notes that while the story was composed and published in 1927, likely between March and May, the seeds of the story began to take root as early as 1925. Smith indicates that an unfinished sketch from early that year, written as a first-person narrative, involves Hemingway and his wife Hadley, and "shares the story's setting and introduces the simile that became the story's title and most powerful image" (Smith 204). Although the final story departs significantly from the original abandoned sketch, the beginnings of the story were in place when Hemingway saw Baker perform for the first time and wrote the letter to Pound.

Josephine Baker—whose dancing, beauty, and personality made her perhaps the principal object of desire in the Paris of the 20s—is an icon representative of, if overshadowing, a whole community of African American performers in Paris by the mid-twenties. To read the girl in "Hills Like White Elephants" as African American might call to mind one of the young, vibrant dancers who accompanied Baker in her performances. Colin, the French artist who created the original promotional poster for *La Revue Nègre* published his series of drawings in January 1927, which vividly mirror the eroticism, energy, and fragility of "the girl" in Hemingway's story. *Le Tumulte noir*, the portfolio of forty-five hand-colored lithographs depict "the relatively recent arrival of Josephine Baker and *La Revue Nègre* on the Paris scene, and their wildly enthusiastic reception by the Paris public" (Colin 10). The entire series is spectacular and fascinating, but two images in particular coax this forgotten history out of the shadows and help to recast the girl from "Hills Like White Elephants" in new light.

Plates 36 and 37 stand alongside one another in the collection, juxtaposing a slender, nattily dressed black woman dwarfed by a Parisian hotel, with an exoticized and eroticized black performer dancing atop a piano—cast in shadow and seemingly completely naked (see fig. 1 and fig. 2). The latter figure appears almost aflame, the heat of her sexual energy emitting a ruddy glow around her dark body as she dances above a crowded club. Her eyes, barely visible, glimmer above a joyous pink smile, while her body contorts in ecstatic dance, startlingly alive with movement. The mousey figure on the opposing page peeks slyly from beneath a green hat. Her face is obscured by the shadow of her hat's brim, except for two points of light that are her eyes, and caricatured, oversized pink lips spread impossibly wide in a wry smile. The girl's long arms accentu-



Fig. 1

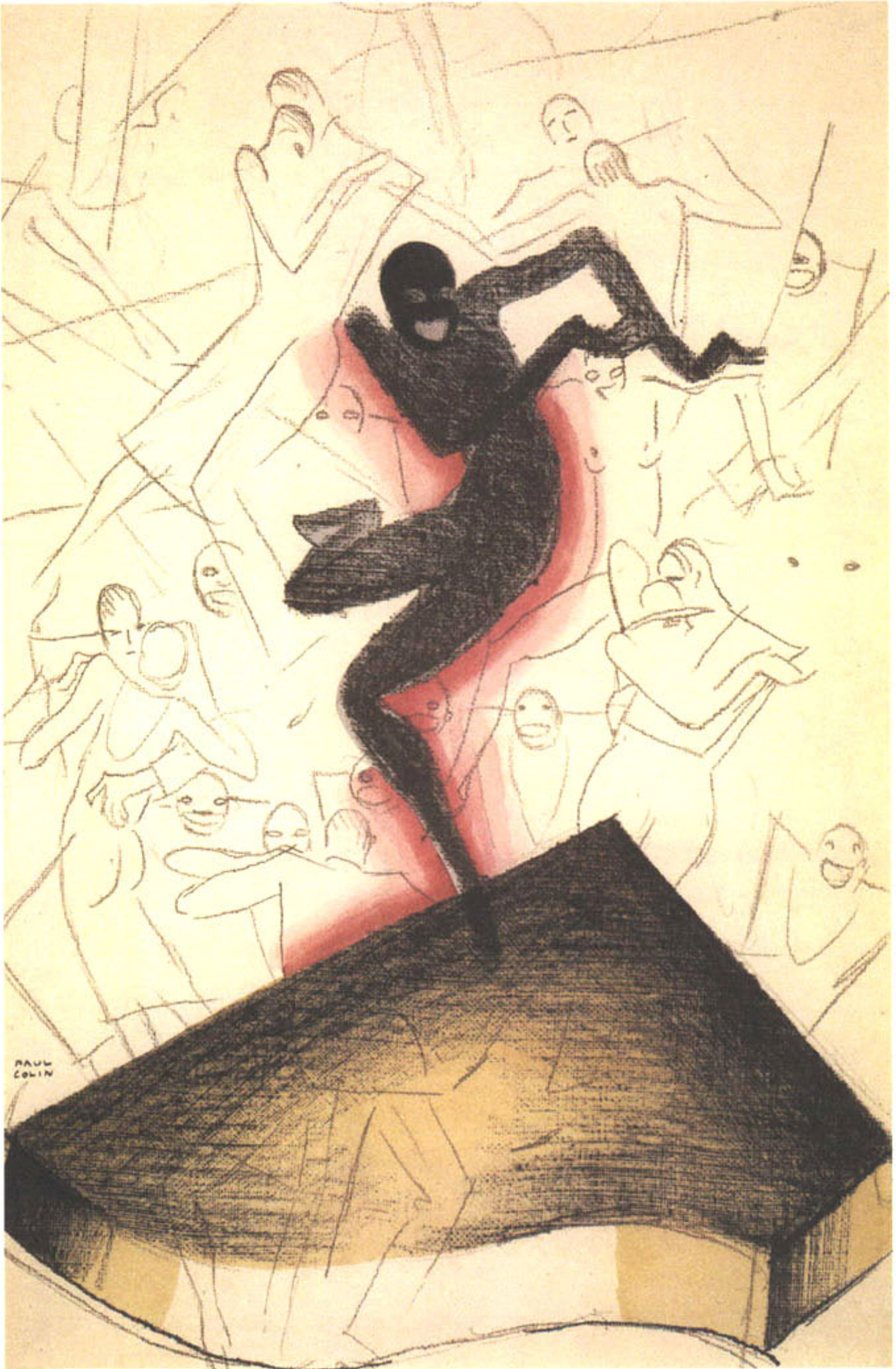


Fig. 2

ate her jaunty pose, and her cartoonish dimensions. She wears a long red coat with a fur collar and pale nude tights and stands rooted in place, bristling with potential energy. The girl is alone but shows no signs of loneliness; strikingly independent and grounded in herself. While the figures in both pictures are rendered in striking colors, the backgrounds are composed of simple pencil sketches, receding behind the focal figures, supporting them but giving way to the dynamic, powerful individuality. Dalton and Gates indicate that the images depict Josephine Baker and evoke the two sides of her persona: the poised, chic Paris socialite on the one hand and the vibrant, kinetic, performer and sex symbol on the other. As they write in their introduction, “She was at once erotic and comic, suggestive and playful, intense and insouciant, primitive and civilized” (Colin 8). It requires no stretch of the imagination to apply this description to the girl in Hemingway’s “Hills Like White Elephants,” to capture her allure, her vulnerability, and her ultimate independent self-assertion.

Hemingway’s story depicts a young woman abroad, living a life of excitement and adventure, imbibing the thrill of Jazz-Age Europe, who finds herself involved with a man who ultimately attempts to control her and retain her as the object of his desire. In the tale, we encounter the girl in the liminal space of the train station, poised between choices. Although vulnerable, she ultimately asserts her independence and ability to determine what is best for her body and her life in the face of the American’s attempts at dominance. Colin’s lithographs illuminate the two most important meanings of “jig” for Hemingway’s story: the long-recognized connotations of wild and cathartic dance displayed by the dancer’s vital energy and movement; and the obscured, ignored history of the word’s racialized use as a slur manifested in the caricatured, exoticized black bodies. Both meanings have their nexus in one of African Americans’ greatest contributions to world culture: jazz, embodied by its paragon of the 1920s, Josephine Baker. To re-read “Hills Like White Elephants” in the context of the racialized history of the word “jig” revitalizes the story, shedding new light on the dynamics of manipulation, control, and erasure so often present in inter-gender and inter-racial relationships, while demonstrating a challenge to the hegemony of male dominance and white supremacy. This reading emphasizes “the girl’s” resistance and evokes the freedom and beauty of the oft-forgotten legacy of those African Americans living abroad in the Jazz-Age Paris of the 1920s, who reshaped the cultural landscape of Europe and of the world.

NOTES

1. Jig is a nickname with a lengthy history. Cassell's Dictionary of Slang notes that in the eighteenth century it became "a joking, mocking name for a person" (798). It suggests a measurement (as in jigger) or a dance: to dance a jig. A criminal or a wrongdoer who is caught might hear the words "Alright, the jig is up." In this story teeming with the essence of Eliot's *The Waste Land*, we may also hear, "jug, jug," and indictment of a culture where the more spiritual meanings of sexuality have been compromised. Cassell's Dictionary of Slang cites jig as a term for sexual intercourse beginning in the seventeenth century and says that jiggle could mean sexual intercourse as far back as the mid-nineteenth century. That Jig feels that she has become little more than a sex object to the American man is not surprising. According to *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, the verb jiggle describes the walk of a woman "so as to accentuate the movement of the breasts" (1102), (47).
2. Morrison contends that "through significant and underscored omissions, startling contradictions, heavily nuanced conflicts"—all abundantly present in Hemingway's story—and "through the way writers peopled their work with the signs and bodies of this presence—one can see that a real or fabricated Africanist presence was crucial to their sense of Americanness" (6). The racialized history of the term "jig" makes the name a sign of an Africanist presence in the story (regardless of Hemingway's intentions) that is crucial to the man's identity as "the American" and his desire to control and influence the decisions of "the girl with him" when it comes to the abortion and their future together.
3. In an August 1930 letter to Archibald MacLeish, Hemingway wrote, "How would you like to go to Africa to hunt and see the country? We'll kill all the dangerous ones and have a fine time—See the jigs, the country all the birds and beasts..." That December, he promised Henry Strater that on the trip "We will provide jigs to carry the heavier guns," and in May, 1931 Hemingway assured Strater they "will have a swell trip to the land of the Jigs" (*Letters* vol. 4, 348, 418, 510).
4. Although Van Vechten spent little time in Europe, Gertrude Stein would choose him as her literary executor, and his controversial and much-discussed novel was published the same year as Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*.
5. The article sets "the man" alongside notable characters like Henry James' Christopher Newman in his 1877 novel *The American*.
6. Haney-López identifies this repeated tendency in the judges who decided the racial prerequisite cases he examines in his study. He describes the difficulty the judges had articulating a definition of whiteness and connects this to the transparency phenomenon, writing: "Within the logic of transparency, the race of non-Whites is readily apparent and regularly noted, while the race of Whites is consistently overlooked and scarcely ever mentioned" (Haney-López, 17).

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