

OF TEXAS

DEATH IN THE AFTERNOON

CHAPTER ONE

At the first bullfight I ever went to I expected to be horrified and perhaps sickened by what I had been told would happen to the horses. Everything I had read about the bull ring insisted on that point; most people who wrote of it condemned bullfighting outright as a stupid brutal business, but even those that spoke well of it as an exhibition of skill and as a spectacle deplored the use of the horses and were apologetic about the whole thing. The killing of the horses in the ring was considered indefensible. I suppose, from a modern moral point of view, that is, a Christian point of view, the whole bullfight is indefensible; there is certainly much cruelty, there is always danger, either sought or unlooked for, and there is always death, and I should not try to defend it now, only to tell honestly the things I have found true about it. To do this I must be altogether frank, or try to be, and if those who read this decide with disgust that it is written by some one who lacks their, the readers', fineness of feeling I can only plead that this may be true. But whoever reads this can only truly make such a judgment when he, or she, has seen the things that are spoken of and knows truly what their reactions to them would be.

Once I remember Gertrude Stein talking of bullfights spoke of her admiration for Joselito and showed me some pictures of him in the ring and of herself and Alice Toklas sitting in the first row of the wooden barreras at the bull ring at Valencia.

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but surer and better directed. Four pair of banderillas are usually put in. If they are placed by the banderilleros or peones they must be placed, above all other considerations, quickly and in the proper position. If the matador himself places them he may indulge in a preparation which is usually accompanied by music. This is the most picturesque part of the bullfight and the part most spectators care for the most when first seeing fights. The mission of the banderilleros is not only to force the bull by hooking to tire his neck muscles and carry his head lower but also, by placing them at one side or another, to correct a tendency to hook to that side. The entire act of the banderillas should not take more than five minutes. If it is prolonged the bull becomes discomposed and the fight loses the tempo it must keep, and if the bull is an uncertain and dangerous one he has too many opportunities to see and charge men unarmed with any lure, and so develops a tendency to search for the man, the bundle, as the Spanish call him, behind the cloth when the matador comes out for the last act with the sword and muleta.

The president changes the act after three or at most four pairs of banderillas have been placed and the third and final division is the death. It is made up of three parts. First the brindis or salutation of the president and dedication or toasting of the death of the bull, either to him or to some other person by the matador, followed by the work of the matador with the muleta. This is a scarlet serge cloth which is folded over a stick which has a sharp spike at one end and a handle at the other. The spike goes through the cloth which is fastened to the other end of the handle with a thumb screw so that it hangs in folds along the length of the stick. Muleta means literally crutch, but in bullfighting it refers to the scarlet-serge draped stick with which the matador is supposed to master the bull, prepare him for killing ~~and finally~~ ~~hold in his left hand~~

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CHAPTER TEN

(THERE are three acts to the fighting of each bull and they are called in Spanish los tres tercios de la lidia, or the three thirds of the combat. The first act, where the bull charges the picadors, is the suerte de varas, or the trial of the lances. Suerte is an important word in Spanish. It means, according to the dictionary, Suerte, f., chance, hazard, lots, fortune, luck, good luck, haphazard; state, condition, fate, doom, destiny, kind, sort; species, manner, mode, way, skillful manoeuvre; trick, feat, juggle, and piece of ground separated by landmark. So the translation of trial or manoeuvre is quite arbitrary, as any translation must be from the Spanish.

(The action of the picadors in the ring and the work of the matadors who are charged with protecting them with their capes when they are dismounted make up the first act of the bullfight. When the president signals for the end of this act and the bugle blows the picadors leave the ring and the second act begins. There are no horses in the ring after the first act except the dead horses which are covered with canvas. Act one is the act of the capes, the pics and the horses. In it the bull has the greatest opportunity to display his bravery or cowardice.

Act two is that of the banderillas. These are pairs of sticks about a yard long, seventy centimetres to be exact, with a harpoon-shaped steel point four centimetres long at one end. They are supposed to be placed, two at a time, in the humped muscle at the top of the bull's neck as he charges the man who holds them. They are designed to complete the work of slowing up the bull and regulating the carriage of his head which has been begun by the picadors; so that his attack will be slower,

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write about it. Certainly I do not say that now; every year I know there is more to learn, but I know some things which may be interesting now, and I may be away from the bullfights for a long time and I might as well write what I know about them now. Also it might be good to have a book about bullfighting in English and a serious book on such an unmoral subject may have some value.

So far, about morals, I know only that what is moral is what you feel good after and what is immoral is what you feel bad after and judged by these moral standards, which I do not defend, the bullfight is very moral to me because I feel very fine while it is going on and have a feeling of life and death and mortality and immortality, and after it is over I feel very sad but very fine. Also, I do not mind the horses; not in principle, but in fact I do not mind them. I was very surprised at this since I cannot see a horse down in the street without having it make me feel a necessity for helping the horse, and I have spread sacking, unbuckled harness and dodged shod hoofs many times and will again if they have horses on city streets in wet and icy weather, but in the bull ring I do not feel any horror or disgust whatever at what happens to the horses. I have taken many people, both men and women, to bullfights and have seen their reactions to the death and goring of horses in the ring and their reactions are quite unpredictable. Women that I felt sure would enjoy the bullfights with the exception of the goring of the horses were quite unaffected by it; I mean really unaffected, that is, something that they disapproved of and that they expected would horrify and disgust them did not disgust them or horrify them at all. Other people, both men and women, were so affected that they were made physically ill. I will go into the way some of these people acted in detail later but let me say now that there was no difference, or line of difference, so that these people could be divided by any standard of

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civilization or experience into those that were affected and those that were not affected.

From observation I would say that people may possibly be divided into two general groups; those who, to use one of the terms of the jargon of psychology, identify themselves with, that is, place themselves in the position of, animals, and those who identify themselves with human beings. I believe, after experience and observation, that those people who identify themselves with animals, that is, the almost professional lovers of dogs, and other beasts, are capable of greater cruelty to human beings than those who do not identify themselves readily with animals. It seems as though there were a fundamental cleavage between people on this basis although people who do not identify themselves with animals may, while not loving animals in general, be capable of great affection for an individual animal, a dog, a cat, or a horse for instance. But they will base this affection on some quality of, or some association with, this individual animal rather than on the fact that it is an animal and hence worthy of love. For myself, I have felt profound affection for three different cats, four dogs, that I remember, and only two horses; that is horses that I have owned, ridden or driven. As for horses that I have followed, watched race and bet on I have had profound admiration and, when I had bet money on them, almost affection for a number of these animals; the ones that I remember best being Man of War, Exterminator, I believe I honestly had affection for him, Epinard, Kzar, Heros XII, Master Bob, and a half-bred horse, a steeplechaser like the last two, named Uncas. I had great, great admiration for all of those animals, but how much of my affection was due to the sums staked I do not know. Uncas, when he won a classic steeplechase race at Auteuil at odds of better than ten to one, carrying my money on him, I felt profound affection for. But if you should ask me what eventually hap-

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with Joselito and his brother Gallo below, and I had just come from the Near East, where the Greeks broke the legs of their baggage and transport animals and drove and shoved them off the quay into the shallow water when they abandoned the city of Smyrna, and I remember saying that I did not like the bullfights because of the poor horses. I was trying to write then and I found the greatest difficulty, aside from knowing truly what you really felt, rather than what you were supposed to feel, and had been taught to feel, was to put down what really happened in action: what the actual things were which produced the emotion that you experienced. In writing for a newspaper you told what happened and, with one trick and another, you communicated the emotion aided by the element of timeliness which gives a certain emotion to any account of something that has happened on that day (but the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion and which would be as valid in a year or in ten years or, with luck and if you stated it purely enough, always, was beyond me and I was working very hard to try to get it. The only place where you could see life and death, *i.e.*, violent death now that the wars were over, was in the bull ring and I wanted very much to go to Spain where I could study it. I was trying to learn to write, commencing with the simplest things, and one of the simplest things of all and the most fundamental is violent death. It has none of the complications of death by disease, or so-called natural death, or the death of a friend or some one you have loved or have hated, but it is death nevertheless, one of the subjects that a man may write of. I had read many books in which when the author tried to convey it, he only produced a blur, and I decided that this was because either the author had never seen it clearly or at the moment of it, he had physically or mentally shut his eyes, as one might do if he saw a child that he could not possibly reach or aid, about to be struck by a

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train. In such a case I suppose he would probably be justified in shutting his eyes as the mere fact of the child being about to be struck by the train was all that he could convey, the actual striking would be an anti-climax, so that the moment before striking might be as far as he could represent. But in the case of an execution by a firing squad, or a hanging, this is not true, and if these very simple things were to be made permanent, as, say, Goya tried to make them in *Los Desastros de la Guerra*, it could not be done with any shutting of the eyes. I had seen certain things, certain simple things of this sort that I remembered, but through taking part in them, or, in other cases, having to write of them immediately after and consequently noticing the things I needed for instant recording, I had never been able to study them as a man might, for instance, study the death of his father or the hanging of some one, say, that he did not know and would not have to write of immediately after for the first edition of an afternoon newspaper.

So I went to Spain to see bullfights and to try to write about them for myself. I thought they would be simple and barbarous and cruel and that I would not like them, but that I would see certain definite action which would give me the feeling of life and death that I was working for. I found the definite action; but the bullfight was so far from simple and I liked it so much that it was much too complicated for my then equipment for writing to deal with and, aside from four very short sketches, I was not able to write anything about it for five years—and I wish I would have waited ten. However, if I had waited long enough I probably never would have written anything at all since there is a tendency when you really begin to learn something about a thing not to want to write about it but rather to keep on learning about it always and at no time, unless you are very egotistical, which, of course, accounts for many books, will you be able to say: now I know all about this and will

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decrease the number of horses killed in the bull ring, but they in no way decrease the pain suffered by the horses; they take away much of the bravery from the bull, this to be dealt with in a later chapter, and they are the first step toward the suppression of the bullfight. The bullfight is a Spanish institution; it has not existed because of the foreigners and tourists, but always in spite of them and any step to modify it to secure their approval, which it will never have, is a step towards its complete suppression.

This that has been written about one person's reaction to the horses in the bull ring is not put in because of a desire of the author to write about himself and his own reactions, considering them as important and taking delight in them because they are his, but rather to establish the fact that the reactions were instant and unexpected. I did not become indifferent to the fate of the horses through the callousness of seeing a thing many times so that the emotions are no longer touched. It was not a matter of the emotions becoming insulated through familiarity. However I feel about the horses emotionally, I felt the first time I saw a bullfight. It might be argued that I had become callous through having observed war, or through journalism, but this would not explain other people who had never seen war, nor, literally, physical horror of any sort, nor ever even worked on, say, a morning newspaper, having exactly the same reactions.

I believe that the tragedy of the bullfight is so well ordered and so strongly disciplined by ritual that a person feeling the whole tragedy cannot separate the minor comic-tragedy of the horse so as to feel it emotionally. If they sense the meaning and end of the whole thing even when they know nothing about it; feel that this thing they do not understand is going on, the business of the horses is nothing more than an incident. If they get no feeling of the whole tragedy naturally they will react

emotionally to the most picturesque incident. Naturally, too, if they are humanitarians or animalarians (what a word!) they will get no feeling of the tragedy but only a reaction on humanitarian or animalarian grounds, and the most obviously abused thing is the horse. If they sincerely identify themselves with animals they will suffer terribly, more so perhaps than the horse; since a man who has been wounded knows that the pain of a wound does not commence until about half an hour after it has been received and there is no proportional relation in pain to the horrible aspect of the wound; the pain of an abdominal wound does not come at the time but later with the gas pains and the beginnings of peritonitis; a pulled ligament or a broken bone, though, hurts at once and terribly; but these things are not known or they are ignored by the person who has identified himself with the animal and he will suffer genuinely and terribly, seeing only this aspect of the bullfight, while, when a horse pulls up lame in a steeplechase, he will not suffer at all and consider it merely regrettable.

The aficionado, or lover of the bullfight, may be said, broadly, then, to be one who has this sense of the tragedy and ritual of the fight so that the minor aspects are not important except as they relate to the whole. Either you have this or you have not, just as, without implying any comparison, you have or have not an ear for music. Without an ear for music the principle impression of an auditor at a symphony concert might be of the motions of the players of the double bass, just as the spectator at the bullfight might remember only the obvious grotesqueness of a picador. The movements of a player of the double bass are grotesque and the sounds produced are many times, if heard by themselves, meaningless. If the auditor at a symphony concert were a humanitarian as he might be at the bullfight he would probably find as much scope for his good work in ameliorating the wages and living conditions of the players

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pened to this animal that I was so fond of that Evan Shipman and I were nearly moved to tears when speaking of the noble beast, I would have to answer that I do not know.¹ I do know that I do not love dogs as dogs, horses as horses, or cats as cats.

The question of why the death of the horse in the bull ring is not moving, not moving to some people that is, is complicated; but the fundamental reason may be that the death of the horse tends to be comic while that of the bull is tragic. In the tragedy of the bullfight the horse is the comic character. This may be shocking, but it is true. Therefore the worse the horses are, provided they are high enough off the ground and solid enough so that the picador can perform his mission with the spiked pole, or vara, the more they are a comic element. You should be horrified and disgusted at these parodies of horses and what happens to them, but there is no way to be sure that you will be unless you make up your mind to be, no matter what your feelings. They are so unlike horses; in some ways they are like birds, any of the awkward birds such as the adjutants or the wide-billed storks, and when, lifted by the thrust of the bull's neck and shoulder muscles their legs hang, big hoofs dangling, neck drooping, the worn-out body lifted on the horn, they are not comic; but I swear they are not tragic. The tragedy is all centred in the bull and in the man. The tragic climax of the horse's career has occurred off stage at an earlier time; when he was bought by the horse contractor for use in the bull ring. The end in the ring, somehow, seems not unfitting to the structure of the animal and when the canvases are stretched over the horses, the long legs, and necks, the strange-shaped heads and the canvas covering the body to make a sort of wing, they are more like birds than ever. They

¹Mr. Shipman having read this informs me that Uncas after having broken down is now used as a hack by Mr. Victor Emanuel. This news does not move me one way or another.

look a little as a dead pelican does. A live pelican is an interesting, amusing, and sympathetic bird, though if you handle him he will give you lice; but a dead pelican looks very silly. This is not being written as an apology for bullfights, but to try to present the bullfight integrally, and to do this a number of things must be admitted which an apologist, making a case, would slide over or avoid. The comic that happens to these horses is not their death then; death is not comic, and gives a temporary dignity to the most comic characters, although this dignity passes once death has occurred; but the strange and unlesque visceral accidents which occur. There is certainly nothing comic by our standards in seeing an animal emptied of its visceral content, but if this animal instead of doing something tragic, that is, dignified, gallops in a stiff old-maidish fashion around a ring trailing the opposite of clouds of glory it is as comic when what it is trailing is real as when the Fratellinis give a burlesque of it in which the viscera are represented by rolls of bandages, sausages and other things. If one is comic the other is; the humor comes from the same principle. I have seen it, people running, horse emptying, one dignity after another being destroyed in the spattering, and trailing of its innermost values, in a complete burlesque of tragedy. I have seen these, call them disembowelings, that is the worst word, when, due to their timing, they were very funny. This is the sort of thing you should not admit, but it is because such things have not been admitted that the bullfight has never been explained.

These visceral accidents, as I write this, are no longer a part of the Spanish bullfight, as under the government of Primo de Rivera it was decided to protect the abdomens of the horses with a sort of quilted mattress designed in the terms of the decree "to avoid those horrible sights which so disgust foreigners and tourists." These protectors avoid these sights and greatly

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profession, integrity, and years of experience rather than artistic ability. Such bullfighters will give a competent performance with a difficult animal, and because of the extra danger from the bull and the skill and courage they must use to overcome this danger, to prepare for the killing and kill with any degree of dignity, the bullfight is interesting, even to a person who has never seen one before. However, if such a bullfighter, skilful, knowing, brave and competent but without either genius or great inspiration happens to receive in the ring a truly brave bull, one which charges in a straight line, which responds to all the cues of the bullfighter, which grows braver under punishment, and has that technical quality that the Spanish call "nobility" and the bullfighter has only bravery and honesty in the preparation for killing and killing of bulls and nothing of the wrist magic and aesthetic vision that, given a bull that will charge in a straight line, has produced the sculptural art of modern bullfighting; then he fails completely, he gives an undistinguished, honest performance and he goes on lower down in the commercial ranking of bullfighting while men in the crowd who earn, perhaps, less than a thousand pesetas a year will say, and mean it truly, "I would have given a hundred pesetas to have seen Cagancho with that bull." Cagancho is a gypsy, subject to fits of cowardice, altogether without integrity, who violates all the rules, written and unwritten, for the conduct of a matador but who, when he receives a bull that he has confidence in, and he has confidence in them very rarely, can do things which all bullfighters do in a way they have never been done before and sometimes standing absolutely straight with his feet still, planted as though he were a tree, with the arrogance and grace that gypsies have and of which all other arrogance and grace seems an imitation, moves the cape spread full as the pulling jib of a yacht before the bull's muzzle so slowly that the art of bullfighting,

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fighter putting his hand on the muzzle of the bull, stroking the horns, and all such useless and romantic things that the spectators like. They are glad to see the horses protected if it saves them from awkward sights and they applaud all such moves. Finally, when they have learned to appreciate values through experience what they seek is honesty and true, not tricked, emotion and always classicism and the purity of execution of all the suertes, and, as in the change in taste for wines, they want no sweetening but prefer to see the horses with no protection worn so that all wounds may be seen and death given rather than suffering caused by something designed to allow the horses to suffer while their suffering is spared the spectator. But, as with wine, you will know when you first try it whether you like it as a thing or not from the effect it will have on you. There are forms of it to appeal to all tastes and if you do not like it, none of it, nor, as a whole, while not caring for details, then it is not for you. It would be pleasant of course for those who do like it if those who do not would not feel that they had to go to war against it or give money to try to suppress it, since it offends them or does not please them, but that is too much to expect and anything capable of arousing passion in its favor will surely raise as much passion against it.

The chances are that the first bullfight any spectator attends may not be a good one artistically; for that to happen there must be good bullfighters and good bulls; artist bullfighters and poor bulls do not make interesting fights, for the bullfighter who has ability to do extraordinary things with the bull which are capable of producing the intensest degree of emotion in the spectator will not attempt them with a bull which he cannot depend on to charge; so, if the bulls are bad, that is only vicious rather than brave, undependable in their charges, reserved and unpredictable in their attacks, it is best that they be fought by bullfighters with knowledge of their

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to the brain because of the knowledge or ability to see that it has acquired. Our bodies all wear out in some way and we die, and I would rather have a palate that will give me the pleasure of enjoying completely a Chateau Margaux or a Haut Brion, even though excesses indulged in in the acquiring of it has brought a liver that will not allow me to drink Richebourg, Corton, or Chambertin, than to have the corrugated iron interiors of my boyhood when all red wines were bitter except port and drinking was the process of getting down enough of anything to make you feel reckless. The thing, of course, is to avoid having to give up wine entirely just as, with the eye, it is to avoid going blind. But there seems to be much luck in all these things and no man can avoid death by honest effort nor say what use any part of his body will bear until he tries it.

This seems to have gotten away from bullfighting, but the point was that a person with increasing knowledge and sensory education may derive infinite enjoyment from wine, as a man's enjoyment of the bullfight might grow to become one of his greatest minor passions, yet a person drinking, not tasting or savoring but *drinking*, wine for the first time will know, although he may not care to taste or be able to taste, whether he likes the effect or not and whether or not it is good for him. In wine, most people at the start prefer sweet vintages, Sauternes, Graves, Barsac, and sparkling Burgundy because of their picturesque quality while later they would trade all these for a light but full and fine example of the Grand crus of Medoc though it may be in a plain bottle without label, dust, or cobwebs, with nothing picturesque, but only its honesty and delicacy and the light body of it on your tongue, cool in your mouth and warm when you have drunk it. So in bullfighting, at the start it is the picturesqueness of the paseo, the color, the scene, the picturesqueness of farols and molinetes, the bull-

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of the double bass in symphony orchestras as in doing something about the poor horses. However, being, let us suppose, a man of culture and knowing that symphony orchestras are wholly good and to be accepted in their entirety he probably has no reactions at all except pleasure and approval. He does not think of the double bass as separated from the whole of the orchestra or as being played by a human being.

As in all arts the enjoyment increases with the knowledge of the art, but people will know the first time they go, if they go open-mindedly and only feel those things they actually feel and not the things they think they should feel, whether they will care for the bullfights or not. They may not care for them at all, no matter whether the fight should be good or bad, and all explanation will be meaningless beside the obvious moral wrongness of the bullfight, just as people could refuse to drink wine which they might enjoy because they did not believe it right to do so.

The comparison with wine drinking is not so far-fetched as it might seem. Wine is one of the most civilized things in the world and one of the natural things of the world that has been brought to the greatest perfection, and it offers a greater range for enjoyment and appreciation than, possibly, any other purely sensory thing which may be purchased. One can learn about wines and pursue the education of one's palate with great enjoyment all of a lifetime, the palate becoming more educated and capable of appreciation and you having constantly increasing enjoyment and appreciation of wine even though the kidneys may weaken, the big toe become painful, the finger joints stiffen, until finally, just when you love it the most you are finally forbidden wine entirely. Just as the eye which is only a good healthy instrument to start with becomes, even though it is no longer so strong and is weakened and worn by excesses, capable of transmitting constantly greater enjoyment

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Chapter One
The Poor Horses

You were supposed to feel

aside from knowing truly what you really felt rather than what

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horrified and perhaps sickened by what I had been told would
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bull ring insisted on that point; most ~~articles and stories~~ ^{people who wrote of it}
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from a moral point of view, ~~the~~ ^{that is a Christian point of view} a Christian point of view, the
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cruelty, there is always danger ^{either sought or unlooked for} and there is always death and I
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I have found true about it. ~~And~~ To do this I must be altogether
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I know that I had ~~been~~ ^{talked about} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ ~~ring~~ ^{ring} bull fights
with ~~my~~ people, ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~way~~ ~~as~~ ~~Miss~~ ~~Gertrude~~ ~~Stein~~ once I remember ~~her~~
with Gertrude Stein, ^{talked about} ~~and~~ ~~she~~ ~~was~~ ~~speaking~~ ~~about~~ ~~her~~ ~~admiration~~
for Joselito and showed me some pictures of him ^{in the ring} and of herself and
Alice Toklas sitting in the first row of the ^{wooden barriers at the} bull ring at Valencia
with Joselito and his ~~brother~~ ^{Jello below} and I had just come from ~~the~~ ~~burning~~ ~~of~~ Smyrna where the Greeks
broke the legs of all their baggage and transport animals and threw
them into the shallow water when they abandoned ^{that} the city and I
remember saying that I ^{did} would not like the bull fights because of the
poor horses. I was trying to write then and I found the greatest
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August 1914
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THE POOR HORSES

St.

aside from knowing truly what you really felt rather than what you were supposed to feel

At the first bull fight I ever went to I expected to be horrified and perhaps sickened by what I had been told would happen to the horses. Everything that I had read about the bull ring insisted on that point; most ^{bull fighting} ~~articles~~ ^{and stories} of it that spoke ^{kindly} ~~of~~ it as an exhibition of skill and as a spectacle deplored the use of horses. ^{the} The killing of the horses in the ring was considered indefensible. I suppose, from a moral point of view, ^{that is a Christian point of view,} the whole bull fight is indefensible; there is certainly much cruelty, there is always danger and there is always death and I shall not try to defend it now, only to tell honestly the things I have found true about it. ~~So~~ ^{if} To do this I must be altogether frank, or try to be, and ~~what~~ the person reading this decides with disgust that it is being written by some one who lacks their, the readers, fineness of feeling I can only plead that this may be true. But the person reading this can only truly make such a judgement when he or she has seen ~~with~~ person the things that are spoken of and knows truly ~~what~~ ^{readers} what their effect would be ~~to~~ ^{to them} ~~with~~ ^{talked about} ~~people,~~ ^{I know that I had} ~~in~~ ^{heard} ~~the~~ ^{about} ~~bull~~ ^{the} ~~fight~~ ^{bull} ~~is~~ ^{fight} ~~in~~ ^{is} ~~my~~ ⁱⁿ ~~mind~~ ^{my} ~~once~~ ^{once} I remember ~~with~~ Gertrude Stein, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{she} ~~spoke~~ ^{spoke} ~~about~~ ^{about} her admiration for Joselito and showed me some pictures of him ^{in the ring} and of herself and Alice Toklas sitting in the first row of the ^{broken barrier of the} bull ring at Valencia and I had just come from ~~the~~ ^{the} Smyrna where the Greeks broke the legs of all their baggage and transport animals and then into the shallow water when they abandoned ~~the~~ ^{that} city and I remember saying that I would ^{did} not like the bull fights because of poor horses. I was trying to write then and I found the greatest difficulty was to put down what really happened in action: what

timeliness which gives a certain emotion to any account of something that has happened on that day; but the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion ~~was beyond me~~ and which would be as valid in a year or in ten years or, with luck and if you stated it purely enough, always, was beyond me and I was working very hard to try and get it. The only place where you could see life and death/ ^{i.e. violent death} ~~know that the wars were over,~~ was in the bull ring and I wanted very much to go to Spain ~~but I did not think I would like it~~ where I could study it, ~~but I did not think I would like it~~. I was trying to learn to write about ^{one of} the simplest things, and the simplest things of all ~~is death~~, and the most fundamental, is violent death. It has none of the complications of death by disease, or so called natural death, or the death of a friend or some one you love or have hated ~~complicated subjects such as love, or religious experience but it is nevertheless,~~ is death/ ~~is death~~ one of the major subjects ~~that a man may write of~~ that a man may write of and I had read ~~in~~ many books in which, when the author tried to convey it, he only produced a blur, and I decided that this was because either the author had never seen it clearly or, ⁽¹⁾ at the moment, he had physically or mentally shut his eyes as one might do if ~~they~~ he saw a child, that he could not possibly reach or aid, about to be struck by a train. In that case he would probably be justified in shutting his eyes as the mere fact of the child being ^{about to be} struck by the train was all that, artistically, ~~controlled by good taste,~~ ^(the actual striking would be an anti-climax to the moment before striking) he could convey, and that would be as far as he could represent. But in the case of an execution by a firing squad, or a hanging, this is not true and if these very simple things ^{were} are to be made permanent ~~there must be no~~ ^{it could not be done with any} ~~shutting~~ of the eyes. ^{were} A writer, who is that above all other things, not merely one who writes to make a living, or for fame, or to please himself would observe x

So I went to Spain to see bull fights and to try to write about them. I thought they would be simple and barbarous and cruel and that I would not like them but that I would see certain definite action which would give me the feeling of life and death that I was working for. I found the definite action but the bull fight was so ^{far from simple} complicated artistically and emotionally and I ~~liked~~ was moved by it so profoundly and I liked it so much that

I tried to make them in Los Donatos de la Sierra

Insert pages

I had seen certain things, ~~but~~ certain simple things of this sort that I remembered but through taking part in them ~~with the loss of detail~~ ~~overpresence of detail~~ ~~and~~ ~~absence of perspective~~ or, ~~as~~ in other cases, having to write of them immediately after, ^{and consequently noticing the things} I had never been able to study them as a man ~~would~~ might for instance study the death of his father or the hanging of someone, say, that he did not know and would not have to write of immediately after for the first editions of an afternoon newspaper.

needed for instant recording

and aside from four very short sketches I was not able to write anything about it for five years - and I wish I would have waited ten . However if I had waited long enough I probably never would have written anything at all since there is a tendency when you really

~~When you first see a thing you know more about it than you ever do again until a long time has passed~~

~~There is not one really good story or novel of the bull ring written in Spanish .The reason for this is that the Spanish intellectuals begin to learn something about a thing not to want to write about it but rather to keep on learning about it and if the thing is any good you will keep on learning about it always and at no time ,unless you are very egotistical , which , of course , accounts for many books , will you be able to say;now I know all about this and will write about it . I know something about bull fighting now and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ will try to write what I~~

every year - know there is more to learn

Certainly I do not say that now ; ^{now} but I know some things which may be interesting ^{there should be} and ~~it is a good thing~~ , anyway , to have a book about bull fighting in English . No one has to read it that does not want to but a serious work on such an un-moral subject should have some value ~~if only to give the Humanists something to attack~~ .

only that

~~The only thing I have found about morals so far~~ ^{about morals, I know} is that what is moral is what ~~xxxxx~~ you feel good after and what is immoral is what you feel bad after and ~~xxxx xxxxxxxxxx~~ may indicate the presence of a conscience or directing force judged by these moral standards ,which I do not defend , the bull fight is very moral to me because I feel very fine while it is going on and have a ~~xxxxxx~~ feeling of life and death and ~~that mixture of mortality and immortality that contributes to religion beside a great esthetic excitement that makes you feel more immortal than anything~~ and after it is over I feel very sad but very fine . Also

I do not mind the horses ; not in principle, but in fact ^{- do not mind them} . I was

very surprised at this since I cannot see a horse down in the street without having it make me feel ~~sick~~ ^{momentarily a need for helping the horse, and} but in the bull ring I do not ~~feel~~ feel any horror or disgust whatever at what happens to the horses .

*And will again
many times
I should
know
I have spread packing, un-buckled harnesses and dogs at
streets
If they still permit horses in streets*

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I have spread sackings, un buckled harness and dodged ~~to~~ shed hoofs many times and will again if they still permit horses in streets city streets

To deal with

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My *Jaya* tried to make them in *soo Desatur de la guerra*

I have taken many people, both men and women, to bull fights and seen their reactions to the death and goring of the horses in the ring and their reactions are quite unpredictable. ~~People~~ ^{Women} that I ~~knew~~ ^{felt sure} would enjoy the bull fight with the exception of the goring of the horses ~~xxx~~ ^{were} quite ~~unaffected~~ unaffected by it; I mean really unaffected, that is, something that they disapproved of and that they expected would horrify and disgust them did not disgust them or horrify them at all. Other people, both men and women, were ~~so affected~~ ^{so affected} that they were made physically ill. I will go into ~~some of these~~ ^{the way} ~~examples~~ ^{people acted} in detail later but let me say now that there was no difference or line of difference so that these people could be divided by any standard of civilization or experience into those that were affected and those that were not affected, and two of those people who were most affected at the start were so interested in the bull fights ~~themselves~~ that they continued to go to them and finally became, while disapproving of the use of the horses, physically indifferent to them.

From observation I would say that people may ^{possibly} be divided into two general groups; those who, to use one of the terms of the jargon of psychology, identify, that is place themselves in the position of, animals, and those who identify themselves with human beings. I ^{believe} ~~would say~~ ^{after experience and} ~~from observation too~~, although this may ~~not be correct~~, that those people who identify themselves with animals, i.e. the almost "professional" lovers of dogs etc. are ~~Capable~~ capable of greater cruelty to human beings than those who do not identify themselves ^{readily} so closely with animals. It seems as though there were a fundamental cleavage between people on this basis although people who do not ^{identify themselves with} ~~put themselves in the place~~, ~~I hate~~ ~~the jargon term~~ of animals may, while not loving animals in general, be capable of great affection for an individual animal, a dog, a cat or a horse for instance. But they will base this affection on some qualities or associations of this individual animal rather than on the fact that it is an animal and hence worthy of love. For myself, I have felt profound affection for three different cats, three dogs, that I remember, and only two horses; that is horses that I have owned,

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5 Lucas, when a won a classic ^{Steeple Chase} ~~handicap~~ race at Antevuil at odds of better than ten to one with carrying my money on him, ^{or driven} ~~with~~ profound affection for. But if you should ask me what event ridden, As for horses that I have followed, watched race and ~~bet~~ bet on I have had profound admiration ~~x~~ and, when I ~~was~~ bet money on them, almost affection for a number of horses; the ones that I remember best being Man of War, Exterminator, I believe I honestly had affection for him, Epinard, Kzar, Heros XII, Master Bob, and a half bred horse, a steeple chaser like the last two, named Uncas. I had great, great admiration for all of those animals but how much/^{of} my affection was due to the sums staked I do not know. I do know that I do not love dogs as dogs, horses as horses or cats as cats.

Nearby
Answered to
Daw

The question of why the death of the horse in the bull ring

6
Altho a dead body often is

(put in description, people seeing, horse cutting leg)

slide over or avoid. The comic things that happens to these horses ~~xxx~~ not/their death, far death is ~~xxx~~ comic and ~~it~~ ^{is really} a temporary gives/dignity to the most comic characters, ^{altho this dignity passes once death has occurred,} but the strange and burlesque visceral accidents which occur. There is certainly nothing comic by our standards in seeing ~~xxx~~ an animal emptied of its visceral content but if this animal, ^{instead of doing something tragic,} being so emptied & gallops in a stiff, old-maidish fashion around a ring trailing the opposite of clouds of glory it is as comic when what it is trailing is real as when the Fratellinis give a burlesque of it in which the ~~viscera~~ viscera are represented by rolls of bandages, sausages ~~ataa~~ and other things. If one is comic the other is; the humor comes from the same principle. ^{I have seen it when all the human beings remained I was very funny. This is the sort of thing you should never admit.}

It is because such things have not been admitted that the bull fight has never been explained.

as with the

~~These~~ These visceral accidents are no longer a part of the Spanish bull fight. Under the government of Primo de Rivera it was decided to protect the abdomens of the horses with a sort of quilted mattress designed ^{in the terms of the decree} "to avoid those horrible sights which so disgust foreigners and tourists". These protectors avoid these sights and greatly decrease the number of horses killed in the bull ring but they in no way decrease the pain suffered by the horses; they take away much bravery from the bull, ^{this to be} ~~is for a~~ later chapter, and they are the first step ^{toward} ~~in~~ the suppression of the bull fight. For the bull fight is a Spanish institution; is has not existed because of the foreigners and tourists but always in spite of them and any step to modify it to secure their approval, which it will never have, ~~of the general run at least,~~ is a step towards its complete suppression.

read

~~As it becomes more pleasurable to the tourists it will become less~~

~~Spanish and as it becomes less Spanish it will die.~~

~~The Guecho in Spain so that there are no longer any organized bodies or~~ ^{One it is forbidden} ~~of bull breeders and matadors bullfighters~~ ^{to prevent the exaggerations and abuses through}

~~balance they preserve by their efforts to protect and legalize their own conflicting interests it will not survive, except in a paralyzed form, as in any other country.~~

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people running; leave country!

happens to these
not
~~it~~ comic and ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~
of horses over death has occurred;
out the strange and

There is certainly nothing

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horrible sights which
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~~at this~~ ^{at this} ~~that has been written~~ ^{that has been written}

~~This dissertation about one person's reaction to the death of the horses in the bull ring is not put in because of a desire of the author to write about himself and his own reactions, considering them as important because they are his, but rather to establish the fact that ^{the} these reactions were instant and unexpected. I did~~

~~not become indifferent to the fate of the horses through the callousness ~~of the author~~ brought about by seeing a thing many times so that the emotions are no longer touched. However I felt about ~~them~~ ^{the horses}~~

~~I felt the first time I saw a bull fight. It might be argued that I had become callous through war, or some would say, journalism, but this would not explain other people who had never seen war, ~~or~~ ^{or use, laterally} physical horror of any sort, nor ^{even} worked on ^{say morning} newspapers, having ~~the~~ the identical/same reactions.~~

What I believe is that the tragedy of the bull fight is so well ordered and so strongly disciplined by ritual that a person feeling the whole tragedy cannot separate the minor ^{Comic-tragedy} ~~tragedy~~ ^{become by comparison almost comedy,} of the horse /so, as to feel it emotionally, ^{even, when they know nothing about it, feel that this thing they do not understand} because if they sense the meaning and end of the whole thing, ^{the business of the} horses is nothing more than an incident. If they get no feeling of the whole tragedy naturally they will react emotionally to the most picturesque incident. Naturally too, if they are ^{Animalarians} ~~humanitarians~~ ^{or moralists} they will get no feeling of the tragedy but only a reaction on humanitarian ^{or Animalarian} grounds and the most obviously abused thing is the horse. If they sincerely identify themselves with animals they will suffer terribly, more so, perhaps, than the horse, since a man who has been wounded knows that the pain of a wound usually does not commence until about a half an hour after it has been received and ~~there~~ is no proportional relation of pain to the horrible aspect of a wound; the pain of an abdominal wound does not come at the time but later with the gas pains and the beginnings of peritonitis; a pulled ligament or a broken bone ^{on the other hand can} hurts at once and terribly; but these things are not known ^{or are ignored} by the person who has identified ~~himself~~ ^{himself} with the animal and he will suffer genuinely and terribly, seeing only this ^{aspect} of the bull fight, while, when a horse pulls up lame in a steeple chase, he will not suffer at all and consider it merely regrettable.

going on

~~all this that has been written~~
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8
The aficionado or ~~person~~ lover of the bull fight
may be said, broadly, then to be one who has this sense of the tragedy
and ritual of the fight so that the minor aspects are not important
except as they relate to the whole. #either you have this or you
have not just as, without implying any comparison, you have or have
not an ear for music. Without an ear for music the principal
impression of an auditor at a symphony concert might be of the motions
of the players of the double bass, just as the spectator at a bull fight
might remember only the grotesqueness of a picador. If the auditor
at a symphony concert were a humanitarian as he might be at the bull fight,
he would probably find as much ~~scope~~ scope for his good work in
ameliorating the ^{wages and living} condition of the players of the double bass in
symphony orchestras as in doing something about the poor horses. AN

Let us suppose
However, being a man of culture and knowing that
Symphony orchestras are wholly good and to be
accepted in their entirety by practically no one

~~American actress gave a large sum to be spent in combating the bull fight.~~
~~I do not know what her charities toward her fellow artists have been;~~

~~they may have been very great. Or she may have accepted ^{the} starving of bad
actors as part of the casualties to be expected in the profession.~~

There are two other rather loose groupings of the aficionados
those who care most for the bull fighters and those who care most for
the bulls

As in all arts the enjoyment increases with the knowlege
of the art but ^{people will} ~~a person~~ should know ~~xxxxxxx~~ the first time they
go, if they go ~~xxxx~~ open mindedly ~~at~~ and only feel those things they
actually feel and not the things they think they should feel, whether
they will care for the bull fights or not.

^{Explanation} of course they may not care for ~~them~~ at all and all
~~this~~ will be meaningless beside the obvious moral wrongness
of the bull fight just as people ^{could} might refuse to drink wine
which they might enjoy because they did not believe it
right to do so.

The Movements of a player of the double
bass are grotesque and the sounds ^(produced) many times
~~times~~, if ~~seen~~ ^{heard} by themselves ~~would often be~~
~~are~~ meaningless.

The double bass is separated from the whole of the orchestra as being played by a human-being.

guard a bull

not go to university

er of the bull fight
sense of the tragedy
ts are not important
ave this or you
n, you have or have
the principal
ight be of the motions
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Symphony orchestras are wholly good and to be
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9 bis

Continued note at side

his feet ~~unmoving~~ ^{planted as though he were a ~~straight~~ young tree}, with the arrogance and grace that ~~only~~ gypsies have and of which all other arrogance and grace seems an imitation. Moves the cape, ^{spread full as the pulling of a yacht} ~~in front~~ before the bull's muzzle so slowly that the art of bull fighting, which is only kept from being one of the ~~great~~ ^{major} arts because it is impermanent, in the ~~arrogant~~ ^{arrogant} ~~majestic~~ ^{majestic} slowness of his veronica becomes, for the seeming minutes that they endure, permanent. If that seems too flowery I'm sorry. It is necessary to try and give the feeling and to someone who has never seen it a simple statement of the method does not convey the feeling. Anyone who has seen bull fights can skip the flowery and read the facts. The fact is that the gypsy, Coquand can, through the marvelous wrists that he has

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~~beautiful majestic~~ arrogant
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be useful

the double bass as separated from the whole of the orchestra or as being played by a human-being

The bull fight is not a sport in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word ^{is not an} equal ^{contest} ~~struggle~~ ^{or an attempt at an equal} between a bull and a man. Rather it is a tragedy the death of the bull, which is played more or less well, by the bull and the man involved and in which there is a ~~constant~~ ^{constant} element of danger for the man ~~at certain death~~ ^{for the animal}. This ~~constant~~ ^{constant} danger ^{to the man} can be increased by ^{the bull fighter} ~~him~~ ^{at} will in the measure in which he works close to the bull's ^{horns} ~~and~~ therefore while ~~keeping~~ ^{keeping} within the ~~rules~~ ^{rules} ~~of~~ ^{for bull fighting} ~~the~~ ^{which specify} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~fighting~~ ^{the} ~~man~~ ^{man}.

of public bull fighting bulls were not
 required to allowed to be fought which
 had been in the ring before and so
 many ^{men} ~~Spanish nobles~~ were killed in the bull ring that
 on November 20 1567 Pope Pius the Fifth
 the Church ~~Pope~~ issued a bull church

issued ^{Papal bull} an edict excommunicating all christian princes
~~to~~ ^{anyone} who should
 take part in bull fights - permit bull fights in their
 countries and denying christian burial to any person killed
 in the bull ring. This papal bull is reprinted in
 its ~~entirely~~ translation in the appendix to this book.
 Philip the second through his influence at
 Rome This was in ~~costume and finish.~~

In the modern ^(formal) bull fight ^{or corrida de toros} there are
 usually six bulls that are killed by
 three different men. Each man kills two bulls.
 are ^{required to be} from 4 to 6 years old, ~~in theory~~ by law
 free from physical defects, and with
 well armed with sharp pointed horns.

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to have ~~of having~~ some way of getting them promptly into the ring ^{and} to rest them ^{and keep them quiet} before the fight.

Usually only the matadors, and their friends ~~and~~ ^{and} representatives, the bull ring management and the authorities and a very few spectators attend the apartado. ^{It is usually the best time the matador sees the bulls he is to kill that afternoon.} The number of spectators is kept down ^{in most places} by putting the price of tickets

at five pesetas. The bull ring management wants few people ^{at the cortijo} in order that the bulls may not be ~~be distracted~~ ^{have} their attention ~~attracted~~ ^{called} by some spectators who

wants to see action and ^{so calls to the bulls making them} ~~so perhaps~~ ^{they run at} charge the doors or the walls or each other ^{if they charge in the corral (they)} ~~running~~ a risk of injuring their horns or ^{springing} each other and causing

the management ^{would have} ~~to have~~ to replace them in the ring at an expense of a couple of hundred dollars apiece. Many ~~hangers on~~ ^{hangers on} have a belief that they can talk to the bulls as well or better than the bull fighters. Protected by the high fence or the wall of the corral they try to catch the bull.

the picadors leave the ring and the second act begins. This there are no horses in the ring after the first act ^{up dead horses which are covered with canvas} act one is the cape, the act of the capes, the picadors and the horses. and the bull has the greatest opportunity to display his ^{bravery or cowardice} ~~the second act is the suertes de las banderillas~~ Banderillas

begin by the picador being by the picador
which has been
that his head which has been
that his attacks will be slower, but

act two is the banderillas. The banderillas These are pairs of sticks about a yard long ^{70 centimeters to be exact} (much a harpoon shaped steel point ^{4 centimeters long}). They are supposed to be placed, two at a time, in the hump of the bull's neck as he charges the man who hurls them. Four pair of banderillas are usually put in. If they are placed by the banderilleros or picadors they must be placed above all other considerations and ^{in the proper places} ~~well~~ If the matador himself places them himself he may indulge in a ^{preparation} ~~preparation~~ which is usually accompanied by music. This is the most picturesque part of the bull fight and the most spectacular. The mission of the banderillas is not only to force the bull by hooking to wear tire his neck muscles and carry his head lower but also, by placing them at one side or another correct a tendency to hook to that side. The ^{third} ~~entire~~ ^{act} of the banderillas should not take more than five minutes. If it is prolonged the bull becomes discomposed, and if he loses the tempo it must be an uncertain and dangerous one, and if he is to the bull is opportunities to see and charge men unarmed with

the quickest

the bull has the greatest opportunity to display his ^{bravery or cowardice} ~~the second act is the suertes de las banderillas~~ Banderillas

of the possible manner.
disregard of the danger
blindness
folly.
The matador must dominate the bulls by
knowledge and science.

In the measure in which this
domination is accomplished with
gracefully well it be beautiful
to watch. Strength is of little use to him except
at the actual moment of killing. Some are asked
Rafael Gomez "El Gallo" over fifty years used,
a gypsy, brother of Jose Gomez, Gallito" and the last living man

and the second

horses in the ring which are covered with canvas

the caper, the end of the

the bull has the greatest opportunity

to strike the bull's head

parallel to the base of the

with a good long

point (They are

a line, in the

hump of

neck as he

to the head and repeating the

to they are placed by

Carriage of his head, which has been begun by the picadors so that his attacks will be slower, but surer and better directed.

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the picadors leave the ring and the second act begins. This there are no horses in the ring after the first act ^{except dead horses which are covered with canvas} act one is the cape, the act of the capes, the picas and the horses. In the bull has the greatest opportunity to display his ~~bravery or cowardice~~ bravery or cowardice. The second act is the suertes de las banderillas Banderillas

act two is the banderillas. The banderillas

These are centimeters to be exact pairs of sticks about a yard long with a harpoon shaped steel point 4 centimeters long. They are supposed to be placed, two at a time, in the hump of the neck at the top of the bull's neck as he charges the man who handles them & Four pair of banderillas are usually put in. If the

the picadors as
begin by the chest
has been
but
which
of his head
carriage of his

are to be fought.

Bulls are not deprived of food and water before fighting ^{as one may read in various guides to Spain} & nor are they kept in a dark pen for several days. They are in the ~~individual~~ cliqueros ^{in a dim light} for not more than four hours before the bull fight commences * ~~and they are put~~ They are not fed there ^{after they leave the corral} & any more than a boxer would be fed immediately before a fight but the ^{reasons} ~~purposes~~ of for placing them in the small, dimly lighted pens are ~~to~~ ^{is} primarily for the purpose