

Chapter Three: A Chronology of Words

I thought about Tolstoi and about what a great advantage an experience of war was to a writer. It was one of the major subjects and certainly one of the hardest to write truly of and those writers who had not seen it were always very jealous and tried to make it seem unimportant or abnormal, or a disease as a subject, while, really, it was just something quite irreplaceable that they had missed.¹

In April of 1924 Three Mountains Press, an upstart publishing firm established along the Île St.-Louis in Paris by William Bird in 1922², published 170 copies of a 30-page book; the retail price was 30 francs—about a dollar for an American in Paris at that time³. The small press book, *in our time*, contained eighteen short vignettes, sketches, and miniatures⁴ and marked the debut of Ernest Hemingway's character Nick Adams in published fiction. Though light to the touch, the contents of Hemingway's "little paper-covered book"⁵ made a heavy impression on those who encountered it. The vignettes dealt primarily with short scenes of war, but length was not necessarily an indicator of depth: As Maxwell Perkins noted in a letter explaining why Charles Scribner's Sons could not publish the Three Mountains Press edition of *in our time*, "your method [of writing *in our time*] is obviously one which enables you to express what you have to say in very small compass."⁶ Indeed, the limited run of the 30-page volume brought about the recognition of Hemingway as a potential player and new voice on the literary scene to his own family, to critics at home and abroad, and—perhaps most importantly—to two American publishing houses.

Hemingway's older sister Marcelline was suitably impressed when she received the notice in the mail from Three Mountains Press that included an

order form for her brother's second book⁷: "It was to be a limited edition of *In Our Time* [sic], and I looked with pride at the author's name, *Ernest Hemingway*... Daddy had ordered half a dozen copies, and I sent in my order for two."⁸ Upon receipt of the texts, however, Hemingway's parents were "shocked and horrified at some of the contents" and returned all six of their copies to Three Mountains Press⁹. Though surprised at the frankness of his writing, Marcelline kept her copies¹⁰ and remained supportive of these early stages of her brother's career.

While Grace and Ed Hemingway may have remained mum about their eldest son's new book, *in our time* set critics' tongues wagging and sped up the momentum of Hemingway's career. Though Hemingway had not expected to make much money from such a limited publication run, it still marked a significant arrival and the potential for further advancement. Leff notes:

Hemingway had not expected to profit from *in our time*. Authors saw such volumes as debuts, formal balls that heralded talent and achievement. Publishers saw them as literary teas, perhaps even teas for two, where critics could meet (and later publicize) authors. In one sense *in our time* brought Hemingway more notice than publication of a magazine short story would have; in the *Chicago Tribune*, for instance, the gossip column about literary Paris called the author one of the 'epic talents... destined to create a new literature on the American continent.' New York publishers not only clipped such notes but scoured Europe for undiscovered talent. Frequently the young authors they signed could produce only another slim volume of short stories, but publishers ground them out to form 'relationships' and to secure by contract the author's next book, which the authors always hoped would be the more marketable product, the novel.¹¹

Like the columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*, critic Edmund Wilson took note of Hemingway's demonstrable talent in a piece he published in the October 1924 issue of *The Dial*. Wilson wrote, "that *in our time* contained 'more artistic dignity than anything else about the period of the war that has as yet been written by an

American.”¹² This was a substantial amount more than critics had said about his first book, *Three Stories and Ten Poems*. Fortunately for Hemingway, his work did not just receive such recognition by critics; it was also noticed by those in the business end of the literary world—notably Horace Liveright from the “pioneering but ‘never an entirely respectable’ publishing house” Boni & Liveright and Max Perkins of the “utterly respectable” Charles Scribner’s Sons.¹³

In the winter of 1925, Hemingway was made aware of the interest the two American publishers had in his potential for more mainstream work with their respective houses. A scout for Boni & Liveright, Leon Fleischman, was introduced to Hemingway in Paris by another house author, Harold Loeb; meanwhile Scribner’s Maxwell Perkins was introduced to the text of *in our time* by one of their house authors, F. Scott Fitzgerald. Though Perkins found the text to be overly explicit and rather unpleasant, he recognized that “*in our time* was nonetheless an astounding calling card, and because of its sensuality and modern character, the author was, in theory one who could attract the general public.”¹⁴ Perkins proceeded to write a letter to Hemingway expressing his curiosity on behalf of Scribner’s as to whether or not the young author had anything in his arsenal that might “interest ‘the trade.’”¹⁵ Unfortunately, Hemingway never received this letter, but Perkins sent another, which Sylvia Beach held for him along with his other mail while Hemingway was traveling in Austria.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Hemingway did receive a written offer from Boni & Liveright in March 1925 to publish a new collection of his stories, which would be called *In Our Time*.¹⁷ This text would include 15 short stories threaded together by 16 of

the vignettes from *in our time*.¹⁸ Hemingway received the second letter from Perkins five days after he accepted the offer from Boni & Liveright.¹⁹

Though his contract with Boni & Liveright called for the options of his next three books after the publication of *In Our Time*,²⁰ after only publishing one book within this house, Hemingway moved on to forge the partnership he would have for the rest of his life with Max Perkins at Charles Scribner's Sons.²¹

Hemingway's dissatisfaction with Boni & Liveright was three-fold: he was annoyed at their lack of marketing support for the book, particularly in his hometown of Chicago;²² he was always hoping to position himself with a more reputable publisher (i.e. Scribner's); and, finally he was dissatisfied because Pauline Pfeiffer had indicated he would most likely be better served and less "exploited" with a different firm.²³

In Our Time was introduced to the public on October 5, 1925. With the arrival of the Boni & Liveright text during the fall publication season, America was introduced to the sharp new voice of Ernest Hemingway's fiction and the emergence of a character who is now so closely identified with the author's own persona—Nick Adams. Of its 15 short stories and 16 intercalary vignettes, *In Our Time* presents one definitive Nick vignette ("Nick sat against the wall...")²⁴ and boasts eight full-length Nick stories: "Indian Camp," "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," "The End of Something," "The Three Day Blow," "The Battler," "Cross-Country Snow," and "Big Two-Hearted River" (Parts I and II).²⁵ The 1927 collection *Men Without Women* introduced five more Nick stories to the public: "In Another Country," "The Killers," "Ten Indians," "An Alpine Idyll," and "Now I Lay

Me.” The three final Nick Adams stories Hemingway chose to publish in his lifetime made their initial appearances in the 1933 short story collection, *Winner Take Nothing*: “The Light of the World,” “A Way You’ll Never Be,” and “Fathers and Sons.”

The order of the stories in each collection, as well as the larger publication sequence through magazines and successive collections, provides a starting point for establishing the primary chronology for Hemingway’s character. Although the stories do not proceed in a linear fashion throughout the temporal order of Nick’s life ²⁶, there is a definitive and important order to Hemingway’s vision of Nick’s life. The first evidence of this, however, did not surface for more than a decade.

In the spring of 1939, Hemingway and Perkins corresponded about the upcoming publication of his play *The Fifth Column* in a collection of his short stories. In a letter dated April 7, 1938, Perkins broached the topic of how to order all of the short stories within the collection:

Now as to the stories, a publisher’s impulse is to put anything new first. We could stick to a chronological arrangement with everything that was not new, and yet begin with the three or more new stories. But if you wanted to be strictly chronological, we could put them at the end, and of course we know that people really don’t b [sic] begin a book of stories at the beginning and read straight through. They are almost as likely to begin with the last story. ²⁷

Perkins continued to urge Hemingway to publish the stories in a sort of reverse-chronological order (with the newest stories first) over the next three months. ²⁸ After receiving several more letters from Perkins and even galley proofs for the text with this sort of chronological outline, Hemingway responded with two letters

of his own on July 12, 1938. In his second letter to Perkins that day, Hemingway proffered the notion of order that would maintain the primary or “author’s” chronology of Nick Adams. Hemingway’s response is highly significant, for this work was to be a retrospective collection of all his stories:

What is the objection to simply running them in the order in which the three books were published? *In Our Time*, *Men Without Women*, and *Winner Take Nothing*, except put the three last stories first... So if they are not to be chronological let’s have them in the order they were in the books which was always carefully worked out... I think Max it’s best to just have them in the order in which they were published in the three books.²⁹

Later that summer, in a letter dated August 17, Hemingway continued to push for the contents of the three collections that contain the Nick stories to be published in the order in which they originally appeared. He offered several variations on the contents of the major collection, but always returned to his original instinct on how the stories ought to be published. Hemingway wrote,

I really think it is best to put the order *In Our Time*, *Men Without Women*, *Winner Take Nothing* with the play first followed by the new stories.

The going backwards is maybe logical but it does not make so good a book because there is a line in all the Nick stories that is continuous and running it backwards is confusing.

We want to make the best book possible and if you are not following chronology either way I think that arrangement is the best. I worked hard in each book to make it a unity and a balanced arrangement and makeing [sic] them go backwards doesn’t go so good.³⁰

On October 14, 1938 Scribner’s published *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-nine Stories* with the contents ordered according to Hemingway’s suggestions.³¹

Thus, the primary chronology Hemingway set up for the Nick Adams fiction was once more reinforced. What remained unclear, however, was the rationale

behind maintaining fragments of chronology, based on the individual volume histories. In such a context, it is difficult to determine what Hemingway means when he says that Nick's storyline in each volume is both "continuous" and "a balanced arrangement."

Without a true authorial chronology for guidance, it was inevitable that further scholarship would continue to refine the sequence. In 1972, a new chronology was introduced and imposed upon the Nick Adams stories. Philip Young had first proposed collecting all of the Nick fiction into one volume and printing the stories in the chronological order of Nick's life in a 1948 letter to Charles Scribner. According to Young, "Mr. Scribner replied that since he did not think Mr. Hemingway would approve of the idea there was no point in pursuing it, and the matter was dropped."³² Nineteen years later, however, Charles Scribner, Jr. agreed to the idea his father had originally rejected. He allowed Young to publish the Nick Adams fiction in one volume chronologically with respect to Nick's age. Moreover, Scribner, Jr. agreed (and, in fact, encouraged) Young to include anything and everything Hemingway ever wrote about Nick³³ regardless of whether Hemingway ever intended to see these works in print for public scrutiny.

In the preface to his volume, Young makes his distaste for Hemingway's primary chronology crystal clear to his reader. He writes, "Until now, however, the stories involving Nick have always appeared so many to a book, in jumbled sequence. As a result the coherence of his adventures has been obscured, and their impact fragmented."³⁴ Rejecting Hemingway's belief that the Nick stories

carried unity and balance as they were published, Young is convinced that the chronology he presents offers a superior depiction of character:

Arranged in chronological sequence the events of Nick's life make up a meaningful narrative in which a memorable character grows from child to adolescent to soldier, veteran, writer, and parent—a sequence closely paralleling the events of Hemingway's own life. In this arrangement Nick Adams, who for a long time was not widely recognized as a consistent character at all, emerges clearly as the first in a long line of Hemingway's fictional selves.³⁵

Young argues that Hemingway intuitively or subconsciously seems to have organized Nick's life into five distinct segments with three stories belonging to each stage of Nick's growth. Young names each of these life stages and organizes the contents of his text with these headings:

“The Northern Woods,” as the first section is called, deals with heredity and environment, parents and Michigan Indians. “On His Own” is all away from home or on the road, and instead of Indians, prizefighters. “War” is exactly that, or as the author put it later on, “hit properly and for good.” Then “A Soldier Home”: Michigan revisited, hail and farewell. And fifth, “Company of Two”: marriage, Europe revisited, and finally looking backward a sort of coda.³⁶

In addition to his five-part order, Young also adds eight previously unpublished Nick stories to his collection. Young groups these heretofore unpublished stories where they would fit in his new chronology for the Nick fiction. He differentiates them from the fifteen previously published stories with a “special ‘oblique’ type.”³⁷

In addition to Hemingway's primary chronology of publication and Young's secondary chronology of order, a third chronology to the Nick Adams fiction must be considered: the chronology of composition. Hemingway noted in a letter to Perkins that, “if you put me on a witness stand I could not tell exactly when each story was written. Nor do I give a good god-damn.”³⁸ While it may not be

important stylistically or structurally for Hemingway to recall his chronology of composition to ensure fidelity in the short story collection he was discussing with Perkins, it is important psychologically. Indeed, given his clear resistance to recovering the compositional sequence, this hitherto unestablished chronology is central to my thesis, for Hemingway's apparently unreasoned but continual return to the Nick Adams character corresponds in traceable ways to his development as an author during the first fifteen years of his career.

While it would be negligent to read Hemingway's own psyche into the character of Nick, it is essential to examine *what* Hemingway was able to write about Nick *when* in order to analyze Hemingway's own traumatic recovery through the writing process. Though Hemingway may not have been able to remember the exact order in which he wrote his Nick stories, I have pieced together through biographical studies and Hemingway's correspondence the most likely order of composition for all of his Nick Adams stories, both published (with his approval) and unpublished (until the Philip Young text, of course).

The three different chronologies of the Nick Adams fiction are presented in the table below. The purpose of this table is to offer an easily discernable path through the three timelines that exist in Nick's storyline. The first column depicts Hemingway's primary chronology. Following the title of each story is the name of the work and year in which the story first appeared in a Hemingway collection. The second column outlines the secondary chronology that Philip Young imposed on the texts. Following the title of each story is the name of the segment of Nick's life that Young fit the story into and the year in which the story

first appeared in print. If the story was previously unpublished, I took a page from Young's own book and simply noted that fact in a "special 'oblique' type."

The final column is the tertiary chronology of the Nick stories—the order of composition by Hemingway. The second table offers my apparatus for determining the chronology of composition.

Chronology of Nick Adams Fiction as Published in Hemingway's Lifetime	Chronology of Nick Adams Fiction as Created and Published by Philip Young (1972)	Chronology of Composition
"Indian Camp" – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925	"Three Shots" – The Northern Woods, <i>Unpublished</i>	"Nick sat against the wall..." , 1923
"The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925	"Indian Camp" – The Northern Woods, 1925	"Three Shots" and "Indian Camp" , 1924
"The End of Something" – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925	"The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" – The Northern Woods, 1925	"The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" , 1924
"The Three Day Blow" – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925	"Ten Indians" – The Northern Woods, 1927	"The End of Something" , 1924
"The Battler" – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925	"The Indians Moved Away" – The Northern Woods, <i>Unpublished</i>	"The Three Day Blow" , 1924
"Nick sat against the wall..." – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925 (also, Chapter 7, <i>in our time</i> , 1924)	"The Light of the World" – On His Own, 1933	"Cross-Country Snow" , 1924
"Cross-Country Snow" – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925	"The Battler" – On His Own, 1925	"Big Two-Hearted River" and "On Writing" , 1924
"Big Two-Hearted River" (Parts I and II) – <i>In Our Time</i> , 1925	"The Killers" – On His Own, 1927	"Summer People" , 1924
"In Another Country" – <i>Men Without Women</i> , 1927	"The Last Good Country" – On His Own, <i>Unpublished</i>	"The Battler" , 1925
"The Killers" – <i>Men Without Women</i> , 1927	"Crossing the Mississippi" – On His Own, <i>Unpublished</i>	"Night Before Landing" (aka Along with Youth), 1925
"Ten Indians" – <i>Men Without Women</i> , 1927	"Night Before Landing" – War, <i>Unpublished</i>	"Ten Indians" , 1925
"An Alpine Idyll" – <i>Men Without Women</i> , 1927	"Nick sat against the wall..." – War, 1925	"The Killers" , 1925
"Now I Lay Me" – <i>Men Without Women</i> , 1927	"Now I Lay Me" – War, 1927	"An Alpine Idyll" , 1926
"The Light of the World" – <i>Winner Take Nothing</i> , 1933	"A Way You'll Never Be" – War, 1933	"In Another Country" , 1926
"A Way You'll Never Be" – <i>Winner Take Nothing</i> , 1933	"In Another Country" – War, 1927	"Now I Lay Me" , 1927
"Fathers and Sons" – <i>Winner Take Nothing</i> , 1933	"Big Two-Hearted River" (Parts I and II) – A Soldier Home, 1925	"A Way You'll Never Be" , 1932

	"The End of Something" – A Soldier Home, 1925	"The Light of the World", 1932
	"The Three Day Blow" – A Soldier Home, 1925	"Fathers and Sons", 1932
	"Summer People" – A Soldier Home, <i>Unpublished</i>	"The Last Good Country", 1952
	"Wedding Day" – Company of Two, <i>Unpublished</i>	"Crossing the Mississippi", Unknown
	"On Writing" – Company of Two, <i>Unpublished</i>	"Wedding Day", Unknown
	"An Alpine Idyll" – Company of Two, 1927	"The Indians Moved Away", Unknown
	"Cross-Country Snow" – Company of Two, 1925	
	"Fathers and Sons" – Company of Two, 1933	

Notes on the Determination of the Chronology of Composition

<p>"Nick sat against the wall..." Composed March-June 1923 and appeared as Chapter 7 of in our time.³⁹</p>
<p>"Three Shots" and "Indian Camp" "Three Shots" is the excised start to "Indian Camp". Hemingway began work on this story in February 1924 and cut the opening portion (what now comprises "Three Shots") by the time the story was published in the April <i>Transatlantic Review</i>.⁴⁰ The composition of this story marks the beginning of a prolific seven months of Hemingway's work on Nick Adams's fiction.⁴¹</p>
<p>"The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" Hemingway began work on this story in March 1924, revised it further in early April, and the story appeared in the November <i>Transatlantic Review</i>.⁴²</p>
<p>"The End of Something" Written during the spring of 1924.⁴³</p>
<p>"The Three Day Blow" Written during the spring of 1924⁴⁴</p>
<p>"Cross-Country Snow" First draft was complete by the end of April 1924 and the story appeared in the December <i>Transatlantic Review</i>.⁴⁵</p>
<p>"Big Two-Hearted River" and "On Writing" Began work on "Big Two-Hearted River" in May 1924. Finished entire story in August 1924.⁴⁶ A letter to Robert McAlmon from November 1924 mentions his decision to cut the last nine pages of the story (what Young eventually titles, "On Writing") to make "Big Two-Hearted River" a better story overall.⁴⁷</p>
<p>"Summer People" While Young contends this was the first Nick Adams story to ever make it onto paper (mainly due to the deficiencies in Hemingway's style and his vacillation about the protagonist's name)⁴⁸, Reynolds offers a compelling argument that this story was actually written during the summer of 1924.⁴⁹ He references a letter Hemingway wrote to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas on August 15, 1924, which refers to "two long short stories, one of them not much good and finished the long one I worked on before I went to Spain ["Big Two Hearted River"]."⁵⁰ Reynolds contends the not so good story was "Summer People."</p>
<p>"The Battler"</p>

<p>Hemingway began work on this story in February 1925 after Liveright accepted <i>In Our Time</i> for publication. Liveright took umbrage at the explicit "Up In Michigan" and Hemingway immediately set about writing "The Battler" to replace it in the text.⁵¹</p>
<p>"Night Before Landing" (aka <i>Along with Youth</i>) Hemingway began to write a novel about Nick's journey to Europe for WWI on the transport ship <i>Chicago</i> in June 1925, but aborted his project on the 27th page of the manuscript.⁵² Young includes this work as the story "Night Before Landing" in his 1972 collection.</p>
<p>"Ten Indians" Began working on in September 1925, continued through autumn of that year.⁵³ Completed May 16, 1926 in Madrid.⁵⁴</p>
<p>"The Killers" Began working on in October 1925.⁵⁵ Completed May 16, 1926 in Madrid.⁵⁶</p>
<p>"An Alpine Idyll" Completed and sent to Perkins (with hopes of publication in <i>Scribner's Magazine</i>) first week of May 1926.⁵⁷</p>
<p>"In Another Country" Hemingway submitted this story, written during his "hundred days separation" from Pauline decreed by Hadley, to Scribner's on November 22, 1926.⁵⁸</p>
<p>"Now I Lay Me" Wrote in the Spring of 1927, and completed by the end of May in order to add to the collection, <i>Men Without Women</i>.⁵⁹</p>
<p>"A Way You'll Never Be" Hemingway completed "A Way You'll Never Be" during a trip to Cuba in May 1932.⁶⁰</p>
<p>"The Light of the World" First mention of this as a completed story (and first mention of this story in general) is in an August 9, 1932 letter to Perkins. Hemingway offers this as one of three stories he would like to have Perkins's support behind in order to encourage <i>Scribner's Magazine</i> editor Alfred Dashiell publish it. Dashiell declined, and the story was finally included in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>.⁶¹</p>
<p>"Fathers and Sons" Conceptualized and began to compose in November 1932 while driving to Piggot with Bumby and imagining the details about the coveys of quail in the fields outside the window of his Ford roadster.⁶²</p>
<p>"The Last Good Country" According to Young, Hemingway used to tell this story about himself, but began to write it as a fictional story for the character Nick in 1952. It must be noted that this is the one story Young admits to editing with a heavy hand. Notably, this admission does not take place in any textual apparatus published with his edition of <i>The Nick Adams Stories</i>; rather it is casually addressed in his Fall 1972 <i>Novel</i> article. He states, "One last disclaimer for the record: I didn't edit anything, either. Indeed there has not been much editing, except in the case of 'The Last Good Country,' where a good deal has been cut from what Hemingway wrote. But here the judgment is favorable: the cuts were either necessary, to piece together two long and different openings present in the manuscript, or desirable, where the text was wordy, or the pace slow, or the taste dubious. The job has been done skillfully by Scribner's." When one considers Hemingway's decision not to continue working on this story, Young's assessment that the editing reflects a favorable judgment on his part and on the part of the editorial staff at Scribner's seems to be an awfully generous estimation of his decision. ⁶³</p>
<p>"Crossing the Mississippi," "Wedding Day," and "The Indians Moved Away" All three are not considered full-length complete stories, but rather fragments and have indeterminate composition dates.</p>

The one major advantage to which Young's arrangement lends itself is a nearly diagrammatic representation of the amount of treatment Hemingway designated to each stage of Nick's life. The stories that make up the first two sections of Young's collection, *THE NORTHERN WOODS* and *ON HIS OWN*, total 123 pages. The third section, *WAR*, contains 39 pages, five of which include action before Nick is injured. The final two sections, *A SOLDIER HOME* and *COMPANY OF TWO*, which recount Nick's life after his return from the war, contain a total of 93 pages of work. Thus, Hemingway gives Nick nearly equal treatment in his fiction pre- and post-trauma: 128 pages are dedicated to Nick's life before he is injured and 127 pages are dedicated to his life after this physical trauma. Nick's actual traumatic experience is not directly represented in the fiction, rather he is depicted on the boat crossing over to fight and then in the next "story" he is slumped against the wall of a church after being hit in the spine.

The table reveals Young's chronology to be much cleaner, more orderly, and more comprehensible on a superficial level—the stories progress linearly through Nick's advancing years. By contrast, in the timeline of composition established for this thesis (noted in the third column of the first table), Nick's character appears in a narrative chronology that does not work in concert with the temporal chronology of his life. When Hemingway begins to write his Nick Adams fiction in 1923, he does not begin with Nick's boyhood years in the Northern Woods, as Young might incidentally lead a casual reader of *The Nick Adams Stories* to believe. Rather, Hemingway first writes about Nick as a soldier at war in the vignette, "Nick sat against the wall..." The second time the character

of Nick Adams appears in Hemingway's composition, he is a boy growing up in Michigan in both "*Three Shots*," "Indian Camp," and "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife." The third manifestation of Nick in the compositional chronology is as a young man just returned from war to his childhood Michigan home in "The End of Something" and "Three Day Blow." Next, Hemingway writes of Nick as a married man expecting a baby and vacationing in Europe in "Cross-Country Snow."

Beginning with the late summer of 1924 and working up until May 1932, Hemingway backtracks once again into Nick's earlier years. He writes about Nick as a single young man just returned from WWI in "Big Two-Hearted River," and "*On Writing*," and "*Summer People*." A sixth grouping of Nick Adams-based stories in Hemingway's writing situates the protagonist as young man on his own in "The Battler" and off to war in "*Night Before Landing*." Hemingway returns again to Nick as a young man on his own (before the war) in "The Killers" and then writes next of Nick Adams married and abroad in "An Alpine Idyll." The composition chronology proceeds with three stories where Nick appears as a soldier at the Italian front in "In Another Country," "Now I Lay Me," and "A Way You'll Never Be."

A final grouping of stories by date of composition, which span from 1932 through 1952, backtracks the narrative chronology against Nick's age once more. Hemingway first writes "The Light of the World," which depicts Nick as a single young man before war. He then catapults forward to Nick as a father, reminiscing about his relationship growing up with Dr. Adams in the narrative of "Fathers and Sons." Finally, when Hemingway returns to writing about Nick

Adams in 1952, he composes a lengthy, though incomplete, “long short story” about Nick as a young man before the war once again in “*The Last Good Country*.”

To be sure, Hemingway’s chronology as described and depicted in the table is much more convoluted than Young’s neat and tidy presentation. And though neat and tidy is convenient, rarely does life follow such a path, especially for a character that has been so injured in war like Nick, and especially for a man who was as troubled as Hemingway. It also must be noted that Young made the deliberate decision to include all stories with Nick Adams as the protagonist, including the ones Hemingway declined to finish or publish in his lifetime, to round out his text. I would conjecture that although the Hemingway estate and Scribner’s supported this move, Young’s choice was one Hemingway would have abhorred. In a 1952 letter to Charles Fenton, Hemingway wrote:

I know few things worse than for another writer to collect a fellow writer’s journalism which his fellow writer has elected not to preserve and publish it.

...Writing that I do not wish to publish, you have no right to publish. I would no more do a thing like that to you than I would cheat a man at cards or rifle his desk or wastebasket or read his personal letters.⁶⁴

The only true chronologies of consequence, therefore, are Hemingway’s own stated chronology of publication and his implicit chronology of composition (denoted in Columns One and Three of the first table). These two timelines offer the critical reader insight into two very important arenas: first, insight into the progression of Nick’s emotional development as Hemingway saw fit to publish; and secondly, insight into Hemingway’s own psyche in what he was able to write

and when. Though it could be argued that one ought to ignore the previously unpublished Nick Adams fiction within Hemingway's timeline of composition based on the author's own sentiments, for the purposes of this thesis, it is important to analyze these stories for their content with regards to the two aforementioned critical arenas—with an understanding that Hemingway did not wish for them to be considered in any way a part of his canon.

Through the character of Nick Adams, Hemingway is able to explore his own traumatic experience and embark on a process of traumatic recovery in the act of writing as “working through.” In Chapter Four, I will analyze three select stories from important junctures in both Hemingway's life and the narrative development of Nick's fictional experience with an eye towards Hemingway's progress in his traumatic recovery. Though I will be looking at the character of Nick with close regard to the author, it is important to note that the purpose of Chapter Four is not to read the psyche of Hemingway onto the persona of Nick. Rather, its aim is to use the critical resources of Freud, Caruth, Herman, and LaCapra to examine Hemingway's treatment of the traumatic experience of his protagonist relative to his recovery from his own traumatic experience. Chapter Five will explore one final story and the motivations and success (or lack thereof) of Hemingway's traumatic recovery. The initial courtship of the author by both Scribner's and Boni & Liveright detailed at the beginning of this chapter revealed Hemingway's desire to become a recognizable author. As Judith Herman indicates in her work, one cannot claim a place in society until the recovery process is fulfilled. Nick Adams serves Hemingway well as a vehicle to “work

through” in his writing process, but it is imperative to recall that the author’s motivations to work through were not for the sake of his own health, but rather to fulfill his desperate desire to become an icon of American literature.

¹ Hemingway, Ernest. *The Green Hills of Africa*. 70. Rpt. in Hemingway, Ernest. *Ernest Hemingway on Writing*. Ed. Larry W. Phillips. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1984. 23.

² Baker, Carlos. *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1969. 100.

³ Leff, Leonard J. *Hemingway and His Conspirators: Hollywood, Scribner’s, and the Making of American Celebrity Culture*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997. 13.

⁴ Flora, Joseph M. “Saving Nick Adams for Another Day.” *South Atlantic Review*. 58.2 (May 1993) 61-84. 63

⁵ Hemingway, Marcelline. *At the Hemingways: With Fifty Years of Correspondence Between Ernest and Marcelline Hemingway*. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1998. 216.

⁶ Leff, 20.

⁷ The Contact Publishing Company in Paris published the first, *Three Stories and Ten Poems*, in 1923. According to Hemingway, he “took great care to keep this from reaching relatives due to the first story which is a whangleberry but would simply shock and give them that familiar I’d rather see you dead and buried in your grave than—feeling” (Marcelline Hemingway, 322). The “whangleberry” was “Up in Michigan” and it told the “inaccrochable” (according to Gertrude Stein) story of a mutual seduction of a waitress—Liz Coates—on the dock at Horton’s Bay by Jim Gilmore (Baker, 64 and 87). As his sister noticed, Hemingway had placed two of the Hemingways’ closest friends in the “vulgar, sordid tale” (Marcelline Hemingway, 216). The Three Mountains Press *in our time* contained a milder version of the story, and Hemingway included “Up in Michigan” in his manuscript submission of *In Our Time* to Boni & Liveright. They declined that story, however, and “The Battler” took its place (Leff, 17).

⁸ Marcelline Hemingway, 217.

⁹ Marcelline Hemingway, 219.

¹⁰ Marcelline offers a vivid description worth noting here of *in our time* in *At the Hemingways*:

When the package of books arrived from Paris some months later, I was surprised at the unusual design of the jacket. Both the front and back covers were made up of reprints of headlines and bits of articles and advertisements from various newspapers printed in red on a beige background. Some of them were from American papers, some from British, others from Spanish and Russian newspapers. The title of the book and author’s name were printed in heavy black type over this colorful newspaper background. I think this was the first time I ever saw a title or a proper name printed in all small letters with no capitals whatever. The date on the title page of the book was 1924. Each copy was numbered individually, and the total number of copies was listed as one hundred and seventy in the front of my copy of *in our time*.

The stories were printed on a special handmade, deckle-edged paper, quite unlike normal book stock. Because an old friend, Sam Anderson, was so interested in Ernest’s new publication, I proudly sent him one of my two copies. I tried to buy more copies later, but was informed by the publisher that only one hundred seventy had been printed. No wonder they are such rarities today (218).

Such a description lends credence to Liveright’s and Perkins’ opinions about the uncertain future the Three Mountains Press edition would have in the American marketplace. It was much more

an art-literature object than the more straightforward *In Our Time* eventually published by Boni & Liveright in 1925.

¹¹ Leff, 13.

¹² Baker, 134.

¹³ Leff, 14.

¹⁴ Leff, 15.

¹⁵ Leff, 15.

¹⁶ Baker, 144.

¹⁷ Leff, 16.

¹⁸ Flora, 63.

¹⁹ Baker, 144.

²⁰ Baker, 144.

²¹ This switch will be covered in Chapter Five, however, it is important to make note of it at this juncture because it indicates the remaining two works in which Nick Adams fiction debuted during Hemingway's life, *Men Without Women* and *Winner Take Nothing*, were published under the Scribner's umbrella.

²² Leff, 26.

²³ Leff, 27.

²⁴ This would be the vignette, originally published in *in our time*, which offers a single paragraph of Nick's experience in battle. While most critics, such as Philip Young, do not include this vignette when they count the number of Nick *stories* published during Hemingway's life, for the purposes of this project it is included as a story. Thus, the total number of Nick Adams stories published during Hemingway's life is 16, not 15, by my count.

There is, however, a bit of critical debate as to whether or not the "Nick" in the vignette is in fact Nick Adams. The root of this debate boils down to Nick's injury. In this vignette, Nick has clearly been injured in the spine. In "Cross-Country Snow," Nick's trouble on the slopes stems from an injury to his leg. And, as Milton A. Cohen indicates in *Hemingway's Laboratory*, "'Big Two-Hearted River,' where he [Nick] hikes briskly shouldering a heavy pack makes no reference to a physical wound at all but hints strongly of a mental one." Cohen concludes, "We have, therefore, not one Nick Adams experience, but rather variations on a theme of wounding." Regardless of the conflicting wounds, I side with the critics and scholars who contend that it is the same character (i.e. Joseph M. Flora (see Flora 64) and Philip Young) whose wartime experience is rendered and manifested through a different lens in these stories. As Flora indicates in his article "Saving Nick Adams for Another Day,"

Cutting [the conclusion of Big-Two Hearted River, "On Writing"], Hemingway surely saw he need not force absolute uniformity on his portrayal of Nick. He knew that the Nick of *In Our Time* held contradictions intolerable in a novel. ...The writer of a short story starts with the challenge of that story. When the author is using a character he has used before, he or she need not feel the need to correlate every detail with the details of a previous story about the character. Cézanne [who painted the way Nick declares he wants to write in "On Writing"], or any other painter, could—and often did—render the same subject from another angle (64).

²⁵ Hemingway, Ernest. *In Our Time*. New York: Scribner, 2003.

²⁶ As Philip Young describes in his brief preface to 1972's *The Nick Adams Stories*: "In *Men Without Women*, Hemingway's second collection of stories, Nick appears first as a soldier in Italy, next as an adolescent in Summit, Illinois, then in turn as a younger boy in Michigan, a married man in Austria, and a soldier back in Italy." (Hemingway, Ernest. *The Nick Adams Stories*. Ed. Philip Young. New York: Scribner, 2003. 5.)

²⁷ Hemingway, Ernest and Maxwell Perkins. *The Only Thing That Counts: The Ernest Hemingway and Maxwell Perkins Correspondence, 1925-1947*. Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1996. 257.

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- ²⁸ Hemingway, *The Only Thing That Counts*, 257-60.
- ²⁹ Hemingway, *The Only Thing That Counts*, 263. The “them” that Hemingway refers to are his first 48—or 49 if he gets approval for the unabridged “Up in Michigan”—short stories.
- ³⁰ Hemingway, *The Only Thing That Counts*, 267.
- ³¹ Hemingway, *The Only Thing That Counts*, 234.
- ³² Young, Philip. “‘Big World Out There’: The Nick Adams Stories.” *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*. 6.1 (Autumn 1972) 5-19. 5.
- ³³ Young, “‘Big World Out There,’” 5.
- ³⁴ Young, Philip. “Preface.” Ernest Hemingway. *The Nick Adams Stories*. 5.
- ³⁵ Young, “‘Preface,’” 6.
- ³⁶ Young, “‘Big World Out There,’” 6.
- ³⁷ Young, “‘Preface,’” 7.
- ³⁸ Hemingway, “‘The Only Thing That Matters,’” 263.
- ³⁹ Cohen, Milton A. *Hemingway’s Laboratory: The Paris* in our time. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2005. 40.
- ⁴⁰ Baker, 125. See also: Reynolds, Michael. *Hemingway, The Paris Years*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1989. xii.
- ⁴¹ Baker, 133.
- ⁴² Reynolds, xii, 188.
- ⁴³ Baker, 133.
- ⁴⁴ Reynolds, 230-31.
- ⁴⁵ Reynolds, xii-xiii, 188.
- ⁴⁶ Reynolds, xii-xiii, 202.
- ⁴⁷ Baker, Carlos Ed. *Ernest Hemingway Selected Letters 1917-1961*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1981. “To Robert McAlmon, Paris, c. 15 November 1924.” 133.
- ⁴⁸ Young, “‘Big World Out There,’” 15.
- ⁴⁹ Reynolds, 230-31.
- ⁵⁰ Baker, *Selected Letters*, “To Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, Paris, 15 August 1924,” 122.
- ⁵¹ Baker, 141.
- ⁵² Baker, 147.
- ⁵³ Reynolds, xv, 332.
- ⁵⁴ Baker, 169.
- ⁵⁵ Reynolds, 332.
- ⁵⁶ Baker, 169.
- ⁵⁷ Baker, *Selected Letters*, “To Maxwell Perkins, Juan-les-Pins, France, 5 June 1926,” 209.
- ⁵⁸ Baker, 175-77.
- ⁵⁹ Baker, 184.
- ⁶⁰ Baker, 228.
- ⁶¹ Hemingway, *The Only Thing that Counts*, 176-77.
- ⁶² Baker, 235.
- ⁶³ Young, “‘Big World Out There,’” 6, 10.
- ⁶⁴ Baker, *Selected Letters*, “To Charles A. Fenton, La Finca Vigia, 9 October 1952,” 786.