

Idealized Masculinity:

Father-Son Relationships, Male Initiation, and Solitude in Hemingway's Short Fiction

by

Richard Claude Thorsby

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Abstract

By analyzing a wide range of Hemingway's short stories written throughout his career I will delineate a recurring formula for establishing the relative success or failure of Hemingway's masculine characters. This formula itself implies that Hemingway is creating an idealized masculinity by which to judge his characters, and that he requires specific criteria to be met before a character can be considered successful. Additionally, the basic structure of this formula does not change over time, even though its thematic components often show autobiographical influences. The unchanging nature of Hemingway's ideals for masculine characters suggests a long-lasting uniformity of thought, if not a direct intentionality, when creating his plots and characters. And the prevalence of these ideals in so many of his texts suggests that Hemingway either had an intense interest in exploring concepts of masculinity, or that he had a specific purpose for constructing such a strict formula for masculine success. Taken altogether, it becomes apparent that issues of idealized masculinity are elemental for interpreting a large percentage of Hemingway's work, and that with careful analysis these depictions might lead to new perspectives for understanding both Hemingway and his literature.

The four primary sections of my thesis will be divided up chronologically and thematically. In the first chapter I will look at Hemingway's three *Tabula* High School stories, in order to better understand his roots as a writer and his earliest expressions of adolescent masculinity. In the second, third and fourth chapters I will analyze three separate themes (father-son relationships, masculine initiation, and solitude respectively) by surveying a representative sample of the Nick Adams stories (which serve as a backbone for Hemingway's autobiographical self-reflection on his early adulthood and his relationship with his father) and comparing these with non-Nick Adams stories. This juxtaposition is very important in terms of autobiographical reading, and by using stories from both the Nick Adams cycle and the rest of Hemingway's canon I further develop my argument and increase the comprehensiveness of my research. And in my conclusion I map the formula for Hemingway's idealized masculinity onto "The Last Good Country," which is an unfinished Nick Adams manuscript that Hemingway most likely intended to be his 'Michigan novel' before scrapping the project. This section will round out my argument and help show Hemingway's conceptualizations of father-son relationships, the process of boy-to-man transformation, and the importance of reflective solitude.

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A Note About Text and Date References

All page references for the *Tabula* stories are from:

Montgomery, Constance Cappel. *Hemingway in Michigan*. New York: Fleet Publishing Corporation, 1966.

All page references for Nick Adams stories are from:

Hemingway, Ernest. *The Nick Adams Stories*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.

All page references for non-Nick Adams and non-*Tabula* stories are from:

Hemingway, Ernest. *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigia Edition*. New York: Scribner, 1987.

Unless otherwise noted all dates are taken from or confirmed by:

Reynolds, Michael. *Hemingway: An Annotated Chronology*. Detroit: Omnigraphics Inc., 1991.

Introduction

The past fifteen-twenty years have seen a noticeable decline in scholarly criticism of Ernest Hemingway's literature. This multi-decade gap suggests that Hemingway has largely been passed over in favor of more topically popular authors, which leaves a significant amount of space for additional analysis. In the past Hemingway has been called misogynistic, unemotional, obscure, and perhaps most painfully, a 'dumb ox' as a writer. While I do not intend to directly answer any of these claims, I do hope that my thesis will provide a more positive, comprehensive method for understanding Hemingway's writing. By framing various close readings of Hemingway's short stories within a biographical setting I plan to show both that Hemingway was an intensely reflective writer trying to understand his personal identity formation and his place in the world, and that he intentionally constructed an idealized masculinity in his fiction. These representations are primarily displayed in his stories treating father-son relationships and the years of masculine identity development, as these concepts are crucial to understanding one's own entrance into the world of adulthood. Additionally, by arguing that Hemingway is not merely writing about these issues, but is actually reflecting upon his own life, I intend to show that Hemingway's literature is not so easily dismissed, and that there is much about his stylistic and personal development that is still very misunderstood.

Hemingway himself admitted several times to writing from life experiences and keeping his subjects obscure. Perhaps two of the best examples of his experience-based writing methods are shown in a 1928 letter to Maxwell Perkins: "...whatever success I have had has been through writing what I know about" (Baker, 273), and in a 1949 letter to Charles Scribner "A writer, of course, has to make up stories for them to be rounded and not flat like photographs. But he makes them up out of what he knows" (Baker, 678). This storytelling technique can often be

hard to uncover though, as Hemingway's artistic style emphasizes hiding most of a story's detail within subtext and implication. As he describes his 'Iceberg Theory' in *Death in the Afternoon*:

If a writer of a prose knows enough about what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader...will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of the iceberg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water. The writer who omits things because he does not know them only makes hollow places in his writing.

(Hemingway 1932, 192)

This makes interpreting Hemingway's writing both more interesting and more difficult, since one must rely on inference and personal emotive response in order to understand the complete concepts being suggested, which means that there are usually countless valid readings of any individual story. One could also argue that the 'Iceberg Theory' has applications not just for the aesthetic qualities of Hemingway's works, but for the autobiographical influences therein.

Hemingway was indeed incredibly cautious about constructing his fiction; in a 1953 letter to Alfred Rice about either "The Last Good Country" or "Summer People," he writes "Most of the people in this story are alive and I was writing it very carefully to not have anybody identifiable" (Baker, 820). Hemingway eventually gave up on the piece after biographer Charles Fenton was able to quickly discern specific events and people within it, but the use of living people in the unfinished story exemplifies Hemingway's preference for creating fiction from reality, and his desire to intentionally obscure and suppress any of these real-life connections shows how difficult it can be to reveal the underlying 'iceberg.'

Even though this highly suggestive and subjective style would seem to open up nearly infinite possibilities for criticism of Hemingway's short fiction, at this point the majority of books in the field are either focused on a single chronological or geographical space, or a single

story arc. There have been several books about the Nick Adams stories, but these generally do not cover very much of Hemingway's other short fiction. They also almost always focus on autobiographical *events* recapitulated in the stories and rarely consider Hemingway's personal/emotional development as reflected in his writing. Other books that are contained in a single time-period or physical space (e.g.: *Hemingway in Michigan* by Montgomery) ignore a fairly large percentage of his work, even if there is overlap between Nick Adams and non-Nick Adams stories. These books generally also emphasize events over psychological impact (which means that, beyond the most basic level of interpretation, reality and fiction can only be linked as coincidences without showing causality or dependence), or at the very most consider his opinions of a place or personal development over a short period of time. The only books that do cover a wide range of Hemingway's short fiction throughout his career are anthologies, and so lack a connecting theme or developed argument. Because there is a relative dearth in biographical or emotional approaches to looking at a career-spanning, thematically-linked selection of short-stories, I feel my thesis can help fill a noticeable gap in Hemingway scholarship, and hopefully encourage people to view Hemingway less as 'a dumb ox' and more as a three-dimensional, self-reflective writer who took his craft very seriously.

However, because my thesis only references Hemingway's short fiction, there is an incredibly vast amount of material which I am not looking at. This means that my research, although more comprehensive than several other approaches to his short fiction, provides just one angle of insight into textual readings of Hemingway's intellectual and emotional development throughout his literary career. Yet my project can help reinvigorate scholarly interest in Hemingway's personal growth as reflected in his work, and produce a new way of analyzing Hemingway's literature that is more encompassing and detailed. Most Hemingway proponents focus either solely on his stylistic development or his fictionalizing of real-life

events, and most Hemingway critics either dismiss his writing as being unemotional or attack his portrayal of men vs. women; but I intend to show that Hemingway's personal maturation (especially in the 1920's) is closely reflected in his fiction which provides an astounding perspective into how his adolescence and relationship with his father shaped his writing. And in bridging the space between the current criticism of style and biography, as is my intention, I hope to establish new ground for future research into Hemingway's corpus of literature.

The four primary sections of my thesis will be divided up chronologically and thematically. In the first chapter I will look at Hemingway's three *Tabula* High School stories, in order to better understand his roots as a writer and his earliest expressions of adolescent masculinity. In the second, third and fourth chapters I will analyze three separate themes (father-son relationships, masculine initiation, and solitude respectively) by surveying a representative sample of the Nick Adams stories (which serve as a backbone for Hemingway's autobiographical self-reflection on his early adulthood and his relationship with his father) and comparing these with non-Nick Adams stories. This juxtaposition is very important in terms of autobiographical reading (allowing that Nick Adams is Hemingway's fictionalized version of himself, whereas the origins of other characters is less certain), and by using stories both from the Nick Adams collection and from the rest of Hemingway's canon I further develop my argument and increase the comprehensiveness of my research. And in the conclusion I map the formula for Hemingway's idealized masculinity onto "The Last Good Country," which is an unfinished Nick Adams manuscript that Hemingway most likely intended to be his 'Michigan novel' before scrapping the project. This section will round out my argument and help show Hemingway's conceptualizations of father-son relationships, the process of boy-to-man transformation, and the importance of reflective solitude.

I have chosen to cover Hemingway's high school stories because they were written when he

was still a teenager, and hence just on the cusp of leaving home and starting his own life. They also provide a good starting point as they literally are the earliest complete stories Hemingway wrote (at least that are extant). The Nick Adams stories have been included because they are some of Hemingway's most autobiographical fiction, and they were written precisely during the period of Hemingway's life when he was forming his own masculine identity. These stories also provide an interesting comparison to one of Hemingway's later pieces, the unfinished "The Last Good Country," which should easily show his development as a writer and his later self-reflection on his youth since the main character remains the same. My reason for using a few intermediary, non-Nick Adams stories is to show that Hemingway's literary reflections on his early years and the role his father played were not constrained to a single story-arc, but are brought to bear in many, if not most, of his works. In addition to these texts I will also analyze some of Hemingway's personal letters in Appendix I, which serve as an anchoring point to the real world. The rationale I offer for choosing such a wide-range of stories, both thematically and chronologically, is to create an idea of how Hemingway's experiences and aging are reflected in his writing.

Ernest Hemingway was born to Dr. Clarence Hemingway and Grace Hall Hemingway on July 21, 1899 in Oak Park, Illinois. For the entirety of his childhood, the Hemingways would spend the school year in Oak Park and the summer at Walloon Lake, near Petoskey, Michigan, where they owned a summer house. After graduating from high school in 1917 Hemingway worked as a reporter for *The Kansas City Star*, but he left after six months to volunteer as a Red Cross ambulance driver in Italy (Meyers, 47). During particularly heavy mortar fire he was severely wounded by shrapnel, and he spent several months recuperating in the hospital before returning home (Montgomery, 109-115). In the subsequent summer he and his parents had a falling out, which prompted Hemingway to set out on his own as a journalist for the *Toronto Star*

(Reynolds 1986, 133). He eventually married Hadley Richardson, and the two moved to Europe where Hemingway served as a foreign correspondent and became part of the literary ex-patriate community. Their son John was born October 10, 1923, but four years later Hemingway divorced Hadley in January 1927 (Meyers, 172). He would go on to marry three more times over the next twenty years, and had two other children (Patrick and Gregory) with his second wife, Pauline Pfeiffer. On December 6th, 1928, Hemingway's father committed suicide after struggling with depression, poor health, and financial trouble (Meyers, 208). Throughout the rest of his life Hemingway divided most of his time between his residences in Key West, Cuba, and Idaho, and taking frequent trips to Europe and Africa. The 1940's and 50's proved to be quite difficult: in the late 1940's Ernest and Mary Welsh Hemingway had several accidents and injuries; his sons Patrick and Gregory were in a serious car accident in 1947; many of his close friends and mentors died in this decade (Yeats, Ford Maddox Ford, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Sherwood Anderson, James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, and Max Perkins); and during two African trips in the early 1950's Hemingway received a number of painful and debilitating injuries (Mellow, 548-500; Meyers 1985, 420-421, 505-507). He was also awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1952 and the Nobel Prize in 1954, but less than ten years later he too committed suicide after a period of mental and physical decline. Though most, if not all, of these events influenced Hemingway's writings, in the course of my thesis I will focus with much greater detail on a series of distinct yet interconnected situations that had the most profound impact on Hemingway's ideas about masculinity.

Many of Hemingway's stories written in the 1920's and early 30's revolve around the relationship between a father and son, and the subtle tensions and affections which it creates. Almost all of the Nick Adams stories taking place during Nick's childhood involve his father, and several of the stories taking place when he is an adult involve his son, which provides interesting

insight into the character's development as his role and perceptions change over time. Two other stories written during this period also involve vastly different father-son relationships: "Soldier's Home" and "My Old Man." Although the characters in both stories are roughly the same age, one only deals indirectly with a father he seems to despise, while the other is very close to a father for whom he seems to have great affection. Nick himself seems to veer between these two extremes, just as in real-life Hemingway shifted between writing letters directly to his father and writing letters to him through his mother. Hopefully by looking at these discrepancies and developments one can track Hemingway's reflections on fatherhood and his feelings towards his own father. It is my contention that by fictionalizing his perceptions of his father and their relationship Hemingway strove to understand the complex spaces between affection and disdain which they so frequently occupied, thus sublimating this ambivalence to achieve a sense of catharsis.

Also within the framework of Hemingway's short stories, male characters are generally faced with a challenge imposed either by nature (environmental), himself (mental), or another character (oppositional). While overcoming a mental restraint is sometimes necessary for a Hemingway character to become an author (e.g., "The Sea Change" as interpreted by Robert E. Fleming), and conquering nature enables a male character to become self-sufficient and self-realized (e.g., "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber"), in order to break through the 'boyhood/manhood barrier' a character must face an obstacle presented by another male character. Although female characters also confront men, it does not seem to be an essential step for entering manhood, but rather serves to show the disparities between genders and their perceptions of the world after the initiation period (e.g. "Hills Like White Elephants," "Up in Michigan," "Cat in the Rain"). In most of his stories involving direct, male conflict, Hemingway presents a younger, naïve adolescent being challenged by older adolescents or full grown men

(including some who appear to have failed their own initiation). All three of Hemingway's high school stories centered on men fighting, the Nick Adams stories feature a progression of male-imposed challenges, and most of his later works (including the unfinished "The Last Good Country") also consider the topic of male confrontations. Because of its prevalence in his fiction, this thematic plot device is an excellent indicator of Hemingway's feelings about male identity formation, and by assessing shifts in the way 'successful' characters deal with this issue we can understand some of the subtle changes in Hemingway's ideals as he grows older and matures as an author.

Lastly, the concept of solitude also appears throughout Hemingway's short fiction. For a male character to finally self-actualize as a successful, masculine adult, he must spend a period of time alone with his thoughts. Often characters are repeatedly isolated in order to heal mentally and physically ("Big Two-Hearted River"), or simply to gain greater perspective (perhaps most famously in *The Old Man and the Sea*). Being alone gives a character the opportunity to reflect on his decisions and subsequent actions, to focus on the most important elements of his life, and to purge any disorienting remnants from past conflict. Because his characters come out of their solitude with a better sense of self and a heightened ability to perceive the world, it seems natural that Hemingway uses this device to solidify a character's masculinity. Hence solitude generally serves as a transition stage between developing and fully realized masculinity.

The concept of a successful masculinity was embellished and added to throughout Hemingway's career, yet the basic foundations remained the same. In the majority of his individual short stories only one or two masculine qualifiers are given much detail, but by comparing these brief flashes with the more fully developed masculinity contained within the Nick Adams story arc one can see that Hemingway maintained a consistent vision of idealized

masculinity in all but a handful of his short works. The three specific issues which I examine are just a few of the characteristics of Hemingway's constructed formula, but they are also the most essential for understanding the relationship between Hemingway's life and writings, and how his own experiences shaped his depiction of idealized masculinity.

Chapter I

Preliminary Masculinity: The *Tabula* Stories

During his junior and senior years at Oak Park High School, Hemingway wrote three short stories which were published in the school's literary magazine, the *Tabula*. Although Hemingway actively sought to keep these stories from being released publicly during his lifetime, just five years after his death Constance Cappel Montgomery published them anyway. In a short essay on the *Tabula* stories David Marut tries to justify their analysis, asserting that “they provide a starting point for assessing Hemingway's literary craft” (Marut, 82). While the stories are certainly examples of juvenilia, they indeed display many of the same themes contained in more mature Hemingway fiction. Thematically, all three stories feature a physical confrontation between two men, but while “A Matter of Colour” is a farcical description of a boxing set-up gone awry, both “Judgment of Manitou” and “Sepi Jingan” are serious studies of vengeance and extra-legal justice.

In “Judgment of Manitou,” two trappers are alone in the extreme Canadian north. One of them, Pierre, believes that the other, Dick Haywood, has stolen his wallet, and so he sets a snare along their trapping lines. While Dick is hanging from the snare and being circled by timber wolves, Pierre discovers that his wallet had actually been taken by a red squirrel and that his anger was misplaced. Pierre arrives at the scene much too late and discovers a “shapeless something that had once been Dick Haywood.” As he walks forward to recover the body, Pierre steps in one of the bear traps Dick had been checking, and instead of waiting for the wolves to come back he takes his own life using his rifle (44-45).

This story, though simplistic due to the youth of its author, has one of the key elements of Hemingway's overarching ideas about masculine identity development: male confrontation.

Both characters are already adults, so they should know the proper ways in which men interact with one another. But instead of directly confronting each other and addressing the problem at hand (as Dick says, “If he thinks I stole his money why don't he say so and have it out with me!”(44)), the two men ignore the conflict and hardly acknowledge the other's existence. While Dick is partially to blame because he never actually questions Pierre about his changed attitude, the main fault in the story lies squarely with Pierre for refusing to face the problem straightforwardly. His inability to act as a successful male character causes two deaths by the end of the story. If either one of the men had simply spoken about the situation, they both could have discovered that their confrontation was falsely founded.¹ And because failure to address confrontation rarely, if ever, leads to masculine development in Hemingway's stories both characters are doomed from the start.

Like most characters caught in a false conflict Pierre dies at the end of the story, in this case by accepting the “judgement of Manitou” and committing suicide. In his biography of Hemingway, Michael Reynolds claims that the inspiration for Pierre's suicide may have come from Kipling's suggestion to a wounded British soldier in Afghanistan: “roll to your rifle and blow out your brains” (Reynolds, 73). With this allusion in mind it is easy to see where some of the thematic devices in Hemingway's fiction were founded, especially his idealizations of masculine development, war, and suicide. As Reynolds puts it, “Hemingway's story righted a moral wrong by a somewhat poetic but effective justice outside the law, where, given the proper circumstances, suicide was justified” (Reynolds, 73). By having Pierre accept death Hemingway shows that the character has been punished for his failed masculinity and hence is taken completely out of existence.

¹ The issue of false male confrontation occurs often in Hemingway's fiction, most notably in “The Capital of the World;” see Chapter III.

While “Judgment of Manitou” deals with failed masculinity, “Sepi Jingan” gives an example of successful male initiation. In the story, Billy Tabeshaw (a fictionalized version of a real northern Michigan Indian with whom Hemingway was friends) explains to a nameless narrator why he puts up with his dog, Sepi Jingan, who is constantly stealing meat from stores and costing him excess money. Billy's cousin, a game warden, had been killed by another Indian, Paul Black Bird. After tracking him throughout Canada and northern Michigan for almost a year, Billy finally catches up with Paul (generally near the Hemingway's summer house). But Paul knocks Billy over, and just as he is about to kill him using the same type of pike-pole he had used to kill Billy's cousin, Sepi Jingan attacks Paul and bites through his throat. Billy then places Paul's corpse on the railroad tracks to make it look like an accident (50-52).

Unlike Pierre and Dick's conflict in “Judgment of Manitou,” Billy's confrontation with Paul is sincere and therefore justifiable. Billy is dedicated to avenging his cousin's death, with or without the help of the law. He openly tracks Paul (suggested by Paul's awareness of being followed) yet is ambushed when he finally catches him. This difference in their methods is enough to give away the ending: direct, justified confrontation begets successful masculine initiation; and secretive, false confrontation begets failure (generally through death). Indeed, Paul is killed by Sepi Jingan, Billy's cousin is avenged, and Billy goes on not only to be an example of successful masculinity and male development, but to become a recurring character in the Nick Adams stories.

It is also important to note that there is a difference between Pierre and Billy's approaches to death: Pierre accepts his death but Billy refuses to give up hope. As he is lying on his back, Billy claims that “All the time I kept wondering where Sepi was. Finally I saw him.” He then watches as “Sepi crawled closer and closer...watched him out of the tail of [his] eye” (52). Billy never forgets to acknowledge how much he owes Sepi, and as he puts it, “That's why you and me

are sittin' here, lookin' at the moon, and my debts are paid and I let Sepi steal sausages at Hauley's store" (52). His unwillingness to die is the final piece to creating his masculine identity, and by the end of the three page story Billy has become a fully realized adult male.

Considered altogether, because Billy is the recipient of the confrontation, has gone through the proper procedures for addressing male conflict, and refuses to accept an unjustified death, Hemingway allows him to survive and take part in his stories again and again. Hemingway uses these same qualifying principles to determine whether any given male character is a successful representation of masculinity, and if even one of these guidelines is not met, the character will either die or simply fade into the background of the story. As his first example of idealized masculinity, and his earliest clear example of using reality as the inspiration for fiction, it seems that Billy is as much a part of Hemingway's pattern for male development as Nick Adams.

* * *

Over time, as Hemingway aged, left home, went to war, was married, and became a father, his ideals about masculinity expanded and grew around this original seed. By the time of Hemingway's death the requirements and histories for male characters had become much more complex. Eventually, in order to achieve successful masculinity a character would need at least a latent father-son relationship hidden in his personal history, he would need to surmount a male-initiated challenge, and he would need to spend a certain amount of time in detached self-reflection or physical solitude (usually for the purpose of healing mentally and emotionally). These are certainly not the only requirements for becoming a *complete* masculine character (one might include marriage, having a progeny, participating in war, etc.), but they are the basic tenets for becoming a *successful* masculine character.

Chapter II

Father-Son Relationships

Ernest Hemingway's tumultuous relationship with his father created anxiety in his personal life but provided rich material and emotionality for his stories. In his various fictional representations of Clarence Hemingway and father-son relationships, Hemingway attempted to work through and understand the dense and complicated territory of fatherhood while trying to achieve a personal catharsis. As Nick Adams mentions in "Fathers and Sons," he could get "rid of many things by writing them" (259) - which is precisely what Hemingway does. As Nancy R. Comley points out in her criticism of Philip Young's concept of the "code hero," "[Hemingway's male characters] operate under a code established by a patriarchal culture, which the author, who has been shaped by it himself, examines in his fiction" (Comley, 207). While I agree with the reading of patriarchal influence on masculine development, there is one problem with this treatment. Namely, the idea of a systematized *code* defining all male characters' actions seems too rigid, but there is certainly a looser structural *formula* that provides male characters with masculine opportunities.

In one of his earliest stories dealing with a father and son, "My Old Man," Hemingway examines a son's changing perceptions as he reflects upon the last weeks of his father's life. The son, Joe, travels with his 'old man,' a jockey, to various racetracks in Europe and eventually settles with him in Paris, the center of Europe's horse racing industry. Narrating in first person, Joe reminisces affectionately about his father's personality and abilities, but he also hints at somewhat repressed doubts concerning his father's moral character. These turns between appreciation and uncertainty correspond to actual traits displayed by the father, who can be incredibly personable while still having a seedy quality about him, and moreover directly reflect

Hemingway's own experiences and feelings.

Begun and completed between July and September of 1922, "My Old Man" was composed during a period of strained relations between Ernest and Clarence Hemingway. After their falling out in the summer of 1920 Hemingway avoided most direct interaction with his father, choosing instead to obtain his own work and lodgings in Chicago proper, and finally to become a foreign correspondent stationed in Europe. Yet while Hemingway was still upset with his father he maintained relatively regular correspondence and tried to repair some of the damage that had been done. So even though the fictional father and relationship retain very few manifest qualities from reality, one can make a fairly strong connection between the sons' varying and multi-layered reactions to their fathers' perceived faults and liabilities.

"My Old Man" begins with Joe and his father training together, and Joe remembers, "watching him working out in the hot sun I sure felt fond of him" (152). He claims that wagon drivers would stop in awe of his father's jump-roping ability and that "Everybody liked him" (154). After peripherally witnessing an argument between his father and two other men, Joe is in shock that "anybody could call my old man a son of a bitch" (153). But this unrelentingly positive view is soon undermined by his acute observations. Discovering that his father had made thousands of francs betting on a fixed race "sure took the kick all out of it for me and I didn't get the real kick back again ever" (157). But when Joe's father uses the money to buy his own racehorse, he "was proud of everything" (159), and Joe again idolizes his father. This relation soon gives way to tragedy however, as Joe's father is crushed to death during his second race. In one last tribute to his father's quality of character, several of his fellow jockeys and friends help take care of the necessary arrangements, and one in particular "wiped off [Joe's] face with his handkerchief" (160). Yet in the final scene of the story two strangers discuss the father's death:

“Well, Butler got his, all right”

“I don't give a good goddam if he did, the crook. He had it coming to him on the stuff he's pulled.” (160)

Joe is constantly exposed to both sides of his father's personality and is forced to deal with flaws that he never wanted to see, causing him to realize that “[he] can be dishonest in his honesty and [his] father honest about dishonestly” (Krause, 253). But, in being forced to admit his father's weaknesses, he is better able to see other people for what they are: “And that was funny, thinking of George Gardner as a son of a bitch because I'd always liked him and besides he'd given us the winner, but I guess that's what he is all right” (157). Hemingway too had this ability because of his interactions with his own father, whom he idolized and despised intermittently. Neither he nor his idealized male characters had any illusions about people representing unrelenting forces of good or evil, but instead they realize that all humans are complex and multifaceted.

In the spring of 1924 Hemingway wrote three of his best known stories dealing with fathers and sons: “Indian Camp” (begun Feb. 20), “The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife” (written between Mar. 25 and April 7), and “Soldier's Home” (completed April 25). The first two are the earliest of the Nick Adams stories (within the chronology of Nick's life), and the third was published alongside them in *In Our Time* (Oct. 5, 1925). “Indian Camp” exposes young Nick Adams to the successes and shortcomings of fathers, and “The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife” continues this lesson. Firstly, one must note that Nick's father, “the doctor,” is unnamed in the Nick Adams stories, which implies that he represents fatherhood on a widespread, nameless scale. This assumption in turn necessitates the understanding that if most fathers (at least within the world of Hemingway's short fiction) are similar, if not interchangeable, then within a father-son relationship the primary variation determining the success of a sons' masculinity is in fact his reaction to his father. Secondly, one must always remember that the Nick Adams stories are

intensely autobiographical, and that Hemingway's own father was also a north-Michigan doctor during the summer season.

With this in mind, one could interpret the reactions Nick has as reflective of Hemingway's own choices (either in reality, or in desire) and as indicative of Nick's later successes. Therefore, as Nick is a successful masculine character, if not the ideal, his actions in these stories help establish the standards for all male character's successes or failures. So in "Indian Camp," Nick's response to an Indian's suicide precipitated by his father's performance of a Caesarian section is directly contrasted with his Uncle George's response. And in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," when his father allows Nick to accompany him into the woods (instead of sending him to see his mother, as she had requested) after getting into a dispute with an Indian laborer he had hired, it reflects an appreciation for Nick's companionship and his ability to distract one from dwelling on negativity.

Ultimately, these two stories introduce a lesson to be extrapolated in Chapter III: if a character can meet a challenge directly, after conscientiously assessing it, without blinking or showing undue fear, then Hemingway will ensure that they 'never die.' At the end of "Indian Camp," Uncle George has disappeared into the night, presumably upset about the Indian's suicide and needing time alone.¹ But Nick is full of questions and philosophic reflection: "Do ladies always have such a hard time having babies?"; "Do many men kill themselves, Daddy?"; "Do many women?"; "Is dying hard, Daddy?" (20-21). His father's concise, often masked answers are just enough to inspire Nick to form one bold thought: "In the early morning on the lake sitting in the stern of the boat with his father rowing, he felt quite sure that he would never die" (21). Although his conclusion is unrealistic in the most endearing, childlike way, this initial response to a horrific and traumatic experience shows maturity and an ability to handle intense

¹ For more on self-imposed solitude see Chapter IV

situations – skills Nick/Hemingway would need in World War I, and which prove necessary for all successful male characters – while suggesting the reward for successful masculinity.

Additionally, one could argue that Nick owes this conditioning in part to his father who, “despite his shattered psyche, is ministering to the wounded son with the small reassurances he could still find in his...broader experience” (Watson, 41).

It is also important to note that because Nick's first experience of trauma/conflict is caused by and resolved through his father, this story not only establishes Nick's reaction process but also gives thematic undertones to their entire relationship. Accordingly, in “The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife” Nick Adams' father is faced with a painful, nearly unavoidable confrontation, and after being forced to accept defeat in an argument with the Indian Dick Boulton he eventually finds comfort in the company of his son. There are two fundamental details in the story which should not be overlooked: firstly, the Doctor does not truly lose the fight, so much as realize that the conflict is un-winnable since he is physically disadvantaged and it had always been Dick Boulton's intention to shirk work through confrontation;² secondly, after his wife shows no sympathy or understanding of the situation, he has Nick to lead him to “where there's black squirrels” (26). By ignoring his wife's request to send Nick home, and by allowing Nick to take the role of leader on their walk, the Doctor is simultaneously emphasizing the importance of father-son bonding and setting the precedent for a typical reaction following false and difficult conflicts – passivity and solitude.³ Additionally, whether “Nick is aware of his father's confrontation or not, the young boy has clearly chosen his father's company over his mother's...when called upon to choose, he does so unhesitatingly” (Fulkerson, 153). The Doctor's apparent dependency upon Nick at the end of this story also represents a significant

² For more on false male conflict see Chapter III.

³ For more on the use of solitude see Chapter IV.

role-reversal however, and suggests that this might be an initial step in developing Nick's independence and individual masculinity. Paul Strong notes of both early Nick Adams pieces that "The stories counterpoint one another as well: both end with father and son...leaving shanty and cottage behind...to find solace on the lake, in the woods" (Strong, 34). This type of isolated relationship is repeated in almost all of Hemingway's stories about fatherhood, hence raising questions about dependency, communication, and affection.

Similar to "My Old Man," which was written in first person by an older character reflecting on his childhood, "Indian Camp" and "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" take place during Nick's childhood, and arguably could have been written in third person by an older, reflective Nick Adams. But "Soldier's Home" is written by an omniscient narrator about a young man's experiences with his family after World War I. So while the two Nick Adams stories closely represent Hemingway's own childhood and early relationship with his father, "Soldier's Home" is much closer temporally and thematically to Hemingway's own experiences during the summer of 1920.

Perhaps the most interesting difference between these three stories and "Soldier's Home" is that in the latter there is no direct interaction between Krebs and his father. The first mention of his father is a simple declaration: his mother "asked him to tell her about the war...His father was non-committal" (112). His father's absence highlights a growing chasm that his mother is trying to fix. Before the war Krebs had never been allowed to use the family car, but after a month at home his mother tells him "I had a talk with your father last night...and he is willing for you to take the car out in the evenings" (113). Krebs replies several times that "I'll bet you made him," which his mother repeatedly denies and then ignores. At breakfast his mother again brings up the subject: "He thinks you should be allowed to drive the car. If you want to take some of the nice girls out riding with you, we are only too pleased...He asked me to speak to you this

morning and then you can stop in and see him at his office” (115). This plea forces Krebs to finally dedicate himself to a tedious, “complicated” life, but it is not enough to convince him to “go down to his father's office. He would miss that one” (116).

Krebs' confrontation with his parents certainly mirrors aspects of Hemingway's own, but whether or not his reaction is comparable to Hemingway's is less clear yet more important. Once one determines whether Krebs responded similarly to Hemingway, then one can argue what Hemingway's intentions for the story were given Krebs' foreshadowed success as an archetypal male character: Hemingway is either implicitly criticizing his own reactions in the summer of 1920 while claiming that male characters can recover from failed father-son relationships; or he could also be differentiating his response from Krebs', thus setting himself up as the prototype for idealized masculinity.

The similarities between Hemingway and Krebs are shown in the autobiographical elements of the story. Much like Hemingway, Krebs “would go to Kansas city and get a job and [his mother] would feel all right about it. There would be one more scene maybe before he got away” (116); this response reflects Hemingway's own pre-war job at the *Kansas City Star*, and corresponds to a final argument Hemingway had with his mother after Clarence had already left their summer home in frustration (Reynolds 1991, 26). Accordingly, this father-through-mother relationship is a recreation of Hemingway's own experience: “With his oldest son beyond his control, he [Clarence] left his wife to deal with the problem” (Reynolds 1986, 133). But there are certain details separating Hemingway's and Krebs' responses, perhaps the most distinguishing of which is this passage:

“He had tried so to keep his life from being complicated...[but] He had felt sorry for his mother and she had made him lie.” (116)

Part of the cause of Hemingway's fight with his parents was his unwillingness to acquiesce to

their demands, and what finally forced his expulsion from their daily lives was his unrelenting refusal to change this stance, which leads to the conclusion that Krebs and Hemingway indeed had opposite responses to the same situation.

Determining Krebs' failure to achieve successful masculinity is less difficult though. Because Krebs admits (as explained by the third person narrator) that "He wanted his life to go smoothly. It had just gotten going that way. Well, that was all over now, anyway" (116), it can be deduced that Krebs' life becomes one of mendacity and frustration in which he has no real control. So one can both distinguish Krebs' response from Hemingway's and establish Krebs' failure to achieve an ideal masculinity, yet this distinction does not guarantee that Hemingway is setting himself up as a prototype for successful masculinity. Still, it seems more than likely that this opposition of responses promotes the action of claiming independence once a son no longer needs his father for support and defense.

In marked contrast to "Soldier's Home," "Ten Indians" (which features an older, nearly adult Nick) focuses on his father's attempt to console him after delivering a hard truth. Hemingway began working on this story in Sept. 1925, just six months after writing to his parents about their reactions to his earlier stories (specifically "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" and other Nick Adams stories – which his parents knew full well featured fictionalized versions of themselves). Although they seemed to like "the Doctor story" (Baker, 153), Hemingway was aware that they disliked many of his other pieces, and specifically his portrayal of them. Given this context, the role of Nick's father within the story becomes more interesting and pivotal: he is the deliverer of both pain and relief.

After an apparently relaxing and enjoyable Fourth of July, Nick returns home where his father is waiting for him. During a brief discussion, his father reveals that he had seen Nick's love interest, Prudie, "in the woods with Frank Washburn...having quite a time" (31). He refuses

to embellish and then lets Nick have some time alone, but after a short while offers him a second piece of pie (he had presumably given Nick pie to soften the blow of his revelation), which Nick refuses. Nick then goes to his room and lies awake for a long while before finally sleeping.

It seems particularly perverse that Nick's father waits to reveal his news until after letting Nick revel in how much fun he had had that evening, thus heightening the harshness of Prudie's betrayal. Yet this painful juxtaposition is countered by his proffering of pie and sparing of details, which complicates any reading of the work. As one critic succinctly summarizes, "Dr. Adams is clearly a complex character, neither saint nor sinner, but a father who, despite his limitations, cares for his son" (O'Neal, 117). Although Nick and his father appear exceptionally close in this story (they seem to be alone in the house; they are sitting together in the kitchen; they are telling each other about their day), an immediate tension is created once Prudie's disloyalty is mentioned. Neither character is certain of how they should interact in this situation, so they subsequently withdraw from one another in order to simplify and focus their reactions.

Their withdrawal and self-imposed isolation echoes both Uncle George's and Doctor Adams' responses in the earlier stories, reiterating the need for isolation in order to recover from shock and injury. So in the three Nick Adams stories Nick has learned from his father when to respond to confrontation and how to recuperate, forming the foundation for his approach to masculinity. Thus by the final scene of "Ten Indians" it seems apparent that "Nick is clearly leaving the world of childhood...and heading toward adulthood...he cannot return to the protections of his parents" (O'Neal, 120). Because their relationship created the basis for Nick's success, and in light of the non-Nick Adams stories (that Joe was taken care of even after his father's death, while Krebs' failed masculinity was caused by his non-existent relationship with his father), it seems clear that a male character needs to have direct communication with his father, regardless of functionality or affection. This requirement comes from the father's simultaneous role as both a model and

antagonist for his son's developing masculinity, which creates several effects: the son realizes that other characters, especially men, are complex or problematic; the son begins to move away from his father towards independence; and the son begins modeling his own actions after his father's example. These reactions result in the son's personal growth as a male character, and prepare him for taking on Hemingway's idealized masculinity.

Chapter III

Male Conflict and Masculine Initiation

Perhaps the most important process for a character to achieve successful masculinity is careful navigation in the world of male conflict. When an adolescent male character is challenged in one of Hemingway's stories, he must have the ability to determine whether the confrontation is worth accepting and how to respond accordingly. As seen in the *Tabula* stories, if a character takes part in a false conflict or acts incorrectly then he will be punished, usually by death. Alternately, if a character accepts a justified challenge and acts appropriately then he will be rewarded and continue towards an idealized masculinity. John Killinger makes a related point that “individuality...must be internally achieved by a decision...to accept the full responsibility of action proper to a primary agent” and “the opportunity for such a decision is presented as a moment of crisis...produced by confronting death or violence” (Blythe, 37). When this concept is supplemented with new terminology and applied solely to Hemingway's male characters it takes a the central place in the development of masculinity, overlapping or perhaps coinciding with scenes of challenge and initiation.

While Nick Adams rarely participates directly in male conflict (except in “The Last Good Country”), he frequently has to avoid false conflict and often observes how others respond to similar situations. First published with *In Our Time* in Oct. 1925, “The Battler” takes place during Nick Adams' late teens when he is traveling by train around the Midwest. After being discovered as a stowaway and literally thrown from a moving train, Nick comes across a retired boxer, Ad Francis, and his travel companion, Bugs. At first things go smoothly; Ad is very welcoming and Bugs makes friendly banter while cooking dinner. Although the disfigured boxer admits “I'm not quite right...I'm crazy” (50), Nick does not take him very seriously. Later

however, when Ad becomes infuriated and repeatedly threatens to beat Nick senseless, Nick remembers that “When you got it [fit of madness] you don't know about it” (50) and refuses to fight. After backpedaling and declaring “I don't want to hit you”, Nick is surprised when Ad's companion knocks the boxer out (54). During a brief conversation with Bugs, Nick learns that “a lot of things” made Ad crazy, and that he would not remember Nick at all upon waking (55). After finishing their dinner and conversation, Nick continues on his way before Ad comes to.

Even though it might appear that Nick has failed a potential masculine initiation by refusing to take part in the confrontation presented by Ad, he actually succeeds by recognizing that Ad is unaware of his actions and that fighting him would be pointless. Had Nick engaged in the conflict he either would have been beaten to a pulp by a former prizefighter, or he himself would have beaten up a confused old man; neither outcome merits taking action. To underscore the impossibility of Ad intentionally presenting a justifiable challenge, [looking at Ad's unconscious body] Nick thinks that “His mutilated face looked childish in repose” (56). The fact that Nick is able to recognize and avoid a false confrontation long enough for it to be removed shows that he is prepared to enter the world of successful masculinity. His good judgment in this circumstance leads to two important conclusions: “a man's problems are inflicted upon him from outside sources” and “manhood emerges as a stable and solid quality, capable of being encoded and employed in many different situations” (Strychacz, 63). In each case of masculine initiation the challenge is *presented* by another male character, and a successful initiate will be able to *recognize* and *respond* appropriately to any type of challenge.

Published two years later in March 1927, “The Killers” (which immediately follows “The Battler” according to Philip Young's chronology of Nick Adams stories) presents Nick with an opportunity to observe how another character responds to male conflict. While eating at a small diner Nick, a cook, and the owner are held at gunpoint by two hitmen waiting for a boxer to

arrive. After the boxer, Ole Andreson, fails to show up the hitmen leave without causing any further trouble, and Nick decides if he should warn Ole during a discussion with the cook and owner:

“You better go see Ole Andreson.’

‘All right.’

‘You better not have anything to do with it at all,’ Sam, the cook, said. ‘You better stay way out of it.’

‘Don’t go if you don’t want to,’ George said.

‘Mixing up in this ain’t going to get you anywhere,’ the cook said. ‘You stay out of it.’

‘I’ll go see him,’ Nick said...” (66).

Although the cook tries to dissuade him Nick still decides to go, regardless of whether he will profit from the risk. This decision actually proves beneficial in the long run, as Nick gains more resolve after seeing Ole Andreson's reaction.

When Nick arrives at Andreson's boarding house he learns that the boxer has been lying in bed all day even though he is not ill. During their conversation Andreson is fatalistic about his prospects (“‘There isn't anything I can do about it,’ Ole Andreson said” (67)), declines hearing any additional information (“‘I’ll tell you what they were like.’ / ‘I don’t want to know what they were like.’” (67)), and expresses exhaustion at the thought of leaving town (“‘I’m through with all the running around” (67)). Andreson simply accepts that he is going to be killed and refuses to take any preventative measures. This response does not sit well with Nick, as is made clear when he reports back to the diner's owner:

“‘What’s he going to do?’

‘Nothing.’

'They'll kill him.'

'I guess they will...I can't stand to think about him waiting in the room and knowing he's going to get it. It's too damned awful.'

'Well,' said George, 'you better not think about it.'" (69).

Nick's revulsion at Andreson's submission is markedly strong and thus suggests that Nick would have responded quite differently. Because Nick views this as a conflict which merits an actual response one can imagine that he might have attempted to leave town or outsmart the hitmen. Whether either approach would have worked is unknowable and irrelevant, but the fact remains that anything Nick could attempt would give him a better chance of survival than Andreson. By accepting his death Andreson knowingly receives the punishment Hemingway assigns to all failed masculine characters, and Nick's extreme disgust is evidence for why Nick displays such idealized masculinity. Much like Billy in "Sepi Jingan," in the face of nearly insurmountable difficulty Nick would be willing to attempt anything to guarantee his own survival, which is a sure sign of successful masculinity.

Outside of the Nick Adams cycle, "The Capital of the World," first published in *Esquire* in June 1936, is about a young Spanish boy (presumably in his mid-to-late teens) named Paco. As Hemingway points out in the first sentence of the story, Paco "is the diminutive of the name Francisco" (29). In addition to being called by a diminutive, Paco has no father, has done nothing which a father would need to forgive, and has acquired a job as a waiter through his older sisters.¹ He is, in every sense, still a child: called by a 'little' nickname, pure in action and ethic, and reliant on his family for advancement and experience.

While serving as a waiter at the hotel Luarca, he is often caught up in fantasies of being a bullfighter, as he is blissfully unaware of the miserable and unfulfilling lifestyles of the second-

¹ Recall the importance of father-son relationships discussed in Chapter II.

rate matadors who board there. He also tries to follow the political arguments between the two older waiters, but is unable to understand what is being discussed. Additionally, he fantasizes about his coworker as a representation of revolution, unaware that he is mostly full of hot air. In his child-like innocence, Paco “would like to be a good Catholic, a revolutionary, and have a steady job like this, while, at the same time, being a bullfighter” (32). These dreams are fitting for a young, boyish character, but are unsuitable for a fully initiated male character.

But unfortunately Paco soon faces his initiation: while pretending to bullfight using a napkin, he is challenged by the dishwasher (an older boy). The dishwasher, Enrique, claims that Paco would be afraid to actually bullfight, and then offers himself as a makeshift bull by tying two large knives to a chair and placing it on his head. Realizing that this is a stupid and dangerous game, Enrique gives Paco several chances to back out, but Paco refuses. During the first rush Paco performs admirably, but in the second charge his left foot is placed too far forward and young Paco is gored by a large kitchen knife. As Enrique runs to get help, Paco bleeds to death, alone on the dining room floor. When he died

He had no idea how they [the second-rate matadors] really lived nor how they ended. He did not even realize they ended. He died, as the Spanish phrase has it, full of illusions. He had not had time in his life to lose any of them, nor even, at the end, to complete an act of contrition. (38)

Paco, although he performed whole-heartedly in his own right, ultimately fails his initiation into masculinity. He was presented with a false, retracted challenge by another boy, and it becomes apparent that even if he had succeeded in performing as a mock matador, his newfound courage would have been misplaced and misguided. Paco was deceived by his own delusions and never even received the chance to leave boyhood. Had he succeeded he might have been given other opportunities to prove himself, or he could have lived a life of false grandeur like the

matadors at the Luarda; but because Paco poorly choose his initial challenge he dies in a state of infancy, curled up in a fetal position in a pool of blood. In the story Hemingway seems to suggest that a boy either passes his initiation and becomes a full-fledged representation of masculinity, avoids false initiations until presented with a justified conflict,² passes a false initiation and becomes a nebulous half-man symbol of failed masculinity, or he completely fails and never truly leaves the womb.

Because the narration of Paco's death is fairly different from Hemingway's usual style many critics have sought to undermine the story's transparency by looking for 'the thing left out' – an additional, unmentioned cause for Paco's demise, generally placing blame on Spanish/Madrid culture or the other hotel residents. In this particular instance this approach seems unhelpful and limiting, especially given the notion that “it has become a cliché that the thing left out is what characterizes a Hemingway short story, which may be true for most of his stories but not 'The Capital of the World'” (Oldsey, 243-244). So assuming that Paco's death should be taken at face value, Paco's failure was not due to a lack of courage or an unwillingness to meet another boy's challenge, but instead was due to excessive illusions and daydreaming. In Hemingway's stories, a boy must overcome his innocence through observation and common sense, and once he has acquired the ability to discern fact from fantasy then he can accept the 'male challenge' and prove himself. By attempting this transition much too early, and by failing to separate make-believe from reality, Paco comes up short against Hemingway's requirements, and remains a child eternally.

The dichotomy created by male-initiated confrontation is set between life and death. If a male character responds to masculine conflict inappropriately (like Paco, Ole Andreson, Paul in “Sepi Jingan,” and Dick Haywood and Pierre in “The Judgment of Manitou”) they will most

² For Nick Adams' justified conflict see Conclusion.

likely be killed, but if a male character responds appropriately (like Billy Tabeshaw) or can avoid false confrontation (like Nick Adams) they will survive and generally profit from the experience. This straightforward system of rewards and punishments is a consistent undercurrent in Hemingway's writing, causing one to conclude that it is an essential and recurring test of establishing and evaluating a character's masculinity. Although the use of death as an arbiter for success may seem blunt, it removes any doubt of what a male character must generally do to meet Hemingway's idealized standards, perhaps providing the strongest evidence that Hemingway is in fact constructing a formula for masculinity.

Chapter IV Solitude and Healing

The final step for a male Hemingway character to become a successful representation of masculinity requires a period of isolation and self-reflection. By separating himself from others the initiated male character can both gain new insight into the world and recenter or refocus himself. This period of solitude almost always occurs after a significant mental or physical injury to the character, and hence also serves as a purgative and cathartic healing process. Through this process of healing and reflection the character is able to emerge with a heightened sense of self, thus enabling him to better understand his place in the world and reinforce his own masculinity.

Because Nick Adams is the only short story character who recurs in a long-period story cycle, he is probably the best example of a male character who undergoes repeated periods of isolation (in both “The Last Good Country,” which will be discussed in my conclusion, and “Big Two-Hearted River”). Arguably the most famous of the Nick Adams stories, “Big Two-Hearted River” was first published in May 1925 and then republished in *In Our Time* later that same year. The story takes place after Nick returns from World War I, in which he (like Hemingway) had been wounded extensively in his legs. While riding a train through the southern half of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, Nick intentionally jumps off near a secluded river in order to camp and fish alone. Initially the land appears to be a wasteland because of a recent fire (“Even the surface had been burned off the ground” (177)), and he realizes that the nearby town of Seney has been destroyed and abandoned. But after hiking several miles in order to find a secluded and ideal camping spot, “His muscles ached and the day was hot, but Nick felt happy. He felt he had left everything behind, the need for thinking, the need to write, other needs. It was all back of

him” (179). And again after making camp “Nick was happy as he crawled inside the tent...He was settled. Nothing could touch him...He was there, in the good place” (183-184).

Represented by the burned-out, desolate land through which he had walked, Nick comes to the river with physical injuries and mental distress. Like Hemingway, Nick had faced a long period of hospitalization and physical rehabilitation following a shrapnel wound, and he retreats to the Michigan wilderness in order to forget his earlier trauma and to recuperate by himself. This process of rehabilitation after a period of sedentary existence (similar to, but ultimately different from Krebs' lethargy in “Soldier's Home”) is alluded to when Nick is concerned about a trout he had released: “The trout was steady in the moving stream, resting on the gravel, beside a stone...He's all right, Nick thought. He was only tired” (192). Nick projects his own feelings onto the trout in order to assure himself that he too can recover, that he is only tired; “Nick, too, can survive his devastation...he, too, can survive in a charred land” (Baker 1975, 151).

Nick also remembers periods of sadness outside of his war injuries. When making coffee Nick is reminded of an old friend who moved away and their failed plans to have a reunion: “They were all going fishing again next summer...They said good-by and all felt bad. It broke up the trip. They never saw Hopkins again. That was a long time ago on the Black River” (186). This nostalgia might be painful, but it is also cathartic. Nick is also able to laugh at other, more pleasant memories, and ultimately feels better for the reflection so that upon waking “Nick was excited. He was excited by the early morning and the river” (187). This sense of catharsis is continued throughout the day as he fishes along the river (“...slowly the feeling of disappointment left him...It was all right now” (194)), so that by the end of the day Nick feels hopeful and refreshed (“There were plenty of days coming when he could fish the swamp” (199)).

Although some critics have argued that “Nick...is a man rather than a boy, damaged, to be

sure, but still a 'man who knows his way around'" (Strychacz, 63), I believe that it is his experience in the woods which finally propels Nick into the world of adult masculinity. Making an important comment about the original context of the story within *In Out Time*, Sheridan Baker notes that a character in the vignette separating the two halves of "Big Two-Hearted River" says "*Be a man, my son'* – exactly what Nick is attempting to be on his lonely trip" (Baker 1975, 153). Through his self-imposed isolation Nick is able to remember and reconsider negative and positive aspects of his past, while apparently ignoring his war experiences. He is therefore able to concentrate on the peacefulness of the trip and return to a feeling of normalcy. Subsequently, this return allows him to participate successfully in the world when his trip is over, meaning that Nick's masculine characteristics have been reorganized and solidified. Following the rest of the short story arc, once his fishing trip is over Nick is able to reconnect with friends, end earlier relationships in order to begin new ones, get married, travel, and finally write about his experiences. Without the solitude afforded by the river Nick might have been stuck in a post-adolescent/pre-adult, damaged masculinity with no hope of fully reintegrating into society.

Another story which fictionalizes Hemingway's own experiences of injury and recovery is "The Gambler, the Nun and the Radio." Published in May 1933, the story is based on Hemingway's 1930 hospital stay after braking his arm in several places. Like Hemingway, the main character, Mr. Frazer, is also an author who is bedridden in a Catholic hospital for several weeks. Most of the story centers on Frazer's interactions with his nurse, three Mexicans visiting another patient, and his ritual of listening to various radio stations signing off throughout the night. Although this abundance of characters and distractions seems to undermine the theme of solitude, Frazer has intentionally isolated himself in a private room away from the other patients: "It is really best to be in bed if you are in a hospital; since two views, with time to observe them, from a room the temperature of which you control, are much better than any number of views"

seen from several rooms (358). Much like Nick, who needs unrestricted time to come to terms with himself, Frazer prefers to carefully contemplate two views rather than frantically observe a multitude of spaces. His inclination for simplicity and peace is a defining factor of male characters needing isolation, and shows that he is actively reconsidering the world and his perceptions of it.

In his solitude Frazer is able to wax philosophic, often creating mental diatribes about 'the opium of the masses' and the difference between education and knowledge (368). He also comes to the conclusion that "Just as, with the radio, there are certain things that you become fond of, and you welcome them and resent the new things" (359), hinting at the same type of reminiscence which Nick experiences in the woods and which eventually allows Nick to return to the normative masculine world. So, even though the audience is unable to see what happens to Mr. Frazer after leaving the hospital, we are able to observe his use of free time to reevaluate and rethink his moral and intellectual tenets. Even though some critics see Frazer's "thinking well, a little too well" as a sign that "he has been appalled...[has] thrown up his hands in frustration," I find his heightened clarity to be cathartic and beneficially formative in the long run since he completely restructures his thinking processes (368; Whittle, 286-287). Similar to Nick Adams' experience of solitude, Frazer seems to have a heightened sense of self and increased awareness of the world around him. Whether he comes out of the hospital as a more successful representative of masculinity is debatable, but it certainly seems likely in light of Nick Adams' story arc.

Hemingway's use of solitude as a thematic device for healing or mental cleansing is quite pervasive throughout his canon (e.g., "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," "Now I Lay Me," and "After the Storm," to name just a few), but it is best exemplified by the two stories covered in this

chapter.¹ They typify the elementary functions of solitude: reassessment, restructuring, reminiscence, and purging. Before isolating themselves male characters undergo an episode of violence or trauma (often an initiation conflict), and once isolated they gradually distill any counterproductive or damaging thoughts and memories, thus helping to reorganize their masculinities. A male character, especially one occurring as frequently as Nick Adams, can go through several formative periods of solitude, each time redeveloping and growing mentally and emotionally. Indeed, Nick experiences isolation in “The Last Good Country,” “Now I Lay Me,” and “Big Two-Hearted River,” and in each story he seems to grow both as a character and as an example of Hemingway's masculine ideal. Thus it seems that solitude not only marks a character's entrance into masculinity, but it can also serve to help them re-achieve/develop it after additional conflicts or trauma.

¹ The main character in “The Snows of Kilimanjaro” is bedridden after developing gangrene; Nick Adams in “Now I Lay Me” is hospitalized after being wounded in combat; and the narrator of “After the Storm” sails out to sea after a bar fight.

Conclusion

The Masculine Formula in “The Last Good Country”

“The Last Good Country” was first published with *The Nick Adams Stories* in 1972 – a full eleven years after Hemingway's death. In addition to being fairly rough because of its posthumous publication, the story was abandoned by Hemingway before completion, so all we have is a rough, unfinished piece which Hemingway likely intended to become a novel. The text ends abruptly and without any resolution after 62 pages, actually cutting off two characters mid-conversation. Thus any interpretation of the text is speculative at best, as there is no way of determining which elements of the story might have been changed or removed in subsequent editing, nor indeed what Hemingway intended for the story's ending. Nevertheless, as the last and longest Nick Adams piece Hemingway worked on before his death (roughly between 1952 and 1955) it remains an important text for any analysis of Nick's character, and also for any analysis of a career-spanning range of Hemingway's short fiction.¹

In broad summary, “The Last Good Country” is about Nick Adams trying to avoid being sent to reform school for shooting a deer out of season. When two state wildlife agents come looking for him, he and his sister, 'Littless,' flee into a remote section of North Michigan woods. They, along with several locals trying to protect Nick, are concerned about the possibility of violent conflict with either the local agent's son (referred to only as the 'Evans boy') or the visiting agent. While in the woods Nick is able to spend several reflective scenes alone, but the story ends before any direct confrontation or denouement occurs.

In terms of my thesis, all three features of the masculine formula I have discerned are contained in the story. Considering them in the order presented and in which they function, we

¹ Although likely meant to be a novel, most critics still consider “The Last Good Country” alongside Hemingway's short stories because of its extant length and its connection with the Nick Adams arc.

should begin by looking at issues of fatherhood. Because the text is part of the Nick Adams arc, one can operate on an assumption of Nick's preexisting relationship with his father.² And although his father is not present in the story, this context helps to amend the single time he is mentioned. After sending Littless to get supplies from their house, she reports back to Nick:

“Our mother's gone to bed with a sick headache. She wrote our father.”

“Did you see the letter?”

“No. It's in her room with the list of stuff to get from the store tomorrow...” (78)

The reference is brief, but the use of letters, and Nick's fascination with the correspondence to his father, are telling indicators of their relationship.³ His father may not be with him physically, but Nick still desires to have some form of communication, which marks his predisposition for achieving successful masculinity.

When looking for instances of male confrontation it becomes clear that none are actually present, but they are arguably inevitable given several existing passages. A local hotel and store owner, John Packard, realizing that the non-local wildlife agent (whom he calls 'Splayfoot' and 'Splayzey') most likely killed a boy around Nick's age several years ago, declares:

“Splayzey, you're not going to do any shooting at that boy.”

“I'm going to bring him in.”

“You always were a murderous bastard.” (104)

And he soon after tells another local “that man with Evans is no good. He's really bad” (105), all of which suggests that Nick and Splayzey will come into conflict before the story ends.

Additionally, many characters note that 'the Evans' boy has often tracked Nick in the past and that he enjoys getting Nick in trouble. It is also stated several times, once by Littless herself, that

² Because Nick Adams is in his late teens in this text it is generally assumed to occur after all the other Nick Adams stories I have discussed except for “Big Two-Hearted River.”

³ For the importance of letters see Appendix I.

the main reason she has accompanied Nick is to make sure he does not kill 'the Evans boy' (129). During a partridge hunt Littleless mentions that 'the Evans boy' might have found their camp, which causes Nick to worry:

“No,” she said. “Please, Nickie, I'm sorry I brought it up.”

“I'm not,” Nick said. “I'm grateful. I knew it anyway. Only I'd stopped thinking about it. I have to think about things now the rest of my life.”

“You always thought about things.”

“Not like this.” (128-129)

The realization that his thought processes must change in the face of male challenges signals Nick's readiness to receive masculine initiation. Hemingway prepares the audience for two potential male confrontations, either of which could serve the initiatory purpose. Considering Nick's two earlier false confrontations (covered in Chapter III) along with the nearly unavoidable confrontations about to occur in “The Last Good Country,” it seems very likely that this story would have contained the justified conflict Nick has been waiting for.

Lastly, even though a challenge has yet to arise that would necessitate a period of self-isolation, the theme of solitude is found throughout the story. These scenes function less like the true solitude discussed in Chapter IV, but rather as preparation for what is to come. In the opening lines of the text Nick is fishing by himself, and later while hiding he often leaves Littleless at the campsite or sits alone while she sleeps. Sitting up at night “he watched the small coals of the fire brighten with the light evening breeze and he tasted the whiskey and cold water and looked at the coals and thought” (118). He also fishes along a remote creek in a passage highly reminiscent of “Big Two-Hearted River,” suggesting a narrative or thematic connection between both stories. During these periods of solitude Nick usually reflects solely on his current predicament (rather than his on past or intellectual/emotional state) but each time he returns

renewed and clear-headed, thus helping him to come out of the situation successfully (as he must in order for the later Nick Adams stories to exist).

Even given the interpretive limitations of a text as incomplete as “The Last Good Country,” one is still able to discern the basic elements of Hemingway's formula for achieving idealized masculinity. Composed of a loose series of frequently recurring situations, this formula constantly prepares and tests male characters as they enter and interact with the masculine world, forcing them to embody similar masculinities in order to survive. And the frequent use of death or misery to separate failure from success is perhaps the strongest evidence that these specific masculine traits represent an ideal being vaulted in Hemingway's fiction. Additionally, linking this formula to Hemingway's life through the presentation of father-son relationships suggests that Hemingway himself was reconsidering his father's role (if not his own adolescence) in developing his own masculinity. Each male character who undergoes masculine initiation emerges with a better understanding of his place in the world, and it is precisely this cathartic awareness that seems to be the impetus for Hemingway's exploration of successful or idealized masculinity.

“Now, knowing how it had all been, even remembering the earliest times before things had gone badly was not good remembering. If he wrote it he could get rid of it...His father was with him, suddenly, in deserted orchards and in new-plowed fields, in thickets, on small hills, or when going through dead grass, whenever splitting wood or hauling water, by grist mills, cider mills and dams, and always with open fires.”

- “Fathers and Sons,” 259-265.

Appendix I

Ernest and Clarence Hemingway's Correspondence

Because Ernest Hemingway had a complex and fragmented relationship with his father, Dr. Clarence Hemingway, that profoundly impacted his development as an author and served as a foundation for all his literary descriptions of fatherhood, it is important to understand and interpret their personal history. Perhaps the best way to trace Hemingway's ever-evolving perceptions of their relationship is by surveying the letters he wrote to and about his father over the years. Using these letters one can identify his emotional responses to the specific interactions being discussed, and hence recreate various parts of the intricate path ultimately leading to some of Hemingway's treatment of fatherhood.

The earliest extant correspondence Hemingway wrote to his father is little more than a business memo; about one month after his eighteenth birthday and one month before he was to leave home and move to Kansas, Hemingway had gone to the family cottage on Walloon Lake to check on their crops and enjoy the free time after graduation. In the Sept. 19, 1917 letter Hemingway simply lists their viable crops and what he has done with them, then he asks his father to supply additional instructions and send him copies of the Chicago news (Baker, 1-2). While seemingly unimportant, the incredible mundaneness of the letter is very telling: Hemingway and his father have a straightforward, seemingly healthy relationship that does not require overly emotional speech or the glossing-over of conflict.

Over the next year Hemingway wrote a few more letters addressed to both his parents, sent from Kansas City, New York, the ship on which he crossed the Atlantic, and the Italian front. After being wounded he wrote two more letters to his parents and extended family (on July 21 and Aug. 18, 1918), but on Sept. 11, 1918, nearly one year after writing his first letter from

northern Michigan, Hemingway addressed another letter solely to his father. In it he describes his wounds and jokes about the Army surgeon's awareness that his work will be examined by Hemingway's father ("the great Surgeon Hemingway of Chicago"), but he also reminisces that "Last year this time I was making those wonderful catches of Rainbow at the Bay" (Baker, 16-17) and again asks his father to send him newspapers. By looking past the mere content, however, and analyzing the structure of this letter, one can read into Hemingway's writing and uncover a lonely and perhaps even panicked tone: he writes a post-script and signs his name, but then seems either to have forgotten something, or else is desperate to communicate with a familiar mind. After the first closing he writes another two paragraphs, the first about two of his best friends who are visiting near where his parents live, and the second expressing a nervous confidence that "It has been conclusively proved that I can't be killed and I will always go where I can do the most good you know and that's what we're here for" (Baker, 18). He then signs his name again, but instead of the original "Thanks, Ernie" he writes "Your loving son/Ernie" (Baker 18). Ernest Hemingway is 19 years old, alone in a foreign and war-torn country, wounded in both legs (a cumulative of 221 individual wounds), has undergone several surgeries leaving his feet and legs scarred "like some old horse that has been branded and rebranded by about 50 owners," and all he wants to do is communicate with his father and hear back that his recovery sounds just as good as he is telling himself it is. At this point Hemingway is still emotionally dependent upon his father and uses him as an outlet for his thinly masked anxiety.

In the interim between this 1918 letter and Hemingway's next informative [published] letter in Dec. 1920, Ernest and Clarence had a falling-out. As Montgomery writes, the summer of 1920 was "the coming-of-age summer when Hemingway had a quarrel with his mother which severed his ties to his parents (Doctor Hemingway also became involved in the disagreement) and freed him to write candidly about them without remorse or guilt" (Montgomery, 172).

Reynolds also describes this period: “Seeing firsthand how little help Ernest had provided at the cottage brought out the Doctor's disciplinarian side...The Doctor stood firmly on Grace's side, reminding his son how his mother's failing health required physical help...If sons cannot believe in their parents' youth, they find it equally difficult to accept their aging bodies. Angry words passed from father to son; insulting words were returned” (Reynolds 1986, 133). This was not the only important change taking place in Hemingway's life though, in Oct. of that same year Ernest met Hadley Richardson and began a yearlong courtship ending with their marriage.

But on Dec. 22, 1920 while living independently in Chicago, Ernest wrote to his mother (who had previously called him “a menace to youth” during the summer fights (Reynolds 1991, 26)). He only mentions his father once in the letter, and simply writes “Dad lets me read your letters when I'm out at the hoose [sic] Sundays and so I keep fairly well informed of your doages [doings]. Can't seem to recall any news that would be news to you” (Baker, 42). Ernest essentially avoids any direct mention of the bitter, months-long confrontation, and tries to speak around his father while acknowledging that they have been in communication.

Finally, on April 15, 1921, Hemingway addresses a letter to his father. By this time it seems that the conflict between Hemingway and his father had mostly cooled, but there was still some underlying tension. The closest Ernest comes to expressing affection for his father is “Get a good rest and some good fishing and go swimming for me - I surely wish I were with you – eat a lot of shrimps too – wish I could rate a vacation...” (Baker, 46). After mentioning that he would like to be with his family/father, Ernest seems to quickly cover this over by expressing desire merely for a vacation, and after another paragraph he signs “Your affct son/Ernie.” Ernest cannot quite articulate what appears to be an undercurrent of longing in the face of mistrust and hurt feelings.

A little over a year later, on May 2, 1922, Ernest wrote his father while working as a

correspondent in Paris. He describes his general lifestyle in Paris and some of the trips he and Hadley had taken, so all-in-all the letter is fairly typical of the correspondence between them. But for the first time in several years Ernest expresses something close to actual affection: “Much love Dad and I hope you have a good trip” (Baker, 67). A few weeks later, on May 24, he writes his father again to explain why Clarence has yet to see any of Ernest's articles (he had been ordering the Weekly instead of the Daily edition). Ernest then gives more details about his trips and experiences, and this time signs the letter “Your loving son, Ernie” (Baker, 68). Both of these letters show either that Ernest has determined their feud to be futile since he is now married and separated from his parents by the Atlantic, or that the cliché 'absence makes the heart grow fonder' applies even to the tough, young Hemingways of the world. In either case (or probably some combination of both), Hemingway has stopped squeamishly shying away from giving his father some words of endearment and begins to reestablish another potentially healthy and communicative relationship.

Hemingway and his parents did not correspond regularly for the rest of the summer (perhaps because of travel, perhaps to let things cool down a little more), but on Aug. 25, 1922 Hemingway finally wrote to update them on his whereabouts and activities, and also to wish his mother, sister, and father belated happy birthdays (Baker, 71). But it is important to note that although his mother's and sister's birthdays had passed (by two and one months, respectively), his father's birthday was not until Sept. 4th. Given that the USPS had taken over airmail delivery in 1918, and transcontinental airmail began in 1920, it was likely that Ernest's letter would have arrived in about two weeks, perhaps even in time to reach his father's hands on his birthday (centennialofflight.gov and usps.com). Hemingway had already received birthday greetings from his parents (as he acknowledges in this letter) which presumably arrived sometime around his birthday on July 21, yet he waited an entire month to respond. It seems likely that

Hemingway wanted to make a special gesture for his father, even if he was still angry and frustrated with him.

Six months later Hemingway jotted a quick memo to his father while on a train to Germany. He apologizes for writing so infrequently, falls back on the topic he most often includes in letters to his father (namely fishing), gripes about the amount of travelling he is required to do, and again signs the letter “Your loving son” (Baker, 81). Contained in this short transcript is just enough information that one might glean a minute, but essential, understanding of Hemingway's mind: he is homesick. In the letter it is clear that Ernest misses his father, his wife, his grandfather, and being able to relax in a familiar environment.

A few years later, in one of their most interesting pieces of correspondence sent Mar. 20, 1925, Hemingway responds to his parents' reactions to a few of his short stories. His father apparently enjoyed “The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife” (which was in fact based on Clarence and Grace Hall Hemingway), and Hemingway says of the story, “I put in Dick Boulton and Billy Tabeshaw as real people with their names because it was pretty sure they would never read the *Transatlantic Review*. I've written a number of stories about the Michigan country...” (Baker, 153). He then promises that he will try to send his father a new story about to be published (“Big Two Hearted River”), and mentions that the river he describes is one with which they are both familiar: “the Fox above Seney. It is a story I think you will like.” It seems that Hemingway can always fall back upon fishing as a shared interest whenever he has trouble relating to his father. He uses this common experience to broach a more difficult issue: his parents had sent back the Parisian copy of *in our time* which he had given them, so he assumed that they no longer wanted to see his work. Following this appeal is an awkward explanation for why he writes stories which cast his parents in a negative light:

...I'm trying in all my stories to get the feeling of the actual life across...So that

when you have read something by me you actually experience the thing. You can't do this without putting in the bad and the ugly as well as what is beautiful...So when you see anything of mine that you don't like remember that I'm sincere in doing it...If I write an ugly story that might be hateful to you or to Mother the next one might be one that you would like exceedingly. (Baker, 153)

Hemingway quickly changes the subject back to sports magazines and fishing, then addresses a series of less important, more mundane matters. Although he does directly address the issue of how his parents respond to his representation of them, he seems very uncomfortable writing about it and only gives the topic the bare minimum of consideration necessary to put their minds at ease. For his own part, Clarence Hemingway (as described by his son) seems supportive of Ernest but still hurt by some of the stories he has inspired, which probably strained their relationship further after years of unease.

On Aug. 20, 1925, Hemingway sent another letter dealing largely with fishing (about half the content of the writing), but he also mentions that “Both my legs have begun to bother me quite a bit” (Baker, 168). His war wounds would give him trouble for the rest of his life, and Hemingway, much like when he was writing from his hospital bed in Italy, turns to his father for sympathy and support. Although the rest of the letter is fairly inconsequential, these few lines reveal that Hemingway still sees in his father a source of comfort and security.

In Dec. 1926, Hemingway wrote to both parents about the health of his son, John 'Bumby' (now three years old), and the highly positive reviews for *The Sun Also Rises* and *In Our Time*. He seems very proud of himself (“The reviews of my novel have been splendid” (Baker, 233)) and his son (“He talks French and good German and some English and says very intelligent things” (Baker, 233)), but he does not mention the disintegration of his marriage with Hadley that resulted in a divorce one month later. While he avoids discussing personal relationship

issues, he delights in sharing stories about his son, and seems to thoroughly enjoy being a father: “Bumby says he is going to go to Spain with papa next year and sleep with the bulls” (Baker, 233).

The next year on Sept. 14, 1927, Hemingway wrote to his father possibly the most open and emotional letter in their ongoing correspondence, in which he addresses concerns about the moral implications of his divorce, remarriage to Pauline Pfeiffer, treatment of his son, general lifestyle, and his writing. After attempting to explain the circumstances leading to his divorce, Hemingway reminds his father that “We have not seen much of each other for a long time and in the meantime our lives have been going on and there has been a year of tragedy in mine” (Baker, 258). He seems offended and disappointed by his father's reactions, and repeatedly tries to justify his life decisions and writings while begging for understanding:

I know you don't like the sort of thing I write but that is the difference in our taste...I know that I am not disgracing you in my writing but rather doing something that some day you will be proud of...I feel that eventually my life will not be a disgrace to you either...You would be so much happier and I would too if you could have confidence in me...You could if you wanted be proud of me sometimes. (Baker, 258-259)

Hemingway also attempts to gain his father's support through other means, and writes of his own son: “He is my very dear and I hope because of my own mistakes and errors to be ever a better and wiser father to him...he is a fine boy and I hope inside of eight years we can all three go fishing together” (Baker, 259). The real tragedy of this letter, unbeknownst to Hemingway, is that by the end of 1928 his father would be dead, so Clarence Hemingway would never have the opportunity to judge the larger corpus of his son's writing, nor would he be able to enjoy getting to know his grandson. Adding to the desperation of the letter is Hemingway's plaintive

declaration, “I love you very much and...you're the only person I've written six pages to since I learned to use a pen and ink” (Baker, 259). Ernest and Clarence Hemingway were never able to dedicate the amount of time needed to truly understand and appreciate each other however, and Bumby would grow up without knowing his grandfather.

On Dec. 6, 1928, Clarence Hemingway shot himself using his father's (Ernest Hemingway's paternal grandfather) Civil War pistol. Three days later Hemingway wrote a brief note to F. Scott Fitzgerald, in which he says “My Father shot himself as I suppose you may have read in the papers...I was fond as hell of my father and feel too punk – also sick etc. - to write a letter” (Baker, 291). And on Dec. 16 he wrote to Maxwell Perkins, stating “My Father shot himself – Don't know whether it was in N.Y. papers...I was very fond of him and feel like hell about it. Got to Oak Park in plenty of time to handle things...What makes me feel the worst is my father is the one I cared about” (291). Although Hemingway is still too close to the event to really open up and express himself, he is still able to admit how much he cared for his father, and that he preferred him over his other relatives (i.e., mother, siblings, and others living in Oak Park).

Three years later Hemingway would write a much more deprecating and angry letter to Maxwell Perkins in Jan. 1932.:

During Sun Also plenty happened while during Farewell to Arrums [sic] – outside of Patrick being born only incident was my father shooting himself and me acquiring 4 new dependents and mortgages. Then some shitfaced critic writes Mr. Hemingway retires to his comfortable library to write about despair – Is that what I write about? I wonder. (Baker, 351).

He is angry at his father for committing suicide, and seems even angrier at certain critics for attacking what he feels is a justified response to personal hardship. While most people go through a period of anger after the death of a loved one as part of the coping process, for

Hemingway to be so vehemently upset after so many several years suggests that he both cared for his father at an incredibly deep level which is hardly even touched upon in his letters, and that he is frustrated at never having the chance to prove himself and his life's work.

After about a decade Hemingway was finally able to reminisce affectionately about his father though, especially when writing to his second son, Patrick. In an Oct. 30, 1943 letter about his son's (now 15) high school football exploits, Hemingway recounts the entire family's football history: "Evidently you are carrying on the great pig-skin traditions of Papa...and Bumby...not to mention your Grandfather who could run both ways with equal ease when carrying the ball and always had to be accompanied by a man with a Compass to tell him which goal line to cross" (Baker, 551). This joviality at his father's expense - "No one ever knew whether he would produce a touchdown or a safety when he seized the ball" - shows that Hemingway has been able to forgive his father and still cherishes their time together. In another letter to Patrick, dated Nov. 24, 1958 (just three years before his own suicide on July 2, 1961), Hemingway discusses a recent trip to the Midwest: "What I wanted Mary [Welsh Hemingway] to see was the beautiful part of Northern Illinois which I hadn't seen since used to go prairie chicken hunting with my father with a wagon and two pair of dogs" (Baker, 888). By reminiscing about his father and their exploits together to his own son, he is passing on the memory of Clarence Hemingway with a tender affection and devotion which are often difficult to locate in his fiction, but are undoubtedly present.

Appendix II

Rough Chronology of Hemingway's Short Stories

I have compiled this chronology as a helpful resource for any further study of Hemingway's short stories. All dates were taken from or confirmed by:

- 1) The JFK Library's Ernest Hemingway Archives
(http://www.jfklibrary.org/Historical+Resources/Archives/Archives+and+Manuscripts/Hemingway.Ernest/fa_ehcat_mss.htm)
- 2) Oliver, Charles M. *Critical Companion to Ernest Hemingway: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2007.
- 3) Reynolds, Michael. *Hemingway: An Annotated Chronology*. Detroit: Omnigraphics Inc., 1991.

In order to achieve a maximum of usability and organization, I have divided the majority of this chronology into several groupings according to the order of their appearance in *The Nick Adams Stories* and *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (leaving out the section "Previously Unpublished Fiction," as I was unable to date these pieces with a high degree of reliability). Preceding these two sections are two lists of Hemingway's Juvenilia. For each grouping I have provided creation/composition, publishing, and/or miscellaneous important dates, each labeled accordingly. Creation/composition dates should generally be assumed to mean 'begun by' or 'completed by.' Spaces marked *** indicates information I was unable to find at this point in time.

The *Tabula* Stories:

Title	Date First Published
The Judgment of Manitou	Feb. 1916
A Matter of Color	Apr. 1916
Sepi Jingan	Fall 1916

Unpublished Juvenilia:

Title	Date Written (Approximately)
Cross Roads	May 1919
The Current	May 1919
The Mercenaries	May 1919
The Woppian Way	May 1919
The Ass-Heels Tendon	Dec. 1920

The *Nick Adams* Stories:**The Northern Woods:**

Title	Date Written	Date First Published
Three Shots	Nov. 4, 1923 (begun)	Previously Unpublished
Indian Camp	Nov. 4, 1923 (begun); Feb. 20, 1924 (later draft begun)	Apr. 1924
The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife	Mar. 25, 1924 (begun); Apr. 7, 1924 (completed)	Nov. 1924
Ten Indians	Sept. 27, 1925 (begun); May 27, 1927 (completed)	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)
The Indians Moved Away	***	Previously Unpublished

On His Own:

Title	Date Written	Date First Published
The Light of the World	Aug. 1932 (begun)	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)
The Battler	Mar. 31, 1925 (completed)	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)

The Killers	May 14, 1926 (second draft)	Mar. 1927
The Last Good Country	Mar. 16, 1952 (begun)	Previously Unpublished
Crossing the Mississippi	***	Previously Unpublished

War:

Title	Date Written	Date First Published
Night Before Landing	June 15, 1925 (begun)	Previously Unpublished
“Nick sat against the wall...”	Spring 1923 (begun)	1924 (with <i>in our time</i>)
Now I Lay Me	Nov. 1926 (begun)	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)
A Way You'll Never Be	May 1932 (begun)	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)
In Another Country	Sept. 7, 1926 (begun)	Apr. 1927

A Soldier Home:

Title	Date Written	Date First Published
Big Two-Hearted River	May 1924 (begun); Aug. 15, 1924 (completed)	May 1925
The End of Something	Feb. 20, 1924 (completed)	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)
The Three-Day Blow	***	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)
Summer People	1924 (worked on)	Previously Unpublished

Company of Two:

Title	Date Written	Date First Published	Additional Dates
Wedding Day	***	Previously Unpublished	
On Writing	Aug. 15, 1924 (completed as ending for Big Two-Hearted River); Nov. 15, 1924 (cut from story)	Previously Unpublished	
An Alpine Idyll	May 6, 1926 (completed)	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)	Sept. 8, 1926 (rejected for publication)

Cross-Country Snow	Apr. 25, 1924 (completed)	Dec. 1924	Nov. 1924 (rejected for publication)
Fathers and Sons	Nov. 15, 1932 (begun); July 26, 1933 (rewrite)	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	May 12, 1937 (public reading)

The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway:

“The First Forty-nine”:

Title	Date Written	Date First Published	Additional Dates
The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber	Apr. 19, 1936 (completed)	Sept. 1936	
The Capital of the World	Apr. 5, 1936 (completed)	June 1936	
The Snows of Kilimanjaro	June 4, 1936 (completed)	Aug. 1936	Jan. 14, 1934 (Hemingway contracted dysentery)
Old Man at the Bridge	***	May 19, 1938	
Up in Michigan	Summer 1921	1923 (in <i>Three Stories and Ten Poems</i>)	
On the Quai at Smyrna	***	1930 (intro to 1930 edition of <i>In Our Time</i>)	
Indian Camp	Feb. 20, 1924 (begun)	Apr. 1924	
The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife	Mar. 25, 1924 (begun); Apr. 7, 1924 (completed)	Nov. 1924	
The End of Something	Feb. 20, 1924 (completed)	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	
The Three Day Blow	***	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	
The Battler	Mar. 31, 1925 (completed)	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	
A Very Short Story	***	1924 (as “Chapter 10” of <i>in our time</i>); Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	
Soldier's Home	Apr. 25, 1924 (completed)	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	Oct. 27, 1924 (rejected for publication)

The Revolutionist	***	1924 (as “Chapter 11” of <i>in our time</i>); Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	
Mr. and Mrs. Elliot	Apr. 25, 1924 (completed)	Mar. 4, 1925	
Cat in the Rain	Feb. 20, 1924 (completed)	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	
Out of Season	Apr. 1923 (begun)	1923 (in <i>Three Stories and Ten Poems</i>)	
Cross-Country Snow	Apr. 25, 1924 (completed)	Dec. 1924	Nov. 1924 (rejected for publication)
My Old Man	July 1922 (begun); Sept. 2, 1922 (completed)	1923 (in <i>Three Stories and Ten Poems</i>)	
Big Two-Hearted River	May 1924 (begun); Aug. 15, 1924 (completed)	May 1925	
The Undefeated	Nov. 23, 1924 (completed)	Oct. 5, 1925 (with <i>In Our Time</i>)	Jan. 19, 1925 and Mar. 27, 1925 (rejected for publication); June 1925 (published in Germany)
In Another Country	Sept. 7, 1926 (begun)	Apr. 1927	
Hills Like White Elephants	May 27, 1927 (completed)	Aug. 1927	
The Killers	May 14, 1926 (second draft)	Mar. 1927	
Che Ti Dice La Patria?	***	May 18, 1927	Apr. 1927 (“Shanghai Massacre” referred to in story; must have been written after this date)
Fifty Grand	Sept. 27, 1925 (begun); Nov. 8, 1925 (completed)	July 1927	Apr. 1, 1926 (rejected for publication)
A Simple Enquiry	***	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)	
Ten Indians	Sept. 27, 1925 (begun); May 27, 1927 (completed)	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)	
A Canary for One	Sept. 7, 1926 (completed)	Apr. 1927	

An Alpine Idyll	May 6, 1926 (completed)	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)	Sept. 8, 1926 (rejected for publication)
A Pursuit Race	***	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)	
Today is Friday	May 14, 1926 (completed)	Summer 1926	
Banal Story	Jan. 30, 1925 (completed)	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)	
Now I Lay Me	Nov. 1926 (begun)	Oct. 14, 1927 (in <i>Men Without Women</i>)	
After the Storm	Mar. 1932 (completed)	May 1932	
A Clean, Well-Lighted Place	Dec. 15, 1932 (completed)	Mar. 1933	
The Light of the World	Aug. 1932 (begun)	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	
God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen	***	Apr. 1933	
The Sea Change	***	Dec. 1931	
A Way You'll Never Be	May 1932 (begun)	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	
The Mother of a Queen	***	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	
One Reader Writes	***	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	
Homage to Switzerland	Aug. 15, 1932 (completed)	Apr. 1933	
A Day's Wait	***	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	
A Natural History of the Dead	***	Sept. 23, 1932 (within <i>Death in the Afternoon</i>); Oct. 27, 1933 (as story in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	
Wine of Wyoming	May 31, 1930 (completed)	Aug. 1930	
The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio	Jan. 1933 (completed)	May 1933	Nov. 1, 1930 (broken arm and hospital stay)
Fathers and Sons	Nov. 15, 1932 (begun); July 26, 1933 (rewrite)	Oct. 27, 1933 (in <i>Winner Take Nothing</i>)	May 12, 1937 (public reading)

Short Stories Published in Books or Magazines Subsequent to “The First Forty-nine”:

Title	Date Written	Date First Published
One Trip Across	Oct. 16, 1933 (first draft)	Apr. 1934
The Tradesman' Return	Nov. 1935 (begun); Dec. 9, 1935 (completed)	Feb. 1936
The Denunciation	***	Nov. 1938
The Butterfly and the Tank	***	Dec. 1938
Night Before Battle	Oct. 22, 1938 (completed)	Feb. 1939
Under the Ridge	Feb. 14, 1939 (begun earlier)	Oct. 1939
Nobody Ever Dies	***	Mar. 1939
The Good Lion	***	Mar. 1951
The Faithful Bull	***	Mar. 1951
Get a Seeing-Eyed Dog	June 1956 (begun earlier)	Nov. 1957
A Man of the World	May 1957 (begun)	Nov. 1957
Summer People	1924 (worked on)	Unpublished before <i>The Nick Adams Stories</i>
The Last Good Country	Mar. 16, 1952 (begun)	Unpublished before <i>The Nick Adams Stories</i>
An African Story	***	May 1986 (split throughout <i>The Garden of Eden</i>)

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