

**LITTLE
REVIEW
EXILES'
NUMBER**



**“In Our Time” & “They All Made
Peace—What Is Peace?”:
The 1923 Text**

Ernest Hemingway

Edited by James Gifford

Published by

Modernist Versions Project

University of Victoria

PO Box 1800

STN CSC

Victoria, BC

V8W 3H5, Canada

[HTTP://WEB.UVIC.CA/~MVPI922/](http://web.uvic.ca/~mvpi922/)

2015

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INTRODUCTION

Hemingway's *In Our Time* has been long recognized as a major development in American literature and Modernism, but limited access to its various publication states has meant that the 1930 edition superseded all others. The collection first appeared as a book in 1924 in Paris titled *in our time* followed in 1925 by the much-expanded *In Our Time*. Hemingway finally added the story "On The Quai at Smyrna" in 1930 preceding the rest of the text as his Introduction, which is the final substantive form of the book apart from the addition of the title for the Introduction in 1938. However, the initial publication of six of the pieces that would be part of the 1924 Paris edition first appeared through Ezra Pound's encouragement in *The Little Review*, and these are collected here as "In Our Time" in conjunction with "They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?" that appeared in the same issue. Despite advances in modernist periodical studies and extensive studies of *The Little Review*, the well-known Exiles' number of the journal has garnered less attention. It follows after the critical year 1922 for American copyright law, which means it is not included in the major digital repositories such as the Modernist Journals Project. Where critical attention to the earliest versions of Hemingway's *In Our Time* appears in scholarship, critics have on these few occasions tended to emphasize the 1924 edition (also released here under the Modernist Versions Project). The distinctions between each state of the text is important in each instance, and the established tendency to overlook the earliest publications reflects their scarcity and the impossibility of classroom use more than their respective merits or importance. As the first instance of Hemingway's "theory of omission" or Iceberg theory, which shaped a generation of writers, the difficulty of accessing the earliest editions, and the 1923 publication in particular, is a genuine problem that this edition aims to resolve.

Despite the accessibility challenges scholars and students have faced with “In Our Time,” major critics have proven the importance of each state of the text. Wendolyn Tetlow’s *Hemingway’s In Our Time: Lyrical Dimensions* dedicates a full chapter to the 1923 publication, and Milton A. Cohen’s *Hemingway’s Laboratory: The Paris in our time* makes the case for the story sequence as a central work to Hemingway’s *oeuvre*. Although *Hemingway’s Laboratory* is dedicated to the 1924 edition, it draws extensively on the 1923 publications gathered here. Scholarship has also been indebted to E.R. Hagemann’s important study “A Collation, With Commentary of the Five Texts of the Chapters in Hemingway’s *In Our Time*, 1923–1938.” As Cohen argues, the critical tendency has been to consider “In Our Time” and *in our time* as precursor texts to *In Our Time* rather than as projects complete unto themselves at their moment of publication. This tendency is most evident here with the vignettes that inspired what became the 1924 and 1925 editions. Hemingway contributed to this tendency by claiming to have written the vignettes as “chapter headings” (Hemingway, *Ernest* 5), but Cohen shows this is quite unlikely since Hemingway “first wrote them in 1924 for a commissioned book to consist only of these chapters, well before he envisioned a story-chapter book or had written the stories to fill it,” which became the 1925 *In Our Time* (Cohen x), but as this 1923 edition of “In Our Time” shows, the central pairing of six vignettes covering three situations already establishes the concerns of the later collections. As the reader sees here, Ezra Pound’s invitation to contribute to *The Little Review* long precedes the shape of the later books and reveals a style growing in process.

THEORY OF OMISSION

Despite the composition of this text at an early stage in Hemingway’s career, readers will notice in “In Our Time” the operation of Hemingway’s “theory of omission” or “iceberg theory” of writing. While “They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?” was printed several pages later in the same issue of *The Little Review* and shows a dif-

ferent style from the first six scenes, the same thematic interests and theory of omission guide the writing. For those readers who are coming to Hemingway for the first time or with less familiarity, this technique is an omission from the text of overt descriptions of some crucial matter around which the emotions or themes of the text pivot. Most typically, students encounter this in his story “Hills Like White Elephants,” in which the characters argue without explicit resolution over an unplanned pregnancy and possible abortion that are never directly mentioned. In the popular phrasing, this is to “show not tell” a reader what is occurring, which requires an active form of reading in which the reader participates *in* and contributes *to* the texts rather than passively relying on narrative or self-explication. Hemingway’s “theory of omission” is a more nuanced extension of “show not tell” in which the absent matter can be detected by its influence on those things that do appear in the text.

As an instance of omission, in the second vignette of *The Little Review* “In Our Time” the “kid” matador “shows” his exhaustion and the emotional intensity of his experience killing five bulls, but the text itself never describes those feelings directly. We may see the profound impact of this event but not find a description.

The “iceberg” that sits behind the text, the majority of its mass that is missed by an observer who sees only above the waterline, informs how we read. If the reader learns to respond to the missing descriptions, such as the matador’s emotional state, that lesson then leads to a different reading of the later two vignettes about Mons. In these, the soldier who is shooting enemy Germans also experiences something that will shape him for the rest of his life, and once again the reader is not told the nature of this emotional experience nor the circumstances that lead to it. We see the outcomes and intuit the consequences, and in many respects we are “shown” both, but they remain implicit rather than explicit. As H.R. Stoneback shows, “the omitted parts of the tale may generate the core feeling of the text” (4). In each instance and others across the vignettes of “In Our Time,” politics, economics, social revolution, love, and loss are all shown without being told, much as a shadow

indicates an unseen object or we may recognize a past event based on present consequences. The influence of an absent context, emotion, or event is most obvious in “They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?” In it, all events and characters are brought together for the Conference of Lausanne leading to the Treaty of Lausanne, one of the major political events of the early 1920s, but it is never mentioned.

Other breakthroughs for Hemingway as a stylistic innovator and experimental prose stylist appear here for the first time. While Hemingway is famous for his precise language, this precision also leaves enormous ambiguities since it may tell the reader a great deal about something that is only an outcome of another unseen force, such as the peace negotiations at Lausanne. That is, the precision may trace the outline of omitted materials.

Hemingway is, then, a far more difficult author than the simplicity of his prose suggests. This is, in many respects, the greatest challenge and the greatest reward for reading Hemingway: he is both extremely easy and extremely difficult. The contrast lies between his clear and simple prose versus his unstated or implicit concerns. This leads many readers to assume they have “understood” Hemingway by simply reading him when we must first recognize how he trains us to be more careful and more critical readers. In this respect, Hemingway is a pedagogical writer insofar as he teaches his readers a new form of attention, a new form of sensitivity to language.

TIME IN CONTEXT

During the First World War, Hemingway served in the Red Cross as an ambulance driver in Italy. He was badly wounded in the Italian front lines and had shrapnel wounds in both legs, which left him in hospital for six months, although he was not permanently injured from these wounds. After the war, in 1921, he began serving as the foreign correspondent for *The Toronto Star* newspaper in Paris. There he met Sylvia Beach, Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, Pablo Picasso, and many other modernists.

This time period after the First World War was also marked by unstable currency exchange rates, which often gave the American dollar a great advantage in Europe. A casually working American who had a modest but reliable salary in American dollars could live reasonably well in France. Many American writers took advantage of this, and the “Americans in Paris” moment arrived. Many writers from Canada and the USA moved to Paris or London to take advantage of exchange rates, and Hemingway was among them.

Amid the thick of this milieu, “In Our Time” and “They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?” were first published in 1923 in *The Little Review*. In the context of the journal issue, this places Hemingway in an *avant-garde* context immediately juxtaposed against Gertrude Stein whose work followed his in the issue. This physical situating of the work in its print publication means that for contemporary readers, Hemingway would have been understood as writing experimental prose responding to the preceding generation of American authors who had become famous in the modernist movement, in particular T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, as well as the Irish writer James Joyce. For instance, the movement between first and third person narration would garner immediate attention, as would the juxtaposition of different deaths in the same loose time period: the death of soldiers in war, a matador in the bullfight, civilians in evacuation, and of politicians by execution. Readers of *The Little Review* would also be certain to notice Hemingway’s allusion to Pound’s seminal Imagist poem “In a Station of the Metro” when he pauses amidst the execution of Greek cabinet ministers to notice “There were pools of water in the courtyard. There were wet dead leaves on the paving of the courtyard. It rained hard” (7). In context, Hemingway’s readers would be drawn to associate such an image with Pound, Imagism as a movement, and perhaps to the momentous publication of T.S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land* in the preceding year.

The 1923 “In Our Time” is also remarkably political, although the theory of omission means its politics are not explicit. The first three chapters cover the major themes of the project: the First World War, bullfighting, and the 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe

following the Greco-Turkish War. Their juxtaposition suggests a relationship between these forms of violence, especially the execution of the senior Greek officials at the end of the collection that draws attention back to the first death, the death of a bullfighter, only after which the plight of evacuating civilians appears followed by the two sections on shooting hapless German soldiers at Mons. David Roessel has shown the crucial importance of Hemingway's depictions of the Asia Minor Catastrophe in the later *In Our Time* to British and American cultural conceptualizations of Greece (240), and across the sequence as a whole the consequences of violence in war, crime, and sport are central. That is, the reader may see the consequences of such things, but their relationship to each other is implied only through juxtaposition.

While the First World War plays an obvious role as a major trauma to Europe as well as for Hemingway based on his personal experiences of the Great War, the end of the Greco-Turkish War in the massacre at Smyrna is also crucial in the collection. His attention developed from his dispatches for the *Toronto Star* on the fall of Smyrna. Greece refers to the events of 1922 as the Asia Minor Catastrophe, the loss of ancient Greek territory to Turkey and the forced evacuation of the Greek population after the massacre of tens of thousands in the burning of Smyrna. Its importance is also marked by Hemingway's final major revision to *In Our Time* in 1930: the addition of "On The Quai at Smyrna" to precede the numbered chapters, although he only added the title in 1938. This new chapter depicts graphically the suffering of the Greek population of Smyrna during the burning of the city and the massacre of thousands of Greeks and Armenians while also pointing to the suffering of the animals. In "In Our Time" from 1923, the reader sees only the consequences of Smyrna in the evacuation of the Greeks through Adrianopolis and the execution of the Greek cabinet ministers, but the Armenians (and the notable absence of attention to Armenian suffering) does appear in "They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?" The continuity of suffering across each textual state of *In Our Time* thereby joins the various forms of violence and those who experience it, die from it, or struggle through both physical

and emotional wounds as its consequence.

A final contextual matter is race. The 1924 *in our time* includes references to race ranging from the “wops” of “chapter 9” to the execution of the Italian American mobster Sam Cardinella and the “negroes” to be hanged on the same day in “chapter 17.” Here, “They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?” includes the problematic description “MUSSOLINI has nigger eyes,” which is both vague and callously racist, but the text is not included in later versions of *In Our Time*. However, the same racist language returns in the 1925 *In Our Time* in the Nick Adams story “Chapter V.” The reader is left to resolve the casual equation of whiteness with goodness and blackness with evil (associated here with Mussolini as fascist). The two potential readings are visible in the difference between Walter Benn Michaels’ understanding of Hemingway’s simplicity in words such as “nice,” “good,” and “true” as encoding whiteness, in contrast to Marc Dudley’s contention that Hemingway’s depictions of race also work to expose the socially constructed nature of racism and racist discourses. Nevertheless, both scholars make their respective arguments by discussing material not present in the 1923 “In Our Time.”

These contextualizations then leave the reader with a simple prose showing much complexity from an author sensitive to human suffering, social conflicts around race, and the operations of nationalist wars on human actors. Marking out the scope of “In Our Time” and “They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?” is a more capacious challenge after these complexities are brought to the reading and the material is situated in the context of its first appearance in print among the modernist *avant-gardes* of the day.

ABOUT THIS EDITION

This edition makes the 1923 version of “In Our Time” and “They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?” available for the first time since the 1967 Kraus facsimile edition of *The Little Review*. While there has been a renaissance of critical work on the little magazines of Modernism in the intervening years beginning with works like Ad-

am McKibble's *The Space and Place of Modernism* and culminating in the founding of *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, the exigencies of copyright cut off reproductions of *The Little Review* at 1922, excluding the 1923 Exiles' number that contained Hemingway's "In Our Time." While this new edition is intended for student and classroom use, it also brings the text to a wider scholarly audience. Annotations are intended for a general student readership, and more extensive critical resources are indicated in the Works Cited.

These six vignettes appear with only minimal revision in the 1924 *in our time*. They appear again between the chapters, and extended in some instances, in the 1925 Boni & Liveright edition in New York, although several matters of copyediting are of uncertain origin, some certainly originating in the publisher with or without Hemingway's approval. Pound edited the 1924 *in our time* for Three Mountains Press and had encouraged Hemingway's contribution to *The Little Review*—as is well known, Pound is famous for actively intervening in other texts he edited, including T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* in 1922 and James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as serialized in *The Egoist* from 1914–1915. In addition, the distinction between Hemingway's and his editors' corrections in the editions between 1925 and 1930 is not entirely clear, particularly so for punctuation. The collection reached its final form, apart from minor revisions, in 1930 when "On the Quia at Smyrna" was added to precede the other numbered chapters as an Introduction—it was given the title in 1938. Peter L. Hays' *A Concordance to Hemingway's In Our Time* is the definitive work on the various witnesses of the text with Hagemann's "A Collation, With Commentary of the Five Texts of the Chapters in Hemingway's *In Our Time*, 1923–1938."

Several student research assistants made this edition possible. Special acknowledgement goes to Camilla Castro with Nyarai Tawengwa, Peter Mate, Maria Zrno, and Mickey Truong.

TEXTUAL NOTES

The inclusion of "They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?" here is

**“In Our Time” & “They All Made
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The 1923 Text**

IN OUR TIME

EVERYBODY was drunk. The whole battery was drunk along the road in the dark. We were going to the Champagne. The lieutenant kept riding his horse out into the fields and saying to him, "I'm drunk I tell you, mon vieux.¹ Oh I am so soused." We went along the road all night in the dark and the adjutant² kept riding up alongside my kitchen and saying, "You must put it out. It is dangerous. It will be observed." We were fifty kilometers from the front but the adjutant worried about the fire in my kitchen. It was funny going along that road. That was when I was a kitchen corporal.

★ ★ ★

The first matador got the horn through his sword hand and the crowd hooted him on his way to the infirmary. The second matador slipped and the bull caught him through the belly and he hung onto the horn with one hand and held the other tight against the place, and the bull rammed him wham against the barrera and the horn came and he lay in the sand; and then got up like crazy drunk and tried to slug the men carrying him away and yelled for a new sword, but he fainted. The kid came out and had to kill five bulls because you can't have more than three matadors and the last bull he was so tired he couldn't get the sword in. He couldn't hardly lift his arm. He tried eight times and the crowd was quiet because it was a good bull and it looked like him or the bull and then he finally made it. He sat down in the sand and puked and they held a cape over him while the crowd come down the barrera into the bull ring.

★ ★ ★

Minarets stuck up in the rain out of Adrianople³ across the mud flats. The carts were jammed for thirty miles along the Karagatch road.⁴ Water buffalo and cattle were hauling carts through the mud. No end and no beginning. Just carts loaded with everything they owned. The old men and women, soaked through, walked along keeping the cattle moving. The Maritza was running yellow almost up to the bridge.⁵ Carts were jammed solid on the bridge with camels bobbing along through them. Greek cavalry rode hard on the procession. Women and kids were in the carts crouched with mattresses, mirrors, sewing machines, bundles, sacks of things. There was a woman having a kid with a young girl holding a blanket over her and crying. Scared sick looking at it. It rained all through the evacuation.

★ ★ ★

We were in a garden at Mons.⁶ Young Buckley came in with his patrol from across the river. The first german I saw climbed up over the garden wall. We waited till he got one leg over and then potted him. He had so much equipment on and looked awfully surprised and fell down into the garden. Then three more came over further down the wall. We shot them. They all came just like that.

★ ★ ★

MONS (Two)

It was a frightfully hot day. We'd jammed an absolutely perfect barricade across the bridge. It was simply priceless. A big old wrought iron grating from the front of a house. Too heavy to lift and you could shoot through it and they would have to climb over it. It was absolutely topping. They tried to get over it and we potted them from forty yards. They rushed it and officers came out alone and worked on it. It was an absolutely perfect obstacle. Their

officers were very fine. We were frightfully put out when we heard the flank had gone and we had to fall back.

★ ★ ★

They shot the six cabinet ministers at half past six in the morning against the wall of a hospital.⁷ There were pools of water in the courtyard. There were wet dead leaves on the paving of the courtyard. It rained hard. All the shutters of the hospital were nailed shut. One of the ministers was sick with typhoid. Two soldiers carried him downstairs and out into the rain. They tried to hold him up against the wall but he sat down in a puddle of water. The other five stood very quietly against the wall. Finally the officer told the soldiers it was no good trying to make him stand up. When they fired the first volley he was sitting down in the water with his head on his knees.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY

THEY ALL MADE PEACE— WHAT IS PEACE?

ALL of the turks are gentlemen and Ismet Pasha⁸ is a little deaf. But the Armenians.⁹ How about the Armenians?

Well the Armenians.

Lord Curzon likes young boys.

So does Chicherin.

So does Mustapha Kemal.¹⁰ He is good looking too. His eyes are too close together but he makes war. That is the way he is.

Lord Curzon does not love Chicherin. Not at all. His beard trickles and his hands are cold. He thinks all the time.

Lord Curzon thinks too. But he is much taller and goes to St. Moritz.¹¹

Mr. Child does not wear a hat.

Baron Hayashi gets in and out of the automobile.

Monsieur Barrère gets telegrams. So does Marquis Garroni.¹² His telegrams come on motorcycles from MUSSOLINI.¹³ MUSSOLINI has nigger¹⁴ eyes and a bodyguard and has his picture taken reading a book upside down. MUSSOLINI is wonderful. Read the Daily Mail.

I used to know Mussolini. Nobody liked him then. Even I didn't like him. He was a bad character. Ask Monsieur Barrère.

We all drink cocktails. Is it too early to have a cocktail? How about a drink George? Come on and we'll have a cocktail Admiral. Just time before lunch. Well what if we do? Not too dry.

Well what do you boys know this morning?

Oh they're shrewd. They're shrewd.

M. Stambuliski walks up the hill and down the hill. Don't talk about M. Venizelos.¹⁵ He is wicked. You can see it. His beard shows it.

Mr. Child is not wicked.

Mrs. Child has flat breasts and Mr. Child is an idealist and wrote Harding's campaign speeches and calls Senator Beveridge Al.¹⁶ You know me Al.

Lincoln Steffens¹⁷ is with Child. The big C. makes the joke easy.

Then there is Mosul

And the Greek Patriarch

What about the Greek Patriarch?

ERNEST HEMINGWAY

ENDNOTES

¹ “My Friend” (male).

² An adjutant is an officer assisting more senior officers, typically a non-commissioned officer in French armies.

³ Adrianopolis is the modern Turkish city Edirne on the border with Greece. The minarets mark its Muslim identity in contrast to the evacuation of the Greek (Orthodox Christian) population following the Asia Minor Catastrophe (the massacre at Smyrna). Hemingway returns to the topic of Asia Minor across *In Our Time* and adds to it across the subsequent versions of the work. In 1922 the burning of Smyrna, modern day Izmir, ended the Greco-Turkish War with the massacre of tens of thousands of Greeks and Armenians followed by the forced exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Smyrna and Asia Minor as a whole are deeply associated with Ancient Greece and Homer, so the event was both a political and cultural loss for Greece bound up in the Western imagination of Greece as a concept.

⁴ Karagatch is a suburb in Adrianopolis, modern day Edirne.

⁵ The river Meriç (Turkish) or Evros (Greek) runs from Bulgaria and along much of the modern border between Greece and Turkey. It remains prone to flooding.

⁶ Mons is a city near the French and Belgian borders. It was the site of the first major British engagement in the First World War.

⁷ After the abdication of King Constantine I of Greece following the Asia Minor Catastrophe and a military coup d'état, the Trial of the Six led to the execution of six officials in the previous government for treason based on their role in the Greco-Turkish War.

⁸ İsmet İnönü was a Turkish general and later the second President of Turkey from 1938–1950. His deafness here refers to his 1922–1923 negotiations during the Conference of Lausanne, during which he turned off his hearing aids to ignore counter negotiations by Britain made by Lord Curzon.

⁹ The Armenian Genocide began in 1915 and is linked here to the Greco-Turkish War. The lack of clarity in the text reflects the reluctance of those involved in the Treaty of Lausanne to acknowledge what had happened to the Armenians.

¹⁰ Lord Curzon was the British Foreign Secretary and chief negotiator for the Allies during the Treaty of Lausanne. Georgy Chicherin was a Soviet politician and the Commissar for Foreign

Affairs for the Soviet Union. Hemingway is likely referring to Chicherin's role in the Genoa Conference and Treaty of Rapallo with Germany. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the founder of the Republic of Turkey.

¹¹ St. Moritz is an exclusive resort town in Switzerland on the opposite side of the country from Lausanne.

¹² Richard Child was one of the American observers at the Conference of Lausanne as well as the Ambassador to Italy. Baron Hayashi was the Japanese Ambassador to London at the time. Cemille Barrère participated in the Conference on behalf of France and was the Ambassador to Rome. The Marquis Eugenio Camillo Garroni was the Italian Ambassador to Turkey and also participated in the Conference of Lausanne.

¹³ Benito Mussolini was a fascist politician and Prime Minister of Italy. He also spoke at the Conference of Lausanne.

¹⁴ Hemingway's use of this slur is complicated by his importance to several writers in the Harlem Renaissance. He uses similar racist language elsewhere in his work, such as *The Sun Also Rises* where it may show the narrator's discomfort with a potential competitor, and it recurs in the 1925 version of *In Our Time*. Its use here is clearly derogatory, and in Jane Hume's "Comments" in the same issue of *The Little Review* the reader is told Fernand Léger is "at work on a negro ballet (primitive)" (26). Walter Benn Michaels considers the operations of racism in Hemingway's simplicity for terms such as "nice," "good," and "true" coding for whiteness, while Marc Dudley argues Hemingway can also work to expose the socially constructed nature of racist discourses and relations.

¹⁵ Aleksandar Stamboliyski was the Prime Minister of Bulgaria until he was tortured and murdered during a coup d'état on 14 June 1923. Eleftherios Venizelos was the Prime Minister of Greece but after electoral defeat was in self-imposed exile during the Conference of Lausanne, where he represented Greece.

¹⁶ Warren G. Harding was the 29th President of the United States of America until his death in August 1923. Albert J. Beveridge was a U.S. Senator from Indiana. He was no longer in office in 1923 and had publicly rejected his earlier expansionist imperialism in speeches at the time.

¹⁷ Lincoln Steffens was a reporter known in the 1920s for his support for communism and the Soviet Union.

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