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

Ernest Hemingway

Edited by James Gifford
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>James Gifford</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In Our Time” (1923)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“They All Made Peace—What Is Peace?”</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Cited</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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American literature and Modernism, but limited access to its various publication states has meant that the 1930 edition superseded all others.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-
different 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 tens 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
idiosyncratic. The piece appears fifteen pages after the vignettes titled “In Our Time” in The Little Review, but it is thematically and technically (if not stylistically) connected to the whole. Unlike the subsequent versions of the text, the 1923 witness includes no italicization of foreign words, em dashes, or other typographical features apart from the all caps that have been retained.
The full edition is available under the following provisions:

“This material has been reproduced and made available on this site based on its public domain status in Canada. By viewing these materials, you acknowledge that it is your responsibility to comply with the laws of your jurisdiction, particularly copyright (where applicable). The Modernist Versions Project accepts no liability or responsibility for the manner in which the material is used by others or the results of such use. This work is licensed under Creative Commons Licenses.”

You can access the complete edition online:

http://web.uvic.ca/~mvp1922/open-hemingway/

http://web.uvic.ca/~mvp1922/portfolio-item/in-our-time/