

**“Strange Homecomings”
Place, Identity Formation, and the Literary Constructions of Departure and Return
in the Works of Sarah Orne Jewett, Mark Twain, and Ernest Hemingway**

by

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Abstract

This dissertation considers place identity theory to examine three American authors' constructions of place. It examines the literature of Sarah Orne Jewett, Mark Twain, and Ernest Hemingway for what it might reveal about their changing attitudes toward home, specifically examining the literary manifestations of a "homecoming" when these authors' returns force them to confront simultaneously a changed place and feelings of dislocation. Recognizing nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments in transportation and their effects on the traveler's understanding of place, this study also addresses how recent contributions by place identity theorists inform a writer's attachment to place and the effects of travel on that attachment.

Each chapter examines how the author connected to his or her hometown and how travel from it affected the writer's understanding of the place, before exploring the literary effects of this experience. Sarah Orne Jewett's association with Berwick, Maine, is complicated by travel away from it, as evident in her stories "A Native of Winby" and "A Spring Sunday," among others. Mark Twain's departures and returns from his hometown of Hannibal, Missouri, challenge his association with place, and evidence of his deteriorating place identity spans his major works from *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* through *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger*. Ernest Hemingway's service in World War I affected his association with Horton Bay, Michigan, and its surrounding areas, informing his Nick Adams stories, particularly "Fathers and Sons" and "Big Two-

Hearted River.” Ultimately, this dissertation addresses the extent to which place and changes to a writer’s sense of place can influence literature.

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INTRODUCTION

In *The Small Town in American Literature*, David M. Cooke and Craig G.

Swauger observe that nineteenth-century writers

saw the small town as a desirable place in which to live and work and bring up a family; it provided a security, a feeling of belonging. However, many writers in the last part of the nineteenth century and from that time on ... began to see the frontier and, later the small town, as a place where people led the same dreary lives of people living elsewhere. The nostalgia associated with the small town began to fade. (vii)

This time period marks a shift in which writers looked homeward not with pride but with varying feelings of sympathy, embarrassment, and sadness. This change in perspective was influenced by developments in transportation and mobility that provided easier means for people to travel away from their homes. Despite these comings-and-goings, little attention has been given to the literary effects of returning to a place. My goal is to examine the works of Sarah Orne Jewett, Mark Twain, and Ernest Hemingway for what they might reveal about their changing attitudes toward home, brought about by their departures and returns.

At this time, America was moving in new and different ways. Two key elements in this movement were westward expansion and industrialization. Until approximately 1880, most movement in the United States was long-distance, westward migration (Weinstein, Gross, and Rees 41). Beginning near the end of the century and continuing

through the 1920s, industrialization called for urbanization, and a pattern of migration toward urban areas emerged (41). Fueled by an influx of people from rural areas (and also immigrants from foreign countries), cities such as New York and Chicago experienced considerable growth (Wiebe 12). Boston became a major financial center (15). Western cities such as Denver and Kansas City emerged as people moved west in increasing numbers (12).

Nineteenth-century developments in transportation aided in this movement, providing a greater percentage of the population with unprecedented ease of access to newer areas of the country and the world. Riverboats turned the Mississippi and its tributaries into a transportation artery. The number of riverboats increased by five-hundred percent between the 1830s and the 1840s, transporting people throughout the Midwest (A. Lee 85).¹ By the 1850s, people found that they could travel from New Orleans to Louisville in only five days (85). Similar expansions in railroads followed. For example in 1850, there were 9,021 miles of railroad track in operation (Firestone 127). Only two decades later, in 1870, there were 52,922 miles (127). By this time, passengers could travel from New York to San Francisco by train in six days, compared to the grueling four to five months by wagon just twenty-five years earlier (“America in Motion” 43). Essentially, American geographic accessibility was expanding: North and South with river traffic and East and West with the railroads.

This movement continued into the twentieth century. “For the first time in human history,” writes Rebecca Edwards, “an ordinary person could cross an ocean in two weeks with reasonable safety, and the continent of North America in half the time”

¹ According to Terence Lee, in 1846, there were 1,190 steamboats in operation on the Mississippi (85). Twelve years earlier, in 1834, there were only 230 (85).

(Edwards 54). Steamships made transatlantic travel easier and more affordable. The increasing availability travel ensued into the 1920s (48). Europe became much more accessible to Americans, and a lucrative currency exchange rate provided a much more comfortable way of life than in the United States (*American Decades* 36). Paris in particular became a desirable destination, especially for authors such as Gertrude Stein, Robert McAlman, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ezra Pound (*American Decades* 36). Parisian publication opportunities abounded, and writers from diverse backgrounds made their way there. In addition, artists, tourists, and even laborers turned toward there as well (*American Decades* 36). Ultimately, people were moving—world-wide, including travel within and from the United States.

This new American mobility creates several questions related to the central topic of this study, the relationship between author and place. How did authors such as Sarah Orne Jewett, Mark Twain, and Ernest Hemingway come to understand their homes? How did that understanding affect their self-perception? How did travel away from those home places affect their understanding of home, and by extension come to understand themselves? How did returning to a changed home as a changed person challenge their understanding of the place and their identity? And most importantly, how did this entire experience impact their literary works?

This new-found mobility called for fresh considerations of place. The accessibility to travel increased space from home, both in the literal sense—opening new territory for settlement—and in the abstract sense of conceptualizing home. Alan Trachtenberg describes the railroads' role in this increase: "The American railroad

seemed to create new spaces, new regions of comprehension” (59).² The same could be said for the developing transportation in general; this new means of transportation and mobility caused a change in perspective for travelers. Efficient travel to and from home forced new conceptions of it; people suddenly were able to view home from afar, having ventured to new places and having seen their homes objectively. From that perspective, individuals began to re-conceptualize their home. “Home” was no longer a central place. It became a place from which one migrated, or a starting and ending point for travel. A return there complicated understandings of it.

In traveling from home and returning to it, the writers I treat undergo what I term “strange homecomings.” By definition, that is an experience similar to Rip Van Winkle’s: returning home, after some time away, to a seemingly foreign place. Mark Twain compared this experience to what Bastille prisoners must have felt upon gaining their freedom and seeing Paris again after years in captivity: “how curiously the familiar and the strange mixed together” (524). This experience seems to be a significant factor in the shaping of the literature of Jewett, Twain, and Hemingway.

My analysis draws on recent scholarship that has recognized the importance of place and home in shaping the individual’s self-concept. Place identity theory, a branch of environmental psychology, provides an interesting access point for the analysis of a writer’s interaction with place. This field provides a method to analyze literary works for what they reveal about a writer’s association with place. Unlike other psychological approaches to literature, place studies considers the relationship between place and the author’s self-concept. The way an author comes to define himself and the way he comes to understand his hometown affect his attitudes toward the place and thus his literary

² Trachtenberg offers further exploration of railroad expansion and space. See 58-59.

reproductions of it. This approach illustrates the importance of places to authors and their works, and it highlights the extent to which interactions with places influence literature.

Place identity theories began with H. M. Proshansky, et al., (1978) who recognized place as a sub-category of the self and identified the physical environment as a factor that shapes individual identity as well as the identity of the people of that place. Since this seminal study, environmental psychologists have continued to expand theories on relationships to place. Although this study addresses a number of theorists, it is important to outline the work of a few here to establish a theoretical framework.

Duncan Case's work (1996) contributes to this study by illustrating the effects of travel on the individual's association with a place. Case argues that viewing the place from a distance allows the individual to see it more objectively. Moreover, travel affects an individual's bonds with place; in order to connect to other places, one must disconnect (at least partially) from their previous place. In this way, Case explains how the act of departure and return works can cause a deterioration in one's association with place.

Drawing on Case's work, Lynne C. Manzo (2003) further explores the effects of travel. Her work establishes the malleable nature of place identity. Recognizing that "place" as a concept holds positive and negative meaning attributed to it by the individual, she explores the ways that positive and negative associations with place can change over time with travel to and from the place.

Theodore R. Sarbin (2005) finds that an association with place is defined through its symbolic properties. That is, recognizable elements, or "features," of the place come to define both the place and the individual's relationship to it (212). One's identity, he

argues, is linked directly to these elements. As long as they are conspicuous, a place identity remains strong. When these elements are changed or disappear, however, the individual's association with the place is challenged or lost.

Perhaps the most important theorist in connecting place to literature is Maria Vittoria Giuliani. Her work (2003) shows that one's sense of place is exhibited through artistic recreation of it, particularly in representations of its physical characteristics. These physical characteristics, she argues, are loaded with meanings attributed to them by the individual. Giuliani's work specifically addresses fiction writing, validating the exploration of an author's work for what it may reveal about his or her attitudes toward the place.

Applying these theorists' work, this study addresses the literary impact of the "strange homecomings" phenomenon on the works of Jewett, Twain, and Hemingway, examining the way they recreated their sense of place. Not only does their work exhibit the effects of departure and return, but it also can be read as a measure of their attitude toward the place.

Sarah Orne Jewett's relationship with Berwick, Maine, illustrates the degree to which a strong bond with place impacts her attitude toward it. Growing up acutely conscious of Berwick's architecture, trees, and flowers, they were part of her place identity. Her later involvement with literary and social circles outside of Berwick (especially in Boston and London) magnified her awareness of the small town's deterioration every time she returned there. Jewett's attitudes toward the town surface in her literary treatment of those elements of place through which she identified. Her short stories—specifically "A Native of Winby" and "A Spring Sunday," but other stories as

well—illustrate her simultaneous awareness of the loss of place and a desire to sustain her association with it. Examining her work in this way ultimately provides for a means to address the overall accuracy of her regionalist writing.

Like Jewett, Mark Twain's social and cultural associations affected his literary representations and personal views of his hometown, Hannibal, Missouri. Rather than develop a stronger identification with the town, however, his growing popularity and intellectual exchange with his contemporaries complicated his place identity. As much as he loved his boyhood in his hometown, his identity gradually shifted away from it with each return he made. The result was increasingly negative fictional recreations of Hannibal and its townspeople in which he drew on multiple elements and events from his childhood. Evidence of this decaying place identity spans his major works from *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) through *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* (written intermittently during the early 1900s). This chapter reveals Twain's consistent interest in returning to familiar places and addresses larger issues of bias in literary representation.

Ernest Hemingway's experience represents a third type of "strange homecoming." Whereas Jewett's and Twain's place identity was challenged over time, Hemingway experienced an abrupt loss of place identity that had a direct impact on his writing. Having spent every one of his childhood summers in northern Michigan, he came to identify closely with the place. Upon his post-World War I return there in 1919, he found that the place as he knew it seemed to have disappeared. The physical and emotional wounds he suffered overseas compounded this unsettling experience. The resulting dislocation manifests itself in his Nick Adams's interactions with place. Although I focus on "Fathers and Sons" and "Big Two-Hearted River," this experience echoes throughout

many Nick Adams stories. An understanding of Hemingway's place identity reveals a persistent sense of dislocation in his fiction and informs the Lost Generation as a whole.

These authors represent a wide range of this experience and span a variety of the resulting literary effects, exemplifying the extent to which place associations, departures, and returns influence literature. As work on place identity continues to expand, new insights will no doubt develop. This study contributes to this critical current, showing yet another way that literature can be studied: as a gauge by which the impact of travel and an author's association with place can be measured.

CHAPTER ONE

SARAH ORNE JEWETT, LOSS, AND RE-IMAGINED REALISM

A harbor, even if it is a little harbor, is a good thing, since adventurers come into it as well as go out, and the life in it grows strong, because it takes something from the world and has something to give in return (“River Driftwood” 31-32).

While she was visiting the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Sarah Orne Jewett found a portrait of herself hanging in the State of Maine building (Blanchard 265). One can only wonder about the degree of self-reflection she experienced as the symbol of her birthplace as she stood among the visitors at the Exposition—itsself “a reflection and celebration of American culture and society” (Rose). What is certain, though, is that the author’s corpus had established her as a figure of Maine to the extent that she could be recognized on the national level as the embodiment of that place.³ Essentially, everything about Jewett was “of” Maine.

She had grown up in Berwick, Maine and travelled widely in the United States and abroad, leaving Berwick sometimes for months at a time before returning. Despite her travels, she maintained a firm view of herself as a Berwicker and internalized it in

³ Ben Slote touches on this notion, though to different ends in his work: “Her literary representations of New England had become definitive enough that an emblem of her career, the portrait, could signify that region in a national framework, replicating through curatorial context the mutually constituting relation between ‘region’ and ‘nation’ that helped enable regional fiction in the first place” (51).

many self-defining memories. Paula Blanchard describes her as “a citizen of the world...[but also] a village woman and a country doctor’s daughter, and it is her village and its surrounding farmlands that gave her stories their unique life and character” (Blanchard xvi). As an adult, after her career had flourished and she was established as a renowned author, Jewett would eventually come to spend half of the year in Berwick, then depart for half of the year to what Blanchard calls “the literary hothouse” of Boston (xvi). There, she would live for three months at a time with her close friend, Annie Fields,⁴ who entertained many of the major literary names of the late nineteenth century, before returning home for another three months. Her returns came with a price, however; with each departure and subsequent return, she was reminded of the decline in her hometown, which—although far from a ghost town—was a shadow of its former glory as a major American port city. The place that so thoroughly defined her increasingly was different than she remembered. Her homecomings thus serve as a catalyst for internal reflection, anxiety, and loss. Every time she witnessed a change there—a plot where a flower garden once was, trees cut down, a house left to ruin—she felt the loss. Such losses would manifest in her work.

Although there is no lack of scholarship on Jewett and place, there still is much to uncover. Specifically, we are yet to understand fully how the Maine region maintained a presence in Jewett’s life and work despite her worldwide travels, and how changes to both the place and to Jewett affected her work. One way this issue can be explored is through place identity theory; examining the theory behind Jewett’s identification with

⁴ Annie Adams Fields was the wife of Boston publisher James T. Fields. She established a salon at 148 Charles Street in Boston, where she entertained a multitude of guests. After her husband’s death, she and Jewett visited and travelled together more frequently, growing intimately close. Some critics have referred to their relationship as a “Boston marriage.” For more on Annie, her houseguests, and her relationship with Jewett, see Gale 98-99.

this region can further elucidate an already-strong body of critical work on this topic. Revisiting several of her short stories—particularly those stories that involve departure and return—to explore the losses she felt provides a venue to better understand her connection to the region and the fiction she produced.

The ways Jewett reconstructs her small town settings in her fiction reflect her sense of loss. Maria Vittoria Giuliani views one's sense of place as "a conscious force of creation and conservation of 'places' through words, actions and the construction of artifacts" (Giuliani 146). The author's word choice in her fiction shows an awareness of the crumbling environmental past in Berwick and its surrounding region; she reveals her attitudes toward the changing place through her literary descriptions of small town Maine, especially conspicuous in her descriptions of flowers, trees, and architecture. What is more, her constructions of these places and their "artifacts" suggest an attitude of futility not only in the present lives of her characters but often towards their futures.

Despite Jewett's popularity as a local colorist during her lifetime, her work fell out of favor for many years after her death. Scholarly interest resurged only in the 1960s and 1970s.⁵ Modern critics chiefly were interested in two areas of her work: her relationship to place and to other writers, such as Blanc, Whittier, and Cather. In the 1980s and 1990s, feminist scholarship on Jewett exploded in popularity, marginalizing the place studies in critical discourse. Nevertheless, there are some aspects of place in Jewett's work and her relationships to other authors still worthy of investigation. Place studies on Jewett historically have been limited to her association with the Maine she defined in her work. This study reconsiders how scholars have defined place as a static

⁵ Here and throughout this paragraph, I am speaking generally about Jewett scholarship. There are exceptions, of course, to the observations catalogued here; there have been place studies on Jewett in the 1980s and since then as well as feminist readings of her works that appeared before then.

location and redefine place as a dynamic entity, capable of changing over time. Like the places about which they write, authors of place are capable of changing, both in their travels to and from that place and in their relationships with others.

June Howard identifies two currents of critical discourse surrounding Jewett: critics either view Jewett as “an emphatic artist of local life,” or they see her as a “literary tourist” who explores topics beyond the singular, Maine locale (Howard 377). My work reconnects both views of this divided stream, showing how each can influence the other. I intend to show that, when place identity theory is considered, Jewett’s act of departing and returning illustrate a larger, worldly consciousness that she employs in her local color writing. My goal in this chapter is to accomplish four tasks: 1) to capture Jewett’s biographical background and her connection to place, 2) to examine the ways her departures and returns affect her, 3) to explore how this experience surfaces in her work, and 4) to suggest the implications of such a study.

Made of Berwick Dust

Jewett grew up in South Berwick, Maine. In her essay “The Old Town of Berwick,” she writes: “I am proud to have been made of Berwick dust; and a little of it is apt to fly in my eyes and make them blur whenever I tell the old stories of bravery, of fine ambition, of good manners, and the love of friend for friend and the kindness of neighbor to neighbor in this beloved town.”⁶ Jewett’s pride here cannot be overstated.

⁶ Regarding the discrepancy in the town’s name here and throughout this chapter (that is, “Berwick” vs. “South Berwick”): Jewett grew up in the town of Berwick, but over the course of her life, the town expanded such that the location in which she was raised became known as “South Berwick.” She expatiates this issue in her essays. In “River Driftwood,” she writes, “It is only South Berwick now; but I like to call it Berwick here, as it has a right to be called, for it was the oldest settlement, and the points of the compass should have been given to the newer centres of civilization which were its offshoots” (“River Driftwood” 23-24). In “The Old Town of Berwick,” she reiterates this notion, writing, “I find myself

She loved the town, the people, and the characteristics that made it unique. Recently, environmental psychologists have become increasingly interested in this type of affective bond with place (Giuliani 148). In fact, psychological identity theorists have recognized the degree place and place membership impacts self-perception (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 203). The relationship is symbiotic; while Jewett's feelings toward Berwick solidified her self-identification with the town and its surrounding areas, this self-identification strengthened her affective connection to the place. As Blanchard writes, "Although she sometimes chafed at its confinement, Berwick was always her primary home, the source not only of subjects of her art but of the deeper emotional springs that fed its creation" (Blanchard 2-3). She truly was "of Berwick."

This attachment to place translated into an insightful understanding of the place and its people. In "From a Mournful Villager," Jewett describes her fellow citizens: "People stayed on their own ground; their horizons were of small circumference, and their whole interest and thought were spent upon their own land, their own neighbors, their own affairs, while they not only were contented with this state of things but encouraged it" ("From a Mournful Villager" 119). Though her travels would complicate this notion of people and more directly herself, her knowledge of the place was a driving force in her work and her identity.

Theodore R. Sarbin's work is helpful in appreciating the role of Jewett's awareness of place in the development of her identity. Sarbin writes, "The grammatical form in which social identity is developed (asking and answering the question, 'who am

always speaking of my native town as Berwick, though the original town was long since divided and divided again. South Berwick is really the oldest of the three." Her insistence on the name of the place—that it should be called "Berwick," not "South Berwick"—parallels her views on town itself. Referring to the place as "South Berwick" marginalizes the town—an act that Jewett consistently works against. Throughout this chapter, I will use "Berwick" to refer to this place with which Jewett identified.

I?') can be adapted to locating oneself in geographical space. As we move about the city, we implicitly formulate the question, 'where am I?' To be able to locate oneself in a world full of symbolic spaces depends on having first acquired perceptual and conceptual skills" (211). Sarbin identifies the answers to the "where am I?" question as "of a symbolic and emotional kind" (211). Likewise, Jewett's ability to read the environment around her as a set of symbols that define and differentiate Maine from other places played a major role in establishing her talent as a local colorist. As we will see, Jewett ultimately answers the "where am I?" question through symbols in her environment that are loaded with emotional meanings. Such a direct link between her understanding of place and her understanding of herself primed her development as a writer.

Praise for Jewett's talent as a local colorist traditionally has been directly connected with her perception. F. O. Matthiessen writes, "She found herself equipped at the start of her career with what many strive unsuccessfully ever to gain, an almost complete knowledge of her environment" (51). Willa Cather has noted Jewett among other American authors such as Twain and Hawthorne as having achieved a style, defined as a "very personal quality of perception, a vivid and intensely personal experience of life" (as qtd. in Donovan 137). Jean Boggio-Sola adds, "she writes the poetry of everyday life in New England out of an exceptionally refined emotive sensibility" (202). Although it may seem obvious to assert that a talented writer of place requires such an ability in perception, Jewett's talent comes from being embedded *within* the place about which she wrote. Her skills amounted to more than simply recording and relaying the events and lives of her people; they came from within herself, and they were able to because of her immersion in her Maine setting.

She put these talents to work. She took advice from her father, who told her, “‘Don’t try to write *about* people and things, tell them just as they are!’”⁷ (“Looking Back on Girlhood” 6). She committed to do so, writing, “I began my work in life, most happy in finding that I was to write of those country characters and rural landscapes to which I myself belonged, and which I had been taught to love with all my heart” (“Looking Back on Girlhood” 7).⁸ Her efforts proved fruitful, prompting William Dean Howells to write to her, “I *hear* your people talk” (as qtd. in Blanchard xvi). Margaret Farrand Thorp’s praise of Jewett illustrates the degree to which the author is aware of her setting: “Anyone from another part of the United States, anyone from another part of the world, who wants to understand New England might do well to begin with the stories of Sarah Orne Jewett...they distill [New England’s] essence. Here are the qualities which made New England great, which spread its influence across the continent” (5). Jewett’s acute awareness of her place translated into her renowned capacity for immersing her reader in it.

This awareness served another function. Through Berwick, Jewett understood the world. As Blanchard writes, “her way of interpreting the world was rooted in her native ground” (210). In the Maine that she perceived around her, the foundation of her identity began. Giuliani argues that an individual creates an identity via an attachment to place through the physical characteristics of an environment (149). Therefore, Jewett’s place identity formed not merely through her presence in Berwick, but through the

⁷ Jewett credits her father for his influence on her work: “I was taught to find everything that an imaginative child could ask, in the simple scenes close at hand” (“Looking Back on Girlhood” 7).

⁸ “Looking Back on Girlhood” (1892) serves as a useful tool in understanding Jewett’s personal thoughts; Richard Cary refers to this essay as “the longest and most indicative autobiographical document pertaining to Miss Jewett’s background, aspirations, and emergence as a creative writer” (Cary, *Uncollected* xvii).

appropriation⁹ of elements that signify the place as her own. Such elements become “invested” with meanings through memories of interaction with them (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 209-10).¹⁰ These meanings become internalized so that the elements (or what Sarbin calls “features”) of the place come to represent the self.

According to Sarbin, “In some cases, features can be identified such as the presence of preferred architectural qualities or landscapes. More often the symbolic properties are referenced as feelings that are invoked by the aesthetic properties of a place. Such feelings are important to the development of a person’s life narrative and give special meaning to the importance of place identity” (Sarbin 212). Jewett seems to include both aesthetic and symbolic properties in her association with Maine.

Certain physical elements of Berwick stand out in her life and writing. As a child, Jewett enjoyed exploring the land outside of Berwick (Bishop 136). Often taken on horseback, these trips frequently would take her from the flower-lined roads of Berwick, past the tall pines of the area, and to some of the old mansions outside of town. In addition to these trips, her memories of flowers, trees, and houses in town helped to solidify aesthetic and affective elements in Jewett’s life. These features—flowers, trees, and architecture—seem to dominate her memories of place.

⁹ My use of the term “appropriation” here coincides with Duncan Case’s definition: “the symbolic incorporation of objects into one’s life and way of living” (2).

¹⁰ According to Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell, “Places represent personal memories—for instance, memories of your first love might be associated with a particular mountain side or, in a more urban context, a certain bar. The memory of interactions in the place invest the place with personal significance. Any one place can consequently have myriad different significances depending upon the role it plays in different personal histories” (210). In this way, the meanings of the elements can shift, in the Derridian sense, and thus impact the identity of the individual.

Matthiessen notably begins his biography of Jewett by detailing the author's own connection to flowers:¹¹

Sarah was happiest when she could smuggle herself into that front yard with its four lilac bushes...it was like a miracle in the spring when the yellow and white daffodils came into bloom. And later came the larkspur and the honeysuckle, Canterbury bells and London pride. A good many ladies'-delights always grew under the bushes and sprang up anywhere in the chinks of the walk or the doorstep, and a little green spring called ambrosia was a famous strayaway. Outside the fence one was not unlikely to see a company of French pinks, which were forbidden standing room inside as if they had been tiresome poor relations. Sarah could remember a time when she couldn't look over the heads of the tiger lilies, and when she had to stand tiptoe to pick crumpled petals of the cinnamon roses. (1-2)¹²

To begin a biography of Jewett in such a way seems only natural, given her penchant for flowers and near-constant allusion to them in her work. Matthiessen cleverly captures Jewett's essence in doing so.

Jewett's Berwick was filled with flowers. Some of her fondest childhood recollections include flowers (Matthiessen 17); during her much-loved drives with her father, she would observe "how almost every house had plots of gay flowers in front" (17). On one of the lesser-travelled lanes in town, "Sarah had found her first anemones" (17), and after a drive out into the country, "as they turned home, she saw the last of the

¹¹ In fact, in the first three pages of Matthiessen's biography, he includes descriptions of flowers, the architectural details of Jewett's grandmother's house, and the trees in and around Berwick. Assuming the natural desire for a biographer to capture his subject's essence in the onset of his work, this fact speaks volumes about the importance of these elements in Jewett's life.

¹² Matthiessen takes this account from Jewett's "From a Mournful Villager," page 135.

columbines clinging to a hillside. Meadow rue and red and white clover were just coming into bloom...The buttercups were thicker than the grass, and the mulleins stood straight and slender among the pine stumps” (18). As a child, she also would delight in going on errands for her parents, and returning home with a gift of flowers for them (“From a Mournful Villager” 129). Her love of flowers would extend into adulthood. She loved flower gardens, both domestic and foreign, and they were often “a favorite topic” in her letters to her friends (Nagel 44). She often describes her gardens in terms of the flowers they possess rather than their utilitarian components.¹³ Such memories of Berwick flowers would never leave her.

There is little doubt of the importance of trees either in Jewett’s life.¹⁴ Jewett never shunned an opportunity to expound on her appreciation of them. In “A Mournful Villager,” for example, Jewett uses an aside to reflect on the “pleasing pomp and ceremony” of rows of poplars (130). At Jewett’s grandmother’s house, the author-to-be would often walk “through a posted gateway into the great garden with its pear and apple trees, and a long row of Lombardy poplars beyond” (Matthiessen 3-4). While she loved time among her grandmother’s trees, she was drawn most to the trees outside of town. According to Sarah Way Sherman, they “gave Jewett a refuge from genteel conventions and a companionship that lasted all her life” (Sherman 189). Blanchard describes Jewett’s close relationship with trees, writing, “Sarah was keenly conscious of trees not only as beautiful in themselves but as living beings with a history and individuality of

¹³ Although New England gardens typically followed the seventeenth-century tradition of fulfilling utilitarian needs (herbs, condiments, etc.) over aesthetic ones, (as Gwen L. Nagel points out), they also included flowers for decoration (60). Most of Jewett’s discussion of gardens includes—if not centers around—the flowers in them. For this reason, I have merged Jewett’s references to gardens and flowers.

¹⁴ Considering the general knowledge and scholarly acceptance of Jewett’s appreciation of everything arboreal, I have consciously chosen not to dwell on this point in this chapter. Instead, in the interest of progressing with my argument, I only survey here a few brief aspects of her devotion to trees.

their own; some of them, she said, she regarded as friends” (Blanchard 199). These trees had a place in her personal life and in her environment. After all, to her, Maine was “the country of pointed firs.”

The architecture in Berwick would also help to develop Jewett’s place identity. Thorp credits Jewett’s childhood home for her appreciation of the older styles of architecture in Berwick, writing, “The house in which she was born and lived for much of her childhood left a strong influence on her tastes” (12). While the house was important, the role of architecture in her life cannot be dismissed with a superficial statement such as this that implies it was a matter of stylistic preference; it was her personal association with architecture and her association of the house with Berwick that impacted her. Based on her memory, this style of architecture was “of” Berwick.

Jewett’s fascination with her grandmother’s house especially impacted her sense of place. With its “brass knocker and solid, paneled door[,]...It was said that it had taken three men a hundred days to do the wood carving of [its] hall and its wide arch and easy stairway which led past the broad landing and pulpit window to the floor above” (Mathiessen 3-4). Despite living in the house next door, “she was always to think of this as home” and came to identify with it (4). In addition to her grandmother’s house, Jewett maintained throughout her life an adoration for another house outside of Berwick called “the Hamilton House,” after the family who owned it.¹⁵ In her youth, she would often ride her horse into the country to admire the mansion (Silverthorne 190).

¹⁵ Silverthorne locates the Hamilton House “at Pipe Stave landing on the Salmon River Falls, a tributary of the Piscataqua” (190). It is not clear how far outside of Berwick proper the house stood though did often ride there on horseback. Although Jewett called it “The Hamilton House,” critics often call it “The Hamilton *Mansion*,” perhaps as a more accurate description. For purposes of clarity, I use “House” here and throughout to parallel Jewett’s descriptions.

Her admiration for these and other antebellum mansions that still stood around Berwick sustained her appreciation of the style of architecture (Bishop 136). In many ways, all large houses in her work surface as manifestations of her grandmother's house or the Hamilton house. Structures in general played a large role in her keen awareness of place, however. Whether it was the houses in town, the mills down the road, or the wharves by the landing, Jewett was assiduously attentive and sentient to their place in the town. These structures signified a way of life in Berwick that she had come to appreciate, but over time they would come to signify loss and to function as a reminder of the times past.

Jewett's Departures and Returns

Over the course of her life, Jewett's travels both challenged and solidified her views of her hometown. Her travels began in 1872 and lasted her entire life, but she traveled most intensively in the 1870s.¹⁶ During this period, she was rarely home for more than two or three months at a time (Blanchard 104-5). These travels in the 1870s would distance her, both physically and mentally, from Berwick. "Her horizon was widening," Matthiessen writes (37). By 1877, Jewett was travelling frequently to Boston (Blanchard 81). In 1882, her departures from home again increased in frequency. She

¹⁶ According to Blanchard, in the fall of 1872 and winter of 1873, Jewett embarked on what Blanchard calls "a marathon round of visiting" of more than five months to the West, New York, and Philadelphia (104-5). In the fall of 1873, she traveled to Canada then to Philadelphia; two trips to the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876; seven weeks of 1877 in Concord, Boston, and Exeter; Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, New York City, and Boston in early 1878; and the winter of 1878-79 in Cambridge, Newport (R.I.), and Boston (105). Blanchard also identifies several shorter trips and summer trips to the coast during this time period (105).

began living half of the year with Annie Fields in Boston, and the other half of the year among her family in Berwick. Jewett would depart Berwick and return there with the seasons, spending the spring and autumn in Berwick, and the winter and summer in Boston. This same year, she also took her first trip to Europe. For the rest of her life, Jewett would continue to travel domestically, and three more trips abroad would follow in the 1890s.

Departures such as these allowed Jewett to see Berwick more objectively. As Duncan Case's work shows, "The concept of home gains definition from taking journeys away from home" (1). Case's work concludes that an absence from home provides an individual with a clearer understanding of that place and its elements;¹⁷ an individual undergoes what Case calls, a "dialectical process" through which the place is viewed more objectively due to "contrasting conditions or circumstances" between it (home) and the new place (away) (1).¹⁸ A key factor in the dialectical process is the absence of elements of home (1). Therefore theoretically, Jewett would gain a stronger sense of her home and its pine trees if she were to visit a place that lacked those pines. The same can be said for emotional elements as physical ones.

Much in line with current understandings of dialectical processes, Jewett felt that her travels were necessary in her appreciation of Maine. Perry D. Westbrook contrasts Jewett's attitude toward travel with Thoreau views: "Unlike Thoreau, who felt he could best know Concord by refusing to go elsewhere, she once said to Willa Cather that one must know the world before one could know the village" (50). The more she traveled, it

¹⁷ For an exploration of Case's work, see Manzo 52.

¹⁸ It should be noted that Case did not coin the phrase "dialectical process"; the phrase is used widely in environmental psychology, and its definition is generally accepted as outlined here.

seems, the more Jewett was aware of place.¹⁹ As she would discover via her travels away from home, her theory would prove true.

Her travels inspired an interest in the place she left and concurrently exposed her to new experiences. According to Blanchard, “she began to interest herself in village affairs and feel that her life and work were meant to evolve in relationship to that particular place. But she was also reaching out beyond Berwick, as she began to meet people who took her well outside her customary sphere” (105). Jewett, acutely aware of her “intellectual distance” from her Berwick neighbors, found resolve in several circles of friends in Boston and other cities (105).²⁰

Besides her new intellectual company, Jewett found herself in good company in print as well. In the *Atlantic*, Jewett now found herself among the literary elite. For example, in the May, 1875, issue, her work was accompanied by Longfellow’s “Amalfi,” one of Howells’s essays, poems by Lowell, Whittier, and Aldrich, and a chapter of Twain’s “Old Times on the Mississippi” (Matthiessen 60-61). Although her inclusion in such a select group does not surprise scholars today, it must have been reeling for this twenty-six year old village girl from Maine to be listed among these literary powerhouses, and in the *Atlantic* at that. In many ways, her publications were just as much intellectual rites of passage as career landmarks.

While her literary accomplishments were mounting, her relationships with the inhabitants and houseguests at James T. and Annie Field’s home at 148 Charles Street in

¹⁹ Lynne C. Manzo adds to her assessment of Case’s work, by discussing the strengthening of dialectical processes through an “interacting with an array of places” (52).

²⁰ Jewett’s view of small-town life swayed over the course of her life between a cherished, loving view of her hometown and a bitter disdain accompanied by feelings that the town lacked intellectual stimulation. Blanchard accounts for her desire to leave Berwick out of a solitude Jewett experienced at home, “without intellectual peers” and feeling “left behind by casual childhood companions who had married and moved away” (104). As a result, Blanchard argues, Jewett became “suddenly critical of the confinement and pettiness of small-town life” (Blanchard 104).

Boston were rapidly developing as perhaps her strongest personal and literary influence; she found the new lifestyle stimulating. Blanchard describes an example of the change eloquently: “Trees might be her dear companions, but their range of conversation was painfully limited, and she had not been in Boston a day before her calendar was filled with luncheons, art exhibitions, club meetings, teas, and various excursions” (Blanchard 212). Jewett’s literary relationships expanded exponentially through her Boston encounters. She often would exchange letters with Henry James, who described Jewett as a “mistress of an art of fiction all her own” (Cary, *Appreciation* xvii). She became close friends with many recognizable names in American literature, such as Aldrich, Holmes, Lowell (who read his poems to her), Howells, Emerson, Stowe, Longfellow, and Twain (Blanchard 2).²¹ Whittier, a close friend to both Annie and Jewett, wrote his sonnet “Godspeed” for them when they embarked for their 1882 tour of Europe (Matthiessen 73).²² During their trips to Europe, Annie and Jewett visited the Arnolds, Christina Rossetti, and Tennyson. (Matthiessen 73-74). Jewett adored her time with these individuals who all seemed smitten by Jewett. Even Theodore Roosevelt praised her (Cary, *Appreciation* xv). As Blanchard writes, “She was not only Annie’s darling, she was everybody’s darling: in Boston as well as Berwick she was ‘our dear Sarah’” (137).

Despite her time in Boston and elsewhere outside of Maine, Jewett still fought to define herself as a Berwick. In a February 3, 1895, letter to Dana Estes, Jewett writes, “I count myself entirely a Maine person and not a (transplanted) Boston citizen even

²¹ For more Lowell’s reading of his poems to Jewett, see Matthiessen 71.

²² See Appendix 1. In “Godspeed,” Whittier describes Jewett as, “her for whom New England’s byways bloom, / who walks among us welcome as the Spring, / Calling up blossoms where her light feet stray” (8-10). Note that even here, Jewett is associated with flowers.

though I may spend many weeks of the winter within the limits of Ward Nine!” (*Sarah Orne Jewett Letters* 94-95). Yet to convince herself might not have been so easy. Such a separation from home could have significant effects. As Case asserts, by connecting with new (or other) people through travel, “one must disconnect from personal relationships at home to connect with relationships that are away” (8).²³ Her developing relationships with those outside of Berwick “began to form the nucleus of the wide circle of friendships that would always secure her to the larger world, no matter how much time she actually spent in Berwick” (Blanchard 105). This “nucleus” complicated her sense of place identity.

Glynis Breakwell, outlining the change in self-concept that occurs when the individual encounters a new or different place, theorizes that “the new place may challenge identity because it imposes new expectations, invalidating values based on earlier place associations or attachments” (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 211). This theory sheds light on Jewett’s new location and associations challenged her known way of life in Berwick. Westbrook describes the lifestyle in the Charles Street house: “Here, as in few other houses in America, Milton, Donne, Shakespeare, and Arnold were read aloud, and the teachings of Aristotle were taken off the shelves and used as maxims for daily living” (43). Case argues that exposure to new people, places, and situations “provide a new perspective on life. It is as if travel allows a transcendence of present place and present self” (7).

²³ One must be careful to remember that even a short distance in the nineteenth century involved a great more disconnect than it does now. In an era without email, internet chat, or even plentiful telephones to connect immediately with people back home, a disconnect could occur with any travel from that place.

This “transcendence” complicated Jewett’s self-perception, however. Her travels would instill her with a new, divided sense of place (Donovan 49).²⁴ The juxtaposition of the intellectual atmosphere Jewett experienced in Boston and the lack of it she perceived in Berwick worked to challenge Jewett’s understanding of Berwick. As deductive logic would suggest, if Berwick lacked an intellectual atmosphere, and she was from Berwick, then she must lack intellect. Yet she knew this was not the case, so she was forced to redefine her notions either of Berwick or of herself in order to accommodate such logic—a task that grew more and more difficult with each successive return, regardless of her determined optimism toward home.

Jewett’s returns to Berwick were seemingly optimistic, and she shared her attitudes toward the place in a positive light. In an Oct. 6, 1882, letter to Annie, the author reflects on her return home: “It was lovely in the old house...it was all so sweet and full of welcome” (*Letters* #6). She had stated in an earlier (July 25, 1876) letter to Anna Dawes, “I think Berwick is new to me every year” (as qtd. in Blanchard 115). Jewett would maintain this optimistic tone in her letters back to Boston. Blanchard reads Jewett’s letter to Dawes as incredibly optimistic, citing Jewett’s claim that “Berwick is new to me every year” and referring to Jewett as “an explorer in her own territory” (115). Blanchard considers Jewett’s hometown “an inexhaustible source for her art” and one that would provide the author with “an uncommon and characteristic serenity that would never again be seriously shaken” (115). With each return, Blanchard argues, Jewett

²⁴ According to Josephine Donovan, this issue surfaces in Jewett’s work: “The central dilemma in Sarah Orne Jewett’s life and in her fiction during the early 1880s continued to be the conflicting attractions of rural and of urban life” (49).

sustained a “permanent sense of liberation” as a resident of the place and as an author writing about the place (Blanchard 244-45).²⁵

While certain claims here are plausible, they are not necessarily optimistic when one considers the dialectic process Jewett was undergoing at this time, which would force the author to see the town more objectively and different than Boston. Certainly Jewett could appreciate her hometown and its elements, but the source of its newness could be Jewett’s new perspective. No longer a pure Berwicker, Jewett had travelled extensively, and thus was distanced from the place and its inhabitants in this manner. Furthermore, now an emerging member of the literary elite, the intellectual distance she sensed before would never seem greater than for a person in her position. The elements of Berwick that she so adored in her childhood seem to be the only ones sustaining her and her fiction. As Philip G. Terrie writes, for Jewett, “memories of the past often define present reality” (17). Her new views of Berwick would provide her with an “inexhaustible source” for her writing, as Blanchard claims, but as we will see, her writing on Berwick was not always positive. Even Jewett’s claims that in Berwick “there is always something fresh, something to be traced or discovered, something particularly to be remembered. One grows rich in memories and associations” ring of change and a lost past rather than something present (“Looking Back on Girlhood” 3). The changes Jewett detected in Berwick will serve to taint her view of the village. These rose-colored views of Maine (and her “characteristic serenity” that Blanchard identifies) would not last.

²⁵Life in Berwick for Jewett was not always bright. She missed the social atmosphere of life in Boston (Blanchard 137). Her life in Maine—and the dialectic process that continued to call her place identity into question with each departure and return—would chip away at her identity of an individual solely from Maine. Her returns, too, were not always so glorious. After returning in 1893 for Thanksgiving, Jewett wrote to Howells, expressing her concern over “being silent at table and thinking too much of missed faces” of loved ones who have passed away (*Letters* #113).

In an October 12, 1904, letter to Charles Miner Thompson, Jewett reveals the effects of her time away from Berwick: “It was hard for this person (made of Berwick dust) to think of herself as a ‘summer visitor,’ but I quite understand your point of view; one may be away from one’s neighborhood long enough to see it quite or almost from the outside, though as I make this concession I remember that it was hardly true at the time of [her 1877 novel] ‘Deephaven’” (*Letters* #113). Jewett found that her traveling was changing not only her view of herself and her views of Berwick, but also *how* she saw Berwick. Jewett’s recognition of the effects of the dialogical process (that she sees it “from the outside”) illustrates the effects of her travels over time—effects, she admits, that were not always there (in 1877) but are noticeable at this time in 1904.

She would also find that Berwick itself was changing too. These changes would directly affect Jewett; for someone so in-tune to her surroundings, any change or decay to it would affect her the most. Economically, Berwick was failing (or perhaps more accurately: *had failed*). Over the course of her returns, she watched her coastal town’s conditions ebb “with growing alarm” (Blanchard 43). When she was a child, Jewett’s family members made her aware that at one time Berwick rivaled Boston (Bishop 135).²⁶ Perhaps this intensified her feelings as she repeatedly left Boston—as a city that economically and socially represented what her town could have been—and returned to see a time-passed Berwick. With an economy once so dependent on the sea and the surrounding forest, Berwick was “no longer an inland port, a busy artery between Santo Domingo and London. It was an up-country station on a branch railway line”

²⁶ Bishop cites the Embargo Act of 1807 as the primary cause for Berwick’s decline and eventual fall from this position. Though aimed at limiting American shipping, President Thomas Jefferson signed the Act to punish the British for interfering with American shipping. The result was economic fallout for American shipping towns such as Berwick.

(Mattiessen 19-20). While the town certainly was not a ghost town, and while it did continue to grow, it did so in toward a much-different place than she remembered.²⁷ Jewett suddenly found the town “hardly worth while for the trains to stop” (“River Driftwood” 32). Her comment here suggests her discontent with the direction in which Berwick had changed and implies a different set of values than the ones the town had. “It seems to me” she writes, “its old days were its better days” (32).

Jewett resisted the modern changes. In a fragment of the “From a Mournful Villager” manuscript, Jewett writes “One clings fondly unless one is heart and soul a radical iconoclast, to the old associations and familiar fashions of living. If one is conservative by nature[,] life is painful at times” (as qtd. in Nagel 47).²⁸ There are theoretical reasons that justify her reaction here. According to Terence Lee, an individual’s attachment²⁹ to a place—formed via a set of schemata associated with a particular attitude—can be threatened when the individual experiences a mismatch between prior notions regarding those schemata and newly observed notions.³⁰ That is, Jewett’s awareness of a Maine much different than the one she has known impacted her attachment to it. Her tension regarding this perceptual change was most notable (and noticeable) in her attitudes toward those elements that so clearly defined Jewett’s past and simultaneously signified the place itself.

She already was aware of the ways she was changing, and the place with which she had so strongly solidified her identity was changing; with each return, the changes

²⁷ In a letter to Mrs. Henry Lee Higginson. June 2, 1877, Jewett wrote: “Berwick itself is growing and flourishing in a way that breaks my heart” (*Sarah Orne Jewett Letters* 33).

²⁸ This fragment does not appear in the printed text of “From a Mournful Villager.” The manuscript is housed in the Houghton Library, Harvard University: MS Am. 1743.5(4)

²⁹ S.N. Brower defines “attachment” as “the feeling of possessiveness that an occupant has towards a particular territory because of its associations with self-image or social identity” (see Giuliani 153).

³⁰ According to Terence Lee, “When change [in attitude toward a set of schemata] does occur it is through the incompatibility of new material (or feelings) with the existing [schematic] structure” (49).

taking place became increasingly perceptible. Though she would always appreciate those elements of the village that filled the memories of her childhood, she would find them different now. In Berwick, she began to see increasingly similar negative aspects of city life: the decay of community, the eradication of the forest and trees that so clearly marked her town's location, and the contemporary architectural movements toward making structures cheaply and quickly—and thus without personality. She vocalizes this loss in the aptly named essay, "River Driftwood," writing "the days of the past seem to have come back, when one is near it, its whole aspect is so remote from the spirit of the present" (15). Though she enjoys being in Berwick, her enjoyment stemmed from those elements of the past to which she has attached, while its present "spirit" was far removed from the place she held dear in her memory (especially given the changes that occurred inside her while away).

Upon each of her returns to Berwick, she seemed to notice more and more change regarding the flowers, trees, and architecture, so that with each successive visit, her connection to Berwick and her identifiable past in it became more and more fragmented. These elements in Jewett's hometown became less idyllic, shifting to an association with loss. According to place identity theory, when identity is linked to place, any threat to the place will be internalized (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 221). For Jewett, this would mean that architecture, trees, and flowers become locations of threat, where loss is measurable. As a result, Jewett's identity was questioned when she observed these changes.³¹

³¹ Although Jewett's sense of loss often surfaces when she addresses multiple elements at once, a desire on my part for clarity merits a separate treatment of them here (although some overlap may be apparent in my discussion).

Flower gardens not surprisingly are one way Jewett measured the changes present in Berwick and the loss that they signified. Her departures and returns allowed her to see what has happened since she left. She often employs her gardens as a literary device to express her distress over the change that has taken place in her hometown, and uses them as a means to voice her concern for the future. The symbolic density of Jewett's flower gardens has prompted much scholarly discourse. Roman and Nagel have linked them with her views on feminism. Roman reads them as symbols of feminist progression.³² Blanchard also takes up a feminist view, albeit briefly, reading the gardens as symbolizing a vitality of women.³³ Nagel reads them differently, however, "not [as] an emblem of fecundity and promise for the future but of loss and death" (45), and sees the roots of these gardens as influenced by social change, specifically the changing role of women where a woman who "enters the wider world... risks losing touch with the important values in her personal and cultural heritage" (46).³⁴ Although Nagel's work is informative, Jewett's concern seems to lie emotionally deeper than a loss imposed in this manner. The gardens do reflect a disruption of tradition and a disorder surfacing with the changing times, but these issues stem from a sense of personal loss.

In some ways, Jewett associates her gardens with her own childhood. Looking back on her youth, she writes, "There are few of us who cannot remember a front-yard garden which seemed to us a very paradise in childhood" ("From a Mournful Villager"

³² Roman, among others, argues that the gardens "offer a clue to [Jewett's female characters'] prospective independence" (17). This feminist reading of Jewett's gardens (among other subjects) identifies a pattern in Jewett's gardens and argues that the author portrays a character's disposition through her descriptions of that character's garden.

³³ See Blanchard xvi, and throughout.

³⁴ Nagel's work insightfully establishes the garden-as-Eden connection in Jewett's work, connecting the modern woman with disappearing and decaying gardens. This decay, Nagel argues, marks a loss of an affable society (the garden as a neighborly front door greeting), a change in women (pre-suffrage modernization), and a loss of aesthetic values (in gardens, and in a larger capacity, elsewhere).

128). Yet these flower gardens and the fences that contained them were vanishing. Here and throughout “From a Mournful Villager,” she is not celebrating the gardens-of-her-youth as much as she is disparaging their disappearance, aligning them with an “old-fashioned village life [that] is becoming extinct” (127). Here, Jewett connects the change in time with the disappearing fences. Time itself seems responsible for making “extinct” the delightful gardens and the former lifestyle of the region.

For Jewett, this desire for an “old-fashioned life” stems from her association of flowers with a healthy community. She considered gardens—as they were portrayed in popular periodicals of the time—“a healthy antidote to the evils and pollution of city life” (Nagel 52). As Nagel writes, Jewett associated them “with the past and not the future” (43). Because she viewed these flower gardens “an indispensable attribute of a vibrant village society,” she mourned the loss of them as a sign that her hometown as she knew it was dissolving³⁵ and with it, her own understanding of herself.

A similar violation to self-perception occurs in Jewett’s awareness over the loss of trees in the area. She internalizes the violence performed on the trees and the landscape, feeling it just as much as a personal attack on her as an attack on her understanding of the place with which she identifies—and thus on her identity. Essentially, she was losing her country of pointed firs. Growing up in this area, she was aware of the loss of trees early in her life (Matthiessen 11). The author reflects on her youth in “The Old Town of Berwick,” writing, “The northern country was covered *then*, for the most part, with heavy pine growth; and the chief business at Berwick was buying this from the lumbermen”

³⁵ Blanchard takes a similar stance; she views the loss of gardens “as a sign that community cohesion and individual self-respect were beginning to crumble” (Blanchard 197).

(emphasis added).³⁶ In “Looking Back on Girlhood,” the author recalls her childhood memories: “When the great teams came in sight at the head of the village street, I ran to meet them over the creaking snow, if possible to mount and ride into town in triumph; but it was not many years before I began to feel sorry at the sight of every huge lopped stem of oak or pine that came trailing along after the slow-stepping, frost oxen” (4). As the essay progresses, her tone becomes increasingly somber. She shifts from her memories to the present situation: “Such trees are unreplaceable. I only know of one small group now in all this part of the country of those great timber pines” (4). Jewett established quite early an awareness of the damage the lumber industry was inflicting on the landscape. As evident in her writing, Jewett would still hold on to these memories in her later years.

With each successive return home, Jewett became more sensitive to the disappearing trees around her. The author’s concern did not only lie with the landscape of her place; the felling of these trees also affected her personally. Mattiessen traces Jewett’s comments in “A Bit of Shore Life”—a story in which Robert L. Gale observes “dour depictions of rural New England life”—back to her feelings of the trees in Berwick (26). Jewett sorrowfully relays the events from her childhood, writing, “The woods I loved best had all been cut down the winter before. I had played under the great pines when I was a child, and I had spent many a long afternoon under them since. There never will be such trees for me any more in the world. I knew where the flowers grew under them...and it was as much home to me as my own house” (Mattiessen 22-23). In one instance, the cutting of a three-hundred-year-old tree “goad[ed] her into a rage as few

³⁶ Jewett includes a strikingly similar statement in her earlier “River Driftwood”: “A hundred years ago the north country was covered for the most part with heavy timber” (10).

other things could” (Blanchard 199). In another, Jewett was so driven by her compassion for her “friends” that she and her sister, Mary, attempted to purchase the last remaining plot of forest land in town to prevent it from being harvested (Blanchard 199).³⁷ In 1889 or 1890, Jewett wrote to Annie Fields about a dying elm. Describing it as “the dearest tree of my childhood and all my days,” the author wrote, “I begin to feel as if it were holding itself up just as long as it could, in a kind of misery of apprehension, poor old tree! It seems as if it must know all about us” (*Letters* 56). In her essay, “A Winter Drive,” the author extends this personal loss to all trees lost: “now I have a heart-ache at the sight of a new clearing, and I follow sadly along the road behind a great pine log as if I were its next of kin and chief mourner at its funeral” (167). Jewett goes as far as personifying the trees as a means of expressing her grief: “I miss very much some poplars which stood on the western shore, opposite the great [Hamilton] house, and which were not long since cut down. They were not flourishing, but they were like a little procession of a father and mother and three or four children out for an afternoon walk” (“River Driftwood” 29). Here, her loss over trees conjures the inclusion of the Hamilton House, revealing the way architecture remained another concern for Jewett.

Architecture, however, seems to be the most vivid artifact of loss in Jewett’s Maine. As much as Jewett loved Berwick’s old homes, evocative of the past glory days, the author’s returns home reminded her of the changing architectural landscape. With each homecoming, she saw the architecture with which she identified increasingly threatened by physical decay and neglect as well as changing trends in architectural style. The Hamilton House, built in 1785 by Colonel Jonathan Hamilton, remained the

³⁷ This effort fell through because the price was more than the Jewett sisters could afford (See Blanchard 199).

quintessential reminder of loss. Jewett believed that the mansion was unique—not only for its beauty, but for its perseverance and its unmatched “grand air” (“River Driftwood” 15).³⁸ In her descriptions of the house in “River Driftwood,” she describes her fondness for the woodwork inside the house. Her details of the intricate carvings, which were included in her lengthy discussion of other architectural elements, parallels her fond memories of her grandmother’s house and call to mind her own biographical delight in such structures.³⁹ More often than not her large houses appear in her fiction as decaying though simultaneously eliciting a prominent, proud past.

The Hamilton House was not the only structure that induced a sense of loss for Jewett. Paul John Eakin cites the houses in Berwick as one way in which the author “believed that the inhabitants of the world in which she had grown up could still be identified” (203).⁴⁰ The houses—and their stylistic extravagances—were a means to keep not only a memory of them alive, but a means to sustain an entire way of life. In “From a Mournful Villager,” Jewett reflects on the status of architecture in her youth, at a time when she would “watch the people go in and out of the quaint-roofed village shops...[that] looked as if they belonged to a Dutch or old English town. They were burnt down long ago, but they were charmingly picturesque” (“From a Mournful Villager” 135). Her inclusion of their fate here implies Jewett’s disquietude over both

³⁸ Rich in architectural detail, the Hamilton House continued to be a fixture of Jewett’s appreciation. Blanchard discusses the Jewett’s involvement in its preservation (see 314-15): In short, in 1895, the mansion came up for sale. When rumors swarmed that there were plans to demolish the house and divide the property into separate lots for developing, Jewett and her sister, Mary, decide to intervene. They convinced a Boston widow, Emily Tyson, to purchase and remodel the house. Blanchard writes that the sisters “had the satisfaction of having saved the house—even though that was the year they lost the last of the town’s old-growth forests” (315).

³⁹ For a comparison, see the description of Jewett’s views of her grandmother’s house (Matthiessen 2-4), and Jewett’s description of the Hamilton House in “River Driftwood” (15).

⁴⁰ Eakin’s work centers on the inverse of my study: the fictional departure of a rural characters who experience urban setting. While he does touch on their return, his primary interest is how the “visit pattern” experience in the city affects Jewett’s characters.

their disappearance and sense of a loss of childhood brought about by the current building trends. Much to Jewett's chagrin, the older houses in Berwick were torn down and replaced with commercial buildings and inexpensive housing that lacked the characteristics that Jewett so loved (Blanchard 198). The "quaint roofs" style was disappearing; one by one, her beloved old houses and buildings began vanishing from the Maine countryside, each a visible and quite measurable degree of loss.

Jewett's disdain for the contemporary architectural trends appears in her optimistic letter, dated May 2, 1893, to William Ward,⁴¹ "If I am not mistaken the Chicago exposition will teach us to be more careful about our buildings—both in preserving the old ones and in building better fashions" (*Sarah Orne Jewett Letters* 81). Although a positive attitude toward future architectural trends is in the foreground of her comments, her discouragement with the current movement lies in the background here. New and different buildings were appearing in the area, and she mourned the appearance of each (Blanchard 199).⁴² As the immigrant labor force swelled in Berwick, their homes and "mouldering fishing shacks" changed the landscape, and the textile mill workers' "drab and rickety houses were growing like mushrooms overnight" (Mattiessen 20).⁴³ The wharves that had once established her hometown as a flourishing seaside port physically were rotting (Blanchard 43). Jewett resented these and other changes in the cityscape of her hometown. Upset over "the irreparable loss of certain ancient

⁴¹ Editor of *The Independent*

⁴² According to Blanchard, "she hated the architectural muddle that all of these things brought with them, and the callous expedience with which ugly new buildings were thrown up overnight with no thought of their relationship to their neighbors, as if a two-hundred-and-fifty-year-old town were nothing but a raw stretch of virgin prairie" (199).

⁴³ The workers mentioned here were employed in the textile mills in Salmon Falls, a mile from Jewett's home (Mattiessen 20).

buildings,” she felt these changes internally in the same manner as with the loss of flowers and trees (as qtd. in Blanchard 82).⁴⁴

Over time, Jewett’s concern for the flowers, trees, and houses around her increased exponentially. Any new money that came into the area, it seemed to her, was used to “sweep away the quaint houses, the roadside thicket, the shady woodland” (as qtd. in Blanchard 82).⁴⁵ Jewett’s attitude seems to sway between a proud celebration of elements that filled her childhood and a nostalgic sadness for their loss. This tone—like her writing—is the product of her repeated journeying from a much-valued, but much-changed, Maine.

Her Losses Expressed

Between 1878 and 1902, Jewett published at least 146 short stories, and wrote a great deal more that never found their way to print (Cary, *Uncollected* iv). Although most critical work on Jewett has focused on either *Deephaven* or *The Country of Pointed Firs*, her shorter works are equally valuable,⁴⁶ given that most of her longer works began as a series of short stories in magazines and were combined later to form a longer work. The experience of Jewett’s departures and returns, and her concern over the loss she witnessed, surface in several of her works. According to Eakin, Jewett’s “strong sense of passing time...give[s] shadow and substance” to her writing (208).⁴⁷ Known for directly

⁴⁴ Jewett wrote this excerpt in the preface to the 1894 edition of *Deephaven*. Because that edition is not readily available, I have quoted from Blanchard here.

⁴⁵ See previous note.

⁴⁶ It is a bit of a mystery as to why Jewett scholarship consistently avoided her shorter work. This study opens up Jewett studies to include the magazine literature works that largely made her popular in her own time.

⁴⁷ Here, Eakin discussion focuses on *Country By-Ways*. However, the same can be said for much of Jewett’s work.

incorporating her experiences into her fiction,⁴⁸ Jewett establishes a pattern of loss identifiable in her literary portrayal of flowers, gardens, and architecture. These qualities that make her work exceptional appear in many of her stories that involve departures and returns and the passing of time. These tales can be re-read with new understanding as literary manifestations of the uneasiness and loss incurred via her own departures and returns. Her works reflect an internal identity conflict stemming from her homecomings and changing perspective regarding place. In these stories, Jewett attempts to reconcile the loss of the idyllic value system she constructed in memory and her fiction (and thus in herself as she is connected to the place).

Citing “River Driftwood” as an example, Elizabeth Silverthorne identifies a pattern in Jewett’s work in which the author “display[s] her penchant for catching a glimpse of the past by observing something in the present” (53). This pattern is useful because Jewett establishes a sense of loss at these junctures. Her observations of the present are rarely positive. They conjure images that juxtapose with what once was. The difference is an observable deterioration, evident in those elements reminiscent of her childhood.

“A Native of Winby,” written in 1891, is representative of what Gale calls Jewett’s “return-of-the-native stories” and serves as a token example of the strange homecoming phenomenon which surfaces time and again in her work (205).⁴⁹ In the tale, a “well-dressed elderly” stranger arrives at the schoolhouse in Winby, a small town whose only claim is to be the birthplace of the Honorable Joseph K. Laneway, who in his

⁴⁸ As Blanchard writes, “she thriftily tucked away on the shelves of her imagination bits and pieces of daily experience” (115).

⁴⁹ Although Gale coins the phrase “return-of-the-native stories,” there has been no previous scholarly work which has focused holistically on these stories, their source, or their impact as a separate entity.

early teenage years left the town for the (fictional) state of Kansota⁵⁰ where he became a self-made millionaire, military general, and a senator (6). The schoolteacher, Marilla Hender, does not recognize the stranger. Assuming he is there to sell her new school desks and unaware of whom he really is, she informs him that Winby is the birthplace of the great Laneway, informing him of the General's achievements in detail. Eventually, the stranger reveals his identity as the famous General Joseph K. Laneway himself, come back to visit his hometown. After Laneway delivers a brief speech to the youth in the schoolhouse, he accepts Hender's invitation to her house after learning that her grandmother, Abby, was Laneway's childhood friend and schoolmate. On the way to visit Abby, Laneway stops at the site of his former house where he is surprised to find his home gone. Disappointed and depressed that no one has recognized him, he leaves the site to spend the night at Abby's house, where they exhaust the evening reminiscing about times passed. Upon his departure from town the next day, he is greeted by crowds of townfolk, there to see the "the great soldier, statesman, and millionaire" (10).

Considering the fact that he is not recognized either personally or for his achievements until the closing paragraph of the story, his status in town is problematic. His greatness is Gatsby-esque: "great" in the sense of what he represents, but on the personal level, no one knows him. He is a stranger to them. This stranger status distances him from the town and ultimately complicates his understanding of himself. Jewett repeatedly uses the stranger trope, often enough that it becomes synonymous with "returning native." In fact, if a character in any of her works is described as a stranger,

⁵⁰ Horace E. Scudder (editor, *Atlantic Monthly* 1890-1898) advised Jewett to use a fictional state, rather than Iowa, as she had planned. In a Feb. 28, 1891, letter to Scudder she acknowledges his advice and her intent to change it (*Letters*, ed. Cary 73).

one usually can expect them to be a local who has returned after leaving town for some time.⁵¹

Such is the case in the “Winby” story. Jewett takes great care to establish Laneway as “the stranger” figure, referring to him with this term four times in the first ten pages of the tale. In as much as he is called a stranger, Laneway feels like one. The villagers do not know him. They have not heard of the Laneway family, and they speak to him “in indifferent fashion” (21). Jewett’s insight into his mind confirms his stranger status: “Somehow he had been expecting that every one [sic] would know him and greet him, and give him credit for what he had tried to do, but old Winby had her own affairs to look after, and did very well without any of his help” (21). By assigning Laneway this stranger status, Jewett effectively distances him from the current town, and disrupts his assumption that his constitution is built upon his Winby origins. In addition, the town has continued on without him. Laneway assumes that his high status will be transferred to a place in which he has not been in years. He also assumes that the town would only progress if it maintained a knowledge of him and his achievements. Laneway is struck by the recognition that Winby has moved on with “her own affairs.” Through Laneway’s experience, Jewett illustrates the ways in which memory of place is ego-centric; the way an individual remembers a place is tied to his or her being there. When that presence is lost, the individual often assumes that the place no longer functions or evolves; the place remains stagnant, exactly as it was when he or she left it.

⁵¹ In “Looking Back on Girlhood,” Jewett writes, “I believe that we should know our native towns much better than most of us do, and never let ourselves be strangers at home. Particularly when one’s native place is so really interesting as my own!” (3). With the development of her writing career and her inclusion in the Boston literary circles, Jewett herself felt like a stranger in Berwick. Later in the essay, Jewett describes herself as “timid about asking the post-mistress for those mysterious and exciting editorial letters which she announced upon the post-office list as if I were a stranger in the town” (“Looking Back on Girlhood” 7). Her use of “stranger” here is revealing, as it equate her becoming a writer with becoming a stranger in her own town.

Laneway's return inspires a certain reflection over the years leading up to this point. As he stands in his old schoolhouse, which he finds still maintains "that same odor in his boyhood," he is struck by the familiarity of it (16). He tells the students, "I see my life spread out like a great picture, as I stand here in my boyhood's place" (13). Yet he also feels the time that has passed since he left: "I am glad to come back, but I feel, as I look in your young faces, that I am an old man, while your lives are just beginning" (13). His return has forced him to feel his age and distance between then and now. He delivers an inspiring message to the children, but in this message is a clear sense of what he has lost over the passing of time. His return has served as a reminder of this loss.

A feeling of loss threads through the entire story. As he finds himself alone, Laneway reflects on his expectations of his return: "He had dreamed all his life, in a sentimental, self-satisfied fashion, of this return to Winby. It had always appeared to be a grand affair, but so far he was himself the only interested spectator at his poor occasion...This was hardly like the visit he had meant to pay to his birthplace" (20-21). He expected a hero's welcome, and one filled with internal joy upon returning home. However, these expectations are based on the assumption that the town and the people in it would be the same. When they are not, he has difficulty coping. His feelings quickly turn to regret: "He wished with all his heart that he had never come back" (22). He (like Jewett herself) had created a memory of the town that solidified in his mind. Throughout his time away, amidst all of the other, national-level changes (rise of capitalism, the Civil War, and the evolution of a more solidified Federal government) of which he was a part, he fails to consider that his hometown would change also.

Laneway's visit with Abby only adds to his sense of warped-time and feelings of being lost in the changes. After an initial awkwardness and reintroductions, they "began in good earnest the talk of old times, and what had become of this and that old schoolmate; how one family had come to want and another to wealth. The changes and losses and windfalls of good fortune in that rural neighborhood were made tragedy and comedy by turns in Abby Hender's dramatic speech" (30). All the while, the town undergoes a transformation in Laneway's mind; he must reconstruct the town from his memory to what Abby is telling him and what he has witnessed around him. Again, he regresses into childhood. During their conversation, Abby "grew younger and more entertaining hour by hour," until he began to equate her with the child she was when he left his hometown (30).

Laneway's connection to the town is more complicated than simple time spent there. He has constructed his identity based on it: "He had always liked to refer to his early life in New England in his political addresses, and had spoken more than once of going to find the cows at nightfall in the autumn evenings, and being glad to warm his bare feet in the places where the sleepy beasts had lain, before he followed their slow steps homeward through bush and brier" (17). Not only has the great Senator Laneway used his modest origins to his advantage on the campaign trail, he also has used it to understand who he is. He came from humble beginnings, where time moved more slowly than the rest of the world, and life was lived more simply. At one point, he tells Abby that in times of trouble and stress, he often regretted leaving the simpler life in Winby.

By extension, he has created from these memories a larger view of his achievements. It is one thing for a man to become a millionaire, general, and senator. It

is another altogether for someone *from Winby* to do so. Jewett's descriptions of Laneway reveal his elevated view of himself. She often makes note of his achievements, referring to him through elevated, status-signifying language, "the great soldier, statesman, and millionaire" (10) and "the Hero of District Number Four" (15). For an individual from such a small town to achieve such things makes these feats all the more impressive in his eyes; he has come that much farther, and his starting point was the small town that he remembered. He built his own image and sense of self from the static memory of that place. Then when he returns, the small town which had defined who he was for so long is different than he remembers. The foundation on which he has constructed himself has crumbled along with his memories.

In addition to Laneway's self-perception, Jewett's treatment of the trees in this story indicates the degree to which she is aware of the mixed emotions of a return home like the one Laneway undergoes. Throughout the story, feelings of loss surface in association with trees. Each sight along Laneway's walk is loaded with memory; with each step toward the former family farm, he is "met again and again by some reminder of his youthful days" (17). When Laneway arrives at the pastures near his former home, he sees familiar sites: the "great red oak" and other familiar trees.

He is a stranger among these familiar trees. He experiences many of the same sights that he knew as a child, but now these sights, which have been maintained stagnant in his memory since he left, are different: "The oak-tree was dying at the top. The pine woods beyond had been cut and had grown again since his boyhood" (17). This association with dying or dead trees indicates a irreparable loss—not only to the place, but to him as well.

To her descriptions of trees, Jewett adds a sense of distance between Laneway's childhood and what he has become since leaving. He has become a man much different than his hometown's other inhabitants, which troubles him greatly. As a means to cope with the time passed and the losses incurred, he resorts back to his earlier self: "It was easier to think of himself as a boy, and to slip back into boyish thoughts, than to bear the familiar burden of his manhood" (16). His aversion to the changed place is so strong that it is easier for him to regress to childhood than to confront and adapt his images of home and thus himself.

The great General, senator, and millionaire is injured by this experience, when "all his natural power of leadership and habit of authority disappeared at once as he trod the pasture slopes, calling back the remembrance of his childhood" (18). He is weakened, and the achievements he has made since leaving are diminished by his sudden sense of time passed. Jewett extracts these feelings and simultaneously associates them with loss through her personification of the trees:

The slender gray birches and pitch pines of that neglected pasture had never before seen a hat and coat exactly in the fashion. They may have been abashed by the presence of a United States Senator and Western millionaire, though a piece of New England ground that had often felt the tread of his bare feet was not likely to quake because a pair of smart shoes stepped hastily along the school-house path.

(22)

Seeing the pasture links him to his memories of youth, and now the pasture is overgrown, no longer of use, changed, and essentially "lost." Much can be discerned in her adjective, "neglected," here. The pasture, literally, has been neglected over time. So, too, has the

towns memory of him. Like the site itself, Laneway's life in Winby (despite being held steadfast in his own mind) has been neglected by others.

The loss represented in the trees quickly transfers to his boyhood home. His memories of that place are shattered: "From the knoll just ahead he had often seen the light of his mother's lamp, as he came home from school on winter afternoons; but when he reached the knoll the old house was gone, and so was the great walnut-tree that grew beside it, and a pang of disappointment shot through this devout pilgrim's heart" (18-19). Here, the loss associated with the walnut tree is compounded by the disappearance of the house. His disappointment increases as he reflects further upon his expectations. In his mind, he had established certain hard facts regarding his hometown, including the fact that walnut tree and the house always stood in the same place, and he relished the thought of returning there: "He never had doubted that the old farm was somebody's home still, and had counted upon the pleasure of spending a night there, and sleeping again in that room under the roof, where the rain sounded loud, and the walnut branches brushed to and fro when the wind blew, as if they were the claws of tigers" (19). Briefly, he returns to his boyhood memories, and the imagination of youth embodied in the tigers' claws. Those memories which he held for so long are suddenly discontinued. They are stolen from him with the disappearance of his home.

He stands in the field where his house used to be, "tracing the old walls and fences, and astonished to see how small the fields had been" (19). The word "small" here takes on multiple meanings. First, it connotes a size difference; the fields are smaller than he remembers. This shift in size reflects the challenges of memory. As a child, he remembered the fields as a certain size relative to his own physical size. As he grew, the

memories of the field stay the same in his mind, thus maintaining their size until his return, at which point his larger physical size challenges the size of the fields in his memory. However, there is another meaning of the word small; the fields seem small in importance and stature. This view of the fields, also derived from memory, reflects Laneway's self-perception; he views himself as a much "larger" man than when he left, where "larger" includes his self-defining occupations as general and senator. The size of the fields, then, come to measure his development as an individual since he left his hometown; he too has changed.

The longer he stays at this site, the more he is affected. As he studies his surroundings, he notices that "even the foundations had disappeared"—an insightful commentary on his views of his humble beginnings (19). He is further disappointed as he continues to search the location, where, "at last in the long, faded grass he discovered the doorstep, and near by [sic] was a little mound where the great walnut-tree stump had been. The cellar was a mere dent in the sloping ground: it had been filled in by the growing grass and slow processes of summer and winter weather" (19). Jewett's clever use of metaphor here is informing. Through the covered foundation of the house and the stump, she reveals how time has come to remove the physical elements of the past.

He remains there late into the afternoon. During this time, his disappointment and devastation turn increasingly inward as he grows more and more conscious of his refusal to leave: "The afternoon wore late, and still the gray-haired man lingered. He might have laughed at someone else who gave himself up to sad thoughts, and found fault with himself, with no defendant to plead his cause at the bar of conscience" (20). Jewett's use of words such as "late" and "gray-haired" mark her ability to use adjectives to mark the

passing of time. Her word choice adds to Laneway's awkward experience. Despite his awareness of how strange such an act is, he stays there alone, in "an altogether lonely hour," captivated by the loss he felt (20).

Jewett's injection of a reference to "winter-killed" golden rod into this scene marks a change in her literary devices (19). Her focus remains on the notion of loss; however, she transfers the locus of loss from Laneway's missing home to the flowers surrounding it. Implied in her adjective, "winter-killed," is the neglect of sunshine and warmth, which metaphorically lit Laneway's own life in the past. The narrator's (and thus the reader's) attention is methodically drawn away from the house by references to flowers. Though subtle at first, the loss that is signified with these flowers becomes overt.

With Jewett's switch to flowers, her images of loss become more personal for Laneway. As he is mourning the loss of his former home, he notices his mother's rosebush. She had planted it, then left it there in Winby when the family moved away. She died two years after they moved. The plant conjures memories of his deceased mother:

A sudden brightening of memory brought to mind the love that his mother—dead since his fifteenth year—had kept for this sweetbrier. How often she had wished that she had brought it to her new home! So much had changed in the world, so many had gone into the world of light, and here the faithful blooming thing was yet alive! There was one slender branch where green buds were starting, and getting ready to flower in the new year. (20)

In her description of this rosebush's green buds, Jewett implies hope enlivened by the promise of spring. She couches an overwhelming sense of loss in this scene, however. The thought of his mother quickly leads to the allusion to change in the world. Yet, this change is not positive, and it is followed by references to multiple deaths. Jewett uses the rosebush in association with the mixed feelings that Laneway's return invokes; it is a source of memories but also a reminder of the losses incurred.

The technique of using flowers to convey meaning is one Jewett employs throughout. Jewett's use of flowers to conjure negative emotions also appears in this scene. Laneway reflects on his past with Abby: "just beyond [the point where he stood] was a sunny spot where he had picked a bunch of pink and white anemones under a prickly barberry thicket, to give to Abby Harran[-Hinder] in morning school. She had put them into her desk, and let them wilt there" (18). His return to this place conjures feelings of heartbreak he experienced as a child. The flowers—a promise of love and the future, even in youth—die shortly after he gave them to Abby. In much the same way, his expectations crumble shortly after his return home. As much as Laneway was looking forward to returning home to see the sights and people of his former town, he ultimately faces disappointment when his expectations "wilt" under the weight of reality.

In addition, at the onset of the story, she uses flowers within a collage of things on Marilla's desk to create a sense of a time passed: "On the teacher's desk, in the little roadside school-house, there was a bunch of Mayflowers, beside a dented and bent brass bell, a small Worcester's Dictionary without any cover, and a worn morocco-covered Bible. These were placed in an orderly row, and behind them was a small wooden box which held some broken pieces of blackboard crayon" (1). She situates the flowers

alongside other time-worn items, describing each in ways that mark them as such: a dictionary *without a cover*, a *worn* bible, *broken* blackboard crayons. Even the school-house is *little*. While the flowers do function as Marilla's attempt to make the place look nicer than it is—and Jewett's use of them does accomplish this task—Jewett's flowers ultimately signify loss by association. By situating them among these other items, they become quaint, and further Jewett's establishment of the town and its people as insignificant and outdated, or in the case of Joe Laneway, beyond their glory.

Notions of insignificance such as these fill this story. Laneway's speech to the children at his former school is no exception. In perhaps the saddest portion of the tale, Laneway reveals his own feelings of insignificance. He attempts to convey to the children his high regard for the town. Instead, loss dominates his address:

“I have thought many times,” the great guest began, “that some day I should come back to visit this place, which is so closely interwoven with the memories of my childhood. In my counting-room, on the fields of war, in the halls of Congress, and most of all in my Western home, my thoughts have flown back to the hills and brooks of Winby and to this little old school-house. I could shut my eyes and call back the buzz of voices, and fear my teacher's frown, and feel my boyish ambitions waking and stirring in my breast. On that bench where I just sat I saw some notches that I cut with my first jackknife fifty-eight years ago this very spring. I remember the faces of the boys and girls who went to school with me, and I see their grandchildren before me...One generation goes, and another comes.” (11)

Although this speech appears at the start of the story, Laneway reveals the mixed feelings that run throughout the tale. As Jewett makes clear, if he closes his eyes, he can envision his former town from memory, exactly like he has (stagnantly) held it since he left. However, when he opens them, he is confronted with the faces of the children as evidence of the time passed and losses suffered.

More often than not, Jewett positions her stories as tragic, then resolves the tales with a happy ending. This forced-pleasantry seems to be where fiction takes over, and she creates a pleasant situation out of what she realistically observed (as her essays show). Jewett ends “A Native of Winby” in much the same way, switching to a lighter tone different than the melancholy that dominates the rest of the story. The large crowd of people who comes to see him assuage his concerns that he has been forgotten in his own hometown (although this is an event of spectacle and not reunion, which Jewett fails to note). In return, Laneway announces that he will build a town hall and a war memorial. Despite the tale’s optimistic ending, Laneway repeatedly has found himself surrounded by personal loss, a feeling which dominates this story.

Elements of loss remain present in Jewett’s writing for the rest of her literary career. In the last story published in her lifetime, “A Spring Sunday,” Jewett once again exhibits her talents for conveying loss through her writing, this time by *intertwining* her use of architecture, flowers, and trees. The story combines her ability to situate loss among her setting with her awareness of the ways in which place can come to represent loss. Jewett tells the story of Alonzo and Mary Ann Hallett, a “prosperous” elderly couple, who have been married sixty-two years. They decide to skip church one Sunday in order to return to their hometown, Miller Falls, from which they moved twenty years

prior. The place elicits a somber memories for them. When they lived there, they were poor, and their daughter died the year before moving away. Moving to the city has proved financially successful for Mr. Hallett; his business has prospered since their move, and they have developed an affluent lifestyle. Their return proves difficult to them, forcing them to confront their past and present life. As they picnic there, they reflect on the town, which they now find small, changed, and full of memories. Throughout the story, Jewett interweaves images of the architecture, trees, and flowers of Miller Falls to express the loss incurred upon returning to a place so loaded with memories.

Jewett skillfully situates the married couple among descriptors of youth as they return to their home of their younger years. The author employs childhood imagery to describe Alonzo. As the husband and wife travel toward their former home, playing hooky from church, he admits that he has “real spring-feelings, just like a boy” (384), his face “beam[s] like a boy’s” (384), and at one point, he and his wife “laughed and talked together like a boy and a girl” (390). The two characters return to their days before they departed from Miller Falls.

Suddenly Jewett introduces a bleak time in their lives: the death of their daughter, Addie. The reader learns that her death was the turning point in their life that drove them to move from the country life of Miller Farms into the city. Their reason for returning—Mary Ann Hallett’s desire to return to happier times—reveals itself in the way she describes her plans for the day. Before their departure for their former home, she tells her husband

“O was thinking how I should like to go out to Miller Falls, where we lived when we were first married, and see how it looks...[we could go] over on the hill where

we used to go just such spring days as this an' sit an' talk about what we were goin' to do for the children, and you'd tell me all about your business freer than ever you would in the house. I could go right to the same place under those old beech trees" (384)

She wants to relive the pleasant memories she has formulated in Miller Falls, and in so doing forget the troubles that currently plague them in the city. Her attempt turns out to be more complicated than she anticipated, however.

What is planned as a special occasion turns out to be a reminder of what they have lost since they lived there. This loss is first seen upon their arrival in the village where they once lived happily, and which now shows signs of loss, despite its state of familiarity:

The straggling village looked very much as it used to look, as they drew near. It had never grown at all, for, soon after the Halletts had moved away, the small manufactory that had been the mainspring of activity had failed and had been abandoned. The tall chimney stood like a monument of something dead and almost forgotten. There was a short business street with a few shops, and even a tavern, a very poor looking establishment, and two or three side streets with scattered dwellings went a little way up the hill. On the other side of the deep river that had turned the factory wheels was a high hill once covered with evergreens, but these had recently been cut and the chief charm of the place was lost. (387)

A consideration of Jewett's use of adjectives informs the reader of her character's disappointed attitudes toward the place. Jewett contrasts the description of the village

with Mary Ann's expectations of the town full of the happier times of their youth. The author's introduction to the town surveys various aspects of loss, each identifiable via Jewett's description of architecture. Through Jewett's characterization, the shops, tavern, and dwellings signify a change, as does the failed manufactory; the town seems to have passed on, and her use of the chimney—itsself an architectural element—as a “monument of something dead and almost forgotten” only further solidifies the Hallett's view of their former hometown.

Similar uses of architecture appear throughout the story. She later describes the houses as “plain, forsaken” which “st[and] together like a forlorn, unshepherded flock above the river, so small, so meager, so incapable of charm and pleasantness” (390). At one point in the story, Mr. Hallett describes the houses in town as looking “all winter-killed” (388), the same adjective that Jewett uses to convey loss through the “winter-killed golden rod” in her stories “A Native of Winby” and “The Stage Tavern” (as we will see).

In addition to the architecture, Jewett's characteristic use of trees to simulate larger loss appears at this point in the story. Subtly inserting trees among her description of the architecture, Jewett allows them to represent the life and the happiness of former residents, as she does in other stories. What is unusual here is that this story does not immediately involve the trees; therefore her inclusion of them seems out of place. In so doing, she draws attention to them. The tree's death parallels that of the town, and their former status as “the chief charm of the place” reveals more about the town than the trees themselves.

The emotional peculiarity experienced in such a homecoming surfaces when the characters are confronted with an unidentifiable feeling: “as they strolled along they were conscious of a strange uncertainty of feeling, as if they had come in search of something not easy to find. To enter the village seemed like meeting a stranger when they had unconsciously expected the warm response of a friend” (387). Here, Jewett’s use of the word “stranger” functions as it does in her other works, indicating the extent to which they feel removed from the town. This experience is troubling; they are confronted by a sudden consciousness of purpose. Jewett begs the question of their motive for returning. She seems to be implying that the couple is searching for their lost happiness, which they last experienced in Miller Falls, but this situation becomes problematic. The town in which they had grown up, and with which they have come to identify their own state happiness, suddenly seems to have become indifferent to them.

This indifference is conveyed through the visual semantics of this place. They are troubled by the realization that the town appears different to them, despite its stagnation and lack of change since they left, and this difference of appearance takes on meaning. Mrs. Hallett’s response to the experience is telling: “how little the village looks from here. I used to think it was almost a city; they must have taken away a good many of the houses” (388). It is not clear whether she is sincere in thinking that the houses have been removed or if she is merely being facetious, poking fun at her own memory. Regardless whether or not Mrs. Hallett is joking, it seems more plausible to her that the houses have disappeared than it is to comprehend her vast change in perspective. Since leaving, she has changed internally to the degree that the place poses a challenge to the ways in which

she has traditionally identified with the place. The cause for this challenge is the loss sustained there.

Although trees have a role here, the nucleus of this loss is their former house, which takes on conflicting meanings of progress and devastation. They discuss making a point to stop at their old home. Seeing the house would remind them of their meager beginnings: “They were rich people now, and there had been a time when this present prosperity had often been compared with their early struggles and *seemed* to have all the advantage” (387, emphasis added). Here, Jewett addresses a conflict of values. While they are richer in wealth for having left Miller Falls, they have experienced emotional debits which no amount of money could replace. Yet Mrs. Hallett does not want to see their former house, because—in addition to their change in financial status—the house connotes their loss of their daughter: “Yet little Addie had bloomed and faded there, the one perfect flower that had fallen into their dull lives, while they still lived in the tiny house at Miller Falls. She had gladdened their cheerful poverty, and now in their worldly comfort they were the poorer for her loss” (387). Here, Jewett resorts to her flower imagery to convey loss. In so describing Addie and her death in such a way, Jewett employs her conventions of signifying loss through these terms.

The sense of loss Jewett conjures with the Hallett’s former house is not surprising. They return to the house where they lost their child and thus associate the house with her. But the home also functions as a powerful example for the way in which Jewett uses architecture as a means to convey loss in her writing. Her personal identification with places and the loss incurred upon seeing the decay of architecture (both physically and stylistically) has equipped her with the ability to convey loss through literary descriptions

of structure. With some great skill, Jewett threads mention of architecture in with the loss of the child. Mr. Hallett admits, “‘the hardest thing ever happened to me in all my life that we should have to lose her,’ and he gave a deep sigh and looked sharply at an old house that the car was passing” (386). In fact, talk of architecture weaves throughout the Hallett’s discussion of Addie to the point that the topic of their conversation is not clear; Jewett seems to use the two interchangeably to evoke loss in the couple’s return, a testament to the strength of the association between place and loss. Right away, the Halletts shift their talk away from their lost daughter to the houses in their former town: “‘Didn’t that house use to be painted white?’ asked Mary Ann Hallett, without looking at him again, for the quick tears had sprung to her eyes. ‘I can’t bear these fancy cheap colors on good old-fashioned buildings’” (386). The couple transmutes their feelings of the loss of their daughter to their feelings of dissatisfaction with the change in the houses around them; both are a form of the passage of time. That is not to say that the changes in architecture equate with the loss of a child; the point here is that Jewett uses both situations to express uneasiness. In the same way Addie becomes the source for their grief, the houses become the locus for their anxiety over time passing—and Jewett’s venue for the discomfort with change.

The changes in their former town take an emotional toll on them, and they feel compelled to leave. As the story winds down, Jewett seems to make an attempt at optimism. Her blend of trees and flowers is revealing:

At last their feet struck a familiar path, and it seemed at once as if they had walked there together only the day before, with their young children clinging to their hands and chattering. The sober father and mother whose children were all

married and settled, with children of their own, unconsciously returned to those first years that they had lived together, with all their natural hopes and cares. The pasture path again became the path of life, and all their thoughts and memories were so clear that they hardly missed the children themselves from the bit of rustic landscape. There was the old pine stump behind which Oliver used to hide, to spring out like an Indian at his younger brothers, and there, down the southerly slope, was the very place where little Addie, the dear child who had died, first saw a pretty company of wind-flowers crowded together, and toddled down in her pale pink dress to pick the frail blossoms that looked so strangely like her own delicate, wistful little face. (388)

The author's return to their memories of the past sheds a brief moment of cheerfulness on the elderly couple. As they reminisce about these times, they are able to reflect on the extent to which they were happy. These memories, nevertheless, are circumscribed by what they have lost. In such memories, their son's youth, associated with the tree stump—itsself a sign of loss for Jewett—is accompanied by the fact that he is older now, living in the city, and his youth is something of the past. Furthermore, the mention of Addie recalls her death just as much as it does her life with Jewett's floral associations and her adjectives, "frail," "delicate," and "wistful." As these allusions indicate, it seems that even Jewett herself cannot resist addressing the somberness of such a return, despite her efforts at optimism.

Yet she continues to try. In pure Jewett fashion, the author attempts to console Mary Ann and the reader alike by including a look forward into the lives of the couple. The narrator reflects on their current wealth, and informs the reader of Mary Ann's

knowledge that Mr. Hallett may become the Mayor of the new, prosperous city in which they now live. Gale reads the ending of the tale as refreshing. In his comments on the tale, he describes the Halletts as “sens[ing] the presence of their healthy children, all grown, married, and with families. Before returning home, the tenderly loving couple enjoy a picnic and seem suddenly like teen-agers again, bathed by the spicy spring air” (260). While an ending such as this one is superficially satisfying, the undertones in Jewett’s conclusion—and throughout the work for that matter—reveal something different. For example, reflecting over the years she has spent with her husband, Mary Ann is struck with “a moment of rare happiness” (389). Here, a pessimistic tone seeps into the narrator’s comments. Jewett’s use of “rare” reveals the scarcity of such an emotion. Mary Ann *seems* happy now, but we know that she rarely feels such an emotion. Therefore, Jewett’s attempt to brighten the tale falls short; the mood lightens briefly, yet to the discerning reader, the gravity of the Hallett’s lives and memories is too profound to dismiss.

This pattern of forced, superficial happiness continues when Alonzo brings Mary Ann flowers. Jewett attempts to sway the tone of the piece by drawing the reader’s attention to their enduring love for one another. Her description is rich with romantic rhetoric and gesture: “When this constant lover returned he brought an offering of late Mayflowers and bright checkerberries held clumsily in his big hand, and gave them to the only woman he had ever loved” (390). While this description exudes their love for one another, Jewett immediately follows this sentence with one that provides further insight into the emotional state of the situation: “There were no anemones [in his bouquet], though they were just in bloom and he had stood with a heart full of tenderness looking

down at their childish little faces—they would only make her think all over again of little Addie” (390). The progression here mirrors that of Jewett’s other fiction as she moves from love to flowers to loss.

In the same manner that the flowers, with their “childish little faces,” conjure Alonzo’s memories for Addie, Jewett uses them to conjure loss. Like the plot of the story itself (and the majority of Jewett’s return stories), Jewett provides a seemingly happy moment, but one that is tainted with an undercurrent of the characters’ emotional destitution. Alonzo’s happiness, like that of his wife, is overshadowed with the knowledge of loss. The story itself functions in the same way. The Halletts are wealthy, and their future business and political ventures in the city show promise; however, their station is a weak consolation for the loss of a child and the loss of time they have experienced. Their return forces an acute awareness of both.

Most critics have overlooked these elements to read her stories as optimistically quaint. For example, Josephine Donovan reads “A Spring Sunday” as “a nostalgic celebration of a successful marriage” (119). Silverthorne suggests, “In the autumn of their lives the remembrance of the springtime of their youth has brought renewal” (199). Richard Cary argues that Alonzo and Mary Ann “undergo rejuvenation through a retrospective visit” (*Uncollected* vii). What underlies these readings is the loss of the past, as the couple must look to see where they came from (the country) and what they have become in the city since departing. Their former house, a monument to better times now-passed, conjures images of their lost daughter. Jewett uses flowers as imagery to connect to memories of the child and as a way for the characters to voice their loss of her. The way Jewett connects nature to her trees also reflects a sense of loss. An optimistic

ending implies that which has been lost is recoverable (what Cary describes as the promise of “more springs, more springs”). However, to consider parents revisiting a hometown which evokes morose feelings of a dead daughter as rejuvenating or as a celebration of success is erroneous; aside from neglecting Jewett’s overt use of flowers, trees, and architecture, a reading such as this misinterprets the reality of the situation. The possible cause for these misreading could be Jewett’s own optimism at the end of her story (or *stories* for that matter). Either critics have neglected the gravity of the situation, or Jewett’s ending has fooled them with her change in tone. Regardless, to read this story as anything but tragic is to neglect Jewett’s copious use of symbols of loss, a pattern she undertakes throughout her corpus.

These two stories show the methodological variety Jewett employs to express the emotional loss involved in homecomings. Laneway has changed, and his town has moved away from what it was in his memory. The Halletts too have changed, and their memories have reconstructed the town. While these two explorations may suffice to show Jewett’s use of her elements, a brief survey of some of her other works will illustrate a pattern of their use and the extent to which she put them to work.

In “Told in a Tavern,” (1894) a character, described as “a stranger,” arrives in the village of Byfleet, Maine. Stopping by the cemetery, he finds his own name on a headstone. He notices that flowers lie on the grave. Finding the town to be “a land of ruins” (and as it is later described, “a deserted village”), he visits the tavern to find out that his wife, Abby, assumed he died since he left at the onset of the Civil War and did not contact her for some time. She has since been placing flowers—grown herself—on his grave. Despite the time lost between the husband and wife, the story concludes with

“the stranger” leaving the tavern to reunite with his wife, a scene that Jewett simply describes as “a scene of joy” (211).

Jewett also uses trees to convey loss in her 1899 story, “A Landlocked Sailor.” After several years away, Dr. John Hallet, an assistant surgeon in the navy, returns home to trout fish.⁵² He is reunited with his former friend, Mike Dillon, to whom he had tended medically three years prior. Long pauses indicative of awkwardness fill their conversation. As they talk of Parlow, a mutual acquaintance who is now deceased, they find themselves alongside a “fragile old pine-stump, where a great tree must have been cut” (290). The stump, which Jewett eloquently describes as “the ruin,” is rotten and infested with insects (291). The conversation ends, and the two part ways again. Despite the large degree of melancholy that permeates the story, Jewett ends it on a cheerful note; the doctor recognizes that Dillon “personified for the moment all the delights of sea-going friendship, that he was a kind of embodiment of the service” (292).

“The Stage Tavern,” written in 1894, tells of General Jack Norton’s return to the tavern at Westford, a coastal Maine town. Remembering the tavern as a “home of [his] own,” he is reunited with his old friend Tom Harris (305-6). In Westford, Norton—described by Jewett as “the stranger” (303)—finds the houses “pale,” looking “as if they had been winter-killed” (300).⁵³ While the two former soldiers reminisce, the tone of the story looms heavily with discussion of war wounds, the death of Harris’s wife, and the

⁵² Jewett uses the surname Hallet here, in “A Spring Sunday,” “Farmer Finch,” and *Betty Leicester* though there is no indication that a relationship between them exists.

⁵³ Note Jewett’s patterned use of this term to convey loss, as has been mentioned previously. In her 1901 “A Born Farmer,” Jacob Gaines, a Maine farmer who has inherited \$50,000, leaves his hometown for Boston. There he becomes part of the upper-crust society. Upon returning to his hometown near the end of the story, he finds the grass there “winter-killed.”

destitute tavern. In what Cary calls a “hasty” ending, Norton marries Harris’s much-younger daughter in an awkward ending with overtly forced optimism.

In Jewett’s 1881 tale, “Miss Becky’s Pilgrimage,” Becky Parsons, who left her hometown of Brookfield, Maine, to travel with her preacher-brother to Western New York state, anxiously and apprehensively returns home after forty years. The two always spoke of returning home, but never did. Although she expects some changes have occurred over time, she “still instinctively thought of [her] native town as if it were very nearly the same as it used to be when [she] had last seen it” (218-19). Upon her arrival, she feels uncertain “as if [she] was almost a stranger” when she finds the town and its population much different than she remembered (230). Jewett makes use of her descriptions of the architecture there, most notably a “great sorrow” to Becky: her discovery that the old meetinghouse had been demolished in order to build a new one (231). Jewett maintains this somber tone throughout the story before suddenly injecting Becky’s cheerful reunion with a handful of distant family members.

In many of Jewett’s other stories, she repeatedly uses flowers, trees, and architecture to evoke somber tones of loss before the inevitable happy ending. For example, in her 1887 “The Landscape Chamber,” the narrator mourns the architectural decay she finds in a ruined colonial mansion that at one time had been immaculate. In “A Neighbor’s Landmark” (1894), Jewett aligns the cutting of trees with immorality and lack of concern with community. In these stories detailed here, and in other stories throughout her work, Jewett depends upon these elements to voice loss in the body of her stories then changes to a positive tone in her conclusions, possibly as a means to resist the changes she witnessed around her.

Further Implications: Optimism and Re-Imagined Realism

Jewett's active resistance to change in her work is not surprising; an acceptance of it would mean an adaptation—or at least an accommodation—to her own self-perception.⁵⁴ Considering Giuliani's assertions that "changes of identity [correspond] to transformations of the physical or social world" and that "the person's well-being demands both the preservation and the protection of his/her self-identity," it is not surprising that Jewett resists the changing world of Berwick (152). With her identity tied so closely to its people, its past, and (perhaps most discernibly) its architecture and landscapes, accepting Berwick for what it has become would mean changing her understanding of herself. Given that her view of Berwick is diminishing from its noble and prosperous past, a resistance to this change would follow logically, since an acknowledgement of such a deterioration would require a similar change in her self-perception. However, this resistance becomes increasingly problematic due to the disheartening changes that were apparent around her. Jewett found in her work a means to resist. Not only would her work afford her a means to express loss, it also would provide for a means through which she could negotiate the conspicuousness of the loss and the degree to which she could extend and rewrite reality.

Jewett's role as local colorist becomes central to the issue of her identity. With the rise of the local color movement and her alignment with it, Jewett was praised for her literary fidelity to true New England life. As a result, the author found herself confronted with one of the ongoing quandaries of representation in literature; the main authorial

⁵⁴ See Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell, who argue that "changes which threaten [places'] capacity to contribute to identity satisfactorily will be actively resisted" (210).

hurdle she faced was that of all local colorists: how deeply to embed oneself in the culture. To write objectively requires isolation from the community, while any immersion in it risks subjectivity. Michael Holstein identifies this issue in the narrator's voice in *The Country of Pointed Firs* (yet the same can be said of Jewett herself): "At issue are the competing claims of artistic and social responsibility, questions of whether she should stand in her material or outside it" (Holstein 39). This issue plagued Jewett. She re-immerses herself in the Maine culture with every return, then finds difficulty in objectifying her subjects to write truthfully about them.

She was from Maine as much as her characters, so she treated them in her work as she would want to be treated.⁵⁵ Her golden-rule approach to her fiction seems to stem from the sustained presence of "Berwick dust" inside herself. Yet Boston posed a new issue for Jewett's identity. This internalization of a threat may have resulted in a violated identity that necessitated renegotiation. Her fiction is indicative of an attempt to resurrect what once was as it was to voice her loss; she seems to respond by optimistically illustrating the restorative effects of community and family on individuals who have experienced physical, emotional, or personal loss.

As a local colorist, Jewett positions her stories so that they realistically portray areas similar to her hometown. Despite the conditions she creates for her characters at the onset, however, Jewett's stories nearly always seem to end in a lighter tone. In this way, Jewett seems to have found a method to voice her loss while simultaneously reconciling herself to the loss of the idyllic values system she constructs in her memory and her fiction.

⁵⁵ Jean Boggio-Sola asserts that Jewett was different than most local colorists: "she did not look at people with curiosity as if they had been museum pieces, but rather tried to see them as fellow human beings whom one might learn to know, to understand, and to love" (196).

This optimism informs much of her work. Her positive endings seem out of place with the desperate, often tragic tone of her settings. Tajfel's social identity theory⁵⁶ becomes relevant here. Tajfel's study of group memberships reveals the tendency to positively conceptualize one's place. He argues that an individual will hold the group to which he identifies (the "ingroup") in higher esteem than another group (the "outgroup") because the ingroup is closely tied to defining identity (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 205). While Tajfel is describing the formation of identity through group (social) membership, the tenets of his theory still apply; the individual will pursue characteristics which positively distinguish the ingroup from other outgroups as a means to sustain a positive self-image (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 205). If the notions of ingroup and outgroup are applied to place (and they thus become "inplace" and "outplace"), then Jewett's motivation for her optimism are justified. This tendency to preserve a positive image of the inplace could be the cause for Jewett's frequent, intentional efforts to recast the current (often bleak) conditions of small town Maine in a new, more positive light.

Jewett exercises control over the ways in which she portrays her hometown. Conscious of Howell's praise and encouragement for her fidelity to the real in her writing (and despite his distaste for idealism), she is acutely aware that she is writing for an audience that is widely looking in from the outside. Jewett becomes a kind of literary ambassador; she must describe small town Maine as it is but simultaneously remain loyal to her internalized belief that the town sustains the values and qualities that it formerly

⁵⁶ Social identity theory is a subgroup within the place identity theory. This theory examines the ways in which groups within a place affect an individual's identity. According to Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell, "Tajfel draws on Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory, which holds that people have an upward directional drive which leads them to compare themselves with similar or slightly better others on relevant dimensions" (206).

had and that she has maintained within herself. In Jewett's optimistic conclusions, the author constructs a positive image of the people in her Maine "inplace" by highlighting the morals of the characters who people her stories.

Her attempts reflect Tajfel's observations of the individual's desire to sustain a positive identity. Specifically in Jewett's case, her work establishes the characters as morally upstanding, despite the palpable economic, social, and environmental poverty of small town Maine. The region's spectrum of poverty notwithstanding, her characters maintain that which is most valued (or what Jewett implies *should* be valued): morality and concern for fellow citizens. Those physical qualities that this region lacks become less conspicuous, and therefore Jewett can maintain a positive self-image as a member of this inplace. The value of her "Berwick dust" of which she made is raised by the moral character of its citizens, and not depreciated by those physical qualities (a failing economy, decaying houses, and lost landscapes) by which it can be judged by an "outplace." Thus Jewett's optimism functions as a means to reinterpret small-town Maine for her audience and for her own self-image. Her identification with the landscapes and architecture of her homeland drives her to defend her place, and she allows her work to speak out against their decay by constructing Maine as normal and good in the eyes of outsiders.

Critical attitudes toward Jewett's optimistic tendency vary. Blanchard praises Jewett's stance as "that of the Luminists" (xvii). A slightly more neutral Fermon Bishop refers to it as an "imaginative contemplation of the past" (138). Eakin finds her "unwarranted optimism...an unconvincing species of wish fulfillment" (209). Jewett herself did not see anything wrong with this tactic, a fact that is informing in itself (Terrie

17). The result of her standpoint surfaces in her optimism as a kind of self-correcting re-imagined realism.⁵⁷ In order to compensate for internal loss, she exploits her authorial power and her position as local colorist to “re-imagine” Maine life, stretching the definition of realism and local color.

A necessary digression here will illustrate Jewett’s method. It must be conceded that all fiction (including realism) stretches reality at some point, and it should be noted that Jewett portrays the locale accurately through her authentic vernacular and regional sense of decay. Yet, her renegotiated meanings step outside the tenants of local color in that they do not reflect fully the conditions within the locale that they suggest they portray.⁵⁸ Traditionally, the local color fiction that stretches the boundaries of “real” is that of the humorists such as Mark Twain or George Washington Harris, whose work of this type contains unrealistic aspects that are deliberately unconcealed and unmistakably recognizable. In Jewett’s case, her unrealistic departures from her realistic writing are not always evident, and she makes no effort for them to be. Such an approach misleads the reader to assume that since the rest of her work is realistic, then all of her work must be.

Jewett also exercises her control over the ways in which she portrays her hometown. Her “appropriation of space” (to use Giuliani’s phrase) cleverly negotiates the dilemma of local colorists by staying true to the physical descriptions and local strife of place while constantly insisting upon the unwaivering presence of high morals and

⁵⁷ Jewett’s tendencies here follow a pattern that Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell have identified: “When place identity requires readjustment in order to align with preconceived notions, the individual may redefine the meaning and character of the place...[which] will contribute to changing the representation of the place itself particularly if it is communicated broadly to other people” (210). In this theory, poets (or writers) are identified as forces that can do so (210).

⁵⁸ Eakin identifies “a curious disparity between the untroubled optimism of her response and the disheartening actualities of the human experience recorded” in Jewett’s writing (213).

communal affinity (153). She concurrently maintains a fidelity to the real in concrete descriptions of place and conditions and allows her characters to make bold, unconventional, selfless decisions within their community that imply that the community members' morality is a shared attribute. In doing so, she is able to manage the space as it is viewed by those people outside it, while allowing for its aesthetic and symbolic decline.

Yet her approach complicates our understanding of regionalism and local color. It illustrates those elements of the area that we have traditionally come to appreciate, but it also suggests that everything she portrays is accurate. Understanding the reasoning behind Jewett's fictionalization of some traits in her settings and characters raises questions about the accuracy of the way critics have accepted her whole body of work. Furthermore, it causes one to question the entire genre of local color; if readers have traditionally understood regions for the way native authors—especially ones who purport to be accurate—have documented them, then an authorial bias could undermine our understanding of place.

Although Jewett did polish the Maine she saw around her with a sentimentalized optimism, those elements that she attempts to renegotiate remain visible. Throughout her fiction, Jewett associates departures and returns with loss and sadness. References to flowers, trees, and architecture permeate the body of her work, each a small elegy for the past. She uses these elements in her fiction to cope with the part of her own identity lost through her re-introduction to a Maine that is much different than how she imagined it. Indicative of a desire to resurrect the past she so cherished, her work seems to react against this trend of decay by optimistically illustrating the restorative effects between

individuals who have experienced loss in a number of ways. She does so out of necessity, since to reconstruct her home place in its then-present state, as she knew it to be, means to create conflict with her self-perception. Despite her attempt to re-imagine Maine through her work, her writing exudes a discomfort with the losses she felt while simultaneously illustrating the tension surrounding the developing discord between her memories and her lived experiences. Although her work often muddies the water of our understanding of Maine shore-life, the elements Jewett uses to mourn change and loss are one way to appreciate her dedication to her home. An understanding of her departures and returns reconnects the divided stream of critical discourse that has traditionally separated Jewett into either a local colorist or a broader explorer of the world. It also illustrates the dynamic nature of place studies. To understand her time away from home is to understand her time there more fully. After all, for Jewett, to understand that place was to understand herself.

CHAPTER TWO

MARK TWAIN, HOMESICKNESS, AND HANNIBAL

“What becomes of the multitudinous photographs which one’s mind takes of people?”

(Twain, “Jane Lampton Clemens” 43).

During a return home to Hannibal, Missouri, in 1882, Mark Twain—or more aptly, Sam Clemens⁵⁹—climbed to the top of Holliday’s Hill, the same hill that he mounted in his childhood and that he made famous as Cardiff Hill in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876). As he retells the event in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), his purpose was “to get a comprehensive view” after being away from home for fifteen years (and nearly thirty since he had first left Hannibal) (524). His position provided that clearer perspective. From afar, he looked over the town that was his childhood, seeing it over both the distance of time and space. Sitting above his former home, now physically and emotionally an outsider, he felt “naturally ... a good deal moved” (524). The effects of time impressed themselves on the forty-seven-year old author. The contrast between his boyhood, so tied to his memories of this place, and his current middle age, realized by what he is witnessing around him, affects him:

⁵⁹ Throughout this chapter, I use “Sam Clemens” in the context of biography. I use “Mark Twain” to refer to the writer. There are times, however, when biographical issues overlap with the writer’s life. I have tried to use “Mark Twain” as a default in these situations.

The things about me and before me made me feel like a boy again—convinced me that I was boy again, and that I had simply been dreaming an unusually long dream; but my reflections spoiled all that; for they forced me to say, ‘I see fifty old houses down yonder, into each of which I could enter and find either a man or a woman who was a baby or unborn when I noticed those houses last, or a grandmother who was a plump young bride at that time. (524)

As he stared out over the riverside town with his attention turned toward the individuals, his awareness of time and change inspired contemplation.

His emotions surfaced in a somber moment. The river, he writes, “was as young and fresh and comely and gracious as ever it had been; whereas the faces of the others [people in town whom he would soon meet] would be old and scarred with the campaigns of life, and marked with their griefs and defeats, and would give me no uplifting of spirit” (525). His juxtaposition here between the eternally youthful river and the aged, mortal town of his youth is brief and appears to be written in passing. Yet the sentiment was permanent; it foretold the literary reproductions of Hannibal that would follow from this point throughout his career. Although the earlier *Tom Sawyer* was written with a certain degree of nostalgic homesickness, from this point forward, his writings about the Mississippi River would change in tone; over time, his literary reconstructions of Hannibal reflect a pattern of mounting loss, dismay, or even derision toward his former home—each inspired by an ever-increasing distance between the man and his one-time home.

Commenting on the extent to which villages—especially the fictional portrayals of his hometown—turn up time and again in Twain’s corpus, Bernard DeVoto writes,

“As a novelist [Twain] lived forever in a village” (*Mark Twain at Work* 88). Larzer Ziff also has noted the extent to which the author held fast to Hannibal, writing, “Formed by the drowsy river town, Mark Twain held steadily in his career to the community of his adolescence” (“Authorship” 247). This pervasive use of Hannibal as a fictional setting has drawn critical attention toward his childhood years. Henry Nash Smith coined the term the “Matter of Hannibal” to describe Twain’s collective “vivid memories, not merely of his own childhood, but of the fortunes and misfortunes of scores of people who lived at that time in Hannibal” (“Images” 4). Smith would further develop this term as “the childhood memories that were to provide the vocabulary of images he would use in *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, and all of his later writing of major importance” (*Development* 72).⁶⁰ Such memories provided Twain with a limitless wealth of material for his fiction. Yet, his images of Hannibal grow increasingly mocking, derisive, and even contemptuous. Such changes coincided with his departures from—and returns to—Hannibal, and also with the passing of members of his family.⁶¹ His journeys provided the means necessary for him to write about that place. As place identity theory reveals, the distance between him and that specific place allowed him to write critically about it, while his returns there supplied him with the necessary memories to write personally of it. An examination of Twain’s literary reconstructions of Hannibal reveals a shifting attitude toward the town as well as a deteriorating sense of place identity, brought about

⁶⁰ Lawrence I. Berkove later concisely defined the Matter as “the experiences and information he acquired as a result of growing up in his home town” (496).

⁶¹ R. Kent Rasmussen, Ron Powers, and other scholars have found that Clemens returned to Hannibal in 1855, 1861, 1867, 1882, 1885, 1890, and 1902. However, as we will see, two additional returns have been overlooked: one in late April, 1861, and one in early November, 1890.

by his travel to and from his hometown.⁶² In this manner, place identity theory helps explain the author's early tendency to censor his depictions of Hannibal and his later negative recreations of the place, illustrating the ways Twain's association with place affected his representations of it.

As Walter Blair has observed, critics Bernard DeVoto and Dixon Wecter "have noticed that, 'imprisoned by his boyhood,' he apparently was compelled to relate its story 'repeatedly' in fiction, semi-fiction, and purported fact" (Blair, *Hannibal* 1).⁶³ In fact, scholars' sustained interest in Hannibal evidences its paramount importance. Van Wyck Brooks and DeVoto showed a steady interest in the place in the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1950s, Wecter and Smith renewed interest in the town's influence. Recently, place studies have resurged in the work of critics such as Lawrence Berkove, Ann M. Ryan, Alan Gribben and Jeffrey Melton. Most of these studies have also looked elsewhere besides Hannibal, however.⁶⁴ Dixon Wecter's work, perhaps the most thorough engagement of Hannibal, ends with Twain's 1853 departure from it and treats it thereafter as an unchanging influence on the author's life and work. As Wecter himself points out, Hannibal stays with him after his departure (264). Furthermore, the author's

⁶² Because a study on Twain's changing images of Hannibal could involve a number of approaches, I have limited my discussion to the author's reconstruction of the village and villagers in general. A number of avenues exist down which one could explore this phenomenon, such his changing representations of slavery, religion, or school. Although I touch on each of these at times, much remains to explore. One of the most appealing—albeit challenging—qualities of this study is the way the topic connects to so many aspects of Twain's life and work.

⁶³ Here, Blair also calls on Smith's aforementioned definition of the Matter of Hannibal.

⁶⁴ According to Berkove, the Matter of Hannibal "was considered *the* main source of Twain's roots, and it is still and always will be *a* main source" (496). It should be noted, however, that Berkove's work explores the multiple regions of which Twain was a part. Ann Ryan has identified a number of cities with which Twain could identify: New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, Buffalo, London, Vienna, Bombay, Calcutta, Washington, D.C., Paris, Heidelberg ("Cosmopolitan Ideal" 15). Gribben and Melton focus on Twain's travel writing, though they do point out that "more than anything else, travel writing exhibits a strong sense of *self* and *place*" (xi).

relationship with his hometown was not static; it changed over time. Therefore, Twain's brief yet repeated presence in Hannibal, his departures and returns from it, and the role they play in shaping his reproductions of it still remain substantially unexplored.

Like Jewett's literary reconstructions of her own hometown, Twain's representations of Hannibal reveal his evolving attitudes toward the place. Theoretically, place is a "repository of meaning" (Hay 6). That is, it does not take on meaning itself, but instead holds positive and negative meanings attributed to it (Manzo 52-3).⁶⁵ Place identity theorists have shown that a person-place relationship is a "dynamic phenomenon" (48).⁶⁶ As such, a relationship to place is not static, but "is renegotiated continually and this means that [the place's] potential contribution to identity is ever-changing" (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 210). Such a phenomenological perspective on place allows for a study on Twain that considers the possibility of changing views over time.

The effects of these homecomings on Twain become a major factor in his literary reconstructions of his hometown. Taking into consideration several critics' views on Twain's major works, this study rereads these works holistically as produced from Clemens's increasingly distanced and deteriorating place identity. For example, in examining Twain's canon, Blair writes,

Mark Twain made [material from his childhood] the substance of his finest books—*Tom Sawyer* (1876), the best parts of *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), and *Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Thereafter, although he tried again and again to evoke

⁶⁵ See Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell, who write, "physical environment was not neutral and only existed in relation to the meanings a person attributed to it" (213). See also Fried.

⁶⁶ According to Manzo, "the very term 'relationship' suggests a dynamic process whereby different 'worlds are drawn together in a lasting way'" (Manzo 51). Note: Manzo is drawing on Seamon's work.

the magic of these works, he succeeded only in short passages—many of them stretches of his autobiography. (Blair, *Hannibal 2*)

The assumption here is that Twain *wanted* to portray Hannibal in his later works as he had in *Tom Sawyer* and failed. Gregg Camfield has also detected the changing portrayals of Hannibal.⁶⁷ Yet neither Blair nor Camfield account for the shifts in Clemens's views of his hometown. Since many of his works grew from memories of Hannibal, understanding Twain's sense of dislocation yields insight into his increasingly negative portrayals of small town, Mississippi riverside life.

The importance of Hannibal to Mark Twain and his work cannot be overstated.⁶⁸

As DeVoto writes:

When he wrote fiction, he was impelled to write about the society in which his boyhood had been spent, and to write it out of the phantasies, the ecstasy, and the apprehension which he remembered from his boyhood. *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg*, *The Mysterious Stranger*, and the bulk of his shorter pieces give us Hannibal with little alteration. ("Introduction" *MT in Eruption* xvii)

DeVoto's use of the phrase "with little alteration" refers to factual fidelity in his portrayal of Hannibal. Yet, Twain's reconstructions of the town and its residents constitute a wide

⁶⁷ Camfield writes, "Hannibal figures frequently in Twain's fiction, but the image he presents ranges widely from the nearly idyllic St. Petersburg, Missouri, of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* to the morally corrupt Dawson's Landing, Missouri, of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*, to the hellish Bricksville, 'Arkansaw,' of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*" (249).

⁶⁸ As DeVoto has pointed out, "when the bases of his personality were finding instinctive expression, the human race was the race he had known in Hannibal. Life was confined within the circumstances of his boyhood" (DeVoto, "Introduction" *MT in Eruption* xvii).

range of tones.⁶⁹ The differences between each representation are significant; a comparison of his images of Hannibal reflects his darkening attitudes toward the place over time, symptomatic of his deteriorating association with it.

Before answering the question of *how* the Matter of Hannibal affected Twain's writing, I want to address the question of *when*. In his early days as a writer, Twain exhibited a strong connection to his hometown. Over the course of time, however, Twain gradually drifted further away from his hometown sensibilities. The effects of this drift are evident in his work.

He departed from Hannibal in 1853, at age seventeen. Although he would travel the world, he returned home to that small Missouri town nine times: mid-July, 1855; 25 June, 1858; late April, 1861; mid-June, 1861; April 1867; 14-17 May, 1882; 13 January, 1885; early November, 1890; and 29 May-3 June, 1902. These returns can be grouped into four stages. The first stage includes his five early returns (from 1855 to 1867) when he still associates himself with Hannibal and even expresses a degree of homesickness at times. The next return—a single one, yet immensely important to his development as a writer—occurred in 1882. Two returns—in 1885 and 1890—constitute a more somber third stage. A 1902 return marks his emotional final homecoming.

The key to understanding Twain's literary representations of Hannibal is his connection to "place." When he views himself as a normal "Hannibalian," he represents in his fiction his fellow townspeople in a positive light. Yet, it seems that it was in Clemens's nature to be constantly on the move. Gribben notes the author's mobility: "Born in Missouri, schooled in the colorful regions of Nevada and California, Twain

⁶⁹ DeVoto also observes: "there is profound difference between Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, but one or the other of them is holding the pen in the best, the deepest, and the truest of Mark's work" ("Introduction" *MT in Eruption* xvii).

went east to master the necessary economic and literary formulas” (“Importance” 43).⁷⁰ The farther out (and up) into the world he travels, the further removed he sees himself. Jeanne Moore has argued for examining “home” as “a holistic entity comprising of inter-related qualities of people, environment and time” (213).⁷¹ Each of these elements is affected by his departures and returns, thus forcing contrasting place identities (the former and the new) which allow him to view the town more objectively as he associated with new places outside of Hannibal.

These returns greatly affect Twain. Examined as a whole, they illustrate a pattern of deteriorating place identity. As Ryan has pointed out, through his travels the Sam Clemens of small town Hannibal gradually developed into the Sam Clemens of big city life.⁷² Hannibal became a place that is physically, financially, and culturally much different than those places where he later lived or visited. Such a shift in place and values concurrently creates and reflects a shift in place identity. Each return, then, serves as a reminder of his psychological distance from home, forcing an awareness of severed ties. This rift exhibits itself in his fictional treatment of Hannibal. Though emotionally challenging for the author, such distance allows him increasingly to write about this place objectively. Thus his works can be read as a record of his lost association with place,

⁷⁰ Gribben expounds upon Clemens’s movement and the results: “It must be said that this American, more than most of his fellow humorists, accepted challenges and took risks to overcome circumstances. Imagine Sam Clemens staying behind as a small-town Missouri newspaper editor. Impossible. It is even difficult to envision him as a longtime San Francisco columnist like Ambrose Bierce. The role simply does not fit our idea of his restless temperament. . . . American rewarded this venturesomeness by adopting him as a unifying legend for the nation as a whole” (“Importance” 43).

⁷¹ Moore argues for these affective elements’ inclusion when considering “home” in a social or cultural context.

⁷² According to Ryan, “As Twain traveled and lived in a variety of nations and places, he acquired languages, costumes, poses, and politics until he became one of the first truly cosmopolitan, world citizens” (Ryan, “Cosmopolitan Ideal” 2).

each revealing ever more clearly his attitudes toward both Hannibal and toward small town life.

1855-1867: The Idyll Established

Much about Clemens's early Missouri years was embodied in Mark Twain and incorporated in his works. As environmental psychologists have pointed out, an individual's memory of place becomes internalized, so that memories of the place and interactions with it assign internal significance to the place (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 210). Robert Hay adds to this notion, explaining that individuals develop "an autobiographical insideness" based on memories involving the home and neighborhood (6).

Clemens's childhood played a major role in the development and content of his fiction. Like Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, "he attended classes mostly when the weather made the shelter of school more attractive than roaming Bear Creek, Holiday's Hill, or Glasscock's Island" (Hoffman 15).⁷³ As Wecter writes, "In Hannibal young Clemens had reached his predestined great good place" (61-2). These early years were immensely important to the establishment and development of Clemens's association with place.⁷⁴

Hannibal, however, was never the idyllic town Twain illustrates in his early writing. Abuse of alcohol was common, as was unemployment. Slavery was

⁷³ Andrew Hoffman details Clemens's youthful days: "Sam and his friends...took frequent trips to Glasscock's Island, where they would spend the day swimming, fishing, hunting for turtle eggs, and smoking. Around town, they raided fields and orchards for melons and apples...played marbles...became Indians and pirates and highwaymen as easily as the suggestion came from someone's mouth" (15).

⁷⁴ Since a plethora of critical work exists on the importance of Hannibal to the author, hardly any further explanation is required. For further explorations on Hannibal's influence on Twain, see particularly John S. Tuckey, "Hannibal." See also Minnie M. Brashear; Dixon Wecter; Henry Nash Smith, "Images"; Walter Blair, *Hannibal*; and Richard Gray.

indoctrinated. There were disagreements and even duels. In fact, by the time Clemens left Hannibal, he had personally witnessed several deaths, some of them quite violent. With leftover characteristics of a small town located on the frontier of America, and in Clemens's early teen years, one of the intersections for '49ers heading west in search of gold, the town grew into a larger, more impersonal place.⁷⁵ All the while, the young man looked on.

Yet Twain would not (at least initially) write of *this* place. Instead, drawing on what Wecter calls a "reservoir of boyhood memories," the author censored his portrayal of Hannibal, shaping it into the idyllic, sleepy small town (138). Although his early work does exhibit certain negative aspects of small town life, it largely is toned down. Such a desire to reshape the actual town into something more delightful is telling about Twain's sense of place identity. As outlined in Chapter One of this study, an individual who maintains an association with a place feels compelled to portray the town optimistically. Doing so, Twain exhibits an "autobiographical insideness," illustrating that his place identity exists from the "inside" of Hannibal, suggesting that he is still primarily connected to the town.

Because Clemens identified with the small town setting for much of his early life and in view of their frequency, his early homecomings can be studied together. On the whole, his returns in 1855, 1858, two in 1861, and 1867 worked to sustain his connection to home. Due to a lack of records, the specifics of several of his returns are hard to trace. Although these returns were evidently not always pleasant, the early returns nevertheless

⁷⁵ For a more detailed account of the change in the town, including the Gold Rush's affects, see Hoffman (25).

worked both separately and together to create several memories that would stay with Twain all his life.

Clemens, not yet eighteen years old, left Hannibal in early June, 1853. During what critics often call his “Wanderjahren,” he travelled as an itinerant printer-compositor to St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.⁷⁶ He found these cities much bigger and much more impersonal than home. Of his 1855 return, little is known. He spent his time there tending to family property matters (Fears 1:32) and visiting family members (*Mark Twain’s Notebooks* 1:13-4). Also while in Hannibal he wrote a list of names in his notebook, presumably the names of childhood friends whom he wanted to visit (*Mark Twain, Businessman* 27). If so, this list illustrates a desire to reunite with people from his past—a sign of positive place identity. Beyond this relatively minor clue, his return home seems to be uneventful.

The next return, on 25 June 1858, was life-changing for Clemens. Just days before, on 13 June, Clemens’s brother Henry died of burns received when a boiler exploded aboard the steamboat *Pennsylvania*, a vessel Clemens himself was supposed to

⁷⁶ Hoffman observes of Clemens’s 1853 departure: “In a 1904 paean to his idol, Mark Twain wrote, ‘In Joan of Arc at the age of sixteen there was no promise of a romance. She lived in a dull little village on the frontiers of civilization; she had been nowhere and seen nothing...And now, aged seventeen, she was made Commander-in-Chief...and marched to Orleans.’ Sam at seventeen felt his own urge to march. Though he lacked the divine call, he still needed to leave Hannibal” (32). During his time away, Clemens mentions Hannibal in only a few letters. These letters mainly treat Hannibal as a form of measurement, where, for example, he would compare cities to the size of Hannibal. No known letters remain between March, 1855, and May, 1856. Like the letters of the author-to-be, his notebook reveals little. It shows only that he was learning chess and French, reading up on phrenology, and tending to family business affairs and that he visited Erasmus Moffett (William Moffett’s brother) and his wife, Sarah, in Hannibal. However, they reveal very little about his feelings toward his return (*Mark Twain’s Notebooks and Journals* 1:11).

be aboard at the time.⁷⁷ Clemens was at his brother's bedside when he died and brought his body home to Hannibal. Thus, his second homecoming was devastating.

He would return home again in late April, 1861. By then, eight years after first leaving, Clemens had become a riverboat pilot. Because the Civil War had just ended commercial river traffic, he boarded the *Hannibal City*—the same steamboat on which he escorted Henry's body—en route for home. Although longing to see old friends, his goal for the trip to Hannibal was to collect money that was due to him by his good friend, William Bowen (*Letters* 1:120). Although his stay was brief (he left only two days later), his desire to see old friends—like his 1855 return—suggests a sustained familiarity with his hometown (1:120n2).

Clemens returned again just a few weeks later. In mid-June, he went to Hannibal apparently to join the Confederate Army. Clemens deserted after only two weeks of service, presumably because of his discomfort with the reality of war (*Letters* 1:121). This return thus was brief, but in his mind he would connect support for the Confederate cause and the experiences of war all with his hometown.⁷⁸

Six years passed before Clemens returned to Hannibal. By 1867, he had experienced a second career as a miner, and then another as a travel reporter, visiting the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. Now in his fourth major career as a lecturer, he was traveling across the Midwest on tour. A former acquaintance asked him to make a stop in Hannibal, and he took advantage of the opportunity to visit friends and relatives (Rasmussen 7). This return is important to his career because it brought him two things

⁷⁷ Due to a disagreement onboard, Clemens was removed from piloting duty and assigned to another steamboat that followed several hours behind the *Pennsylvania*.

⁷⁸ Clemens would reconstruct his memories of this experience with “humor and pathos” in “The Private History of a Campaign That Failed” (1885) (*Letters* 1:121).

he much desired: money and acclaim. (Hoffman 120). More importantly, this homecoming marks a change in his place identity.

Twain lectured in Hannibal on April 2, 1867, to many familiar faces, including (most likely) his friend William Bowen. The records of his lecture give no signs that he strayed from his typical lecture for the occasion, addressed his hometown audience any differently, or changed his lecture to acknowledge his homecoming. There, he recognized, for the first time, a noticeable distance between himself on stage and his Hannibal friends below (2:55). Ryan has noticed this distance as well. Citing Clemens' observation that "the reality diminishes sizes and distances that have been lying on record in my memory so long" (*Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown* 132), Ryan comments that Hannibal, "despite having increased in population, appeared small" ("Mean" 55). Partly due to the nature of memory, and partly due to Twain's rising status as comic-lecturer, the town seemed diminished. While the town struck him as stagnant, Clemens's aspirations were gaining momentum. The full effects of this difference would not become apparent until years later. For now, on stage in front of many of his childhood friends, Clemens was still a hometown man.

All of these returns reflected a sustained place attachment; he is able to remain connected to home through multiple encounters with Hannibalians and through experiences that remind him of home. For example, a March 1869 encounter with the Reverend Joseph L. Bennett conjured "trooping phantoms of the past" (*Letters* 3:134-5).⁷⁹ Receiving a letter from William Bowen in February, 1870, Clemens "rained reminiscences for four & twenty hours" (Twain, "SLC to William Bowen. 6 Feb

⁷⁹ Rev. Bennett served the First Presbyterian Church of Hannibal from 1848-1852 (*Letters* 3:135n2).

1870”).⁸⁰ And after a December 1871 lecture, Clemens’s reunion with two women from his Hannibal childhood summoned similar memories (Hoffman 191).⁸¹

As his portrayals of Hannibal in the 1870s show, Twain appreciated the Hannibal of his youth. Furthermore, they display an unmistakable nostalgia toward his former home. Hay has found that people who move away from home after the age of twelve (Clemens was seventeen) develop strong, nostalgic bonds to their hometown (Giuliani 156). In addition, Marc Fried’s work shows that a “yearning for a fantasied paradise lost” can evolve into “efforts to romanticize the past” (Fried 201). Although Twain certainly would disagree that his writing was “romanticized,” the work produced while he still identified with Hannibal illustrates an idealized form of the actual town, or what critics often call the “idyll.” Although mainly limited to *Tom Sawyer*, this term could be used to describe much of Twain’s writing about home—starting with his early work and ending with *Tom Sawyer*. Simultaneously, his physical, imagined, and surrogate proximity to home allowed him to sustain a place identity with it.

This association would surface in the best of his writing. Wecter has argued that “Mark Twain’s genius always swung like a compass toward his fourteen years’ childhood and adolescence in Hannibal” and it did so beginning in the 1870s (65). According to Smith, Twain’s “full recovery of the Matter of Hannibal should be dated from this period [1874]” (“Images” 5). At that point in time, Twain began work on *Life on the Mississippi*. It was in this work, as Gribben and Melton suggest, that the author

⁸⁰ Smith describes this letter as “a catalogue of remembered characters and incidents” (“Images” 4). Some of the letter glowingly recalls their youthful days. Other parts of it touch on some “very painful items” (5). See Appendix 2 for the complete text of this (quite famous) letter.

⁸¹ According to Hoffman, this reunion was important, to say the least: “these middle-aged women sparked in Sam a new way of reinventing his childhood: to turn it into myth” (Hoffman 191). See Hay 6, who explores this notion of surrogate connections to place.

“belatedly discovered the fertile subject of the Mississippi River Valley where he had spent his youth and learned the science of river-piloting” (169). Of particular interest is Chapter Four, which is valuable both for the way Twain reproduces his hometown and for the way it contrasts his later views of home. This portion (along with Chapters Five through Seventeen) of *Life on the Mississippi* was originally written in 1874, and published serially in several 1875 issues of the *Atlantic Monthly* (Rasmussen 362-3).⁸² Written as a means to “record a way of life that had been altered almost beyond recognition since the Civil War,” these chapters glowingly reflect upon the author’s Mississippi River years (362).

Twain’s narrative structure in this chapter (and throughout this work for that matter) lends itself to two layers of experience, as R. Kent Rasmussen has pointed out: reminiscences about his earlier life and recollections of his experience returning there—with the latter becoming a “rereading of the river as an adult writer” (307). Such a structure calls for editorial decisions; the author must choose *how* to reproduce his hometown, and from which point of view. At the heart of these decisions lie his attributes toward home.

Here, Twain’s portrayal of the village, written early in his career, illustrates the simple life enjoyed in his youth, not unlike that of Tom Sawyer:

Once a day a cheap, gaudy packet arrived upward from St. Louis and another downward from Keokuk [Iowa]. Before these events, the day was glorious with expectancy; after them, the day was a dead and empty thing. Not only the boys, but the whole village felt this. After all these years, I can picture that old time to myself now, just as it was then: the white town drowsing in the sunshine of a

⁸² It is of note that these are the chapters that appeared in the *Atlantic* with Sarah Orne Jewett’s work.

summer's morning; the streets empty, or pretty nearly so; one or two clerks sitting in front of the Water Street stores, with their splint-bottomed chairs tilted back against the wall, chins on breasts, hats slouched over their faces, asleep ... a sow and a litter of pigs loafing along the sidewalk ... the fragrant town drunkard asleep in the shadow of them; two or three wood flats at the head of the wharf, but nobody to listen to the peaceful lapping of the wavelets against them; the great Mississippi, the majestic, the magnificent Mississippi, rolling its mile-wide tide along, shining in the sun. (63-64)

Here, the town is characterized by a simple way of life (74). The (lack of) events in town and the sleepy nature of its inhabitants characterize the town itself. The pigs on the sidewalk identify the place as more of a rural village than a rising town. Despite the uneventful, drowsy atmosphere, the narrative voice—reflecting upon those years from a later point of view—is largely optimistic, perceptible in Twain's word choice: "sunshine of the summer's morning" and the "peaceful lapping of the wavelets." The view of the river is one of affection and awe. Even the town drunk is "fragrant."

These images, written from memory of a life he had left nineteen years prior and had not revisited in seven years, reflect an atmosphere he held dear. The village existence is not one of the present; it lies distinctly in the past. Twain polishes an antebellum way of life that magnifies certain elements and omits others. Having lived a childhood that included a wide range of experiences—from the pleasantries of boyhood camaraderie to the horrors of death in his presence—Twain censors the particular elements of town life in this fragment which will become quite telling later in this study;

in many of his major works he uses the same elements but to different ends, indicative of his changing attitudes toward home.

Much like Chapter Four of *Life on the Mississippi*, another key work in understanding the development of Twain's attitudes toward his hometown is *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. For the purposes of this study, *Tom Sawyer*, too, functions as a baseline work: a starting point in which Twain revisits his memories of boyhood, and a point *from* which he departs in his later works (as we will see). The ways in which he treats St. Petersburg and its inhabitants reflect his own views of Hannibal as home. Since his departure twenty years prior to writing *Tom Sawyer*, his memories of Hannibal seem varnished by time and distance. Like the sun in Chapter Four, Twain's viewpoint seems to "r[i]se upon a tranquil world, and [beam] down upon the peaceful village like a benediction" (*Tom Sawyer* 26). Like *Life on the Mississippi*, this novel offers itself as evidence for an analysis of the author's approach toward his hometown.

Since Bernard DeVoto's *Mark Twain's America*, published in 1932, critics by and large have accepted *Tom Sawyer* as a nostalgia-filled idyll. More recently, critical discourse surrounding the darker aspects of *Tom Sawyer* has turned from an appreciation of the small-town folk to a scolding of their dullness, malice, and greed. Thomas S. Maik argues that the St. Petersburg in *Tom Sawyer* should be added to the list of Twain's towns that are "symbolic of the smugness, hypocrisy, and cruelty of humanity," citing Twain's attitude toward humans in the Bricksville and Pikesville of *Huckleberry Finn*, Dawson's Landing (of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*), and Hadleyburg (of "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg") (201). Maik's goal, he admits, is "to reexamine the St. Petersburg idyll, challenge the myth, and, in doing so, expose the frequently harsh and unpleasant realities

of the town in that novel” (201). Maik later writes: “The idyll is only at the surface. Smugness, pretense, deception, and greed permeate the village and strip away the mythology of Eden” (207).⁸³

Several voices have joined a chorus of critics who reject any idealistic views of *Tom Sawyer’s* St. Petersburg and who see the town and its residents as more malevolent. Tom H. Towers has argued that “despite the book’s popular reputation, horror is very real in *Tom Sawyer*, and it is the horror and Tom’s reaction to it that lie at the core of meaning in the novel and connect it to the dark unity of Twain’s later work” (130). Judith Fetterley views Tom as the socially “sanctioned rebel” whose purpose is to end the boredom of the townspeople, much to their appreciation. And Forrest G. Robinson has described the society as “a complex fabric of lies: of half-truths, of stimulation, dissimulation, broken promises, exaggeration, and outright falsehoods” (168). These arguments are largely valid; such elements do exist below the surface of the small town. A consideration of Clemens’s place association, however, helps to explain the darker aspects of the novel.

For Twain, St. Petersburg is an essentially idyllic Hannibal.⁸⁴ The town is fundamentally a good place—so good, in fact, that conflict (in the form of Injun Joe) must originate externally (Smith, *Development* 89).⁸⁵ DeVoto argues that the simplest

⁸³ Although thorough in his argument, Maik’s points rarely touch on the *nature* of man. Instead, he treats the townspeople superficially—a testament to how optimistically and good-naturedly Twain created these characters. For example, Maik argues that when the Judge Thatcher, “a man of the law,” praised Tom when the boy stood up for Becky’s book-tearing, the judge reveals how he inwardly disregards “truth and honesty” (204). Such an argument seems only to pinpoint specific examples and magnify these as microcosms of a larger despair of mankind.

⁸⁴ Blair has traced several characters and events from Hannibal that found their way into Twain’s fiction. See “Tom Sawyer” 65-7. In fact, when Twain refers in his notes to Hannibal, he calls it “St P” (Blair, *Hannibal* 26).

⁸⁵ According to Smith, “It is the absence of a basic conflict between Tom and the society of the village that obliges Mark Twain to look elsewhere for the conflict he considered essential to the plot of the novel.

description of the novel is that it amounted to “an idyll of boyhood” (*Mark Twain’s America* 304).⁸⁶ Throughout the novel, Twain’s subtle word choice and details help to convey the simple, unsophisticated setting and mood of small town life: Aunt Polly’s “tomato vines and ‘jimpson’ weeds” in her garden (1); long summer evenings (5); a “muddy alley that led by the back of [Tom’s] aunt’s cow-stable ... the public square of the village ... the garden” (19); the ringing of “the cracked bell of the small church” (*Tom Sawyer* 37); and quaint names of streets like “Meadow Lane” (*Tom Sawyer* 147). Even the name “St. Petersburg” evokes heavenly images.⁸⁷ Twain’s descriptions imply a more comfortable, simpler time. At work here is Twain’s desire to establish the town as a peaceful, sleepy place, as he did in Chapter Four of *Life on the Mississippi*. The village of St. Petersburg, much like Hannibal for the author, reaches back through time and into his memories of youth. In fact, the entire setting of the work serves as an optimistic

[Twain] solves his problem by introducing evil in the form of Injun Joe, whose mixed blood labels him an outsider” (Smith, *Development* 89). Although many of Clemens’s memories are a one-to-one correspondence of events he fictionalized in St. Petersburg, it should be acknowledged that critics have traced parts of St. Petersburg to Sam Clemens’s childhood days at his Uncle John Quarles farm in Florida, Missouri. See Norton 73

⁸⁶ DeVoto continues: “Such incidents as whitewashing of the fence are, like a familiar landscape, so intimate to our experience that their importance is easily forgotten...Tom Sawyer’s morality, his religion, his black avengers, his rituals and tabus, his expeditions for glory or adventure, his trafficking with buried treasure, his exaltation, his very terror—are, for childhood, immortal. That fact carries its own weight: whatever achievement resides in writing a book eternally true about children, a book so expressive of them that they accept it as themselves, is Mark Twain’s achievement” (DeVoto, *Mark Twain’s America* 304).

⁸⁷ John C. Gerber has suggested that Twain named the town St. Petersburg “to suggest St. Peter’s place, or heaven. In many ways it does seem like heaven for boys and girls. The weather is always summery. The wooded hills, the river, and the cave are ideal for games and adventures. Tom and his friends get into and out of one scrape after another, and Tom’s desires for fame and fortune and for the love of Becky Thatcher are happily realized” (xiii). See also Norton, who writes, “Turning to speculation for a reason for the name given to Tom’s town, it is conceivable that the name symbolizes the idealized conditions and reflects the mysterious presence that hangs over the inhabitants, especially the more youthful members during selective summer hours—thus having a name suggestive of a heavenly city, not an earthly one” (74).

homage to a lost time and place.⁸⁸ His treatment of his childhood memories seems anything but negative.

The chief indicator in *Tom Sawyer* of Twain's longing attitude toward home is his portrayal of St. Petersburg's residents. Throughout most of the novel, Twain treats them with an air of respect; there are relatively few places in the text where he uses harsh words toward his townsfolk. Twain's capacity for criticism is muted in this work. Even at the condescending points in his characterizations of the residents, he softens his comments to passing asides such as "who had seen better days" or "among other unnecessaries," avoiding any *direct* criticism.

The townspeople's actions, too, are largely good-natured. One of the few deviations from this is their reaction to Injun Joe's crime: "The villagers had a strong desire to tar-and-feather Injun Joe and ride him on a rail, for body-snatching, but so formidable was his character that nobody could be found who was willing to take the lead in the matter, so it was dropped" (*Tom Sawyer* 91). This violent impulse in reaction to Injun Joe's crimes illustrates not only their ability to do harm to another person, but also their presumably well-founded fear of Injun Joe. The act of tarring and feathering is evidently in the communal arsenal, but they are not accustomed to resorting to such an act wantonly. What is more, they are made impotent by their fear of Injun Joe, doing nothing more than *wanting* to punish the man for the reprehensible crime of grave-robbing; they have the desire, but do not move forward with any such plans. In any case, such an action seems out of place for them—largely due to the fact that Twain creates them with an otherwise strong sense of decency.

⁸⁸ DeVoto explores this idea further. See *Mark Twain at Work* 23-4.

Their behavior speaks volumes about their character. They are caring people, for example mourning the demise of Tom when they assume he is dead. When Tom and Becky turn up missing, the entire town likewise responds. The townspeople's reaction and their willingness to help others reflect a strong sense of community. The sheer numbers of those willing to help implies a shared goodness, and the tears shed implies a shared loss.

As the search continues, Twain points out that even the "accidental discovery, just made, that the proprietor of the Temperance Tavern kept liquor on his premises, scarcely fluttered the public pulse, tremendous as the fact was" further shows that the town is not nearly so interested in liquor or gossip as it is in finding Tom and Becky (220). The people share in mourning the loss, and when the children are found, they share in rejoicing. Twain uses the unfortunate disappearance of Tom and Becky to illustrate the ways the townspeople come together in times of grief and sorrow, relief and joy.

Even the darker aspects of town life are relatively low-key. The villagers' response to the murder of Dr. Robinson at start of Chapter Eleven is a prime example. His death propels the townsfolk into a frenzy. Both Dr. Robinson's death and the subsequent trial create a flurry of interest in the village. Yet this excitement must be qualified. While the townspeople *are* starved for excitement, their desire to see the village goings-on (however violent they may be) stems most prominently from boredom rather than malice. The arrival of a phrenologist and a "mesmerizer" in Chapter Twenty-two also create a similar stir (163), as does Tom and Huck's discovery of treasure. Such harmless episodes illustrate that it is not essentially morbid events, such as dead bodies or murder trials, that arouse the town; any diverting change or something extraordinary—

whatever the event—causes the townsfolk to stir. Such a view signals an air of compassion, not condescension, for a town so starved for excitement.

As Gribben has pointed out, many of Twain's horrific memories from his childhood resurface throughout his canon, including *Tom Sawyer* ("Those Other"). Such memories as young Sam Clemens stumbling upon a corpse in his father's office, his standing next to brother's (Ben's) casket, his other brother's (Henry's) coffin, and his witnessing of the post-mortem of his father can be linked to several events in his work. Horrors such as these are almost routine in Twain's fiction, yet frightening deeds interrupt but do not conquer Twain's persistent humor and nostalgia. As we will see, even the darkest elements in *Tom Sawyer*'s St. Petersburg pale in comparison to those of similar towns in later works such as *Huckleberry Finn*, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, and *No.44*. Although the townspeople do get excited over a murder, only the villain of the story shows malice or intentionally harms others—much different than similar townspeople in Twain's later fiction. Outside threats aside, the people's actions in *Tom Sawyer* are benign. Even Injun Joe's death is in effect accidental. In every respect the author seemed determined to honor a commitment to censoring unsavory thoughts about his former townspeople.

For a story that, as DeVoto has described it, "pivots on body-snatching, revenge, murder, robbery, drowning, starvation, and the fear of death," these aspects impress themselves only subtly on the reader (DeVoto, *Mark Twain at Work* 22). Inspired by his memories and his feelings toward home, Twain consciously transformed real-life place, events, and people into glowing fiction—or what DeVoto calls "a distillation, a

generalization, a myth” (*Mark Twain at Work* 19).⁸⁹ As Smith points out, this work makes it clear that Clemens was aware of the town’s shortcomings, yet he chose to censor or omit certain elements to paint his idyll (“Images” 8).⁹⁰ He shrinks the town’s population, minimizes its entertainment ventures, removes its commercial and industrial side, and even decreases the frequency of steamboat arrivals.⁹¹ By employing such an approach, Twain reveals his desire to portray the town’s remoteness and simplicity. These depictions, combined with the author’s humor, depict the town in *Tom Sawyer* as much more delightful than the Hannibal the author experienced in his youth.⁹²

Twain’s descriptions of the place and its inhabitants create an essentially sympathetic view of a town. At the novel’s conclusion, despite Tom’s experience with the terrors of childhood in a Mississippi River town, Twain maintains a cheerfully positive attitude toward the townspeople: “Most of the characters that perform in this book still live, and are prosperous and happy” (260), illustrating his desire to recreate them in his fiction as essentially good people. Although Twain’s writing would later take

⁸⁹ Blair explores Clemens’s memories and attitudes as the source for Twain’s nostalgic attitudes surfacing in his treatment of St. Petersburg. See Blair, “Tom Sawyer” 71. Blair also compares the two towns, writing, “Despite recognizable aspects, St. Petersburg is for the most part far lovelier than Hannibal...[E]xcept in a few similar phrases St. Petersburg and its environs are realms of quiet delight bathed in summer air fragrant with the aroma of meadows, woodlands, and flowers. The idyllic setting was one aspect of the book that led Twain to call it ‘simply a hymn, put into prose to give it a worldly air’” (Blair, “Tom Sawyer” 67). James M. Cox interprets St. Petersburg’s charm to Twain’s position as narrator, distanced over time. See Cox 91.

⁹⁰ Smith writes, “[T]he St. Petersburg of the novel must be recognized as a deliberate creation, not an effort to reproduce the actual town of Hannibal” (Smith, “Images” 8). Smith also mentions the near-absent slavery in the novel: “Even so, St. Petersburg...Like Hannibal, ... bears the dark shadow of slavery, although this may not have seemed so dark in pre-War Hannibal as it does now, and in St. Petersburg it is hardly noticeable” (Smith, “Images” 8).

⁹¹ Smith calls on Twain’s “Villagers of 1840-3” sketch to the same ends here. In “Villagers,” Twain lists from memory several Hannibal townspeople and their actions, many of which are less than desirable. See also Norton (70), who explores each of these types of censorship. See also Cox’s description of Twain’s censorship (99-100).

⁹² For an explanation of the way Twain’s censorship and humor tone down the work’s criticism of small town life, see Norton 139.

a more somber turn and the malice of human nature would surface in later works, such is not the case in Tom Sawyer's St. Petersburg.⁹³

Twain's treatment of the Matter of Hannibal derives from a sustained identification with the place combined with a nostalgic reflection over those boyhood times. Seeing home, as Walter Blair writes, "through the mists of memory," Twain reconstructed the ante-bellum Hannibal, expurgating the darker elements and emphasizing the idyllic ones (*Hannibal* 4). *Life on the Mississippi* and *Tom Sawyer* offer a baseline understanding of the author's original view of home. However, the novel's full importance does not come into focus until one considers Twain's representations of the town in his later works. Like the cub pilot who learns to read the river and thus loses "all the grace, the beauty, the poetry" from his view of it (*Life on the Mississippi* 119),⁹⁴ Clemens's rise in stature, his travel experience, and his age will provide the means to write about things more objectively as he sees them.

1882: The Idyll Revisited

In the years following the publication of *Tom Sawyer*, Clemens's life changed drastically. The decade that would make up his forties would be one of transformation. Ryan writes, "As was the case with many Americans during the late nineteenth century, Twain's horizons were broadening rapidly" ("Cosmopolitan Ideal" 9).⁹⁵

⁹³ I use the phrase "Tom Sawyer's St. Petersburg" to differentiate it from "Huck Finn's St. Petersburg," discussed later in this chapter. As we will see, the two are different.

⁹⁴ Smith argues for a similar connection. He writes that this education "duplicates human experience" (Smith, *Development* 79).

⁹⁵ Ryan here is discussing the impact of the city (or cities) on the author. However, as her words imply, the changing world would impact the author.

Since his marriage, he had become a comfortable part of the Langdon family.⁹⁶ The family was one of great wealth and high morals—both of which were foreign to some of the settings to which Clemens had grown accustomed. The man who “had neither the means nor the respectability to associate in normal society with his shipmates” while working as a travel writer on the *Quaker City* twenty years prior was now married into the family of one of its passengers (Gribben and Melton xiii).⁹⁷ During these years, Clemens confirmed his status as a renowned lecturer and author. Sustained immersion into this culture and the exposure to an increasing wealth distanced him more and more from his hometown.

All of these changes worked to remind him that his life at this point was much different than that from which he came; viewed from the East, Hannibal grew increasingly smaller to him. Smith describes “the Matter” of Hannibal as almost endlessly suggestive for [Clemens], but it presented difficulties commensurate with its possibilities. Before he could use the material in fiction he must define his attitude toward it; and this meant nothing less than establishing his own identity in relation to it by working out a continuity between his adult life

⁹⁶ The Langdon family of Elmira, NY: Olivia’s father, Jervis Langdon, was a coal baron. The family itself was known for their progressive outlook. According to Hoffman, “Occupying with its grounds an entire city block, the Langdon house offered sumptuous comforts...but other than their fortune, the family had few characteristics that typified capitalists. Ardent abolitionists, the Langdons had made their home a stop on the Underground Railroad, helping writer and orator Frederick Douglass to freedom” (140). Hoffman also comments on Clemens’s entrance into the Langdon circle: “For a man bred in the formality and reticence of his Hannibal home and accustomed to making his own way in a rough world, the Langdon circle—with its money, social concern, and forthright love—seemed a heavenly beacon. Sam wanted to join the circle more than he had ever wanted anything” (141).

⁹⁷ Clemens boarded the *Quaker City* on 8 June, 1867, as a travel writer for the *San Francisco Alta California* newspaper. According to Gribben and Melton, the chief means Clemens had to travel was “by recording his...adventures in journals, then sending off travel correspondence for publication in newspapers and magazines, eventually compiling the letters chapter-by-chapter into books, and subsequently joining the lecture circuit to promote these publications” (Gribben and Melton xiii). While on board, Clemens met Olivia’s brother, Charley Langdon. It was through Charley that Clemens met his future wife.

in Hartford and his remote childhood in the small town on the west bank of the river, thirty years in the past. (*Development* 74)

Twain had to comprehend the distance between the Hartford culture and the one from which he came.⁹⁸ Such a position forced him to reconsider the ways in which he should portray Hannibal in his fiction. As DeVoto writes, “Boyhood existed forever in the idyll of Hannibal, and he remembered Hannibal as he was to make Eve remember Eden, as an eternal summer before the Fall” (*Mark Twain at Work* 15). The catalyst for this Fall was his 1882 return home.

By 1882, Twain wanted to develop his successful “Old Times on the Mississippi” writings into what he called a “standard book” on the Mississippi River (Rasmussen 9). He decided that, in order to do it correctly and thoroughly, he needed to return to the Mississippi to take notes (9). He looked forward to returning to his native territory. He had not been in Hannibal for fifteen years and he yearned to be back on the Mississippi, where his piloting career had ended twenty-two years earlier (Jackson 55). His goal was to return to the glorious places of his youth, and then to write about them for his blooming readership (DeVoto, *Mark Twain at Work* 57).

What he found there was something much different than he had imagined. Problems arose when the place he returned to proved not to be the place he remembered and expected. In the critical attention paid to this riverboat trip, scholars and biographers have discussed Clemens’s shock at the changed South—what he remembered and what he thought it was. A contributing factor to this response was his surprise upon returning to Hannibal.

⁹⁸ See Cooke and Swauger, who write: “By 1885 he was the most widely read of American writers and possibly in his time the most famous man in the world” (29).

It was, in fact, a profound shock. Hannibal's population now topped fifteen thousand, its streets were paved, and it now possessed a hundred-thousand-dollar train depot (Powers 461). The sight of the railroad upset Clemens (*Complete Interviews* 42).⁹⁹ The steamboats—previously regarded as giant floating palaces—were now antiquated. Twain, who had made part of his literary career out of his steamboat piloting days, was hurt, offended, and disillusioned with the contemporary Hannibal childhood experience.

On the personal level, to be sure, Clemens experienced a happy reunion with a few childhood friends. Yet, many other friends whom he expected to see were conspicuously absent (Hoffman 296). When he did recognize a face, it often turned out to be the offspring of one of his former acquaintances (Powers 462). Observations in his notebooks and letters expose the unchanged state in which he held his memories. They also document a surprise that the town did not appear more close to the way it was when he left.

The author, who recorded notebook observations throughout the trip, thus made surprisingly few notations of his homecoming (*Mark Twain's Notebooks* 2:434). One entry is worthy of note for its value to later discussion in this study. Just before noting “the atrocious grammar of Hannibal & the West” (*Mark Twain's Notebooks* 2:480), Clemens makes note of the mud in his hometown: “Alas! everything was changed in Hannibal—but when I reached third or fourth st[reet]s the tears burst forth, for I recognized the mud. It, at least was the same—the same old mud” (*Mark Twain's Notebooks* 2:479). The mud serves as a connection to his past. In it, Clemens found a

⁹⁹ Clemens's distaste for railroads is further explored in Gribben and Melton 170. See also Powers 461. Clemens's own father, John Marshall Clemens, was partly responsible for the railroad traffic in Hannibal. John Clemens initiated the charter for the first rail line (Powers 461-62). Ironically, today a railroad line separates Clemens's boyhood home and the river.

consolation about his lost past. That connection will surface in his subsequent work. For now, he recognized that while he can revisit the people and places of the past, he has difficulty identifying with them.

This return to Hannibal confirmed that the idyllic place of his childhood no longer existed.¹⁰⁰ In this return home, Clemens could not reconcile his expectations—based largely on his memory—with what he encountered.¹⁰¹ Such a disjunction affected both his sense of place and his own place identity; seeing a different place than he expected thereafter would interfere his personal association with the place. His time spent outside Hannibal likewise instilled a change of perspective on the place. As Clemens spent more and more years away from Hannibal, he became increasingly distanced from it. Ryan has argued that his time in various cities “consume[d] Twain’s small-town identity” (“Cosmopolitan Ideal” 4). Accustomed to his affluent life in the North, Twain would naturally view his former home that much more differently.¹⁰²

As with Jewett, Twain’s journeys and returns are a dialectical process; the place is viewed more objectively in light of both the contrast between places experienced and the newly acquired outside perspective (Case 1).¹⁰³ Undergoing such transformations in

¹⁰⁰ Norton credits this realization as the reason his returns home were so brief: because they challenged his vision of Hannibal as *Tom Sawyer*’s St. Petersburg (74).

¹⁰¹ David Seamon addresses this human phenomenon of disjunctive expectation and experience in his study of the Swedish immigrant experience in the novels of Swedish author and historian Vilhelm Moberg (see Seamon 228).

¹⁰² According to Smith, “From the perspective of Hartford, Connecticut, not only was the South’s history strained by its defense of slavery...the South seemed perversely determined to identify itself with the past. It was anti-progressive. The chapters in *Life on the Mississippi* describing the South in 1882 were written from this point of view” (Smith, “Images” 12). Like the chapters Smith describes, Twain’s constructions of Hannibal in *Huckleberry Finn* also subscribe to this disparaging point of view.

¹⁰³ According to Case, “Seeing new places and different people and experiencing new situations all provide a new perspective on life. It is as if travel allows a transcendence of present place and present self” (7). See also Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 211. This study also touches on Erik Erikson: “For Erikson, identity is a dynamic process that balances rootedness and uprootedness. This is a process that continues through adulthood where the enduring value of childhood places reveals how both memories and

place identity, the author who had glorified the town in a form of nostalgic verse now looked homeward with a mix of sympathy and disdain. Also like Jewett, Clemens's separation from home and his eye-opening 1882 return had significant effects. The combination of his strengthened (and strengthening) ties to the literary world and his growing popular status enforced a separation from his hometown. In order to connect to the outside world, he had to disconnect from Hannibal.¹⁰⁴

The natural reaction for an individual in this situation, as Clare L. Twigger-Ross, Marino Bonaiuto, and Glynis Breakwell have shown in their work on place studies and identity, is to “adopt an intergroup behavior oriented to favor the ingroup [the people of that place] and to discriminate outgroup [people of another place]” (206). Unlike Jewett, however, with Clemens's association tied to places outside of Hannibal, his place identity shifts toward those other places. Hannibal becomes the “other place,” or the “outgroup,” indicating a deteriorating place identity associated with his hometown—and his literary work reveals this.

His fiction from this point forward, while often loaded with elements from his childhood in Hannibal, would be tainted by the fact that the place was gone. After the 1882 riverboat trip, Twain was ready to return to the Mississippi River book he had started a few years earlier. He now possessed the necessary energy to resume work on what would become *Life on the Mississippi*. As a measure of Twain's changing views of home, *Life on the Mississippi* is one of the most revealing works in the author's canon. Robert Jackson has identified “Twain's erratic, uneven writing” in the book, an

immediate experiences in places offer opportunities for creative self-development” (Manzo 52). In this way, portions of *Life on the Mississippi* and *Huckleberry Finn* could be viewed as Twain's attempts to balance root and uprootedness.

¹⁰⁴ Case explores the issue of connection and disconnection in his work (8). His theories are investigated in more detail in Chapter One of this study.

inconsistency which, he argues, “provides a fortuitous expression of Twain's own complex, often misunderstood or ignored relationship with the region's peculiar identities” (49). His description of Hannibal in the later chapters distinctly differs from the Chapter Four description that he had written eight years earlier in 1874. Clemens’s changed association with Hannibal would explain this unevenness, providing cause for his change in tone toward Hannibal *within* the work.

In his 1882 manuscript, the author at times loses his narrator’s mask entirely and talks clearly as Clemens, a man returning home after years away.¹⁰⁵ In Chapter Fifty-Three—one of the chapters written immediately after his 1882 riverboat trip—he describes his disturbing return:

I stepped ashore with the feeling of one who returns out of a dead-and-gone generation. I had a sort of realizing sense of what the Bastille prisoners must have felt when they used to come out and look upon Paris after years of captivity, and note how curiously the familiar and the strange were mixed together before them. I saw the new houses—saw them plainly enough—but they did not affect the older picture in my mind, for through their solid bricks and mortar I saw the vanished houses, which had formerly stood there, with perfect distinctness. (524)

Twain’s Bastille metaphor works to illustrate a number of issues here. He conveys the shock he feels upon seeing the ways that the town has grown and that new buildings have been erected. He relays the mind’s stubborn desire to see a place the way it was, rather than the way it is. He also expresses his mixed emotions as he undergoes the tension of the two: what he physically sees and what he feels *should* be there. The result is a sense

¹⁰⁵ Rasmussen explores this notion of the alternating voices of Twain and Clemens, 296.

of displacement (that of which he refers to as a “dead-and-gone generation”), characteristic of an assault on one’s place identity.

The narrator walks through Hannibal, “still seeing the town as it was, and not as it is, and recognizing and metaphorically shaking hands with a hundred familiar objects which no longer exist” (524). Eventually, he climbs to the top of Holliday’s Hill to look out over the town of his youth. This chapter continues with the arrival of a town resident—a twenty-eight-year resident of Hannibal, but a stranger to Twain since “he had come after my time” (525). Twain asks the man about several people whom he had known in his youth. The chapter continues with a series of such inquiries that are answered with a mixture of pleasantry and pathos. The chapter concludes with Twain asking about one specific woman who, he discovers, died in an asylum; her insanity had been induced by a childhood practical joke in which the woman was scared into madness by a masked friend of Twain.¹⁰⁶

The three remaining Hannibal chapters in *Life on the Mississippi* follow a specific pattern: Twain witnesses elements in Hannibal (a person, a house, a church) that conjure memories of some aspect of his childhood. What is telling about his recalled memories is that they are all solemn, with little of his characteristic humor involved. For example in Chapter Fifty-Four, while sitting atop the hill and looking out over the town, “picking out old houses in the distant town, and calling back their former inmates out of the mouldy past,” he sees the house of a childhood playmate, “Lem Hackett” (who was actually Clint Levering in real life) (530).¹⁰⁷ The sight carried him “back more than a generation in a

¹⁰⁶ This event actually occurred during Twain’s youth. Twain later wrote the tale in “Doughface” published in *Hannibal, Huck & Tom*. The topic will be addressed later in this study. See also Gribben, “Those Other.”

¹⁰⁷ According to Rasmussen, Clint Levering, a friend of Clemens, drowned August 13, 1847 (312).

moment,” forcing him to recall the boy’s drowning. Recalling, in a somber tone, the boy’s death and Twain’s subsequent fear of God’s wrath leads Twain to tell of another boy, “Dutchy,” who also drowned only three weeks later. Twain’s guilt over his involvement in these tragedies is an element of his childhood that understandably has stayed with him, and one that struck him, flashing out of a cloud of memories, as he sat upon the hill overlooking his hometown.

This pattern of an element from the past invoking a solemn memory continues throughout these chapters. In Chapter Fifty-Six, Twain notes that the old Hannibal jail has disappeared. This observation yields memories of another childhood trauma. At one point in Clemens’s youth, a tramp entered the town. In a seemingly innocent gesture, the boy provided matches for the tramp’s pipe. Following his arrest later that night, the tramp set fire to his straw bed. Because the townspeople were unable to find the key to the jail, they watched in horror as he burned to death.¹⁰⁸ Twain’s role in the man’s death festered in his memory, erupting into what became the majority of a chapter in this reminiscence; his return to Hannibal in 1882 apparently forced him to recall the man’s death and his (assumed) role in it.¹⁰⁹

Twain could have detailed his return as he experienced it as an older man, like he does in other parts of the book. Instead, he chose to return to a series of memories from his childhood; he includes only a germ of what he saw in the (1882) present and follows each sight with a lengthy explanation of events that lay in the past. Yet even with this approach, he could have chosen happier memories—as he did in *Tom Sawyer*—and

¹⁰⁸ For a biographical account of this series of events, see Gribben, “Those Other.”

¹⁰⁹ Sometime on or after May 23 (6 days after his return to Hannibal), Twain noted this memory in his notebook: “Burned up the tramp in Hannibal” (*Mark Twain’s Notebooks and Journals* 2:482). Although there is no subject of his fragmentary sentence, his word choice here implies that *he* burned up the tramp—a sign of his continued guilt over the matter.

illustrated a series of vignettes from his youth, glossing over the heavier aspects to focus on the lighter ones. In fact, there is a noticeable lack of such moments in these chapters, or any type of writing similar to that of Chapter Four. The author turns away from that style of writing and spends these later chapters revisiting the horrific episodes of his youth.

Such an approach is possible, due to his disconnect with the place. Twain's experience in his return to Hannibal is characteristic of a jolted, fractured, or distressed place identity, where a change in the physical elements (such as people, buildings, or landscapes) through which an individual will root himself—that is, come to understand a place and thus identify himself—results in strong feelings of displacement. At the onset of Chapter Fifty-Five, he describes his experiences: “During my three days’ stay in town, I woke up every morning with the impression that I was a boy—for in my dreams the faces were all young again, and looked as they had looked in the old times—but I went to bed a hundred years old, every night—for the meantime I had been seeing those faces as they are now” (540). Here, these faces of the past are one of the elements in which he grounds his understanding of Hannibal, and the faces of the (then-)present are those through which he measures his age and his distance from that place he thought he knew. He is taken aback by all of this:

When you are told a stranger of fifty is a grandmother, there is nothing surprising about it; but if, on the contrary, she is a person whom you knew as a little girl, it seems impossible. You say to yourself, ‘How can a little girl be a grandmother?’ It takes some little time to accept and realize that the fact that while you have been growing old, your friends have not been standing still, in that matter. (540)

The inconsistency between memory and lived experience overwhelms the author, yet it is precisely this experience that affects his writing.

The disjuncture between the past and present is prominent in Twain's descriptions of his hometown. The measurable physical difference between what he sees and what he remembers from his youth distances him from his former home. In describing the experience of his return, he first describes what he sees: "It is no longer a village; it is a city. . . . It has fifteen thousand people, is a thriving and energetic place, and is paved like the rest of the west and south—where a well-paved street and a good sidewalk are things so seldom seen, that one doubts them when he does see them. The customary half-dozen railways center in Hannibal now" (545-6). He then juxtaposes the present with the past, beginning by recalling the Hannibal he knew before returning to the present:

In my time, the town had no specialty, and no commercial grandeur; the daily packet usually landed a passenger and bought a catfish, and took away another passenger and a hatful of freight; but now a huge commerce in lumber has grown up and a large miscellaneous commerce is one of the results. A deal of money changes hands there now. Bear Creek . . . is hidden out of sight now, under islands and continents of piled lumber, and nobody but an expert can find it."

(546)

With so many changes to the town—including the disappearing Bear Creek, the site of his friends' drownings—it is no wonder that Twain felt disconnected from it. These feelings, combined with the sights he saw during the rest of his riverboat trip into the post-bellum and post-Reconstruction South, surface here in his written work.

Written at two different times, *Life on the Mississippi* reflects a much different tone in his early memories of the town than his later ones. Published May 17, 1883, a year to the day after Clemens left Hannibal, the work measures both his feelings toward—and his distance from—his former home (Rasmussen 307). The Mississippi River book—one that Forrest G. Robinson calls the “most haunted of Mark Twain’s travel books”—is valuable for the way it reflects Twain’s changing attitudes toward life on the river (“Innocent” 36). It is his literary apparitions of home and of the terrifying events there that do the haunting.

This return would prove doubly fruitful for the writer. Not only did his homecoming propel his writing of *Life on the Mississippi*, it also inspired his return to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (DeVoto, *Mark Twain at Work* 57). Yet, the trip—like all returns explored in this study—marks another change in his published work. In 1985, Laurence McClain observed: “For some reason not yet understood . . . Twain now [in *Huckleberry Finn*] rejected his romanticized characterization of the small Missouri village, a community which would gradually become a place of stasis, sloth, and mindless conformity” (69). Although scholars have often cited Clemens’s 1882 return to the river as the source for this shift, his return to Hannibal itself seems to be the most potent explanation. The more his 1882 sense of place contrasted with the place he remembered, the more candid he became in his portrayals of Hannibal.

Elements much different than the *Tom Sawyer*-esque idyll surface in Twain’s fiction after his 1882 riverboat trip: “When he invoked Hannibal he found there not only the idyll of boyhood but anxiety, violence, supernatural horror, and an uncrystallized but enveloping dread. Much of his fiction, most of his masterpiece, flows from that

phantasy-bound anxiety” (DeVoto, “Introduction” *MT in Eruption* xviii). This experience made *Huckleberry Finn* possible. When he returned, he saw the sources of his childhood anxiety, recalled the memories surrounding them, and was reminded that they represent the Hannibal he left—the same Hannibal that he had repeatedly glossed over in his previous writings. What is more, his deteriorating association with the place made it possible to write more frankly about it.

Twain actually began the *Huckleberry Finn* manuscript long before the riverboat trip in 1876, just after finishing *Tom Sawyer*. As he would often say about his periodic writer’s block, however, the well ran dry. He set the manuscript aside, returning to it in 1880, then in “a period of energy” would return to it again after his 1882 trip (Doyno 23).¹¹⁰ The riverboat trip and his return home provided the necessary emotional distance for him to continue to write about his hometown. He returned to the manuscript with a much different perspective. As Richard Gray writes, “his entire attitude to the project had changed” (88). This change coincides with his return home. Like the poor town pariah, Huck Finn, who leaves the town, putting literal distance between home and himself, Clemens’s felt his own personal distance upon his return. Now older and more remote from the hometown of his youth, Clemens is able to identify with his narrator, and more equipped to write objectively about the place.¹¹¹

Michael Kiskis writes, “The recollection is not strictly a memory; rather, it is a creative use of the past in consort with the present that offers a chance to bring to life

¹¹⁰ See page 23 of Victor Doyno’s *Writing Huck Finn* for a timeline of composition. In the interest of focus, this study will address only those portions of the novel written after his 1882 trip into the South.

¹¹¹ Cooke and Swauger also address the issue of objective observation, arguing that the narrative structure of Huck’s trip down the river “allows Clemens to make his observations about life in the small river towns” (30). In regards to the Clemens’s transition as he ages, as mentioned here, DeVoto writes: “He had seen the St. Petersburg of his golden years become the Hartford of the Gilded Age—he had seen personal security and happiness transformed into a splendor that was insecure” (DeVoto, *Mark Twain at Work* 102).

concerns growing out of contemporary events and needs” (249). This novel, like *Tom Sawyer*, is rooted in his hometown. Yet the “contemporary events”—which could include his return home and his distance (in all senses of the word) from it—complicate his memories of the past. This divergence culminates in the *Huckleberry Finn* manuscript.

One part of the novel composed after his return is what critics refer to as “the Sherburn-Boggs episode.” The setting of this episode is just as important as the events. It takes place in Bricksville, a town scholars have often connected to Hannibal (Rasmussen 214).¹¹² Huck’s description of the town itself—“a little one-horse town in a big bend”—resembles both Twain’s fictional Hannibal and St. Petersburg (180):

The stores and houses was most all old shackly dried-up frame concerns that hadn’t ever been painted. ... The houses had little gardens around them, but they didn’t seem to raise hardly anything in them but jimpson weeds, and sunflowers, and ash-piles. ... Some of the fences had been whitewashed, some time or another, but the duke said it was in Clumbus’s time, like enough. There was generally hogs in the garden, and people driving them out. All the stores was along one street. (181)

Here, Twain cleverly draws on both his own and his reader’s memory of his past works. The hogs are reminiscent of the Hannibal of *Life on the Mississippi*. The “jimpson” weeds in the garden call to mind Aunt Polly’s garden in *Tom Sawyer*, and the white-washed fences obviously invoke Twain’s most famous humorous episode. Both seem to be from another time and place—not necessarily real, but in the past; like the white-washed fences, the town itself seems to be, as Huck says, from “some time or another”

¹¹² See also Cooke and Swauger 30.

(181). Despite both being drawn from Twain's well of recollections, elements of Twain's towns differ drastically. According to Smith, "The difference in atmosphere between Bricksville and St. Petersburg is emphasized by the fact that St. Petersburg is white, while this town is dingy and weatherbeaten" ("Images" 10-11). This contrast emerges in Twain's depiction of the Bricksville citizens; although similar to his earlier characterizations, they vary subtly:

There was empty dry-goods boxes under the awnings, and loafers roosting on them all day long ... chewing tobacco, and gaping and yawning and stretching—a mighty ornery lot. They generally had on yellow straw hats most as wide as an umbrella, but didn't wear no coats nor waistcoats." (181)

These residents echo those same "loafers" in Chapter Four of *Life on the Mississippi* (written 1874).¹¹³ In this similarly lazy town, they too loaf about, idle. Yet Huck notices a detail missing from Twain's earlier *Tom Sawyer*: the conspicuous absence of coats and waistcoats. In *Tom Sawyer*, men such as Judge Thatcher dressed in a manner which marked them as socially upstanding.¹¹⁴ The same can be said of the circle in which Clemens now travelled in the East. Here, such class distinction is noticeably absent, a possible indicator of Clemens's dissolving opinions of this place. The number of loafers has increased as well; the Bricksville version of Hannibal now houses "as many as one loafer leaning up against every awning-post," each with "his hands in his britches pockets, except when he fetched them out to lend a chaw of tobacco or scratch" (181).

¹¹³ Smith, too, touches on this connection. See "Images" 10-11.

¹¹⁴ I am drawing on both Twain's descriptions of the men in *Tom Sawyer* as well as the illustrations in it, created by True Williams. However, Beverley R. David has noted the evident lack of "communication between author and artist" in Twain's novel (247).

These changes to the town make it distasteful and foreboding. They also indicate an increasing authorial distance from it, both in Twain's memory and in his connection to it.

The mannerisms of the people also are different. Their process of chewing tobacco must have seemed foreign to Twain at this point. He draws attention to the peculiarity of their method of obtaining it, before explaining the sight to his readership, who would have been familiar with store-bought tobacco:

Store tobacco is a flat black plug, but these fellows mostly chaws the natural leaf twisted. When they borrow a chew, they don't generly cut it off with a knife, but they set the plug in between their teeth, and gnaw with their teeth and tug at the plug with their hands till they get it in two—then sometimes the one that owns the tobacco looks mournful at it when it's handed back, and says, sarcastic—"here, gimme the *chaw*, and you take the *plug*." (182-3)

Twain as an author—like Huck as a narrator—functions as a travel writer here, writing for an audience physically and socially removed from such conditions. His readers no doubt would be surprised (and simultaneously intrigued, and even amused) by this coarse and uncivilized custom of tobacco sharing and *swapping*.

Huck's attitude toward these people is monumentally informing. The boy—himself from a less-than-enviable background—notices such behavior and considers their actions unusual enough to relay in his narrative. The place is much different than the St. Petersburg he knows. One would think that if Twain were illustrating the same town, then Huck would not be surprised by their behavior. The key here is that, while the narrative is seemingly continuous, Huck comes from the St. Petersburg that Twain created in 1876—one based on the same setting as *Tom Sawyer*. The author himself has

undergone changes over the previous six or so years, however—so much so that this new depiction of Hannibal (Bricksville) has fallen to the level where even the resident pariah of the 1876 version of Hannibal is shocked by the 1882 version of the same town. As a literary time traveler, Huck reveals Twain’s disjointed views of his hometown.

Twain’s treatment of the hogs reveals further change. Because “all the streets and lanes was just mud” and “they warn’t nothing else *but* mud,”

the hogs loafed and grunted around everywhere. You’d see a muddy sow and a litter of pigs come lazying along the street and whollop herself right down in the way, where folks had to walk around her, and she’d stretch out, and shut her eyes, and wave her ears, whilst the pigs was milking her, and look as happy as if she was on salary. (183)

Here, not only has the town become covered in mud, but the pigs—previously contained to the sidewalk in *Life on the Mississippi*—now roam the streets and seem to be in charge. The mud, too, is telling. Though characteristic of the town itself, as the author reminded himself in his 1882 notebook, the mud in *Tom Sawyer* was confined to the back alley. Now the mud, as an element of an unsettled or unsophisticated town, has spread out to cover the streets and sidewalks.

Although the setting and the people become more objectionable than in his earlier works, Twain’s portrayal of townspeople’s *actions* is much more severe. When a “loafer” sees the mother pig in the street, he calls the local dogs to attack it. The townsfolk “laugh at the fun and look grateful for the noise” as the sow runs away “squealing most horrible, with a dog or two swinging to each ear, and three or four dozen more a-coming” (183). Huck also informs the reader of other forms of local

entertainment: “There couldn’t anything wake them up all over, and make them happy all over, like a dog-fight—unless it might be putting turpentine on a stray dog and setting fire to him, or tying a tin pan to his tail and see him run himself to death” (183). In such actions, Twain reveals a new view of his small town residents. This attitude sharply contrasts with his *Tom Sawyer* portrayals of them. In the earlier novel, the townspeople may have grown interested by the murder that had taken place, but their excitement came from the deeds of others. In *Huckleberry Finn*, these locals go out of their way to perform horrific cruelties to the animals in town. Although they are by no means murdering other humans, they are performing these inhumane brutalities by their own hand.

That is not to say that murder does not occur in Bricksville. In fact, one of the scenes most often discussed by critics involves the literary representation of an actual Hannibal shooting to which Clemens himself was exposed when he was nine years old—that of Samuel Smarr at the hands of Willaim Owsley, the first intentional murder in Hannibal’s history (Wecter 107). The author’s return home seems to have conjured up the horror of this event and inspired him to include it, uncensored, in his masterpiece.

The event as it lies in the novel shares strikingly similar characteristics of the actual event; Twain reconstructed the murder “almost without a hairsbreadth of variation” (108). Boggs, a local man, enters the town heavily intoxicated and rowdy, matching the state of many others around him. The drunken man, renowned for his ribaldry, threatens practically everyone in town, including Huck.¹¹⁵

The manner in which Twain includes the use of alcohol is of interest here. Hannibal itself was a “very wet town” in Clemens youth (and most likely his adulthood

¹¹⁵ According to Huck, “There was considerable whisky drinking going on, and I seen three fights” (183).

as well) (152). According to Wecter, “It had three distilleries, consumed much, and shipped still greater quantities of whiskey up the river to Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin” (152). Twain had censored public drunkenness in *Tom Sawyer*. In that novel, few if any St. Petersburg residents use alcohol besides the story’s villains. However, in *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain reveals a more true-to-life version of Hannibal. Not only are the average (non-villain) citizens drinking, but they seem to be enjoying themselves while imbibing.¹¹⁶

As the episode moves along, the reader gains a better understanding of the loud-mouthed yet largely benign Boggs: “Everybody yelled at him, and laughed at him, and sassed him, and he sassed back” (184). When Boggs threatens Huck, the boy is scared until “a man says—‘he don’t mean nothing; he’s always carryin’ on like that, when he’s drunk. He’s the best-naturedest old fool in Arkansaw—never hurt nobody, drunk or sober” (184). Twain’s establishment of Boggs as good-natured is important for what is to come; this characterization provides for a greater sense of injustice when he meets his fate.

In his drunkenness, Boggs calls the local storeowner “everything he could lay his tongue to” (184). The merchant, Sherburn (“the best dressed man in that town”), threatens to kill Boggs if he does not stop (184). Twain shows the townsfolk’s softer side as they watch the confrontation: “The crowd looked might sober, nobody stirred, and there warn’t no more laughing. ... Some men crowded around him and tried to get him to

¹¹⁶ This notion of censorship could include Twain’s treatment of Pap Finn, who was physically distanced from the story in *Tom Sawyer* and who largely was inconsequential in *Mark Twain’s Travels with Mr. Brown*, but who becomes the center of several of the chapters of *Huckleberry Finn*. His drunkenness and physical abuse of Huck is illustrated in detail in the latter novel. The real-life inspiration for Pap Finn—and one of whom young Clemens was well aware—was Woodson Blankenship, whom Wecter describes as a “ne’er-do-well” who “drank whenever possessed of cash to jingle in his jeans” (147).

shut up, but he wouldn't" (185). They finally accomplish this task and settle the situation; a short while later, the drunken Boggs, "with a friend on both sides of him ahold of his arms and hurrying him along" was "quiet, and looked uneasy" (185). Sherburn reemerges, prompting Boggs to "[throw] up both of his hands, and says, 'O Lord, don't shoot!'" (186). His efforts are futile. Huck describes the scene: "Bang! goes the first shot, and he staggers back clawing at the air—bang! goes the second one, and he tumbles backwards onto the ground, heavy and solid, with his arms spread out" (186).

Twain, now more determined to portray his hometown realistically, illustrates the unabashed violent nature of people of the Midwest in the 1840s. Here, as opposed to the townspeople in *Tom Sawyer* who witness violence only as it is performed by villains, Twain recounts a senseless act of violence inflicted on an unarmed, unthreatening man; while the violent acts in the earlier novel function only to drive the plot (the Doctor's death is necessary in order for Injun Joe to flee the courtroom and thus move the novel along), the violence in this latter novel basically only functions as spectacle for the townspeople and a signal for the reader. Boggs's death does not further Huck and Jim's raft trip.

As the episode continues, an even more horrid picture of the people unfolds. One man reenacts Boggs's death—"staggering backwards ... and f[alling] down flat on his back"—while the townspeople look on in enjoyment (188). "As much as a dozen people" express their appreciation of his caricature by sharing their alcohol with him (this action itself a testament to the town's values) (188). Twain's display of disrespect here illustrates his desire to reveal a revised view of such people. Not only have they enjoyed the spectacle of a man's death, but they even make fun of it. The spectacle aspect of this

scene echoes the townspeople's reaction to Doctor Robinson's death in *Tom Sawyer*. The mockery of death in *Huckleberry Finn* adds a far grimmer dimension to the portrait of the townspeople.

The townspeople excitedly form a lynch mob. Huck relays the events: "Well, by and by somebody said Sherburn ought to be lynched. In about a minute everybody was saying it; so away they went, mad and yelling, and snatching down every clothes-line they come to, to do the hanging with" (188). In another departure from the *Tom Sawyer* crowds (who want to tar and feather Injun Joe but lack the organization and the agency to do so), these people form a mob, intent not on watching violence but on committing it. As the mob marches toward Sherburn's house, "a-whooping and yelling and raging," Huck becomes an outside voice in the matter: "It was awful to see. Children was heeling it ahead of the mob, screaming and trying to get out of the way; and every window along the road was full of women's heads ... and wenchies looking over every fence" (189). Huck—still a product of the *Tom Sawyer* Hannibal—watches their animalistic actions as they "swarmed up in front of Sherburn's palings ... ripping and tearing and smashing" (189). They stop only when Sherburn emerges onto the scene.

At that point, Huck's own voice and accent drop from the narrative, leaving clear indication of Twain's attitude toward the townspeople. Sherburn derides the mob: "Because you're brave enough to tar and feather poor friendless cast-out women that come along here, did that make you think you had grit enough to lay your hands on a *man*?" (190). Twain's voice—not Huck's—becomes noticeably clear as he condemns such conduct.

Sherburn's stern voice disperses the crowd by revealing their individual cowardice: "Why don't your juries hang murderers? Because they're afraid the man's friends will shoot them in the back, in the dark—and it's just what they *would* do. So they always acquit; and then a *man* goes in the night, with a hundred masked cowards at his back, and lynches the rascal" (190). A condemnation of the violence in the town and the failure of its judicial system wells up in this passage. In addition, the sarcastic use of the term "man" here illustrates the ways that townspeople have duped themselves into thinking that their habits of mob justice are correct. This scene presents a direct contrast to *Tom Sawyer*, in which the only failure of the justice system is due to Injun Joe's physically turning fugitive and jumping out of the courthouse window.

These are hardly the only acts of violence in the book, but their connections with Hannibal suggest how Twain's view his hometown was changing. This episode marks a significant turning point in Twain's mixed representations of home. The townspeople, proficient in the use of alcohol, illustrate something real and accurate about Hannibalians, yet they still make attempts at friendliness toward a stranger (Huck) and toward one another—until violence occurs. Then they exhibit atrocious tendencies much different than those seen in Twain's previous literary reconstructions of Hannibal. Here, the author is direct in his representations of the town and the people.

DeVoto has identified this type of judgment on society as a major distinction between *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*; in the latter novel, "Society is passed through the mind of a boy, as before, but this time there is a man of fifty speaking" (*Mark Twain at Work* 89). In such a way, Twain becomes increasingly critical. Slavery—largely inconspicuous in *Tom Sawyer*—also moves to the forefront in *Huckleberry*

Finn.¹¹⁷ Violence too—introduced only from outside of the town—now lies around every bend.¹¹⁸

Although scathingly critical, the serious elements of the book frequently come with a bit of comic relief. As Victor A. Doyno has pointed out, in the chapter following Bogg's death, Twain consciously inserts a circus episode to deliver a needed "comic tone" (31). Such an approach may also be indicative of the author's mixed feelings toward home; although partly due to his tendency to include such humor in most of what he wrote, these comic scenes may indicate a thread of desire to avoid an overly critical commentary. Evidence exists that Twain censored *Life on the Mississippi* before publication, omitting a good deal of his criticism of the culture he had experienced on the riverboat trip.¹¹⁹ In *Huckleberry Finn*, despite its being much more critical than *Tom Sawyer*, Twain again spares the place and people some of his scathing comments in much the same manner that Jewett exhibits a desire to maintain a positive view of her hometown, though on a much smaller scale. The negative elements are present, yet they are lightened with a refreshing pause indicating that an element of place identity still exists—however strained. In *Huckleberry Finn*, we do see the dark side of mankind, and good and bad are no longer as clear-cut as in *Tom Sawyer*. Yet although Huck witnesses

¹¹⁷ For an exploration of the greater significance of slavery and the hoax of freedom in *Huckleberry Finn*, see Berkove, "A Man." Ziff also addresses the conspicuousness of slavery and its hypocrisy in connection to religion in the novel. See Ziff, *Mark Twain*. See also Smith, "Images."

¹¹⁸ See Gribben 195. See also DeVoto, *Mark Twain at Work*, 98-101.

¹¹⁹ According to Frederick Anderson, Lin Salamo, and Bernard L. Stein (editors), "Mark Twain was contemptuous of what he felt to be a peculiarly Southern susceptibility to sham, pretension, ignorance, and squalor. He incorporated many of the criticisms jotted down in Notebook 20 into an early version of *Life on the Mississippi*, but later consented to the deletion of the sharpest passages before the book's publication" (*Mark Twain's Notebooks* 2:433).

the horrors human beings can do to one another, he maintains faith in people as a whole.¹²⁰

Twain is drastically more candid in these later novels (regarding the issue of slavery, for example), but he did his own share of censorship in editing *Huckleberry Finn*. Wecter has noted that in Sherburn's derision of the mob, Twain originally had him shout, "Because you're brave enough to tar and feather poor friendless cast-out women that come along here, lowering themselves to your level to earn a bite of bitter bread to eat" (175). Before publication, Twain edited out the reference to prostitutes and the people's participation in prostitution (175).¹²¹ Also prevalent in Hannibal were whiskey shops and distilleries, few of which end up in the fictional town, despite the pervasive drunkenness in the novel.

On the surface this self-censorship may seem inconsequential, but to include shops, distilleries, or brothels implies that the overseers of the town and the citizenry as a whole accept, agree with, and even partake in such activities. Twain spares the townspeople as a whole, and relegates his criticism to the individuals. His issue, it seems, lies with individual behaviors, not with indoctrination. This approach is telling, showing that a ligature of Clemens's place identity still exists at this point; though the town contains rough individuals, he still holds it in some esteem.

Nevertheless, Twain's tone grows increasingly critical as the novel progresses.

Huck and Jim witness more and more the horrors as they drift further south. In much the

¹²⁰ Here, I draw on Ziff's argument: "Although he recognizes the evil in the plans of the Duke and Dauphin or in the murderous conduct of the men he overhears on the wrecked steamboat, and knows such villains to be far worse than the majority of the fallible persons he encounters along his journey, he still cannot accept the fact that they deserve to receive the unfeeling treatment they have inflicted upon others" (Ziff, *Mark Twain* 69).

¹²¹ I quote the final text, as it appeared in print, in my discussion of the scene, above.

same manner, over the seven-year composition period, Twain, as an author composing what critics will regard as his masterpiece, drifted further away from his nostalgic 1876 view of Hannibal toward a more pessimistic view of his origins. One wonders if the author's own voice is not present when Huck describes his trip to Bricksville: "I could a staid, if I'd a wanted to, but I didn't want to" (191).

Clemens's 1882 return was something more than a trip to take notes to jog his memory. It was an entire re-envisioning of his roots, his memories, and ultimately himself. Hoffman has noted that this return resulted in the author's "twin feelings of delight and dismay" (296). He continues: "The visit gave Sam a double vision of Hannibal and the river: their shadowy history, which he needed to capture for his new book, and that vanished youth he remembered so vividly" (296). The portions of *Life of the Mississippi* that were written after this homecoming, like *Huckleberry Finn*, exhibit this "double vision"; they still maintain elements of his youth, yet both become tainted with his 1882 homecoming experience.

Citing the differences between St. Petersburg and Bricksville, Smith has identified Twain's bias in recreation of these towns ("Images" 11). The same can be said for his 1874 and 1882 depictions of Hannibal in *Life on the Mississippi*. The difference lies with Clemens's distance from Hannibal. As Ziff has written regarding *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain's 1882 writings are largely influenced by his return home: "*Tom Sawyer* is a memory; *Huckleberry Finn* a recognition" (*Mark Twain* 47). For Clemens, the recognition was that the town he remembered from his youth was only a memory; the real town had been something much harsher, much more violent, and much more real. This was the town he reconstructed in these later works.

1885 and 1890. *The Idyll Destroyed*

By 1885, Clemens was vastly altered from what he had been thirty years prior. As Mark Twain, he had risen to unprecedented fame. Not only had he established himself as a member of the exclusive Nook Farm district, his lecture career had skyrocketed. *Life on the Mississippi* had sold thirty thousand copies in its first year (Camfield 348).¹²² The Canadian and English versions of *Huckleberry Finn* had been printed the month before, and the American edition was to be published the following month (Rasmussen 197). Hannibal had never looked so small, nor so unappealing.¹²³ His association with Hannibal was strained by, to use Ryan's phrase, "the complicated literary and political evolution precipitated by his cosmopolitan life" ("Cosmopolitan Ideal" 8). Every aspect of Twain's present life, it seemed, was the inverse of the Hannibal way of life he had witnessed upon returning there.

Clemens did return to Hannibal in 1885 and then again in 1890, but both homecomings were brief and information about them is relatively unsubstantial. The returns seem to continue a pattern of decaying place identity, and no major works including a fictional portrayal of Hannibal appear between the two. By 1885, Clemens had gone back to the lecture circuit, filling one lecture hall after another. One of the tour stops was a January 13 lecture in Hannibal. The return was "a painfully nostalgic one for Clemens" (*Mark Twain's Notebooks* 3:90n72).

The other return around this time occurred in late October, 1890. His purpose for returning was for his mother's funeral. He arrived there on the day of the funeral,

¹²² While this figure is substantial, it was not as impressive as the *Tom Sawyer* or *Huckleberry Finn* equivalents.

¹²³ Jay Martin discusses the complications that arise with Twain's rise in stature. See 108.

October 30, at 9:55 A.M. (Fears 2:550). Then, having been there less than twelve hours, he departed Hannibal by train that evening, arriving back in Hartford late on October 31 (2:550). Although the return was brief, it was significant; he buried his mother and returned to the graves of his father and younger brother. His letters from this time reveal an overwhelming sense of loss. For example, in a 25 March, 1887, letter to Jenny Stevens,¹²⁴ Clemens recollects his distant past: “You have spirited me back to a vanished world and the companionship of phantoms ... in thinking of it, dreaming over it, I have seemed like some banished Adam who is revisiting his half-forgotten Paradise and wondering how the arid outside world could ever have seemed green and fair to him” (as qtd. in Wecter 63). He no longer relishes the days of youth; instead he mourns their loss.

Since a relationship to place is dynamic in nature, and since repeated “transactions” with a place maintain that relationship, the association will deteriorate if repeated connections fail (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 218).¹²⁵ As research has shown, removing one’s self from a place “may challenge identity because [the new place] imposes new expectations, invalidating values based on earlier place associations or attachments” (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 211). In the 1890s, Clemens almost entirely lost a sense of place due to his travels and distance from Hannibal. This displacement affected the work he produced during this time. James D. Wilson has observed that “Mark Twain’s new pose as a derelict or drifter linked him, as artist, to the strangers or outsiders omnipresent in his fiction after 1890: David Wilson [from

¹²⁴ Jenny Stevens was the daughter of a Hannibal jeweler (Wecter 63).

¹²⁵ According to Manzo, “our sense of self is ever changing, not only over time but also across situations and places...The converse is also true: our relationships to places are influenced by who we are, with all of the political implications of this identity. Researchers on place identity recognized this when they described place identity as varying with the sex, age, social class, personality and other social descriptors of the individual” (54-5).

Pudd'nhead Wilson], the 'man' who corrupted Hadleyburg, or the satanic visitor in such works as 'The War Prayer' (1923) and the various *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts" (201). The key here is James D. Wilson's alignment of Clemens with the term "drifter"—one without a place. Hannibal—that one place with which he had identified as home, the place to which he linked himself, that one place that made him so famous—no longer existed. Financial woes expedited this process of detachment in the 1890s. The closing of the Hartford House in 1891, his subsequent move to Europe, and his return to the lecture circuit that followed—all these events placed Clemens in a homeless state.

As studies have shown, when "changes which threaten [a place's] capacity to contribute to identity satisfactorily" occur, "the identity of the place itself will need to be re-construed. For example, when having grown up in a particular area comes to threaten self-esteem because it is antithetical to later achievements, the individual has a number of options available: deny the place as a salient component in identity or redefine the meaning and character of the place" (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell 210). Unlike Jewett, who redefined Maine in her work to accommodate such a threat to identity, Clemens seems to deny his affiliation with Hannibal. As Lynne C. Manzo's work has shown, "people's emotional relationships can be part of a conscious process where people interact with the physical environment to suit their needs, express themselves and develop their self-concept" (57). This expression can be seen most notably in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, but also in "The Chronicle of Young Satan" manuscript.

The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson was last of Twain's novels published in his lifetime. Written during the early 1890s, it reveals his late-in-life attitudes toward Hannibal and informs his relation to it. Set in the antebellum South, the tale explores the

development of two switched-at-birth babies, one born a slave, the other born to his master. By the end of the novel, the white man who had been raised as the slave, Chambers, becomes irreconcilably servile and ignorant. The slave raised as a white man, Tom, grows to become inhumanely cruel, murdering his uncle, Judge Driscoll, in a robbery attempt, before being found guilty and “sent down the river.” The tale intertwines with other plot lines, including that of the Capello brothers, twins who arrive in town only to be accused of murdering Judge Driscoll. David Wilson, a newcomer to town, ultimately works to prove the brothers’ innocence and Tom’s guilt. Throughout the novel, Twain burlesques (and even directly attacks) the traditions and pretenses of the Missouri town, itself a reconstruction of his own Hannibal.

Several points imply that Twain used Hannibal as a model for his setting. The novel is set in the fictional town of Dawson’s Landing. Immediately in the first paragraph, the author places Dawson’s Landing “on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, half a day’s journey, per steamboat, below St. Louis” (17). This would place it exactly on the site of Hannibal. Ziff and Smith, too, have aligned Dawson’s Landing with Hannibal.¹²⁶ Despite its similarities to Clemens’s hometown, in *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, as DeVoto has written, “We are a long way from the world of *Tom Sawyer* ... though we are still in Hannibal” (*Mark Twain at Work* 100). The difference between *Tom Sawyer*’s St. Petersburg and Dawson’s Landing is another important discrepancy through which an understanding of Clemens’s lost association with Hannibal can be read.

In this work, Twain adopts a new approach to his literary construction of Hannibal. Here, he paints it as a quiet, small town, yet with something hiding

¹²⁶ See Ziff, *Mark Twain* 81 and Smith, “Images” 19, who writes that the town “unmistakably belong[s] to the Matter of Hannibal.”

underneath. Geismar writes, “the opening of *Puddn’head Wilson* presents almost a deliberately, even artificially, contrived effect of the familiar beauty and bliss of Huck Finn’s youth—only here is it the *appearance* of paradise in the Mississippi River setting of Dawson’s Landing which Clemens is deliberately invoking. It is a conspicuously false paradise” (130). Working his craft, the author feigns an idyllic town, using phrases such as “whitewashed exteriors” and “climbing tangles of rose-vines, honeysuckles and morning-glories” to evoke the image of the idyllic St. Petersburg (17). The term “whitewashed” also implies the intent to cover up or hide certain flaws. What is clear here is that Twain intentionally mocks the idyll to satirize a town that persistently whitewashes its slavery and cruelty.

Twain continues to build on his tranquil setting. On the first page, he describes the residents’ homes: “Each of these pretty homes had a garden in front fences with white palings and opulently stocked with hollyhocks, marigolds, touch-me-nots, prince’s-feathers and other old-fashioned flowers” (17). Then he projects this setting onto the rest of the town, further solidifying the town’s similarity to both St. Petersburg and Hannibal: “Along the streets, on both sides, at the outer edge of the brick sidewalks, stood locust-trees with trunks protected by wooden boxing, and these furnished shade for summer and a sweet fragrance in spring when the clusters of buds come forth. The main street, one block back from the river, and running parallel with it, was the sole business street” (18). He continues with a rapid-fire series of quaint images: “Swinging signs creaked in the wind, the streets’ whole length,” near a “humble barbershop along the main street,” placed neatly near “the hamlet’s front ... washed by the clear waters of the great river” (19). This description echoes St. Petersburg and the Hannibal he once knew.

Suddenly, Twain undermines the entire idyllic description of the town by adding, “Dawson’s Landing was a slaveholding town, with a rich slave-worked grain and pork country back of it” (20). He mentions this fact in passing, as if to include it sarcastically and simulate the town’s stance on it—as if it is no great matter. Yet the reader sees that the seemingly idyllic town hides behind forced labor.¹²⁷ As Sherley Anne Williams writes, “slavery, far from being just another element of the background, like the cottages or the trees, is the serpent in this garden, shaping and marking the character of all who live there” (xxxv). His use of “back of it” implies that the town’s position on slavery is behind the entire town—there if one wants to see it, but inconspicuously absent if one chooses otherwise. To further his point, the town is described as “sleepy and comfortable and contented” (20); such words imply the town’s attitude toward its slaveholding status, as well as its lack of desire to stray from it.¹²⁸

Underneath, as Geismar writes, these slave holders are “responsible for all the social misery, suffering, and hatred in the novel” (129). The people from his youth have aged and become more sinister. They are Tom Sawyer grown up. The “false white aristocrat,” Tom, in this novel embodies a projection of a Tom Sawyer figure in his adulthood (132).

The town concludes that David Wilson is a “Perfect jackass—yes, and it ain’t going too far to say he is a pudd’nhead” (26). Thus he is branded, “Pudd’nhead Wilson.” Clemens, it seems, feels the same as Wilson: as an outsider, no one “gets” him.

According to Smith, “Wilson has, in fact, very much the author’s relation to Dawson’s

¹²⁷ MacCullough traces the notion of façade and truth. See Joseph B. McCullough, “Pudd’nhead.”

¹²⁸ Williams has addressed Twain’s description of the town in a similar light: “Rose-embowered cottages, white picket fences, and tree-lined streets were stock images in Plantation literature, the works of the Southern apologists for slavery and the violent repression of black people during the postbellum years” (xxxv).

Landing. Isolated by his mordant wit and by his superior insight, he observes without being emotionally involved. . . . The image of Hannibal is no longer something to yearn for” (“Images” 19). Twain’s crafting of Wilson articulates his own deteriorated association with the place.

Like the town itself, Twain’s views of the small town residents have changed. They are no longer the cruel townsfolk who appear in his early works, attacking one another on a whim. Now, they are well aware of their own cruelty; conscious of it, they conceal it (or “whitewash” it) by focusing on their own, self-serving upstanding character. Such an approach intensifies their misdeeds; like the townspeople in *Huckleberry Finn*, they are brutal, but unlike the earlier novel, the people of Dawson’s Landing defend their indoctrinated cruelties and display systematic malevolence toward other members of the human race. Such a portrayal of his own former fellow citizens could only be possible if Clemens no longer identified with them.

Another revealing work from the 1890s, “The Chronicle of Young Satan,” contains an experienced narrator who is looking back over the past. The tale is set in the Hannibal-like riverside town of Eseldorf, Austria, and includes commentary and actions that establish its people as mentally stagnant.¹²⁹ Narrated by Theodore Fischer, an older man of unspecified age who reflects on his boyhood, the plot revolves around a mysterious angelic figure who appears in Eseldorf and meddles with the fate of several of the residents.¹³⁰

Twain begins: “It was in 1702—May. Austria was far away from the world and asleep; it was still the Middle Ages in Austria, and promised to remain so forever” (35).

¹²⁹ Smith has aligned Eseldorf with Hannibal. See “Images” 21. See also Rasmussen 361.

¹³⁰ David Karnath identifies “Theodor Fischer and his young friends” as “new and more mythic identities of Tom Sawyer and his gang.” See also Rasmussen 56.

Twain's contradiction here between the date (1702) and the era (the Middle Ages) indicates a haughtiness in his narrator and marks the townspeople as lagging behind in intellectual thought. In Fischer's further description of the times, Twain writes,

Some even set it away back centuries upon centuries and said that by the mental and spiritual clock it was still the Age of Faith in Austria. But they meant it as a compliment, not a slur, and it was so taken, and we were all proud of it. I remember it well, although I was only a boy; and I remember, too, the pleasure it gave me. (35)

The narrator, an older and wiser man, is looking back on a simple time in which, *as a boy*, he found pleasure. In a second description, he continues with an air of superiority:

Yes, Austria was far from the world, and asleep, and our village was in the middle of that sleep, being in the middle of Austria. It drowsed in peace in the deep privacy of a hilly and woodsy solitude where news from the world hardly ever came to disturb its dreams and was infinitely content. At its front flowed the tranquil river, its surface painted with cloud-forms and the reflections of drifting arks and stone-boats. (35)

Twain overemphasizes the town's unconscious ignorance here by returning to the word "asleep" here and then adding the words "drowsed," "solitude," "dreams," and "tranquil." In addition, his description of the antiquated and rudderless watercraft places the town in a backward, primitive era.

As Twain continues his descriptions, he draws on the word "boys" as the one element of his writing that will surely reconnect to St. Petersburg: "Eseldorf was a paradise for us boys. We were not overmuch pestered with schooling. Mainly we were

trained to be good Catholics. ... Beyond these matters, we were not required to know much; and in fact, not allowed to. The priests said that knowledge was not good for the common people” (36). Subtly but effectively, Twain attacks the unquestioning faith of the villagers, themselves described by Joseph Csicsila as “a community characterized by mentally lethargic and highly superstitious individuals who have unwittingly allowed the Church to keep their village in a general state of ignorance” (“Religious Satire” 4). In so calling on a setting identical to his hometown, he derides the ignorance that is not only encouraged by the local pulpit, but indoctrinated into the culture.

Perhaps the most degrading aspect of the town is the name itself: “Eseldorf”—German for “Ass-ville”—a summary of his feelings toward this type of town, as “a community of asses” (Smith, “Images 22”).¹³¹ This perspective, Smith argues, “echoes what Pudd’nhead Wilson thought of Dawson’s Landing” (22). Such a view perhaps says *too much* about his attitude toward home. Although Twain would never finish this work, he would return to it several years later (as we will see).

The Matter of Hannibal is clearly having an impact on Twain’s writing. From this time, however, it shows derision toward the *system* within the small town; these reconstructions still address the people in town, but the author’s attacks on place widen to criticize simultaneously the indoctrinated ignorance and its subsequent defense. Twain’s work illustrates a consciousness of his childhood place and the ways he grew “disillusioned by the values that world [of his childhood] generated and defended” (Ryan, “Cosmopolitan Ideal” 15). Although there were other outside elements contributing to Twain’s pessimistic mood during this time (his daughter’s death and his bankruptcy to be sure), his estranged relationship with his original home certainly affected his literary

¹³¹ For a more thorough exploration of the name “Eseldorf” see Rasmussen 361.

representations of that place. The Matter of Hannibal has been reversed entirely. It no longer becomes a place he writes *toward*, but *from*. In this way, both *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and "The Chronicle of Young Satan" can be read as symptomatic of the author's desire to disassociate with the place.

1902: The Idyll Vanishes Entirely, or "Same Damned Fools"

Over the course of his career, Mark Twain's place attachment to Hannibal was established mainly via his connection to the people there. His characters often exhibited elements of those people, and he created his settings mainly through the characters' actions. Simply put, his Hannibal was the people in it. As his late-in-life return to Hannibal in 1902 shows, however, by this time the connection was much more feeble. When the author returns home, he is reminded of how drastically the residents had changed.

In 1902, the University of Missouri awarded Mark Twain an honorary doctoral degree. The author agreed to participate in the ceremony, partly because of the regional prestige it would carry but mainly out of the chance to make a side trip to Hannibal.¹³² Despite the respect the degree signified, during this trip Sam Clemens was returning *home*. As journalist Robertus Love later reported, "There is no doubt Mark Twain came [back to Hannibal] because he felt it to be a sort of sacred duty to come back to the starting point and review the journey" (*Complete Interviews* 435).¹³³ Given that he had

¹³² University of Missouri policy requires the recipient to attend the commencement ceremony (Sorrentino 13).

¹³³ Clemens invited Robertus Love to join him on the trip: "Love followed the author around the town for parts of four days, and filed several captivating dispatches about the excitement and pageantry that swirled

only spent about ten days total in Hannibal since his initial 1853 departure, Clemens understandably valued this opportunity to review one last time the scenes and people of his youth (Sorrentino 14).¹³⁴

Clemens made it a point to have his photo taken at his childhood home (14), visit his family's graves (Twain, *Autobiography* 273), and take a carriage ride up Holliday's Hill with his childhood friend John Briggs (*Complete Interviews* 428). After his visit to the hill, Clemens and Briggs drove past the newly constructed \$125,000 Cruikshank mansion that sat on a former orchard where young Clemens and his friends played and stole apples as children (449).¹³⁵ For Clemens, the opulent house served as a symbol of new wealth and development in Hannibal. Built over that former orchard, its location, like the home, cemetery, and hill, was a sad testament to his lost days of youth.

In the same way that each of these locations reminded Clemens of time's indiscriminating cruelty, the people themselves became measurements of his distance from childhood. He found their faces altered by time. Through their changed appearances, the people—like the places he visited—distanced him irrevocably from home, and reminded him that his *Tom Sawyer* Hannibal was forever lost in time.

As Clemens prepared to depart Hannibal for a final time, he encountered an old friend. Powers eloquently describes the event: "As he strolled in the sunlight, an ancient specter materialized from the depths of the crowd ... It was deaf Tom Nash, who shrieked out: 'Same damned fools, Sam!' Then the train engine released its ghostly

about the visit" (Powers 611). Twain kept newspaper clippings from his trip home. His motive could be that he intended to use events from this return in his writing and employed Love to document the return.¹³⁴ For a more complete coverage of this return, see *Complete Interviews*, particularly the following: Love (418-51); MacAdam (440-48); "Mark Twain Going Home" (451-52); "Good-bye to Mark Twain" (452-53). See also Sorrentino; Wecter; Powers; and *Mark Twain Speaking*.

¹³⁵ Hoffman discusses the orchard from Clemens's childhood (15).

clouds of steam, and by the time the steam had evaporated, Sam Clemens was gone” (Powers 613). The event would stay with the author; he would later recall the reunion with Nash in his autobiography.¹³⁶ It seems quite ironic that his last return home would end this way—at the railroad depot, with a child-friend from the past inflicted with a deafness that began when Clemens was present, commenting on the people all around them with such a dismissive phrase. It was a scene that Twain himself would have been hard pressed to create in his fiction.

Clemens’s attention to the people is understandable. As Fried has shown, “Attachment to places is certainly social and most profound when human relationships are embedded in current or past group affiliations” (Fried 195). Looking around Hannibal, it was clear to the author that the physical place of his youth had disappeared. Hannibal had become “a thoroughly modern little city of 12,500 people” (Powers 611),¹³⁷ and reminders abounded that the place of his youth was utterly lost. The natural human reaction, as Fried has shown, is to look for bonds in relationships and memories of the place, as Clemens did.

This approach is fruitless when he finds that many of those people with whom he shared childhood bonds were either absent or deceased. Furthermore, in many of those who were present, their physical appearances were reminders that his relationship with

¹³⁶ From Twain’s autobiography: “When I was at the railway station ready to leave Hannibal, there was a great crowd of citizens there. I saw Tom Nash approaching me across the vacant space and I walked toward him, for I recognized him at once. He was old and white-headed, but the boy of fifteen was still visible in him. He came up to me, made a trumpet of his hands at my ear, nodded his head toward the citizens and said confidentially—in a yell like a fog horn—‘Same damned fools, Sam’” (Twain, *Autobiography* 37).

¹³⁷ Ron Powers describes the “modern little city” to which Clemens returned (611): “Factories sent shoes and cement out across the nation...the streets were filled with scurrying people interested in making money. Few of them had time to think or care much about the silent moving waters of the Mississippi on the far side of the tracks” (612).

the past now existed only in his mind. For example, when he and Laura Hawkins (Becky Thatcher) are reunited, her age and her marriage impede any reconnection with the winsome girl Clemens sought. He experiences what David Seamon calls “existential outsidership, a sense of separation and alienation from [his] environment” (233). Despite his best efforts, Clemens found himself (to use Bruce Michelson’s words) “homelessly at home” in Hannibal (92).

Clemens’s own distance from Hannibal can be read in the ignorance of the characters he constructs during this time. The return home seems to have reignited an interest in “The Chronicle of Young Satan” tale he had set aside. Twain went back to the manuscript, reusing whole chapters but later reshaping it into another similar story—one in which he would not only mock the local people, but ultimately the entire human race. This new story would go unpublished until 1969. Eventually, the title would be known as *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*.

The tale involves a “mysterious stranger,” named “44” who arrives in an Austrian town. Befriending August, a local printer’s devil (a trade Twain himself undertook as a teenager), the stranger enlightens the boy about the local people’s ignorance and the essential nature of mankind. A short passage that Twain added to the “Chronicle” text reads: “a precipice overlooked the river, and between it and the hills . . . lay a far-reaching plain dotted with little homesteads nested among orchards and shade-trees” (3-4). His fiction reinstates the now-lost orchard of his youth. More importantly, like Holliday’s Hill in Hannibal, this “precipice” provides the necessary distance to overlook the town objectively.

The story is narrated by a reflective, older August, who has left the village to become educated. Csicsila points out that, growing literate, August experiences “a heightened sense of awareness that lifts him above the herd mentality” (“Life’s Rich” 59). Through the act of retelling his narrative, he returns to a past time from an educated point of view. One of the most conspicuous changes comes in the first line, as it was adapted from the “Chronicle” text. The new version reads: “It was in 1490—Winter. Austria was far away from the world and asleep” (3). In this version, Twain changes the date, moving the year back from 1702 to 1490. The new tale now takes place before Columbus, when the world is still flat. In so doing, Twain draws on a large-scale ignorance in establishing the mentality of his villagers.

Later in Chapters Twenty and Twenty-One, 44 takes August to “a small town *fifty* miles removed” (103, emphasis added). The number fifty here is interesting. At this point in Twain’s life, he is fifty years removed from his initial departure from Hannibal, as he repeatedly pointed out during his 1902 homecoming.

In this scene, 44 is arrested under the assumption that he is a magician, and sentenced to burn—an announcement that Father Adolf finds “a pleasant one” (109). To this news, “the crowd woke up! this was a show to their taste!” (110). However, when 44 uses his powers to disappear, Adolf is outraged, and the townspeople stand “amazed, wondering, speechless—and *disappointed*” (110, emphasis added). 44 then appears again, allowing the townspeople to capture him. The townspeople respond energetically:

There were no cowards there, now! Everybody was brave, everybody was eager to help drag the victim to the stake, they swarmed about him like raging wolves; they jerked him this way and that, they beat him and reviled him, they cuffed him

and kicked him, he wailing, sobbing, begging for pity, the conquering priest exulting, scoffing, boasting, laughing” (110-11).

Twain’s portrayal of the townspeople here is more than derogatory; animalistic imagery undermines their civilization as a whole. In fact, in contrast to the impotent mobs in earlier writings, they are actually carrying out the act. Twain seems to have abandoned any positive portrayal of the villagers. They are no longer simply cruel to one another, like the characters in *Huckleberry Finn*. Their motives and actions stem from a much deeper, bestial source—much different than those villagers in *Tom Sawyer*.

In order to paint this picture, Twain must have been distanced far from them. In fact, *No. 44* provides a new perspective on Clemens’s views of Hannibal. As Smith writes, “The attitude toward society expressed in this book is very nearly the state of mind designated by the sociological term ‘alienation.’ The author of *The Mysterious Stranger* has repudiated all the values and assumptions of the community in which he lives” (“Images” 22). In this way, Clemens again can be seen as his own “mysterious stranger,” going back as an enlightened individual to a place that is still bound by their own unconsciousness.

The early 1900s were not good to Clemens. Ryan aligns the man with his own mysterious stranger figures: “Their experience is diverse; their language is sophisticated; their morality is supple. They enter various small towns, from Hadleyburg to Eseldorf, and expose the self-serving theology and ethics of the inhabitants” (“Cosmopolitan Ideal” 12). Her descriptions of his fiction also point to Clemens’s return home—a rich, well-travelled, and world-educated man much different than those residents of the town from which he grew. The distance between the two had become unrecoverable. Despite his

best efforts to think (and write) otherwise, he recognizes the futility in writing of that lost locale, however imagined it had been. As Sorrentino has written, “the return to his own past and that of his fictional characters forced him to confront the inevitable consequences of the passage of time” (13).

Fluid Prejudice: Further Implications

In “Jane Lampton Clemens,” Twain asks the question: “What becomes of the multitudinous photographs which one’s mind takes of people?” (43). He found the answer: they change form, morphing into the varying shapes of one’s perspective. For Clemens, his mental images of Hannibal would transform over time, as his associations with the place changed. Each return seemed to trigger a desire to rewrite that place, each time evoking a greater sense of loss of the original idyll. As Theodore R. Sarbin has shown, “The implicit answers to the ‘where am I’ question are of a symbolic and emotional kind that are derived from half-remembered dramatic performances involving place” (211).¹³⁸ Clemens himself experienced several such occasions where elements of place call to mind the memories of youth—for example, Clemens’s excitement over seeing the mud in Hannibal. Yet more frequently, he lost sight of those elements and his connection to the place was severed. As the author realizes that the location of Hannibal no longer constituted the place he imagined, his homesickness became a sickness-*toward*-home.

His evolving sense of self combined with his multiple understandings of his hometown to instill in him a fascination with returning that borders on obsession. In fact,

¹³⁸ Sarbin cites an example of this connection: “one man who had for several years been away from his home town, Denver, Colorado, experienced tears of joy at the first sight of the Rocky mountains as he was driving from the East” (211).

when viewed holistically, his body of work reveals a larger motif: an impulse to return home. His early work seems to grow out of an attempt to return to his youth, cut short by the death of his father and the subsequent necessity of dropping out of school and working at his brother's print shop.¹³⁹ Two of Twain's other works merit a brief exploration as indicators of this motif: *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). These works illustrate the extent to which the notion of returning home permeates Twain's canon.¹⁴⁰ While the setting of these texts were not modeled after Hannibal, both contain elements of the homecoming phenomenon.

In Chapter Thirty-One of the *The Prince and the Pauper*, Tom Canty—the pauper impersonating the Prince as he travels through his old neighborhood, Offal Court—upon seeing some of his friends, feels “his heart swell with exultation” (255). He thinks, “O, if they could only recognize [me], and realize that the derided mock king of the slums and back alley was become a real king” (255). Here, Tom's feelings of riches, written at a time when Clemens himself was enjoying wealth and stature, seem more than coincidental.¹⁴¹ This parallel becomes possibly more revealing when one considers that

¹³⁹ Shortly after Clemens's father died, his brother Orion purchased a printing press and shortly thereafter convinced Clemens to work for him (Fanning 22). Employed under Orion's management, Clemens was driven to tears over working long, difficult hours (23). See Fanning, who writes, “Bitter indeed must have been that proud fifteen-year-old's tears, for they signaled the end of the only part of his life that would afterward seem worthwhile. ‘I should like to call back Will Bowen and John Garth and the others,’ he wrote to Bowen's widow in 1900, ‘and live the life, and be as we were, and make holiday until 15, and then all drown together’” (23). Although Clemens previously worked for a printer, by mid-afternoon, he was free to play with his friends by the river, in the cave, and on the hill (23).

¹⁴⁰ In fact, DeVoto's work includes other works that address Hannibal: “Fifteenth-century France under Joan of Arc is Hannibal again, and so is England under Edward VI [P&P], though in these two books, and still more in *A Connecticut Yankee*, a kind of projection has occurred” (“Introduction” *MT in Eruption* xvii). Although I do not explore these texts as forms of Hannibal, this “projection” would solidify this extent to which Twain was fascinated by returning to the place.

¹⁴¹ Tom expresses disbelief in his return to Offal Court, exclaiming, “And all these wonders and these marvels are to welcome me—me!”

Tom is only fooling himself into thinking that he is rich, and that should he be discovered as an imposter, he will lose it all. In the conclusion of the novel, both boys return to their respective homes having been enlightened with the knowledge of their “outsiderness.”

At the conclusion of *Connecticut Yankee*, the contemporary (19th c.) frame narrator finds Hank Morgan, deliriously homesick, thrashing about in bed and “talking brokenly” about returning to Camelot (445). He longs to return there; however, “an abyss of thirteen centuries yawn[s] between” (447).¹⁴² His return to modern existence is crippling. By novel’s end, the temporal disjunction has caused his fatal madness.

Returns surface repeatedly in minor ways throughout his work. In *Tom Sawyer*, Tom and the boys become homesick and return home after they are presumed drowned. In *Huckleberry Finn*, Huck is supposedly dead, but returns. At the end of the novel, he is faced with the angst-ridden dilemma over returning to St. Petersburg—by that point, he is well-travelled and more knowledgeable about the world. Twain likewise writes of returns in *Roughing It* and *Life on the Mississippi*. Returns figure in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* (especially with Tom Driscoll, though not explored in this study) and in *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* (August and 44 depart and return in a number of places in time and space).

The narrator in *A Tramp Abroad* frequently recalls returning to places that Clemens had visited during the *Quaker City* excursion. Several other works “return” to places Clemens himself visited; the same could be said about *Following the Equator* and *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. Returning marks a pattern in his writing as well as in his travel;

¹⁴² Twain’s notebook for this section seems to refer to this part of the novel: “He mourns his lost land—has come to England & revisited it, but it is all changed & become old, so old!--& it was so fresh & new, so virgin before...Has lost all interest in life—is found dead next morning—suicide” (Notebook #20, August 20, 1885. TS P. 33, MTP).

many of these works are product of a personal tendency to return to places he had been before. In fact, there are few geographic locations to which Clemens did *not* return after having visited once.

This study, then, raises a larger question: what is writing for Twain other than an act of returning to a place and exploring the emotions he feels when these places contrast with what he knew. “Mark—the Double—Twain” seems to “double-back” or to live again the two (or twain) experiences in his life and in his writing. In much the same way that Chapter One of this study questioned the accuracy of Jewett’s portrayals of her home region, authenticity and representation become an issue in Twain’s work as well. The two authors diverge, of course, in their literary reconstructions of place. Jewett, through her “insiderness,”¹⁴³ manipulated her fiction to optimistically illustrate her region as something better—something more communal—than she actually viewed it. Twain, by contrast, manipulated his representations of the Mississippi River Valley inversely; although he initially followed the same pattern as Jewett’s “insiderness,” his later fiction denounced the region and the town—a product of his mounting sense of “outsiderness.”

If “the very ink with which all history is written is merely fluid prejudice,” as Twain wrote in *Following the Equator*, then the same could be said about regionalism. Essentially, as Twain (as well as Jewett) has shown, questions of representation are fundamentally questions of perspective and bias. When he portrayed Hannibal in *Tom Sawyer*, he did draw on true events. However, as we have seen, this representation was quite biased from the beginning. As time elapsed, a changed sense of place resulted in increasingly critical feelings toward home, and his literary reconstructions of Hannibal

¹⁴³ I use this term “insiderness,” and its opposite, “outsiderness” in the same manner as I have throughout this study: to define the authors’ associations with place, where “inside” aligns with the place and “outside” views it as “other.”

reflect this shift. Authorial choice concerning what to emphasize and what to downplay, what to include and what to omit, flavored his narratives. Although he may have felt that he was creating an increasingly accurate picture of Mississippi riverside life, the truth is that he could never be entirely comprehensive and unbiased.

Late in 1906, Twain wrote, “The truth is, a person’s memory has no more sense than his conscience, and no appreciation whatever of values and proportions” (*Mark Twain in Eruption* 118). For Clemens, the notion of returning proved to be quite complicated in this way. For a writer whose natural reaction was to write what he experienced, the churning emotions surrounding his returns “muddied the waters” so to speak. According to place identity theory, it seems natural that Twain would be drawn toward writing about his hometown. However, considering the emotions and events he gradually came to associate with it, it is not surprising that he eventually rejected the place. Understanding Clemens’s complex relationship to his hometown also reiterates his homelessness. The panoramic views of Hannibal that he would see every time he climbed Holliday’s Hill—the quaint streets, whitewashed fences, recognizable Hannibal mud, threatening dangers of Bear Creek, heartbreaking gravestones in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, vanished orchards once overflowing with apples for the taking, proliferating railway lines sprawling in every direction—like the Mighty Mississippi behind these sights, were always changing.

CHAPTER THREE

ERNEST HEMINGWAY, LOST PLACES, AND LOST GENERATIONS

“The earth gets tired of being exploited ... A country was made to be as we found it”

(Green Hills of Africa 284).

In a 22 July 1922 dispatch for the *Toronto Star*, Hemingway wrote “Chasing yesterdays is a bum show, and if you have to prove it, go back to your old front” (*Dateline Toronto* 180). He had done just that: returning to Fossalta-di-Piave, Italy, where he had served in World War I. When he had last been there, it was a war-torn disaster (176). He found the entire place unrecognizable (177). A year later in a 17 July, 1923, letter to William D. Horne, who he affectionately called “Horney,” Hemingway reflects upon this return as well as the similar experience of returning to Schio, Italy, where he had been badly wounded in the war:

Don't ever go back Horney – not under any circumstances – because it is all gone. ... Horney we've got to go on. We can't ever go back to old things or try and get the 'old kick' out of something or find things the way we remembered them. We have them as we remember them and they are fine and wonderful and we have to go on and have other things because the old things are nowhere except in our minds now. ... Fossalta – a brand new ugly town with nothing to remind you of

the war except the scars in the trees which are growing over and healing. Not a sign of the old trenches. All the wrecked houses rebuilt and occupied by people who spent the war refugeeing in Sicily or Naples. I found where I'd been wounded, it was a smooth green slope down to the river bank. (*Letters* 85-86)

Reflecting on a war-damaged Italy he once knew, this letter evidences Hemingway's lost association with the place. Ironically, he is upset at the *restoration* of the landscapes. He was able to identify with the war-torn place. Now, places created and maintained through memory no longer physically exist. The emotional result is a sense of dislocation.

Hemingway seemed in constant interaction with places around him. It is evident in his writing that regardless of where he was, he was aware of his environment. His experience in Italy was not his first encounter with a sense of dislocation nor with his identification with physical elements of place. Both first took place when he returned to Michigan after the war. Having spent his childhood summers in northern Michigan, he grew not only to appreciate that place, but to understand himself through it. Returning there after the war and seeing the changes that had taken place, he discovered the place of his childhood had disappeared.

The literary result for Hemingway was not only a flurry of Michigan writing composed over the next decade and beyond, but also the establishment of a major issue in his work: placelessness. Throughout his corpus, characters abound who cannot find a connection to place. This study identifies the locus of this placelessness, suggesting that his work, particularly his Nick Adams stories, voices his dislocation.

In these stories, we see Nick Adams in many seasons. He is a young man, attempting to understand the world around him; he is a veteran coping with the chaos of

war; and he is a father, contemplating his youth. In their treatment of these stages of Nick's life, they always seem to reach toward a previous time, looking backward to specific times in the man's life. In so doing, these stories provoke a strange sense of time passing. They also evoke loss in their treatment of several elements in Nick's life. Despite their various settings over time, these stories share an interesting commonality: they each involve Nick interacting with place. Nick's identity is based quite strongly on his past association with place. Yet these interactions are complicated when these associations, especially northern Michigan, seem to have dissolved. He is essentially a placeless figure—one lost in the present and always reaching backward in time. In this light, Nick's involvement with Michigan as a place—both his memories of its past and his experiences in the present—are symptomatic of a lost place identity.

In Sarah Orne Jewett, place identity is strengthened when challenged. In Twain, it is weakened and even dissolved over time. Hemingway's fiction represents a third type of experience: a writer's abruptly lost and unrecovered place identity. Such an examination of a lost association with place reveals how the resulting dislocation manifests in the representations of the places he once knew. Furthermore, it suggests how an unrecovered place identity has larger implications for how we understand Hemingway's ties to place and the influences on his entire body of work.

Robert B. Riley has pointed out that attachment to a landscape "is not simple. It is a complex set of threads woven through one's life" (18). Hemingway's attachment to Michigan is representative of such an attachment. From the time he was a baby, Hemingway's family left Oak Park, Illinois, to spend every summer in "the small provincial backwater of Michigan" (Beegel, *Craft* 52). As a child, he cherished those

summers spent with his father in the woods, passing time by hunting and fishing. As he grew older, he did less with his father and more with his friends, but he still immersed himself in these summer pastimes in his beloved Michigan. Then, in 1918, he left Michigan, not for Oak Park but for World War I, where he was seriously wounded. Returning after the war, he expected to re-immense himself in the location and the pastimes of his youth. The Michigan he knew had disappeared, however. In its place, Hemingway found a landscape scarred by the logging industry and a place with which he no longer could identify. He also was aware of changes that had taken place within himself; he was not the same person who left. Such a feeling of dislocation made an impact on the young writer that would endure for the rest of his life.

Recently, critics insightfully have addressed Hemingway's Michigan association as the source for loss in his work. For example, Linda Wagner-Martin identifies the "evocative intimacy of place well-remembered ...[that appears in many] of Hemingway's descriptions of that boyhood world. Too soon lost, Hemingway's memories of Michigan may have provided the undergirding for the mournful yet objective tone he achieved so early—and maintained throughout his best writing" (3). Critics have continued to excavate his Michigan stories for what they may reveal about loss. Jack Jobst addresses Michigan as a locus of Hemingway's loss, but focuses his reading on the author's lost bachelorhood. Beegel traces Hemingway's feelings of dislocation, surveying *several* places with which the author at one time connected but from which he eventually separated. Although she does recognize Michigan as the first in a long line of many such relationships, the full extent of the role that Michigan had in starting a sustained sense of dislocation remains to be considered. Such an increased interest in Hemingway's

Michigan in the 1990s, spurred Frank Scafella and Waring Jones, among others, has paved way for continued scholarship into this decade, particularly with the work of Laura Gruber Godfrey, Lisa Tyler, and Sarah Mary O'Brien.

What has remained unexplored is the *source* of the loss he recreates in his fictional representations of Michigan: a return in which he is forced to address the changes both on the land and in himself; we have yet to understand fully how his *return* there after World War I affected his work. Therefore, examining this return through place identity theory illustrates not only the extent to which he held the place of his youth in esteem, but the degree to which a lost association with it affected his work. Revisiting his Nick Adams stories with a better understanding of this sense of dislocation provides a means to explore further Nick's relationship with Michigan and to better understand Hemingway's corpus as a whole.

As Maria Vittoria Giuliani's argues, a writer's sense of place may be examined through his or her recreation of it. Hemingway conjures biographical elements and events of this place to evoke loss in his Nick Adams stories. This study explores Hemingway's awareness of the changed place and the way his stories voice the resulting dislocation. Specifically, Nick's interactions with northern Michigan elicit mourning for a lost youth, brought about by a disrupted place identity that ultimately may be the cause of his enduring feelings of dislocation. My goal here is to consider the literary impact of his youth in the woods, his 1918 departure, his time away, and his 1919 return, in light of place identity theory. After illustrating how he connected to Michigan and how his departure and return ended that association, I will explore how his representations of

Michigan in his Nick Adams stories work to voice a placelessness, and thus reflect larger implications of such an experience.

A Michigan Upbringing

Matthew J. Bruccoli has noted that “places were beloved to Hemingway ... certain cities, bars, restaurants, rivers. These things acquired symbolic force for Hemingway” (31). No association with place was more solid than his Michigan connection. From a phenomenological perspective, in which the focus is on meanings and experiences, Hemingway’s sense of place was established by a compilation of memories in which meaning was assigned and sustained through objects and activities there.¹⁴⁴ In September, 1899, Dr. Clarence Edmonds Hemingway and his wife Grace brought their seven-week-old son, Ernest, to northern Michigan where Dr. Hemingway had purchased property at Bear Lake (later renamed Walloon Lake) the previous year and where they would build a family cottage (which they would name “Windemere”) a year later (Baker 1).¹⁴⁵ The 1899 venture would be the first of many of his childhood trips—what Baker calls “annual pilgrimages”—to this place (11); in fact, Hemingway would spend *every* summer there until he went away to war in 1918.

Hemingway’s subsequent early years would provide the foundation of a life-long love for the outdoors. By 1902, at age three, he was boating, camping, hiking, paling around with his friends in the woods, and fishing nearly constantly (7-8). Hemingway was “perfectly content with the lake and the forest” (5). As he grew, he continued a passion for outdoor pastimes that would endure. Exploring the backwoods, .22 caliber

¹⁴⁴ Here, I am using Lynne C. Manzo’s definition of phenomenology: “focuses on the meanings and experiences of places via a descriptive, qualitative discovery of things in their own terms” (48).

¹⁴⁵ The cottage was finished in 1900 and the family moved in that same year (Baker 3).

rifle in hand, and virgin timber all around, Hemingway loved his place (Miller 28). With such childhood experiences, it is not difficult to see how this time there worked to develop his preference for nature. Riley has illustrated the impact of childhood experiences such as these on attachment to place: “the individual’s own life, body, and experiences [in youth] play a major role in attachment to the landscape. Patterns of an individual’s affection for the landscape are thought to be a product of childhood experience” (18).¹⁴⁶ Likewise, Michigan became a part of Hemingway at an early age.

His time away from Michigan also played a key role in developing his attachment to it. As summer waned, the family would travel back to their home in Oak Park. Brucoli describes the dichotomous qualities of these two settings: “Hemingway’s boyhood really had a split focus. Three months a year he lived what might be called a free and natural life in northern Michigan; the other nine months a year it was squaresville in Oak Park, Illinois” (9).¹⁴⁷ That is not to say that Hemingway did not think about Michigan while away from it. In fact, here in his early years, he established a pattern that would endure his entire life. From the family’s house in Illinois, he longed for the summer in Michigan: “While Ernest slowly ascended the rungs of the grammar-school ladder from second grade in 1906-1907 through eighth grade in 1912-1913, he spent much of every winter dreaming of the summer that lay ahead” (Baker 10). It seems that the place in which he whiled away the summers became a part of his identity, even from afar.

¹⁴⁶ See Roger Hart’s theory of how emotional environment is constructed, as outlined in Riley, 18.

¹⁴⁷ Brucoli describes this “squaresville” further: “the joke about Oak Park was that when you left Chicago, the Oak Park town line was where the saloons stopped and the churches began” (Brucoli 8).

Yet it was time in Michigan's woods itself that shaped the young man. There, as the years progressed, the young Hemingway continued to grow close to his father via the natural surroundings. Dr. Hemingway taught his children

a knowledge and love of nature. He taught Ernest how to build fires and cook in the open, how to use an ax to make a woodland shelter of hemlock boughs, how to tie wet and dry flies, how to make bullets...how to prepare birds and small animals for mounting, how to dress fish and fowl for the frying pan or the oven. He insisted on the proper handling and careful preservation of guns, rods, and tackle, and taught his son the rudiments of physical courage and endurance. (9)

In Michigan, his father taught him "to do things 'properly'...whether building a fire, rigging a rod, baiting a hook, casting a fly, handling a gun, or roasting a duck or haunch of venison" (17). Their fondness for the outdoors did not only center on its wildlife; there was an emotional element involved too. Hemingway's sister Sunny Miller recalls their time spent outdoors with their father: "He taught us to shoot, see the beauty of nature, [and] share our joys with our friends" (Miller 40). Miller continues: "When dad walked with us, he'd teach us to recognize the gems of the woods and fields" (59). The Hemingway children, it seems, came to revel in the outdoors—both physically and emotionally. In this way, Dr. Hemingway passed his love of nature on to them, especially his son Ernest, and the boy would carry this love with him into manhood (Baker 17). Hemingway came to align nature in his mind with his father.

Michigan also was the place where Hemingway began to mature and gain independence. In Hemingway's fourteenth year at Windemere (1913), he moved outside the cottage (16). Pitching a tent outside, he slept there the entire summer (16). In 1915,

at almost sixteen years old, Hemingway made the five-day trip from Oak Park, Illinois, to the Michigan cottage with a friend Lew Clarahan and without his family—a major step in his independence (20).

This friendship with Clarahan and others also helped to solidify his association with Michigan. He spent his teenage years taking train trips with Clarahan into the deeply rural parts of northern Michigan to fish the untamed trout streams there (24). During these trips, Hemingway made notes for his own writing (25). At this time, he also became friends with Bill Smith, a boy with whom he would grow up and keep as a friend (25). He befriended Native Americans too. Baker writes, “he was constantly aware of [the Native American] presence, like atavistic shadows moving along the edges of his consciousness, coming and going without a sound” (13). Drawn to them, young Hemingway took note of their smell: “they smelled alike to him, a curious sweet odor” (13). He later became friends with Prudence Boulton, the daughter of a local Native American. Such seemingly insignificant associations would surface at important and revealing points in several of his stories, as we will see.

Further evidence of his attachment to the place is his protection of it. In northern Michigan, it was agreed that if there was a fire, any able-bodied man would help fight it (Miller 42). One particular fire was so threatening that the Hemingway family had to vacate their house (42). While Ernest and his father left to fight the fire, the women of the family, while breathing through wet handkerchiefs, took supplies and valuables to the rowboats on the lake (42). After some time, Ernest and his father returned “tired and dirty” but the fire was contained and the house was saved (42).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ In another event, Hemingway would be active in protecting the land. In his adolescence, Hemingway set up a camp of his own a half mile from Windemere on a point on the lake, called “Murphy’s Point,”

The most impressive factor in his youth was nature itself. All of these activities and memories occurred in the woods of northern Michigan. The result is that the place took on symbolic value, figuratively containing elements from his childhood. In this situation, as Riley theorizes, the place (especially the landscape) becomes internalized so that it comes to be aligned with generalized feelings and specific symbolic elements (17).¹⁴⁹ In much the same way, Hemingway seems to associate with the landscapes generally and the woods, his father, the Native Americans, and fishing, specifically, presumably because his childhood encounters occurred nearly entirely among the Michigan hemlock and pine trees. Thus, these links inform Baker's observation: "He long remembered the pine-needle loam in the hemlock woods" (Baker 10). Lynne C. Manzo's work has shown how such a bond with nature can impact identity. Attachment, she explains, can be defined "in terms of ecological stewardship [and] emotional responses to nature" through which "a relationship with nature can influence our self concept" (Manzo 50). Likewise, the landscape was an extension of Hemingway's childhood and essentially himself. Like Jewett, Hemingway's identity had been shaped by the physical characteristics of his environment.

In light of Giuliani's theories on place, the natural elements of his Michigan forest were more than merely items which created the backdrop of his youth;¹⁵⁰ they were

spending much of his time there both alone and with his siblings (Baker 26). He developed a sense of ownership over this piece of land. At one point, Hemingway and his sister Sunny came across some people camping there (Miller 28). Feeling as if their territory was being invaded (as Miller explains, "we felt they had stayed long enough"), they used a skunk that Hemingway had shot to ward off the intruders (28). Miller summarizes the outcome: "The campers left the next day. Ernie and I didn't wonder why" (29). Although this event seems like a childhood prank—and it may have been—their motive signals a deeper identification with the land.

¹⁴⁹ For a more extensive explanation of both specific and generalized symbolic values of places, see Riley 15-19.

¹⁵⁰ Giuliani's theories were outlined in Chapter One of this study. For a further explanation, see Giuliani 149.

physical characteristics loaded with meaning that not only represented the place itself but also *who he was*. According to Theodore R. Sarbin, these symbolic properties work to develop an individual's understanding of self (212). In this way, the natural elements of northern Michigan came to emotionally represent Hemingway's entire childhood—the events, the place, and the relationships with others—and his understanding of himself.

Away to War

By 1918, Hemingway was coming of age. Despite his poor eyesight, he was determined to enter World War I.¹⁵¹ Hemingway and a friend, Theodore (Ted) Brumback, made a pact to join the Red Cross—an organization that accepted his visual impairments—as ambulance drivers (Baker 36). In one last act as young men, Hemingway, Brumback, and two other friends (Charlie Hopkins and Carl Edgar) traveled to Michigan “for a final fishing trip to Horton Bay” before heading away to war (38).

Arriving in Michigan in late April, 1918, they headed directly for the fishing streams (38). Their trip was short-lived: “they had scarcely got their feet wet when the telegram came through. Hemingway and Brumback were to report for physical examinations in New York no later than May 8th” (38). This trip marks an important point in Hemingway's biography. It was the last time he would spend as a carefree youth in his much-loved woods. More importantly, it was cut short; he was not able to thoroughly enjoy this last independent time with his pals before he received the Red Cross telegram (forwarded to him from Oak Park by his father). When he next set foot in Michigan, he would do so as a war veteran, experienced in the physical and emotional

¹⁵¹ Hemingway wrote to Marcelline, his sister, that despite his poor eyesight in his left eye—the cause for keeping him out of the war—“I'll make it to Europe some way in spite of this optic. I can't let a show like this go on without getting into it” (as qtd. in Baker 36).

wounds of war. While this abbreviated Michigan fishing trip may seem insignificant, it marks a point at which his childhood ended or, more aptly, was taken away from him. Like Mark Twain, his boyhood was interrupted by events that would sever him from his youth. As we will see, this point would be instrumental in shaping his Nick Adams stories (each one in itself a return to his Michigan youth). Events after this point in his life altered both the man and the place to the degree that a return was impossible without considering the losses that had transpired.

Thrown into violence, the young man was matured quickly by the war. After only a few months, he had begun to grow accustomed to seeing dead men, but when a munitions factory exploded, the sight of dead women shocked him. As Baker writes, “it was far more gory than anything he had seen in the Midwest, or anywhere else” (40-41). The wartime experience and especially his occupation as an ambulance driver took its toll: “The final task was to gather human fragments from what was left of the heavy barbed wire fence around the factory. This also was a considerable shock to one whose contact with the dead had hitherto been limited to the shooting of birds and small animals” (41). After the war, he would speak of other atrocities he witnessed. For example, the Arditi would take Austrian prisoners, “tying them wrist to wrist in hollow squares then tossing in a hand grenade” (66). The Arditi also “taught him the art of throwing knives and even offered him an Austrian to practice on” (66).

The author’s view of Michigan from overseas played an important role in shaping his conceptions of it. Like Jewett in Boston, he was able to see the place from a distance, shaping his constructions of it through memory. Furthermore, such a situation positions him to ponder the meaning of the place. Riley addresses this situation: “affection for a

landscape and the bonds with it are explicitly acknowledged and are shaped by the self-conscious awareness of other landscapes” (17). Therefore, despite Hemingway’s rapid maturation in the war and the distance between Michigan and the author, he actually is drawn closer to home by the process of being away. His time in the war functions similarly to his childhood winters in Chicago, causing him to long for his carefree Michigan days.

Until July, 1918, Hemingway avoided any major physical injury. His luck ended around midnight on July 8th. He had come down from the mountains to a forward listening post to deliver cigarettes, chocolate, and postcards to the soldiers (Baker 44). Suddenly, an Austrian fragmentary bomb exploded. With “a flash, as when a blast-furnace door is swung open,” Hemingway was knocked to the ground (44). Seeing an injured Italian soldier next to him, he lifted the soldier into a “fireman’s carry” and began to run toward cover: “he had covered fifty yards when a round from a heavy machine gun tore into his right leg at the knee. . . . He stumbled and fell with the man on his shoulder. He never afterwards remembered how he had covered the final hundred yards. But he made it, delivered his man, and lost consciousness” (45).

When he awoke, the eighteen-year-old Hemingway found himself surrounded by dead or dying soldiers (44). He lay for two hours, “waiting and praying” (45).¹⁵² Later, he would recall thinking that it was “more reasonable to die than to live” (as qtd. in Baker 66). Afterward, doctors removed twenty-eight pieces of shrapnel from his feet and legs, leaving “hundreds more, too deep to be reached” (Baker 45). Shortly after, they removed machine-gun slugs from his knee and foot (47-48). Just two months after the fishing trip

¹⁵² Baker cites this biographical event as the source for similar events in Hemingway’s “Now I Lay Me.”

with his buddies, in other words, Hemingway suffered a near-mortal wound and saved a man's life on the front of a horrifically violent war.

His war wounds were not the only impetus to maturity at this time; during his five-month-long hospitalized recovery, Hemingway would mature in several ways.¹⁵³ He became friends with Count Emanuele Greppi, with whom he would discuss American politics, prompting Hemingway to later declare that Greppi "brought him up politically" (51). Hemingway "had suddenly taken on some of the qualities of manhood," discovered his attraction to women, and developed a "newly aggressive sexuality" (49). Furthermore, Hemingway met and fell in love with a nurse, Agnes Kurowsky (47). She would later become the first to break his heart (59). In just a matter of months, Hemingway found himself enveloped in the world of men.

Although he enjoyed this new mature world, a part of him was lost. In a letter to his father, his disillusionment surfaces:

There are no heroes in this war...All the heroes are dead...Dying is a very simple thing. I've looked at death and really I know. If I should have died, it would have been...quite the easiest thing I ever did...And how much better to die in all the happy period of disillusioned youth, to go out in a blaze of light, than to have your body worn out and old and illusions shattered. (as qtd. in Baker 52)

Baker describes the effects of the war on the young author: "his wounding, his five months convalescence, and the unconsummated love affair with Agnes had matured him faster than anything else he had done. Like the *scaggia* that remained in his legs, the memory of the north of Italy in 1918 would stay with him all the rest of his life" (Baker

¹⁵³ His experiences of being wounded and his recovery in the hospital formed the foundation of *A Farewell to Arms*. See Baker 47-48.

56). Hemingway would stay overseas for some time, but eventually, with 227 scars on his legs, he returned to the United States in January, 1919 (56).

He would spend the next few months healing at his family's home in Chicago (59). Hemingway returned to the states in a conflicted state. As the first American to be injured in the war and having been awarded the Italian Silver Medal of Valor, he was proud of his service, often speaking to groups about his experiences (59). Yet life in the states was different and difficult.

A Commitment to Return and a Place Lost

In early June, 1919, Hemingway returned to his beloved Michigan woods. This return, reflects his attachment to it (Manzo 50). Taking a small stack of manuscripts with him in a desire to write again, he traveled to Horton Bay (Baker 61). He stayed with his friend Bill Smith at a local farm.¹⁵⁴ Possibly seeking a retreat or possibly seeking solace, his Michigan trip was supposed to be a return to the joyous and carefree days that were cut short in 1918, but, as he would discover, things were different. As Riley warns, “to assume that all attachment established at [a particular] age is then frozen, however is to ignore the complexity of the human experience, and the powers of personal development” (18). Things around him and inside him were different. He fished locally, comically applying his war experiences to his boyhood setting by naming the Michigan trout “the Arditi of the lakes,” but a much-desired trip into the deep woods was out of the question (Baker 61). It was in his fishing that he found relief from the reminders of war and the troubling conditions around him (61).

¹⁵⁴ According to Baker, Hemingway “assist[ed] as well as he could with the spraying of the apple trees and the planting of the garden,” but his war wounds limited his activity (61).

It was precisely these conditions that made life so difficult for him there. Svoboda has commented on Hemingway's awareness of place: "Hemingway was a creature of his time and place. But he was more than that. He also was intensely conscious of the ways in which his world was changing" ("Hemingway" 50).¹⁵⁵ For a man whose identity was so tied to the Michigan landscapes, it was not difficult for him to notice the damage the logging industry was doing to the trees that so strongly and symbolically represented his association with place.

Tyler (describing Beegel's views) refers to what occurred in Michigan as "a holocaust in American forestry" (68). Jobst describes the scene: "The pine was gone but the chaff, the slash remainder of tree limbs and trunks unusable for lumber, remained. This was prime material for burning" (24). According to Michael Williams, "In the quest for immediate profits, the reckless and prodigal cutting of the better grades of white and jack pine had left a slash cover on the ground that caused devastating fires, which destroyed the humus in the already poor soil and any saplings that managed to grow. Only stunted bush grew to occupy the ground in time" (as qtd. in Beegel, "Second Growth" 101-2). Beegel has noted that "this timbering rampage was conducted entirely without today's concern for 'sustainable' yields, and the impact on the Michigan of Nick Adams' [and thus Hemingway's] boyhood was devastating" ("Second Growth" 84). Hemingway's concern over such destruction was shared by his father (84). Their shared passion for the outdoors, combined with the destruction of old growth around them provided for an ominous bond between the two; as Beegel notes, "The destruction of old-growth forests near the family's Michigan summer home meant that their shared passion

¹⁵⁵ Svoboda addresses the threats of the place by "logging, tourism, and other forms of more or less exploitative development." See "Hemingway" 4.

for wilderness, hunting, and fishing would become a continuing source of shared grief and mourning” (84-5). In this way, “Father and son clearly shared everything and its loss” (90).

The damaged land would remain this way for some time. Beegel provides a perspective on the time it takes for land to recover: “Clearcut forests in Michigan were not replanted until the 1920s, and that first crop was not ready for harvest as saw timber until five years after Hemingway’s 1961 suicide” (85). Hemingway’s reaction was fitting for someone with his Michigan background. The timber industry’s “effects on the landscape made him sick, and he was devastated by the loss of virgin forests and undisturbed rivers” (Tyler 68). The childhood setting to which he had clung so deeply had been destroyed, as was his association with it. With the sudden disappearance of the elements that defined himself, Hemingway’s identity was suddenly called into question.

In addition to his witnessing the destruction of the trees, three fishing trips there would make their mark on him. By early July, Hemingway’s legs were stronger. For the first time in two years, he took his first fishing trip, driving with his friend Bill Smith twenty miles southeast to a place called the Pine Barrens (Baker 62). Camping and fishing the Black River for five days in an untouched area Hemingway would call “wild as the devil” (as qtd. in Baker 62). Hemingway reveled in this experience: “On the last day they caught sixty-four trout between them. They drove home [to Windemere] triumphantly along the dusty roads, smelling of fish, citronella, and woodsmoke, and sporting seven-day beards” (62).¹⁵⁶ This trip seems to have proved therapeutic, as it was

¹⁵⁶ It is important to note Baker’s use of the word home here—a likely word for someone so aligned with Michigan, and clear evidence of Hemingway’s view it.

a trip back into the untouched wilderness similar to that of his childhood and now missing from the Horton Bay area.

His departure from the Pine Barrens to the scarred land surrounding Horton Bay marked a change. There were abundant reminders that he was no longer a kid in the woods. He was drinking and smoking again—mature habits in which he engaged heavily in the war (Baker 61). Furthermore, his legs bothered him (61). Repeated visits to the doctor to remove “emergent bits of scaggia” left his legs frequently bandaged, painful reminders of his wartime rite of passage (61). After such a carefree fishing trip and the sense of dislocation that followed his return to Horton Bay, he pined for another trip into the deep woods (62).

He organized his second trip into the Pine Barrens with Smith. He invited two other friends to join them (62). The four men spent their time fishing the Black River by day, and smoking, drinking, and singing by night. Although they had a good time and were able to forget their troubles for a while, their juvenile acts (which even included a brush with the law) had drifted away from the innocence of time spent with nature.¹⁵⁷ Instead, the quartet reveled in mature pastimes.

Hemingway’s third and final trip of the year would occur in August. Still “badly hurt in body, mind, spirit, and morals,” he scheduled one more attempt into the forest (63). He and Smith invited two different friends along for this trip (63). Together the men travelled four hours by train from Petoskey to Seney, in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula to fish the Fox River (Jobst 23). Jobst suggests this trip “would help Hemingway escape the frustrations of being a soldier at home by allowing him to celebrate the pleasures of

¹⁵⁷ While driving through Boyne City on the way home, the group decided it would be fun to shoot out the street lights. They were pulled over by the police and questioned, but no arrests were made. For the complete story, see Baker 61.

bachelorhood with his friends,” but Hemingway would find that he could not escape such “frustrations” (23). In fact, to even refer to Hemingway’s postwar physical and emotional wounds as “frustrations” is not only dismissive but also offensive.¹⁵⁸ They were a matter that he took seriously. Hemingway would later recall that while he was disembarking the train at Seney, the brakeman held up the train, because, the brakeman said, “There’s a cripple and he needs time to get his stuff down” (as qtd. in Baker 63). Being called “a cripple” not only affected Hemingway’s views of himself, but the implications of the label also disrupted his nostalgia-inspired attempt to revert back to his childhood pleasures.

Although it provided the setting and tone for his story, “Big Two-Hearted River,” the Seney trip became yet another of Hemingway’s failed attempts to recapture youth (63). The issues with which he was trying to cope would plague him for the rest of his life.

Hemingway stayed in Michigan through September before returning to Oak Park in October of 1919 (64).¹⁵⁹ He returned to northern Michigan only three more times. In 1920, despite continuing many of his boyhood pastimes, his visit amounted to another futile attempt to regain his youth.¹⁶⁰ In 1921, he returned again, this time for his September 3 wedding to Hadley Richardson, a life event that confirmed his adulthood

¹⁵⁸ It also should be noted that throughout his essay, Jobst repeatedly refers to Hemingway and his friends as “boys”—hardly a flattering term for a twenty-year-old World War I hero.

¹⁵⁹ Baker attributes Hemingway’s time in Michigan during these latter months of 1919 as the incipience of the plots of three stories Hemingway later would write: “The End of Something,” “The Three-Day Blow,” and “Up in Michigan,” but biographical elements of this time are evident in many Hemingway works (64).

¹⁶⁰ Many of the activities he undertook were immature in nature, such as hiking contests and walking on broken glass. Baker considers such acts feats to prove his manliness (71). However, these actions were not so much an effort to prove himself a man as they are sophomoric in nature, characteristic of teenage boys trying to out-do one another. Such behaviors could be read, then, as attempts to recover a lost immaturity. He was, after all, now twenty-one years old.

status (81). In October, Hemingway earned a job with *The Toronto Star* to send feature stories from Europe. He and Hadley left for Paris on Dec 8th, 1921.

A poem Hemingway wrote in May, 1922, illustrates his feelings of nostalgia and loss. The poem, titled “Along with Youth,” appears in his *Three Stories and Ten Poems* (1924):

A porcupine skin,
Stiff with bad tanning,
It must have ended somewhere.
Stuffed horned owl
Pompous
Yellow eyed;
Chuck-wills-widow on a biased twig
Sooted with dust.
Piles of old magazines,
Drawers of boy’s letters
And the line of love
They must have ended somewhere.
Yesterday’s Tribune is gone
Along with youth
And the canoe that went to pieces on the beach
The year of the big storm
When the hotel burned down
At Seney, Michigan. (57)

Scholars have attributed this poem to Hemingway's feelings surrounding his 1919 trip to Seney.¹⁶¹ The poem could be as a requiem for his childhood, however. Hemingway's catalogue of wildlife elements here characterize his youth as a whole. Each item lies clearly in another lost time, with an adult speaker nostalgically reviewing the items from his youth yet recognizing that his youth "is gone" (13). Mirroring the author's own experience, the items that once characterized his childhood shift in meaning; over the course of the poem the elements of his youth become reminders of the loss of it. What is more, this realization comes upon the speaker suddenly; without a clear turning point, his childhood ended without notice: "it must have ended somewhere" (3). When considering the feelings of loss and dislocation Hemingway realized during the summer of 1919 and his subsequent returns to Michigan, his reference to the fire or even a reference to the trip itself can be read as the turning point in his life when he realized his childhood had disappeared irrevocably. This poem appears to be Hemingway's first attempt at voicing such a loss; later, most of his Michigan writings would come to express the same sentiment.

Michigan would never leave Hemingway. On his European honeymoon with Hadley, the harbor in Vigo, Spain, would conjure Little Traverse Bay in Michigan (Baker 83). In 1922, while on vacation in Switzerland, Hemingway would discover that their pension reminded him of Dilworth's restaurant on Horton Bay (85). According to Paul Smith, the letters he wrote during the early 1920s "are filled with exuberantly colloquial versions of the ... appreciations of streams and campsites and the thrill of fishing"

¹⁶¹ See Jobst, for example.

(87).¹⁶² Later, in 1944, the trout streams and pine trees of Belgium would conjure memories of his Michigan youth (422). He even emotionally connected Italy with Michigan, writing, ““I loved Northern Italy like a fool, truly, the way I had loved northern Michigan” (as qtd. in Beegel, *Craft* 55).¹⁶³ His use of “had loved” here is worthy of note; his use of past tense indicates that his love affair with the place had ended.

Hemingway would pay only one more visit to Michigan. In 1947, while traveling to Sun Valley, Idaho, from Havana, Cuba, he took a detour to pay a visit to Sunny, then living at Windemere Cottage (Baker 462). Not much is known about this visit, other than Baker’s note that the author was overweight with high blood pressure (462). Jones speculates on the reasons for Hemingway’s failure to return:

He might not have wanted to return with a new wife¹⁶⁴ because of his memories of his honeymoon with the first one here; he might have been too busy going back and forth across the country and overseas to take the time; he might not have wanted to joggle up memories of his father after the latter died; or perhaps Michigan was so clear in his heart that he did not have to. Maybe someone else was in the cottage? A mystery. We will ask our Hemingway Society private detectives to give up some more detailed answers. (10)

¹⁶² Here, Smith draws a parallel between Hemingway’s letters and his “more muted appreciation” in his story “Big Two-Hearted River” (87). See his connections, 87.

¹⁶³ Hemingway explains this point further, writing that Michigan “was the first peninsula that I loved; the second one was Italy. . . . I once had felt on coming into the country from Mancelona to Kalkaska, the Boyne Falls grade, the country around the foot of the lake, Wab-Mee-Mee, where the shingle mill was, on into Petoskey, around to Cross Village, looking across Little Traverse Bay, the road to Charlevoix and the road over the hills between Walloon and Horton’s Bay” (as qtd. in Beegel, *Craft* 54-55). Yet, Hemingway found Italy unfruitful too. According to Beegel, “Tourism and Fascism have spoiled Italy for Hemingway” (55). See Beegel, *Craft* 55 for a detailed account of Hemingway’s disillusionment with Italian politics.

¹⁶⁴ It is unclear here if Jones is referring to one particular wife or generally to the three wives he had after Hadley. Following his divorce from Hadley, Hemingway remarried in 1927 (to Pauline Pfeiffer), 1940 (to Martha Ellis Gellhorn), and 1946 (to Mary Welsh Monks). See Oliver 146-148.

If Manzo is correct in identifying a “commitment to return” as an indicator of an attachment to place, then a failure to return is symptomatic of a failed association with it. The dislocation he felt after returning from war seems to have caused his distance from it.

Like Jewett, Hemingway’s place identity formed from being embedded *within* the place about which he wrote, but his is more drastically affected by his standing outside it. He was thinking of it as a boy while he was away in Chicago and his war-time distance from home solidified his understanding of it. Duncan Case’s work shows that “home gains definition from taking journeys away from home” (1).¹⁶⁵ Yet, it is precisely this phenomenon that complicates things. While Hemingway was away, he formed an understanding of the place. In his memories of it, he came to understand what it *should* be—and by extension, what *he* should be. What Michigan meant to the author (and what identity was formed by it) was embedded in the elements of the place. Given that the symbolic properties of place work to establish understandings of the self, Hemingway quite naturally tied his memories of the place to its specific elements.¹⁶⁶ When he returned to northern Michigan, he could not see the elements he knew from his childhood. Instead, he witnessed the forests destroyed by lumbering, and his association with the place was lost. Such a sense of dislocation would suggest that any further returns would prove just as fruitless. The answer to the question that Jones asked could be that essentially the Michigan to which he returned was not the Michigan he remembered.

¹⁶⁵ Case’s work concludes that an absence from home provides an individual with a clearer understanding of that place and its elements; an individual undergoes what Case calls, a “dialectical process” through which the place is viewed more objectively due to “contrasting conditions or circumstances” between it (home) and the new place (away) (1).

¹⁶⁶ See Sarbin 211 for an explanation of symbolic and emotional identity as it is tied to elements of place.

Writing Michigan

Describing the way Hemingway's Michigan experiences surfaced in his work throughout his life, Waring Jones cleverly uses the phrase a "Moveable Michigan" (Jones 10).¹⁶⁷ Hemingway took his associations with Michigan with him—and they would surface in his writing. His most prominent reconstructions of his Michigan experiences appear in his Nick Adams stories, published in *In Our Time* (1925), *Men without Women* (1927), and *Winner Take Nothing* (1933).¹⁶⁸

Hemingway's approach to composition informs his close connection to Michigan. As Svoboda has pointed out, Hemingway wrote very little about Oak Park ("Hemingway" 4).¹⁶⁹ Instead, the writing on which he drew from his early years gravitated toward Michigan, and Hemingway had a talent for writing about it. His work "represented the spirit of the place more accurately than could any strictly historical account" (41). This ability to capture the place stems from his emphasis on describing the *feel* of the place rather than the events that occurred there. In the December 1934 *Esquire*, Hemingway explains how Michigan stayed with him in his writing and how he used this approach in his work: "Write about what you know and write truly and tell them

¹⁶⁷ Jones's work draws on several Michigan stories the author intended to write but never did, although he hints at them: "The lists start in some of the early unpublished stories, and on page 98 in *The Torrents of Spring*, about experiences up here in Michigan. They go on in *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* and, of course, in the great list at the end of *Death in the Afternoon*. As he begins the last chapter, he writes, 'If I could have made this enough of a book, it would have had everything in it.' Then he gives us an eight-and-a-half-page list, like a compressed fishing diary" (13).

¹⁶⁸ Besides the Nick Adams stories, several other works originated in his Michigan experiences, such as "Sepi Jingan," "The Judgement of Manitou," and *The Torrents of Spring*.

¹⁶⁹ In this light, Hemingway's very act of writing of Michigan in itself becomes telling. Svoboda explains that in 1952 the author told Charles Fenton that "too many people might be hurt who were then alive" (Svoboda 15). Given his intense, personal, and sometimes risqué Michigan writings, this observation informs us of Hemingway's attitude toward Michigan then; if he is unable to write of Oak Park for these reasons, then his ability to write of Michigan reveals that his association with the place has been severed. His Michigan stories, then, can be reread with this in mind, addressing the ways in which he voices his loss in them.

where they can place it ... all good books are alike in that they are truer than if they had really happened ... the good and the bad, the ecstasy, the remorse and sorrow, the people and the places and how the weather was” (as qtd. in Svoboda, “Hemingway” 9). His approach is informative; “truer than if they really happened” implies that there is a difference between the actual experience and the one recorded.

The differences between the “real” and the “lived,” so to speak, have prompted critics to address the inaccuracies in his Michigan writings.¹⁷⁰ However, there is a fine line between inaccuracy and interpretation in fiction writing. Baker describes Hemingway’s approach: “Not to work too close to life, but rather to digest and then create from one’s imagination” (132). Svoboda has commented on this issue, writing that Hemingway’s transformations of his experiences are valuable in that “what emerged in words evokes the spirit of northern Michigan then and now; its land, its lakes, and its fish and wildlife, and particularly its people” (“Hemingway” 3). These reinterpretations of factual events are valuable for other reasons, however. Hemingway’s technique was self-serving: “Hemingway the artist often reconstructed reality to meet his artistic and personal needs—and to express the essences of human experience” (14). Hemingway constructs his Michigan stories based on archetypal elements of place but transforms them so they reflect his phenomenological views. In this way, Hemingway’s (Michigan) writing becomes not only therapeutic for him, but a way in which we can read his means of expressing anxiety of a lost place.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, Scafella, “Nothing” or see Svoboda, “False Wilderness.” By contrast, see also Beegel, “Second Growth” and Jobst who argue for Hemingway’s accuracy. Several other critics have addressed Hemingway’s transformation of factual accuracies into fiction. For example, see Brucoli 26 and Baker 63-64.

The final story in *Winner Take Nothing*, “Fathers and Sons” (1933), was the last Nick Adams story that Hemingway published. A story Svoboda calls “one of Hemingway’s greatest,” it involves an older than usual, Nick Adams—who Hemingway calls “Nicholas Adams” in this story—driving while his son sleeps beside him (“Hemingway” 10).¹⁷¹ The landscapes around him conjure memories of his childhood and of his father.¹⁷² These recollections instigate a winding stream of consciousness that has prompted Flora to call this story a “twilight zone” (243). In the story, Hemingway leads the reader through Nick’s train of thought; reflections on his own father intermingle with the ebb and flow of memories of his youth: hunting with his father, his father’s “sound” advice on hunting and fishing, his “unsound” advice regarding sex, Nick’s own sexual encounters in the woods, a decision to kill a half-breed Native American, a desire to murder his father, and finally a discussion with his (recently awakened) son on topics of hunting, Native Americans, and the boy’s grandfather. The story ends with the child voicing his desire to see his grandfather’s grave and Nick’s realization that such a trip is inevitable. Throughout this story, Hemingway’s treatment of the landscapes, Nick’s father, and local Native Americans signal Nick’s loss of place.¹⁷³

A brief composition history of this story informs the degree to which it evokes both Michigan and Hemingway’s own feelings. In November, 1932, Hemingway was driving from Key West to Piggot, Arkansas, with his son John who he called “Bumby”

¹⁷¹ Oliver identifies Nick Adams as thirty-eight years old, and his son as “probably nine or 10 years old” (94).

¹⁷² Smith cites Turgenev’s novel, *Fathers and Sons*, as the source for the title of this story (310). Citing Joseph Flora’s work, Smith identifies the similarities in intergenerational conflict as limited to “general and tentative terms” (310). Joseph Flora addresses Hemingway’s direct biographical connection to Turgenev’s themes: “Had he never written ‘Fathers and Sons,’ it would still not be difficult to imagine Hemingway’s being deeply moved by Turgenev’s study of the conflict between generations” (245).

¹⁷³ Although his stream of consciousness forces an interaction of various elements of the place, treating them as separately as possible in this way proves fruitful in identifying the effects of each.

(Smith 311). Baker tells of this episode: “While Bumby dozed beside him, he amused himself by trying to guess where in the passing fields convoys of quail would come to feed, where they would rise, how they would fly” (Baker 235). Stopping for the night in Mississippi, Hemingway became aware of the similarities between the countryside there and that of northern Michigan (Smith 311). This observation, combined with his own fatherhood and physical companionship of his own son, conjured memories of his time spent in childhood with his father. Here, the parallels of such father-son relationships seem to echo more strongly when the landscape (read: place) of Michigan becomes involved.

The time of year also strengthened Hemingway’s sense of fatherhood (both his own and his father’s). Baker writes, “The fall of the year he associated in his mind with both hunting and death. He had just heard of the death of his uncle Willoughby” (235). Hemingway undoubtedly would have been aware of the upcoming anniversary of his father’s suicide four years prior.¹⁷⁴ As Smith has pointed out, the author also was travelling with his son when he received word of his father’s death (311). Such an experience of travelling with his son, the evocation of his childhood, his father’s death, and the location of his own relationship with his father each play a major role in influencing the development of “Fathers and Sons.” The key here—and what seems to have been overlooked critically—is that all of these feelings are both located and expressed in the (now lost) woods of Michigan.

¹⁷⁴ Hemingway’s biography too closely parallels Nick’s to not address it here. Nick’s father’s cause of death was seemingly a self-inflicted gunshot wound. Although one cannot forget that this story is fiction, Hemingway’s biography seems to surface quite clearly in it. Hemingway’s father, Clarence Edmonds Hemingway, died December 6, 1928, also by self-inflicted gunshot (Oliver 139). According to Baker, this story is the first in which Hemingway uses his father’s suicide (241).

Nick's awareness of place is more prevalent here than in most other stories, and the Michigan setting plays a major role in conjuring his loss of it. While Nick and his son are not driving in Michigan—in fact, they are physically distanced from the place, located in what Beegel describes as “Main Street, Middle America”—the recognition of similar landscapes reminds Nick of the Michigan in which he spent his childhood summers (“Second Growth” 76). But it also reminds him of the loss of it. As his mind wanders back to the place, memories of the natural elements, his father, and the local people intermingle, each separately and collectively a measure of his lost association with the place.

Through “Fathers and Sons,” Hemingway returns to the woods of his youth to address the losses he felt upon his return. Although tremors of loss can be felt in each of Nick's memories, the epicenter of it is located in the woods of northern Michigan. In this sense, the forest becomes more than just the stage on which these events occur; it becomes an outlet for expressing a lost place.

The forests, here, conjure those that were destroyed in the author's childhood (Beegel, “Second Growth” 101). Throughout the story, Hemingway winds the reader through thick descriptions of the physical setting. Mirroring Nick's return to his childhood memories, Hemingway accesses his memories only by way of the Michigan landscape that surrounds, accessible only by walking through “the slashings”—the by-product of the logging industry, the scraps and remains of trees left on the ground after the trees are cut down and hauled away (372).

In one scene, Nick looks back on the setting over a span of time, recalling the past: “there was still much forest *then*, virgin forest where the trees grew high before

there were any branches and you walked on the brown, clean, springy-needled ground with no undergrowth and it was *cool* on the hottest days” (372, emphasis added). Here, in Nick’s adolescence, Hemingway positions this experience at the intersection of cool temperatures provided by the “virgin” trees around him and the encroaching “hottest days.” Although *then* the temperature is still cool, the experiences that loom ahead will only mark a loss for him. What is more, the observation that there used to be “much forest” implies the trees’ disappearance since then; the same trees that so established a mild place in Nick’s youth have been destroyed.

In a similar expression of loss, Nick recalls the woods of Michigan: “each year there was less forest and more open, hot, shadeless, weed-grown slashing” (372). The forest and the temperatures involved reveal a transpiration; as time passed, this destruction of the landscapes of his youth continued, leaving the place increasingly “open, hot” and “shadeless.” The loss of the trees and the resulting rise in temperature coincides with the passage of time and the overarching loss of place entirely. When the forest temperatures are cool, Nick’s memories are pleasant. When temperatures rise, his thoughts turn dark. What is more, the loss of trees seems fated to the young Nick. The waste of timber, and thus the destruction of his understanding of place are inevitable.

Nick also recalls the piles of hemlock bark “in long rows of stacks, roofed over with more bark, like houses, and the peeled logs lay huge and yellow where the trees had been felled. They left the logs in the woods to rot, they did not even clear away or burn the tops. It was only the bark they wanted for the tannery at Boyne City” (372). Here, Hemingway recreates the natural setting, using descriptions that evoke loss. Such vivid

memories of the wasteful destruction of potentially usable material certainly indicate loss; stripped of protection, the insides of the trees lie bare and exposed.

Hemingway's treatment of the trees and the forest connects to the losses involving Nick's father. As the present-day, older Nick looks at the surrounding landscapes, he immediately aligns these scenes with his own (now-deceased) father: "Hunting this country for quail as his father had taught him, Nicholas Adams started thinking about his father" (369). Nick's drive through "quail country" reconnects him to his early relationship with his father; the landscapes "made [Nick] remember [his father] as he was when Nick was a boy and he was very grateful to him for two things: fishing and shooting" (370). Yet this relationship is much more than fishing and shooting. Essentially, Nick equates his father with the land. Beegel explores the ways Michigan and Michigan-like landscapes precipitate memories of his father, writing "His [Nick's father's] spirit resides in the vanished and vanishing American landscapes of Nick's boyhood" ("Second Growth" 99).¹⁷⁵ As is common to one's place identity, aligning memories of individuals with elements of the place helps to establish place identity through his or her association with the land itself.¹⁷⁶

The Michigan woods (as a place) are loaded with identity-shaping interactions with his father. He reflects on his father's advice on hunting and fishing. Nick's appreciation for his father's lessons on sports surface around this advice: "Now, at thirty-eight, he loved to fish and to shoot exactly as much as when he first had gone with his father. It was a passion that had never slackened and he was very grateful to his father

¹⁷⁵ See Beegel 86. This essay, "Second Growth: The Ecology of Loss in 'Fathers and Sons,'" is one of the most thorough engagements of ecology in "Fathers and Sons." It should be noted that many of the issues Beegel addresses could be aligned with Hemingway's lost territory of his youth, although her critical focus lies elsewhere.

¹⁷⁶ See Sarbin's theories of establishing place identity through physical characteristics.

for bringing him to know it” (370). Nick, it seems, recognizes that an important part of himself originated in the Michigan woods and with this interaction with his father.

As he recalls memories of his father, a sobering realization strikes him.

Hemingway writes, “Nick had loved him [his father] very much and for a long time.

Now, knowing how it had all been, even remembering the earliest times before things had gone badly was not good remembering” (371). Here, Hemingway indicates Nick’s

residual positive emotions toward his father, but the past tense of his verb choice here (“had loved”) simultaneously reveals a loss of those feelings. The loss increases

exponentially when Hemingway returns to the present tense (“now”) where the character acknowledges that what has transpired since then has spoiled those early memories. Like Michigan as a place, the present now seems to negate the pleasantries of the past.

These thoughts involving his father echo a permanent loss. As Nick drives “onto the highway,” he is aware of “the second-growth timber on both sides” (369). Like Nick himself, these trees are a second-generation of a species that has come before and has been cut down and destroyed. Thus Nick finds himself surrounded by memories from his childhood. Later, Nick’s train of thought leads to more recent losses. He revisits his father’s death and funeral. He also acknowledges the permanence of his loss of love toward him; it cannot be recovered. Nick’s father’s death not only took away the past (including those vivid, cherished memories of hunting and fishing together), but further confirmed the present. Regardless of how strong these memories were, those childhood times in the woods are gone.

Throughout the story, his father maintains a sustained presence. Even when the focus has changed direction and Nick seems to be consciously moving away from

thoughts of his father, he cannot; his memories of the place—strengthened by the landscapes he now sees around him—reverberate with that loss. Nick exhibits a phenomenon that quite frequently occurs when one is associated with a place: he connects to a place through others, here specifically his father:

His father came back to him in the fall of the year, or in the early spring when there had been a jacksnipe¹⁷⁷ on the prairie, or when he saw shocks of corn, or when he saw a lake, or if he ever saw a horse and buggy, or when he saw, or heard, wild geese, or in a duck blind ... 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. (374-5)

Like Mark Twain, who is reconnected to thoughts of Hannibal by letters to his childhood friend Will Bowen or after-lecture visits with women who were friends in his youth, Nick's associations here evidence the strength of the connection between his father and a place to which he returns.¹⁷⁸ Even though elements from his youth reconnect him to his father, Nick's memories of his father are not always pleasant. Nick recalls an incident when Nick discarded his father's hand-me-down suit of underwear because of this smell. In response, his father "whipped him for lying" about losing it (375). This episode reaches its climax with Nick's anger after being whipped: "Afterwards he sat inside the woodshed with the door open, his shotgun loaded and cocked, looking across at his father sitting on the screen porch reading the paper, and thought, 'I can blow him to hell. I can kill him.'" (375). Jackson Benson describes this scene as the "turmoil of love and hate,

¹⁷⁷ Hemingway's reference here is to a species of long-billed game birds called "Jacksnipe."

¹⁷⁸ Giuliani discusses the extent to which place can become associated with surrogates. See 157.

guilt and gratitude that tortures Nick in his relationship with his father” (16). Now, looking back, Nick exhibits a degree of guilt over the matter.

In a sense, his father *is* Michigan, and Michigan *is* his father. Furthermore, these memories occur over time, connections that surface time and again over the course of Nick’s life. Flora has pointed out that “What [this] intensely moving passage convinces us of is that Nick’s father is not only *suddenly* in his mind, but continually, and that Nick loved his father very much” (242). In light of Flora’s statement here, Hemingway’s association of his father with Michigan illustrates that—like Nick’s father—Michigan itself is also continuously on Nick’s mind. Nick, too, *is* Michigan.

While the woods intermingle with thoughts of Nick’s deceased father, they extend beyond this relationship. Nick begins to reassess his own education apart from what his father taught him—“real learning” that, according to DeFalco, “came from the experiences with the environment” (217). Concerning the topic of sex; his “own education in those earlier matters had been acquired in the hemlock woods behind the Indian camp” (“Fathers and Sons” 372) with an Ojibway girl named Trudy, in “daylight in the woods” with “hemlock needles stuck against your belly” (376).

The appearance of “Trudy” in this story merits a brief consideration. Scholars have aligned her with the real-life Prudence Boulton, the daughter of a local Native American named Nick Boulton, both of whom Hemingway knew in Michigan (Smith 312). Like the deaths of his father and his uncle, Prudence’s death seems to have ties to elements in this story. She died by dual suicide with her paroled-convict lover in February 1918—just before Hemingway left for the war (Smith 312). Smith has noted how these similar deaths frame the story: “it may be that the deepest association between

the first two parts of the story and between Trudy and Nick's father is that their originals were the first and the latest persons he knew, much less loved, who took their own lives" (312). Although Hemingway's sister, Sunny, has denied any romantic affair between Hemingway and Prudence,¹⁷⁹ the question of romance does not detract from the importance of her and his father's suicides; Hemingway associated the Michigan woods with his father and Prudence Boulton, the latter, too, a figure (however major or minor) from that setting. It is no accident, then, that a story detailing Nick's sexual acts with Trudy parallels the death of his father. In this way, Trudy becomes a fictional manifestation of combined biographical sources of loss.

Firmly in the present, Nick can only recognize the present for what it represents: the loss of the past, an experience Nick associates directly with the Native people. While considering how to answer his son's question when the boy asks about Nick's childhood hunts "with the Indians," he mentally revisits those places now lost (375). He thinks of Trudy, then of the Native Americans living on the land: "When you go in a place where Indians have lived you smell them gone and all the empty pain killer bottles and the flies that buzz do not kill the sweetgrass smell" (376). Here, a loss of place resounds in the word, "gone"; in this case, an entire group of people have disappeared from this place. Furthermore, the painkiller bottles evoke a degree of pathetic tragedy. This recollection concludes with Nick thinking, in a semi-mocking Native American English vernacular, "Long time ago good. Now no good" (376).

¹⁷⁹ Miller writes, "Prudence was not good looking, but a good sport, and she tagged along with her brother [Richard Boulton] sometimes, as I did with mine. Though some scholars hint there was something between them, I never saw any evidence of Ernie's liking her or even wanting her along on our exploring trips or squirrel-hunting jaunts. Stories! Stories!" (25-26). According to Baker, "Ernest's fictional accounts of sexual initiation with Prudy Boulton were more likely the product of wishful thinking than of fact" (Baker 26).

Thinking of the woods of his youth, Nick clearly associates them with the Native Americans. Hemingway's ecological thoughts in *Green Hills of Africa* shed light on this situation: "A continent ages quickly once we come. The natives live in harmony with it. But the foreigner destroys, cuts down trees, drains the water, so that the water supply is altered, and in short time the soil, once the sod is turned under, is cropped out, and next it starts to blow away. As it has blown away in every old country" (284). Native people were the caretakers of the land. When "foreigners"—closely aligned with the pain killer bottles—arrive, disaster ensues. The native people (including Trudy) in "Fathers and Sons" are now absent from the land, and the land that Nick knew as a boy, like the exploited soil mentioned in *Green Hills of Africa*, has blown away.

His use of stereotypical Native American vernacular in this scene also draws upon his larger view of modern times. The quotation parallels another phrase the author himself used often, one which he supposedly had learned from an old Native American: "Long time ago good, now heap shit" (*Letters* xii). Although this phrase seems humorous, he (as did the Native American man) used it to describe "the gradual downfall of mankind into modern times" (*Letters* xi). Here in "Fathers and Sons," Hemingway's phrase, albeit censored, evokes the same attitude toward what has become of the human condition, both personally for Nick and philosophically for the world around him. This notion applies directly to Nick's attitude toward Michigan.

By placing Nick's interactions with place at the center of "Fathers and Sons," Hemingway addresses the complicated nature of place identity, especially when the internal feelings attributed to it are interrupted, as they are in this story. The retrospective narrative structure of this story reminds us that Nick is looking back on these scenes,

place markers for points in his life when pieces of his youth were lost. As this story illustrates, when those early memories and the initial physical characteristics are challenged or changed (as they were upon Hemingway's 1919 return to Michigan), a sense of loss results. The Michigan of his youth as a *place*—one that he equates with his father—is gone. It cannot be recovered. The result is a dislocated Nick Adams. Those fond memories of his youthful days in the Michigan wilderness function as a large part of Nick's place identity, but they are now absent. This loss surfaces in both Nick's memories of the physical landscapes and the events that occurred there.

In his discussion of the Michigan woods, Flora writes, "in talking about one's own early past one usually goes back to what is most crucial in the forming of the person who now is" (246). In Hemingway's case, that which is most crucial are the events and personal developments that took place in his Michigan youth. With their loss comes dislocation. "Fathers and Sons" is very much a story of Michigan itself—of the past landscapes, what they meant, the damage done to them, and the ensuing sadness and regrets of the course of events. It too is lost. Svoboda writes, "An older Nick *remembers* Michigan in 'Fathers and Sons'" ("False" 21). As this story illustrates, Michigan and Nick—as well as Michigan and Hemingway—are inseparable. With Michigan gone, they are placeless.

Where Nick engages northern Michigan through memory in "Fathers and Sons," another of Hemingway's stories addresses the phenomenon of a lost place identity more directly. Nick Adams physically returns there in Hemingway's "Big Two-Hearted River" (1925). The author uses his own departure and return as the basis for its plot, though still expresses the dislocation surrounding this experience. "Big Two-Hearted River" draws

on Hemingway's personal experience of fishing the Fox River with his friends in 1919.¹⁸⁰ His fictional recreation of this experience illustrates the way such a return evokes a lost place, evident in the strangeness in Nick's returning, performing his old habits, and interacting with the altered landscapes.

In this story, Nick Adams is alone, returning to northern Michigan after some time away in what seems to be a search for mental relief from troubling thoughts. After witnessing the burned-out town of Seney (a fire that has occurred while he was away), Nick takes to the woods (also partially burnt) to camp and the river to fish. He makes camp, eats, sleeps overnight, then wakes in the morning to fish. The story ends with Nick, still troubled, looking toward the swamp downriver and deciding not to fish it. Although set in the woods of Michigan, the story is more about Nick's attempted internal recovery than his time in the outdoors; with his mind filled with turmoil, it is clear that he has returned to Michigan to escape his anxiety.

The story never stipulates what exactly is troubling Nick.¹⁸¹ Critics have concluded that he is a war veteran returning to the woods after experiencing the horrors of war, ascribing the main focus of the story to something it does not *outright* address: the war itself.¹⁸² Although Nick certainly exhibits characteristics of shell shock, he also exhibits characteristics of a severe dislocation and identity crisis caused by the war. Informed by Hemingway's 1919 return to Michigan, the story essentially is about two

¹⁸⁰ Baker explains Hemingway's changing the name of the river: "Ernest had done it purposely. He explained later that the change was made 'not from ignorance nor carelessness but because Big-Two Hearted River is poetry'" (127). He notes, "Big Two Hearted River is an actual stream farther north and east" (574).

¹⁸¹ Baker concisely describes Hemingway's theory, one in which "something omitted can still affect the reader as if it were there" (125). For more on Hemingway's theory in "Big Two-Hearted River," see Baker 171.

¹⁸² Bruccoli ascribes the war as the main topic of this story (29). For a critical overview on Nick as a veteran and the implications of this status, see Bruccoli, Smith 89, Baker 125-27, and Philip Young's and William Adair's theories as outlined in O'Brien 68.

separate parts of the same person, both without a place: the boy lost because of the war and the man trying to cope with a lost place and a lost youth.

Hemingway describes writing this story in *A Moveable Feast*. His comments illustrate the importance of Michigan to him, even years after he had been there: “What did I know best that I had not written about and lost? What did I know about truly and care for the most? There was no choice at all” (76).¹⁸³ Buried here in Hemingway’s superficially pleasant recollections lies an unfulfilled longing for that place and a sense of its disappearance.¹⁸⁴ A discerning reader also will discover that his phrase “and lost” in Hemingway’s question: “what did I know best that I had not written about *and lost*?” indicates that he indeed did lose this place and time (after all, he does not say, “. . .that I had not written about and *not* lost”). This passage thus informs this story’s composition with a sense of loss surrounding Hemingway at the time he penned it in a Paris café—a loss that surfaces in Nick’s interactions with the place and Hemingway’s recreations of the Michigan landscapes.

Nick has returned to look for symbols that will actualize his memories of place. Ostensibly, he finds such symbols in the land and the river. Walking back to the tracks to put on his backpack, “He was happy” (164). When he takes a break and lies on the ground, “The earth felt good against his back” (166). Upon seeing the water, he realizes that “it was a long time since Nick had looked into a stream and seen trout. They were satisfactory” (163). When he does see the fish, his “heart tightened as the trout moved.

¹⁸³ Even though Hemingway does not outright identify “Big Two-Hearted River” in these passages, he goes on to explain the contents of the story, aligning directly with the plot of “Big Two-Hearted.” See *A Moveable Feast* 86. See also Svoboda, “Hemingway” 34-36.

¹⁸⁴ Svoboda refers to Hemingway’s description of Michigan as “almost an Eden,” adding, “recollected in one peaceful moment in the Paris café, the moments of tranquility on the river with the trout give Hemingway—and Nick and the reader—refuge from complexity” (“Hemingway” 36).

He felt all the old feeling” (164). The smells are familiar to him as well. He uses them as a connection to place. The smells of sweet fern (twice-mentioned in the story), his canvas tent, and his beans-and-spaghetti dinner please him. He connects to that past place, as these smells tie strongly to memory. In these symbols, Nick seems to have found the Michigan he left.

Nick is comforted by seeing that “the river was there” (163). After experiencing great loss, Nick is relieved to recognize the physical thing itself. Scafella asks, “‘The river was there’? Why should it *not* be there?” (“Nothing” 78). Then later in his essay, Scafella addresses another similar acknowledgement. When Nick notes that “underfoot the ground was good walking” (165), Scafella asks, “Where else would the ground be good walking but underfoot? What purpose does it serve but consciously to confirm a deep feeling of satisfaction in Nick himself?” (“Nothing” 78). Through his questions, Scafella leads the reader to the author’s point: back in his own element, even the simple act of walking on recognizable soil can seem like a panacea.¹⁸⁵ The physical place is familiar ground, but also territory that is loaded with meaning from the past.

Furthermore, Nick is a different person. When he talks aloud to himself, reminding himself that he can eat the food that he carried, “His voice sounded strange in the darkening woods. He did not speak again,” implying that it seemed strange to place himself there (167). Proof of his awareness that he has consciously constructed the goodness in the familiar things lies in his anxiety over ruining his experience. After he cooks his dinner, he waits to eat it: “He looked at the fire, then at the tent, he was not going to spoil it all by burning his tongue” (168). His desire not to “spoil it all” suggests

¹⁸⁵ See Scafella who argues that Nick’s act of looking at things, of seeing, “manifests a desire to confirm realities known in memory rather than factual objects in external nature” (78).

an awareness that the actions that he undertakes are a conscious effort to recreate the past. Yet part of him knows that such a task is impossible. No longer a soldier but a fisherman back in the woods with his camping gear loaded in his backpack, he feels “awkward” (175). Even a fish striking his line feels foreign, as if it were his first strike, and afterwards, “Nick’s hand was shaky. He reeled in slowly. The thrill had been too much. He felt, vaguely, a little sick, as though it would be better to sit down” (177). As one whose identity was formed in part by this land, he feels foreign and thus becomes dislocated. Despite his attempts to re-conceptualize the place into what he wants it to be, Nick’s awareness undercuts the memories he attempts to confirm. Nick is noticeably and consciously out of place.

Most significant to Nick’s dislocation are the changed landscapes. Despite his efforts to locate himself in the place of the past, Nick recognizes that “from the time he had gotten down off the train, ... things had been different. Seney was burned, the country was burned over and changed” (164). Expecting to see “the scattered houses of the town” of Seney, Nick is shocked to find that fire has destroyed them: “The thirteen saloons that had lined the one street of Seney had not left a trace. The foundations of the Mansion House hotel stick up about the ground. The stone was chipped and split by the fire. It was all that was left of the town of Seney. Even the surface had been burned off the ground” (163).¹⁸⁶ Fire damage renders the place unrecognizable. These lessons are the foundation of a disjointed place identity.

An excised section of this story informs this reading. Jobst explores one section of an early draft of the story (one in which Nick was accompanied by his friends). In this

¹⁸⁶ Jobst suggests this damage “represents a lost or scarred earlier segment of Nick’s life” (Jobst 26). Brucoli also aligns the damage done to Seney with that which Nick would have seen in the war (29).

fragment, Hemingway “describes the hotel in more detail: ‘Al went over and looked into the filled pit where the hotel had been. There was twisted iron work, melted too hard to rust...’ Hemingway then describes a gun cabinet, ‘the guns melted, and the cartridges a solid mass of copper’” (Jobst 26).¹⁸⁷ Jobst ties the melted guns and cartridges to Nick’s friends, suggesting they elicit Hemingway’s mourning of lost bachelor days.¹⁸⁸ “Fire destroys,” Jobst writes, “leaving only the memory” (26). While these are elements from Hemingway’s days spent hunting with his friends, they might be read as key aspects of his youth. The guns and cartridges echo Nick’s experience in “Fathers and Sons.” The irony is thick here: those images coincide with a Nick Adams who has recently returned from war, witnessing how the fire and destruction can melt things beyond repair; such a crucible has changed those elements permanently, just as it has destroyed his youth and innocence. Like the landscape, Nick too is “fire-scarred” (164). Thus, the accompanying loss here can be read as a manifestation of a lost place identity.

Most critical attention seems to focus on the damage the fire has done to the town, but the fire damage stretches beyond the town into the forest, or what Hemingway describes as “the pine plain” and “the burned country” (164). In fact, these were “historic slash fires near Seney” which spread to the town (Beegel, “Second Growth” 85).¹⁸⁹

It is clear that Nick had visited the town several times before he left for war, yet the time he spent in the woods plays an even larger role. The damage done to the trees is

¹⁸⁷ Jobst cites JFK, Item #279 as his source for this fragment.

¹⁸⁸ Jobst writes: “Nick Adams in ‘Big Two-Hearted River’ remembers earlier camping trips and sadly recognizes the loss of boyhood friends” (Jobst 26). Jobst also suggests a connection between this fire and the fire Hemingway’s mother created when she set fire to his father’s old collections of various items while cleaning out the attic. He argues that both illustrate a loss of bachelorhood. However, this connection could be a connection to a youth and innocence lost when Nick/Hemingway discovers the wounds his mother inflicts on his father in this way.

¹⁸⁹ The term “slash” here refers to the unusable by-product of logging, which often was left on the ground after the trees were harvested.

immensely significant to him. In fact, Beegel has described Hemingway as a “child of an ecological education ... overwhelmingly attuned to the nuances of place” (“Second Growth” 103). Whereas Beegel is addressing the environmental damage to the place, it is equally important to recognize the psychological damage inflicted through Nick’s interactions with this place; when he cannot see the landscapes of his youth, the damage done to the land makes an impression on him.

Furthermore, beyond the fire line, the trees have disappeared. Yet Hemingway does not raise the issue of lumbering directly. Instead, he suggests it in his descriptions. At several points in the story, he describes the “shadeless pine plain” that Nick walks across in the heat. Open fields in this part of Michigan are unnatural, as Nick Adams (and Hemingway) would have been aware. As Beegel points out, “Hemingway’s own ecological comprehension of the environmental disaster that took place in the country of his own and Nick Adams’s boyhood was similar” (“Second Growth” 102). The author is able to express loss through the subtle absence of the trees in this story. The land *is* no longer what it *was*. Seeing the damaged landscapes of Michigan through eyes tainted by the war forces a sense of homelessness—a “placelessness.”

Understanding Nick’s association with place sheds light on his physical location at one point in the story. He alludes to the fire coming the year before, chronologically aligning this forest fire with his service in the war. When Nick decides to stop and rest, he finds himself between the burned land and the pine plain.¹⁹⁰ He is physically and mentally *in between* the untouched land of the past and the scorched earth of the present, yet not situated in either. The present is tainted irrecoverably by where he has been.

¹⁹⁰ For more on Nick’s physical division of the land, see Scafella 79.

Shocked by the changes around him, Nick feels the dislocation resulting from a fractured place identity. “Big Two-Hearted River” illustrates the ways that understanding Hemingway’s association with the place informs Nick’s relation to it. Nick’s inclination to return to the forest and streams of his youth in an attempt to regain what he lost is futile because the place itself was lost to logging and fire. Furthermore, Nick is changed himself. Despite his best efforts, Nick’s association with the place and his memories of it will not allow him to return there. Instead, he is forced to acknowledge the losses that the place has incurred, and in so doing recognize the losses in himself, ultimately resulting in a shifted place identity—to one that, like him, has been damaged.

Considering Hemingway’s treatment of Michigan, Flora insightfully bookends “Fathers and Sons” and “Big Two-Hearted River”: “‘Fathers and Sons’ is the evensong to the Nick Adams stories, as ‘Big Two-Hearted River’ was its aubade” (Flora 248). In this way, Flora is referring to the end and the beginning of Hemingway’s career on writing of Michigan. Nick’s interactions with the place illustrate the degree to which Hemingway’s place identity influenced his work. He could not have voiced the loss of youth in so many ways if he had continued to ponder his Michigan experiences into adulthood. Nor could Nick have been so aware of his placelessness after the war had Hemingway himself not been dislocated in the same way. This theme threads through most of his Michigan fiction.

His 1925 story, “The End of Something,” uses place to address loss. Although the plot of this story seems to focus on Nick’s move toward maturity and his personal breakup with Marjorie Bump, Hemingway situates his human drama in the context of larger, more powerful changes—in particular, lumbering, ships sailing away from an

abandoned sawmill, and its symbolic connection to the depression of the nearby towns; “Then one year there were no more logs to make lumber. . . . All of the piles of lumber were carried away,” Hemingway writes (79). Godfrey has addressed this notion of “background”: “the ‘background’ . . . is really no ‘background’ at all—these geographies of its northern Michigan setting are instead presented as dense with their own histories and changes” (51).¹⁹¹ The result of Hemingway’s association with the place manifests in the emotions surrounding Nick’s relationship with Marjorie. Tyler reads this story as “an important statement linking ecological trauma to the many other 20th century traumas represented in the collection [of *In Our Time*]” (69). H. R. Stoneback connects this story with Hemingway’s emotional losses felt when a plot of land from his childhood (which he called “Murphy’s Point”) was sold—a place embodied in Marjorie. “Put most simply,” Stoneback writes, “‘The End of Something’ is an elegy for a *place*” (66). Understanding the role of place brings to the foreground the emotional connections surrounding the fall of the place that Hemingway esteemed at one time.¹⁹²

This study also informs Hemingway’s story, “Now I Lay Me” (1927), a collection of Nick Adams’s memories (biographically rooted), and framed with Nick in the midst of war. In a failed attempt to distract himself from these painful memories, Nick “returns” to Michigan through imaginary fishing trips on Michigan rivers. Given Nick’s experience in “Big Two-Hearted River,” “Now I Lay Me” reflects how Nick journeys, sees things more objectively through memory, and conjures memories of his youth.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ I differ from Godfrey in that I read its source as more personal in nature than environmental.

¹⁹² Miller addresses the family’s awareness of rise and fall of the sawmills’ success. See 62.

¹⁹³ Bruccoli also has identified the connections between “Big Two-Hearted River” and “Now I Lay Me.” He writes: “This young man who again is an American in the Italian army has insomnia as a result of his war experiences. He is suffering from shell shock or battle fatigue. One of the things he does at night to try to control himself is fish in imaginary streams. Well, that’s a story called ‘Big Two-Hearted River’” (94).

What is more, it illustrates the degree to which Hemingway sought his childhood Michigan as a means to escape back to a more innocent (pre-war) time. For Nick, the river is escapism in its purest form. Yet, that return is unattainable, as evident in this story by the consistent disruptions of this escape by his emotionally complicated memories.

“Ten Indians” (1927) involves a teenage Nick Adams whose father informs him that he discovered Nick’s girlfriend (or at least love-interest), Prudence Mitchell, “threshing around” in the woods (256). His “loving father” has much difficulty telling Nick while concurrently trying to “spare his son emotional pain” (Svoboda, “Hemingway” 43-44). Experiencing his first heartbreak, Nick is left to confront this betrayal that takes place amid his beloved woods.

Set in a quite accurate depiction of Horton Bay, “Up in Michigan” (1923), concerns Liz Coates, who waits tables at D. J. Smits, “an eating establishment clearly modeled on Dilworth’s,” a restaurant Hemingway patroned there (Baker 574). Seduced by a hunter named Jim who had recently returned from a hunting trip in the Pine Barrens (Hemingway’s and Nick Adams’s former fishing location), Liz loses her virginity in an unromantic, disillusioning experience on a dock at the lake. Despite her expectations ahead of time, afterward Liz “was cold and miserable and everything felt gone” (62).

Most of Hemingway’s Michigan stories evoke loss in one manner or another, even subtly. For example, “Indian Camp,” first published in 1924, involves young Nick Adams accompanying his father to aid in the birth of a local Native American baby, whose father ultimately commits suicide. Michigan is used as a setting to explore the “double-climax of birth and death” while simultaneously illustrating Nick’s initiation and

education in the unmitigated details of both (Baker 125). “The Doctor and the Doctor’s Wife” (1924) uses Michigan as a setting to explore the tension between Nick’s parents.¹⁹⁴ In this story, Nick realizes that his father is victim to his “hypochondriac Christian Scientist” mother’s oppression, marking yet another stage in the boy’s maturation (Svoboda, “Hemingway” 7). The young Nick is positioned between his two parents. “The Battler” (1925) addresses the losses felt by a once-great (but now placeless) boxer, who has lost his mind for his years of service. Here too, Hemingway removes the civilized aspects of the actual territory between Kalkaska and Mancelona in these parts of Michigan to achieve an increased degree of isolation (Svoboda, “Hemingway” 21). Each of the stories discussed in this chapter engage Michigan to approach a degree of placelessness, largely because they were derived from Hemingway’s lost place identity—an issue that he reveals in multiple, often interconnecting facets.

Further Implications: Excised Passages and Lost Generations

In an excised section from *Death in the Afternoon*, Ernest Hemingway mourns the ecological damage that eliminated the place he knew so well in his youth:

Michigan I loved very much when I lived in it, and when I was away from it, but as I grew up each time I returned to it it was changed. It was a country of forests, lakes and streams and small farms with hills and pastures, always with a background of woods. There was no place in upper Michigan where you could look across open land and not see the woods and you were never far away from running water. They cut down the forests. ... Now the second growth is coming

¹⁹⁴ The plot of this story is based on an actual episode that occurred in Michigan in 1911. Svoboda addresses Michigan as a source for this tension in Dr. and Mrs. Hemingway’s marriage (“Hemingway” 4). See also Baker 7-14 and 585.

back where the forests were slashed ... and people seeing the second growth believe that they know what the forest was like. But it was not like that and you will never know what it was like if you did not see it. Nor will you know what the heart of a country was after it is gone. (as qtd. in Beegel, *Craft* 52-53)

Here, in what Susan F. Beegel calls “an elegy for Nick Adams’s Michigan,” the author expresses his concern regarding changes in the place with which he so identified at one time (*Craft* 52). Yet, as apparent in his comments, something more than the change bothers him about the damage to the landscape of his childhood: the recognition that this damage is irrecoverable, destroying the place and his own attachment to it.

Hemingway felt attached to few, if any, of the place he lived throughout his life. The cause seems to be his lost Michigan. Returning from war, Hemingway felt an alienation that characterized what Gertrude Stein would later call a “Lost Generation”: “everyone who had fought in the war and afterward felt a spiritual alienation from an America that seemed hopelessly provincial and emotionally barren” (Oliver 357).¹⁹⁵ What Stein identified in Hemingway and in others in effect was a dislocation and an alienation symptomatic of a place identity conflict. Eventually, these writers and artists would search for a place in Paris and elsewhere, but their associations with their former homes in the United States had been irrecoverably lost.

¹⁹⁵ Stein was referring to writers in Paris who “had been in the war and had received at least psychic wounds, if not also physical wounds, and so could not understand America’s seemingly hurried need to forget the war and, by implication, the soldiers who fought in it” (201). See Oliver, who writes: “‘Lost generation’ has since been made a part of English language vocabulary, defined as the generation of men and women who came of age during World War I and who, because of the war and the social upheaval that followed it, became disillusioned and cynical” (357).

Michigan—as his first place lost—may be the source for Hemingway’s inability to connect with many of the places in which he lived throughout his life.¹⁹⁶ This pattern of searching for a place in which to locate himself, it seems, stems from his initial dislocation and a desire to “re-locate” his identity in another place. However, he was not able to do so. The result is a repeated searching and subsequent mounting failures due to his initial severed place identity.

Hemingway’s elegy for the Michigan rivers and forests in *Death in the Afternoon* addresses a form of return in it: “Now they plant fish in the streams and have many game wardens to protect the game that will always come back to any abandoned country; it lives in the second growth that is almost impossible to walk through” (as qtd. in Beegel, *Craft* 53). Like the native animals Hemingway describes here, he kept coming back through his fiction, despite the difficulty involved. Understanding his departure and return sheds light on Nick’s dislocation and the difficulty involved with Hemingway’s Michigan writing, since recreating that place meant readdressing the loss of a beloved place and thus a part of himself. In a way, his Nick Adams stories become the new growth he mentions above, returning after the losses that occurred there. While he certainly was unable to return Michigan to its original state, he absolutely *was able* to address the place as it stands after the damage done to it and himself.

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter Three of Beegel’s *Craft of Omission*: His severed roots there provide for his repeated transplanting all his life: “The Michigan paragraph [of *Death in the Afternoon*] hints at the origin of Hemingway’s expatriation, and intimates that the same compulsion drove his writing and his lifelong geographic restlessness” (Beegel, *Craft* 53). She raises a good point, but our arguments diverge when she claims Hemingway *sought out* “endangered equivalents in other lands” (*Craft* 53). Here and throughout her chapter on *Death in the Afternoon*, Beegel reads this phenomenon of looking for Michigan as a desire to find it in order for him to write well. However, as I argue here, it was much more complicated than that.

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APPENDIX 1:

“Godspeed” by John Greenleaf Whittier

Outbound, your bark awaits you. Were I one
Whose prayer availeth much, my wish should be
Your favoring trad-wind and consenting sea.
By sail or steed was never love outrun,
And, here or there, love follows her in whom
All graces and sweet charities unite,
The old Greek beauty set in holier light;
And her for whom New England's byways bloom,
Who walks among us welcome as the Spring,
Calling up blossoms where her light feet stray.
God keep you both, make beautiful your way,
Comfort, console, and bless; and safely bring,
Ere yet I make upon a vaster sea
The unreturning voyage, my friends to me.

APPENDIX 2:

To William Bowen
6 February 1870 • Buffalo, N.Y.
(MS and transcript: TxU and CU-MARK, UCCL 02464)

Sunday Afternoon,
At Home, 472 Delaware Avenue,
Buffalo Feb. 6, 1870.

My First, & Oldest & Dearest Friend,

My heart goes out to you just the same as ever! Your letter has stirred me to the bottom. The fountains of my great deep are broken up & I have rained reminiscences for four & twenty hours. The old life has swept before me like a panorama; the old days have trooped by in their old glory, again; the old faces have looked out of the mists of the past; old footsteps have sounded in my listening ears; old hands have clasped mine, old voices have greeted me, & the songs I loved ages & ages ago have come wailing down the centuries! Heavens what eternities have swung their hoary cycles about us since those days were new!—~~What~~ Since we tore down Dick Hardy's stable; since you had the measles & I went to your house purposely to catch them; since Henry Beebe kept that envied slaughter-house, & Joe Craig sold him cats to kill in it; since old General Gaines used to say, "Whoop! Bow your neck & spread!;" since Jimmy Finn was town drunkard & we stole his dinner while he slept in the vat & fed it to the hogs in order to keep them still till we could mount them & have a ride; since Clint Levering was drowned; since we taught that one-legged nigger, Higgins, to offend Bill League's dignity by hailing him in public with his exasperating "Hello, League!"—since we used to undress & play Robin Hood wi in our shirt-tails, with lath swords, in the woods on Holliday's Hill on those long summer days; since we used to go in swimming above the still-house branch—& at mighty intervals wandered on vagrant & fishing excursions clear up to "the Bay," & wondered what was curtained away in the great world beyond that remote point; since I jumped overboard from the ferry boat in the middle of the river that stormy day to get my hat, & swam two or three miles after it (& *got* it,) while all the town collected on the wharf & for an hour or so looked out across the angry waste of "white-caps" toward where people said Sam. Clemens was last seen before he went down; since we got up a ~~mutiny~~ rebellion against Miss Newcomb, under Ed. Stevens' leadership, (to force her to let us all go over to Miss Torry's side of the schoolroom,) & gallantly "sassed" Laura Hawkins when she came out the third time to call us in, & then afterward marched in ~~min~~ threatening & bloodthirsty array,—& meekly yielded, & took each his little thrashing, & resumed his old seat entirely "reconstructed;" since we used to indulge in that very peculiar performance on that old bench outside the school-house to drive good old Bill Brown crazy while he was eating his dinner; since we used to remain at school at noon & go hungry, in order to persecute Bill Brown in all possible ways—poor old Bill, who *could* be driven to such extremity of vindictiveness as to call us "You *infernal* fools!" & chase us round & round the school-house—& yet who never had the heart to hurt us when he caught us, & who always loved us & always took our part when the big boys wanted to thrash us; since we used to lay in wait for Bill Pitts at the pump & whale him; (I saw him two or three years ago, & I was awful polite to his six feet two, & mentioned no reminiscences); since we used to be in Dave Garth's class in Sunday school & on week-days stole his leaf tobacco to run our miniature tobacco presses with; since Owsley shot Smar; since Ben Hawkins shot off his finger; since we accidentally burned up that poor fellow in the calaboose; since we used to shoot spool cannons, & cannons made of keys, while that envied & hated Henry Beebe drowned out our poor little pop-guns with his booming brazen little artillery on wheels; since Laura Hawkins was my sweetheart—

Hold! *That* rouses me out of my dream, & brings me violently back unto this day & this generation. For behold I have at this moment the only sweetheart I ever *loved*, & bless her old heart she is lying asleep upstairs in a bed that I sleep in every night, & for four whole days she has been *Mrs. Samuel L. Clemens!* I am 34 & she is 24; I am young & very handsome (I make the statement with the fullest confidence, for I got it from her,) & she is much the most beautiful girl I ever saw (I said that before she was anything to me, & so it is worthy of all belief) & she is the *best* girl, & the sweetest, & the gentlest, & the daintiest, & the most modest & unpretentious, & the wisest in all things she should be wise in & the most ignorant in all matters it would not grace her to know, & she is sensible & quick, & loving & faithful, forgiving, full of charity—& her beautiful life is ordered by a religion that is all kindness & unselfishness. Before the gentle majesty of her purity all evil things & evil ways & evil deeds stand abashed,—then surrender. Wherefore without effort, or struggle, or spoken exorcism, all the old vices & shameful habits that have possessed me these many many years, are falling away, one by one, & departing into the darkness. Bill, I know whereof I speak. I am too old & have moved about too much, & rubbed against too many people not to know human beings as well as we used to know “boils” from “breaks.” She is the very most perfect gem of womankind that ever I saw in my life—& I will stand by that remark till I die.

William, old boy, her father surprised us a little, the other night. We all arrived here in a night train (my little wife & I were going to board,) & under pretense of taking us to the private boarding house that had been selected for me while I was absent lecturing in New England, my new father-in-law & some old friends drove us in sleighs to the daintiest, darlingest, loveliest little palace in America—& when I said “Oh, this won’t do—people who can afford to live in this sort of style won’t take boarders,” that same blessed father-in-law let out the secret that this was all *our* property—a present from himself. House & furniture cost \$40,000 in cash, (including stable, horse & carriage), & is a most exquisite little palace (I saw no apartment in Europe so lovely as our ~~little~~ drawing-room.)

Come along, you & Mollie, just whenever you can, & pay us a visit, (giving us a little notice beforehand,) & if we don’t make you comfortable nobody in the world can.

{And now ~~my~~ princess has come down for dinner (bless me, isn’t it cosy, nobody but just us two, & three servants to wait on us & respectfully call us “Mr.” and “Mrs. Clemens” instead of “Sam.” & “Livy!”) It took me many a year to work up to where I can put on style, but now I’ll do it. My book gives me an income like a small lord, & my paper is ~~not~~ a good ~~per~~ profitable concern.

Dinner’s ready. Good bye & ~~g~~ God bless you, old friend, & keep your heart fresh & your memory green for the old days that will never come again.

Yrs always

Sam. Clemens.