

## **Conflicting Careers?**

### **F. Scott Fitzgerald the Literary Artist and the Professional Writer**

**Dr. Susanne Ramadan<sup>\*</sup>**

#### **Abstract**

F. Scott Fitzgerald always believed that the novel was the only worthy outlet for his artistic genius. Even though he is mainly known for his novels today, they did not sell as expected during his lifetime. To provide for his family and to save money in order to be able to take time off for novel writing, Fitzgerald became a commercial fiction writer. The magazines which he wrote for were generous with those writers who were willing to play by their rules, yet, Fitzgerald was not happy with this situation. Publishing in mass-circulation magazines left him guilt ridden and earned him a reputation as a writer who squandered his talent and sold out to the magazine market. Fitzgerald's attempt to be both a literary artist and a professional writer and the lasting conflict this desire caused in Fitzgerald's professional life has been largely ignored. To clarify this conflict, the paper will delve into details about Fitzgerald's business connections with renowned magazines and with his publisher, Scribners, to highlight the role the slick magazine market and that of publishers' policies played in Fitzgerald's literary career.

---

<sup>\*</sup> Department of English , Faculty of Arts, Yarmouk University , Irbid Jordan

## **Great Art is the contempt of a great man for small art**

### ***The Notebooks of F. Scott Fitzgerald***

Before Francis Scott Fitzgerald died at the age of 44, he had not achieved the wished for reputation as a novelist. His obituaries described him as a writer who never fulfilled his early promise (*New York Herald Tribune* 18). Even his famous *The Great Gatsby*, which is today considered a classic, did not sell as expected during his lifetime. He soon realized that royalties from the novels would not be enough to support him financially. His marriage to Zelda Sayre, his extravagant life-style thereafter, and her unexpected mental breakdown which required years of long treatment in national and international clinics and hospitals demanded an income much higher than the one he received from the publication of his novels. So, Fitzgerald started to produce short stories about the young, rich, post-war generation for mass-circulation magazines in order to secure a second income and save enough money to be able to take off time from story writing when he was working on a novel.

Despite the fact that writing for magazines was for many years a profitable job for Fitzgerald, it did not always make him happy. The author believed that writing for magazines was a waste of precious time - time which he should invest in writing novels. Fitzgerald also thought that writing for magazines drained his artistic energy. On different occasions he voiced denigrating comments about his short fiction. In a gloomy letter to his friend Ernest Hemingway in September 1929, Fitzgerald likened his writing for magazines to 'whoring:' "Here's a last flicker of the old cheap pride:--the Post [Fitzgerald's underscoring] now pay the old whore \$4000 a screw. But now its because she's mastered the 40 positions—in her youth one was enough" (Brucoli, *A Life* 169). Such comments have long been used to distort Fitzgerald's reputation and to represent him as a writer who squandered his artistic potential and sold out to the commercial magazine market. Hence, his position as a literary artist and a professional writer has long been misrepresented. This research will focus on Fitzgerald's struggle as a literary artist and as a professional writer against the background of the contemporary marketplace during the Jazz Age and the Depression. It is hoped that by

viewing this writer's artistic ambitions against the policies of publication houses and mass-circulation magazines, the reader will be able to form a better understanding of Fitzgerald's career as an artist and as a professional writer to do him justice.

From the very start of his career Fitzgerald had set his mind at becoming a famous writer; he wanted to become "one of the greatest writers who ever lived" (Wilson 110). Writing, for Willa Cather, "ought either to be the manufacture of stories for which there is a market demand ... or it should be an art, which is always a search for something for which there is no market demand, something new and untried" (qtd. in Bruccoli & Baughman 12). Thus, serious artists do not write for money, but professional writers do. Fitzgerald nevertheless believed strongly that if a successful artist gets published, he should be reimbursed for his artistic effort. With the publication of *This Side of Paradise* in 1920, which made Fitzgerald famous overnight, it seemed that his dream was realizing itself with unexpected swiftness. His novel found widespread acclaim among the youth of the Jazz Age and their parents. For teenagers and college students it became a pink bible exposing the escapades of Princeton's undergraduates. Their outraged parents were interested mainly because the sensational revelations in the novel helped fathers and mothers realize how their children were overthrowing the long established social and moral standards. It is said that the book "caused a shudder to run down the national spine" (Allen 75).

Eventhough the novel went through twelve printings, it only sold 49,000 copies and never was one of the top ten best sellers for 1920. Nevertheless, it would stay Fitzgerald's most popular work. His income from the novel was \$6,200. Most of his money in 1920, circa \$12,000, came from the publication of stories and their movie rights (Bruccoli, *Epic Grandeur* 158). Fitzgerald did not consider his novels financial failures, but considered them works which would give him artistic satisfaction. He had planned to work as a professional short story writer only to support himself and his family and, maybe, get him financially ahead so that he could afford to devote several months to uninterrupted work on his novels. However, as Bruccoli asserts, "he was rarely ahead; when he was, he usually wasted his time and money" (*Epic Grandeur* 166).

Ten days after the publication of his first novel, Fitzgerald married his love Zelda Sayre. After his marriage his life style changed drastically. The Fitzgerald's became icons of their age – they partied, traveled extensively, and dressed richly. Fitzgerald soon realized that the sole income from the novels would not cover their ever increasing expenses. At that time the young writer was already aware of the magazine market that was flourishing during the 1920s since he had tried his hand at writing short stories during his engagement period to earn additional money. The post-WWI pre-television age American readers were starving for literary entertainment in the form of magazines and journals. By 1922, Fitzgerald knew that writing for mass circulation magazines could be quite profitable. In one of his letters to Harold Ober, his literary agent, he excitedly writes: "By God + Lorimer [editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*] I'm going to make a fortune yet" (Brucoli, *As Ever* 36). He had realized he could earn quick and easy money from magazines, but he was also aware of the potential danger his writing for magazines could be on his career as novelist.

Fitzgerald's prediction that the short story market could be a gold-mine was quite realistic. Most of Fitzgerald's income during the 1920s and up until 1937, when he went to Hollywood, came from magazine fiction. He published fiction in *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *The Smart Set*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *Red Book*, *Liberty Magazine*, *Esquire*, *The American Mercury* and others. He was able to secure for himself both fame and fortune as a magazine writer, but he had to struggle with his guilty conscience since he felt that he had devoted all his time to produce an art inferior to novel writing. When Fitzgerald finally realized that he could not survive financially without his regular paychecks from the mass circulation magazines he was writing for, he transferred his artistic intentions to his short stories. Fitzgerald was determined to publish artistically superb magazine fiction which would serve him as an artist and bring him good income. He would, however, never give up his dream of becoming a successful novelist. In a letter to Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Scribners, Fitzgerald announces that he will rely for a while on writing for the magazine market until he has saved enough money to "go on as a novelist." He adds: "Anyhow there's no point in trying to be an artist if you can't do your best" (Brucoli, A

*Life* 107). Indeed, Fitzgerald never intended to commercialize his artistic gift, but always intended to offer his best even though the strict regulations enforced by magazines and journals did, at times, make his job as an artist difficult.

His second novel, *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922), brought its author \$7,000 for its serial rights and \$15,000 for the sale of 50,000 copies (Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur* 189, 194). Fitzgerald's dream of freeing himself from his bondage to the magazine market by becoming a best selling author with his second novel was not realized. His enslavement would not only continue, but also force him to compromise his artistic idealism when stories would not sell well. An example for this dilemma is his masterpiece "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz." The short story was rejected by the high-paying magazines and eventually sold for only \$300 to *The Smart Set* (Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur* 186). Mass-circulation magazines were primarily interested in attracting the largest possible readership by means of attractive, colorful covers and interesting headlines, or sell advertising space. The artistic quality of the short fiction to be published was of secondary importance. Fitzgerald complained to his literary agent Harold Ober about this frustrating situation: "I am rather discouraged that a cheap story like *The Popular Girl* written in one week while the baby was being born brings \$1500.00 + a genuinely imaginative thing into which I put three weeks real enthusiasm like *The Diamond in the Sky* [as the story was called initially] brings not a thing" (Brucoli, *As Ever* 36). Fitzgerald always recognized his artistically inferior stories which were written for quick money and the ones which were well written. This, in turn, refutes the assumption that Fitzgerald's entire magazine fiction is inferior in quality and supports the idea that the author was trying hard not to compromise the artistic quality of his short fiction which was every so often written during sudden bursts of creativity. Fitzgerald's struggle to preserve his artistic integrity while working as a professional magazine writer is evident.

By April 10, 1924, Fitzgerald had already started working on his third novel to be called *The Great Gatsby* (Kuehl & Bryer 70). Fitzgerald and his literary agent, Harold Ober, did not decide on serializing his third novel in any of the mass-circulation magazines. *The Great Gatsby* (1925), which the author considered an artistic masterpiece, was not

recognized as such during his lifetime. By the time Fitzgerald started writing the novel, he had saved some money from his short fiction and had planned to work on the novel without interruption. This money, however, was spent before Fitzgerald was able to finish his work. He, once again, went back to writing for magazines and also asked for advances on the novel. The royalties Fitzgerald received from the first printing, nearly \$6,300, eliminated his debt to Scribners (Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur* 256). The second printing did unfortunately not sell well. Hence, the hoped for success as a best-selling novelist was once again not achieved.

In 1925, Fitzgerald complained to Ernest Hemingway about publishing in magazines. In order to succeed in selling stories to magazines, he had to bring them into salable form. Complying with magazines' conditions and accepting editorial cuts and changes is a commonplace procedure for professional writers – not so for artists, though. Fitzgerald considered writing short stories for popular magazines as "whoring"—an abominable task he had to do since he needed the money to be able "to write decent books." Hemingway explains:

He had told me at the Closerie des Lilas how he wrote what he thought good stories, and which really were good stories for the *Post*, and then changed them for submission, knowing exactly how he must make the twists that made them into salable magazine stories. I had been shocked at this and I said I thought it was whoring. He said it was whoring but that he had to do it as he made his money from the magazines to have money ahead to write decent books.... Since he wrote the real story first, he said, the destruction and changing of it that he did at the end did him no harm. (153-4)

Both Hemingway and Fitzgerald knew that writing for magazines could jeopardize the artistic talent of a promising writer. The tactic Fitzgerald described to his friend was an intelligent maneuver to preserve his creative ability. It also underscores Fitzgerald's inability to separate the artist from the professional writer. Being a literary artist and a

professional writer at the same time seems to be having two souls in one body.

At times Fitzgerald believed that it was impossible for him to subjugate the artist within the professional writer without risking quality. In a letter to Mencken, a friend and college colleague, he voices his unrest:

I never really 'wrote down' until after the failure of the Vegetable [Fitzgerald's underscoring] and that was to make this book [*The Great Gatsby*] possible. I would have written down long ago if it had been profitable—I tried it unsuccessfully for the movies. People don't seem to realize that for an intelligent man writing down is about the hardest thing in the world. (Brucoli, *A Life* 111)

Fitzgerald's play *The Vegetable* failed in November 1923 and left the writer greatly disappointed. Having had experience in writing for the stage during his college days at Princeton, Fitzgerald never expected such disappointing end to his theatrical production. Since the royalties he received from the publication of the short story collection *Tales of the Jazz Age*, which was published by Scribners immediately after his second novel, were not enough to support him and his family for three years (1922-1925), he resorted to writing short fiction for magazines and journals. During this period Fitzgerald became aware of the conflict he had to solve between being an artist and a professional writer. Separating his writing from art was excruciating for the author. His attempt to "write down" only resulted in feelings of guilt and self-reproach. He was aware that some of his short stories were not high quality ones, but he also knew that many were very good ones and some were masterpieces.

Even though Fitzgerald conceived his fourth novel shortly after the publication of his third, it would take Fitzgerald nine years to finish it. His heavy work for the mass-circulation market suspended his work on his fourth novel. In 1934, Fitzgerald was finally able to get *Tender Is the Night* published. Instead of finally achieving a breakthrough, Fitzgerald was in great debt and was wondering how to get out of the "financial hole" (Brucoli, *A Life* 248). His novel was not received too well since

the world was amidst an economic depression, Europeans were closely watching the civil war in Spain, and the readership was more interested in literature which reflected current issues. Fitzgerald's psychological novel seemed rather out-of-context. A letter to Maxwell Perkins in November 1934, explains Fitzgerald's suffering:

I should have known perfectly well that, in debt as I was to the tune of about \$12,000 on finishing "Tender," I should have to devote the summer and most of the fall to getting out of it. My plan was to do my regular work in the daytime and do one story every night, but as it works out, after a good day's work I am so exhausted that I drag out the work on a story to two hours when it should be done in one and go to bed so tired and wrought up, toss around sleepless, and am good for nothing next day except dictating letters, signing checks, tending to business matters ect [sic]; but to work up a creative mood there is nothing doing until about four o'clock in the afternoon .... It would not have seemed so difficult for me ten years, or even five years ago, but now just one more straw would break the camel's back. (Kuehl & Bryer 210)

The letter is proof enough of the fact that despite the seemingly insurmountable difficulties, Fitzgerald still believed in the mission of being an artist and not just being a professional writer. Professionals do not wait for inspiration before writing, because they have deadlines to meet. Professional writers are usually those who are able to write during creative moods and also during other times and render good quality productions in both cases. In his creative moods, Fitzgerald wrote good stories which he, nonetheless, considered 'trash;' whenever his resourcefulness was on the wane he was either unproductive or productive of artistically low-quality short fiction. Complaining to Mencken he says: "My trash for the Post grows worse and worse as there is less and less heart in it – strange to say my whole heart was in my first trash" (Brucoli, *A Life* 111).



From the above discussion it becomes clear that Fitzgerald was continuously torn between being an artist and a professional writer for mass-circulation magazines. The truest art for him was the novel and not the short fiction. This does not mean, however, that his short fiction is necessarily inferior. Since he spent long intervals writing short fiction for journals and magazines, he invested his artistic genius in many good quality stories. Had Fitzgerald been able to earn enough money from his novels, he would most probably not have been tempted by the magazine market. This market which began to flourish after the First World War played an immensely important role in the life of Fitzgerald the artist and the magazine writer. The contemporary market forces controlled his success both as a novelist and short fiction writer. Following is an exploration of Fitzgerald's position within the literary marketplace supported by statistics of his publications and of his income which he earned from Scribners and the mass-circulation magazines. These data will prove that the artist was at the mercy of the forces of the literary marketplace and this, in turn, initiated the above discussed struggle as artist and professional writer.

Mass circulation magazines did appear in the 1920s as a natural by-product of the developments in the mass media and transportation sector. These magazines were issued at regular intervals and sold at newsstands or were delivered through the mail to subscribers. The advent of rural free delivery of mail in the US in 1896 increased the volume of mail shipped significantly and promoted the subscription and selling of mass circulation magazines nationwide. Magazines came into people's homes and shaped their lives. They were for many a window to the world outside their local community. Magazines advertised dress, make-up, accessories, and commodities and also promoted literature, art, and politics. They showed people how to dress, what to read, whom to vote for and how to think about themselves and the rest of the world.

Another factor to be considered is America's new industrial economy which led to technological improvements in publishing. Multicolor offset printing became easy and affordable and editors encouraged the colorful embellishments of magazines since these attracted more readers. There was great demand for talented cover artists who would provide distinguished art for commercial magazines. Artistic

contributors came to enjoy fame over decades. The well-known Norman Rockwell illustrated the covers of *The Saturday Evening Post* for six decades from 1916 until 1963 when slick magazines no longer appealed to him. Rockwell also illustrated the stories of magazine contributors like F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Fitzgerald published a short story entitled "Bernice Bobs Her Hair" in *The Saturday Evening Post* on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1920 for which Rockwell provided the art work. The author was a keen observer of his age and was aware of the forces in the market place. Slick magazines were the sensation of the day and to become a successful magazine writer was a dream not everyone could realize. Publishers were highly selective and whoever passed the screening process must have shown potential and promising talent. Magazines, like *The Saturday Evening Post*, with which Fitzgerald would have a long term association, commissioned top journalists such as Frank Norris, Willa Cather, and Jack London to write articles for the magazine. They also purchased publishing rights for different literary works including those of Jack London, Rudyard Kipling, Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

*The Saturday Evening Post* was a weekly magazine published initially in 1821 in the form of a four-page newspaper and targeted a middle-class audience. By the late 1890s, the newspaper had fallen into deep financial difficulties and was purchased by Cyrus H. Curtis, the owner of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. *The Saturday Evening Post* was then redesigned and in January 1898 reappeared as a journal. Illustrations now appeared on every page of the journal. Curtis had taken over a sinking ship with a revenue from the publication of just \$7,000. Thirty years later, the revenue would top \$50,000,000. Curtis was able to resurrect *The Saturday Evening Post* and make it both the most beloved and most wide spread magazine in the 1920s and 1930. It is not surprising, therefore, that a magazine like *The Post* would be able to pay its short fiction writers like Fitzgerald \$4,000 a story in 1929 which had the purchasing power of \$40,000 in present-day dollars.

In 1899, Curtis hired George Horace Lorimer as literary editor (Cohn 22, 26). Lorimer was an editor who appreciated good writing and knew what would sell. With Lorimer's improvements, the journal was

selling again. By 1908, the journal was selling over a million copies a week, and by the end of 1913 the sale had reached 2000,000 copies. Sales steadily increased until they reached the 3000,000 copy peak per week in 1937 (Cohn 63, 220). Lorimer bought sixty-five stories by Fitzgerald during the time of his editorial position at the *Post* which would last until 1937. Fitzgerald's last story "Trouble" was placed in the March 6th 1937 issue and Fitzgerald received \$2,000 for it (Brucoli, *A Life* 301n). With the retirement of Lorimer in 1937, however, Fitzgerald stopped publishing with the magazine.

In order to propel a magazine to such a success, editors imposed strict guidelines on material to be published. Mass circulation magazines imposed formal and structural limitations on authors of novels and short fiction. These magazines encouraged simplistic patterns which achieved maximum effect. Stories were tailored to the tastes of the large audience and the most successful writers were those who were able to work within this tight framework imposed on them by publishers but, nevertheless, were able to inject their fiction with a little 'extra.' Many writers suffered under this 'undeviating pattern' of the formula story. It began with action or dialogue or sometimes with detailed character description to attract the attention of readers paging through an issue; it was "rigidly plotted" and "moved relentlessly toward an artificial climax" and it eventually ended with a moment of "suspension" (West, *Marketplace* 113) where the reader would feel relief, satisfaction, exhilaration, and happiness. Some authors like Sherwood Anderson could not adapt to the restrictions of this formula, others, like Fitzgerald, learned to work with it and met the requirements set by publishers.

The author's readiness to work within the formula would increase the possibility of getting the story published, but would not provide a guarantee to get it accepted by good paying magazines and publication houses. West emphasizes that it was hard and time consuming work for authors who would finally see their work in print:

Writing for high-paying magazines ... was not a predictable business. Editors and staff readers changed with some frequency and the various magazines, and editorial requirements fluctuated. Writing for the

magazines took patience, adaptability, and a thick skin. There was no sheet of dos and don'ts for prospective authors to follow; length, subject matter, tone, language, plot, characterization—all had to be negotiated by a complicated system of trial and error, inference and suggestion, submission, rejection, and resubmission (*Marketplace* 113).

Fitzgerald's literary career is a perfect example of the sometimes frustrating and tedious writing process. In 1919, in search for a job to support himself, he settled into a room in New York City working temporarily as an advertising agent. Nighttimes he wrote stories. He had produced nineteen stories between April and June of the year and had pinned one hundred and twenty-two rejection slips on the walls of his room (Mizener 80). He was finally able to sell one story "Babes in the Woods" written in 1917 in *The Smart Set* for \$30. Fitzgerald at this stage was still at the trial and error publication process.

The young writer expressed his feelings at this stage in his notebooks in the third person: "Angered by a hundred rejection slips he wrote an extraordinarily good story and sold it privately to twenty different magazines. Within a single fortnight it was thrust twenty times upon the public" (Brucoli, *Notebooks* 103). The rejection slips were frustrating for Fitzgerald at a time when he was in dire need of a stable job in order not to lose his fiancée and future wife Zelda, yet, his desire for success prevented him from accepting defeat. Fitzgerald had a feeling that some day he would be successful.

Even though the magazine market was relentless, it would become a highly rewarding source of financial security for Fitzgerald in the 1920s. Publishers favored authors whose work would be predictable and would have "a handle;" – meaning that it could be compared to other works. Brand-new material was considered with hesitancy and authors had to "seek a publisher who might be more eagerly experimental" (Burlingame 30). The magazine market and publication houses had criteria not easily met by many and the material to be published also underwent close scrutiny. Throughout his career, Fitzgerald was required to yield to the publication requirements of the magazines which he wrote

for and of the publisher whom he wanted to continue with. He published mainly in four prominent mass-circulation magazines: *The Saturday Evening Post*, *The Smart Set*, *Red Book Magazine*, and *Esquire*.

*The Saturday Evening Post* had requirements which writers needed to meet. Among some unidentified clippings in Fitzgerald's Scrapbook is the following clipping: "'The Offshore Pirate,' is the delightful conceit of an imaginative fancy, that seem to have been corralled in the last couple of pages to suit the requirements of *The Saturday Evening Post*" (Bryer 56). Writers, like Fitzgerald, had to develop an innate understanding of the mass-circulation magazines' unpronounced requirements to stay in business. Fitzgerald's readiness to comply with the requirements made him uniquely successful. *The Post* preferred stories which would address the large female readership. Those stories could be described as "discursive, loosely organized narrative[s] from 6,000 to 8,000 words, plotted chronologically, featuring passages of lyrical description and with the love story at its center" (West *Lost* xv). Since the female readership controlled the fiction market, authors had to address their desires and fulfill their expectations.

Other magazines Fitzgerald came to favor amongst the numerous well-known ones he published in during his career were *The Smart Set* and *Red Book*. It was in the September 1919 issue of *The Smart Set* that Fitzgerald published his first professional short story "Babes in the Woods." The magazine came into being at the turn of the twentieth century and its heyday was the Teens and Twenties. When Fitzgerald became active as a writer, the publication had a circulation of 22,000 (Dolmetsch 10). Although its circulation was relatively small, the magazine enjoyed an excellent literary reputation. Its best known editors at Fitzgerald's time were George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken who was Fitzgerald's idol and was also considered one of the most distinguished social critics in America of the time. Mencken supported realism and modernism and encouraged the young Fitzgerald in this respect. He published Fitzgerald in *The Smart Set* and later in *The American Mercury* which Mencken edited 1924-1933. The publication was not as conservative as some others like Scribners, for example. *The Smart Set* helped introduce new writers among whom America would

enjoy the best of modernists. Fitzgerald himself published seven stories in the magazine between September 1919 and June 1922.

He then continued with *Red Book* in which he published eight stories between September 1925 and November 1941. *Red Book* came into being in 1903. The magazine published short fictions by well-known authors. It was considered one of the commercially successful magazines with a wide circulation reaching 300,000 copies (Endres & Lueck 298). With the cover price of 25 cents from 1925 till 1940, it was affordable and became, therefore, very popular. The low price of these magazines was also a vital factor for the readership that preferred magazines over novels which price usually ranged between \$2 - \$3. Home delivery for subscribers also encouraged sales and the contributions by gifted artists added to the popularity of magazines. *Red Book* published short fiction by talented writers such as Jack London, Sinclair Lewis, Edith Wharton, and Hamlin Garland. The editors of this publication applied a successful marketing strategy to attract a large readership. The magazine displayed a photo-gallery of the most popular actresses, featured advertisements which encouraged the consumerism of the day, and, at times, offered contests which offered cash reward for answering questions in an issue. In some editions, customers could marvel at the latest Parisian fashion or could indulge in the reading of serial novels and short stories. Even though *Red Book* was never able to outsell *The Saturday Evening Post* or *Cosmopolitan*, "sales passed the million mark in 1937" (Endres & Lueck 301).

In the 1920s, the female audience of *Red Book* had changed. They were flappers and wanted to read literature which would reflect the new woman: "This flapper and her male counterpart continued to read *Redbook* primarily for the fiction it delivered" (Endres & Lueck 300). This, then, was the perfect outlet for Fitzgerald's short stories in which the heroines were flappers. We notice, however, that Fitzgerald published only a relatively small number of his short stories in *Red Book* in comparison to the number of short stories that appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post*. This must be referred to the higher financial rewards which Fitzgerald received from *The Post*. This type of audience was also believed to have been the major reason for the commercial failure of his third novel, *The Great Gatsby*. Maxwell Perkins cabled

Fitzgerald on April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1925: "Sales situation doubtful. Excellent reviews." Fitzgerald responds: "If the book fails commercially it will be from one of two reasons or both 1<sup>st</sup> The title is only fair, rather bad than good. 2<sup>nd</sup> And most important—the book contains no important woman character and women controll [sic] the fiction market at present" (Fitzgerald's underscoring; Brucoli, *A Life* 107). Both Perkins and the author were aware that the novel was an artistic success which failed commercially. Writers were expected to tailor their works to meet the interests of the readership that controlled the marketplace at a certain time. Art, during the Jazz Age, was not a concern for many readers; entertainment was. Fitzgerald did not give up hope, though. Unfortunately, his next novel would not be more successful.

After the meager sales of *Tender Is the Night*, Fitzgerald opted once again for the commercial short story market. Fitzgerald was, however, beginning to face difficulties meeting *The Saturday Evening Post* requirements for short fiction. He had difficulties producing the kind of fiction *The Post* editors wanted to publish. An alcoholic at the time and drained emotionally by personal problems, Fitzgerald gradually failed to satisfy *Post* editors and readers. Between July 1934 and March 1937, he published only seven more short stories in *The Post*. His attention was given to another magazine: *Esquire*. From 1935 until 1940, Fitzgerald published 29 short stories in it. Eight stories were published posthumously in 1941 and two more were published in 1971 and 1979. *Esquire* was originally established in 1933 by David A. Smart and Arnold Gingrich (*New York Times* 1951, *New York Times* 1976) as a publication for men. Arnold Gingrich attracted famous male writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, D.H. Lawrence, John Steinbeck, E.E. Cummings, and many others. When Fitzgerald started contributing to *Esquire* in 1934 "its readership was approximately 130,000; by his death in 1940 the circulation had grown to almost 470,000" (West, *Lost* xi).

During his years with *Esquire*, Fitzgerald had to learn how to conform to the writing style required by *Esquire* which was very different from what *The Post* had preferred to publish. *Esquire* preferred short stories in compressed prose without much ornamentation. Since the magazine had a different readership than *The Post*, its editor wanted to

see more of "the brief, unplotted, elliptical tale typical of Chekhov, Turgenev, and De Maupassant" (West, *Lost* xv).

Aside from mass-market magazines, Fitzgerald had to be aware of the publication policies of the House of Scribner who would stay Fitzgerald's publisher permanently. There were complaints during the 1920s of Scribners' conservatism. In a letter to F. Scott Fitzgerald on September 16, 1919, Maxwell Perkins informed Fitzgerald about Scribners' acceptance of his first novel entitled *This Side of Paradise*. In his letter of acceptance Perkins wrote: "I was afraid that when we declined the first manuscript, you might be done with us conservatives. I am glad you are not" (Wheelock 20). Perkins, here, characterized Charles Scribner's Sons as a "conservative" publishing company. What Perkins meant here was that the House of Scribner followed a rather conservative business philosophy. It was "a house that was most comfortable with a nineteenth-century approach to commerce—doing business, however, in the twentieth century" (West, "Did F. Scott Fitzgerald" 646). Scribners was committed to the conservative publishing philosophy followed by most traditional British houses like Longman and Macmillan. They relied on predictable sellers like textbooks, dictionaries, manuals, and all titles which would sell over a long period. Scribners was mainly interested in authors who had a second source of income, since authors' contributions would not generate enough income for them to survive. West explains that Charles Scribner's Sons' financial philosophy was to avoid financial losses instead of generating maximum profit. ("Did F. Scott Fitzgerald" 650) This meant that Fitzgerald received meager book earnings that propelled him to rely on the commercial magazine market for income. This is evident in a letter which Fitzgerald wrote to his editor and friend Maxwell Perkins in January, 1920: "I want to start it [his second novel] but I don't want to get broke in the middle & start in and have to write short stories again – because I don't enjoy it & just do it for money" (Kuehl & Bryer 25). It is generally believed that Fitzgerald's dependence on such magazines exhausted him emotionally and drained him creatively since he spent the lion-share of his time turning out literature for slick magazines and found not enough time to spend developing his art in the writing of novels.



Fitzgerald was, nevertheless, proud to have Scribners as his publisher despite the conservatism of the House. On one occasion, Fitzgerald wrote to Perkins in response to some rumors about Fitzgerald's dissatisfaction with the company and his possible change to Liveright as a publisher that he intended to stay with Scribner permanently: "The idea of leaving you has never for *one single moment* entered my head" (Turnbull 187). Fitzgerald was always fond of Mr. Scribner for his fairness, courtesy, generosity, and open-mindedness and he had also always a warm and pleasant relationship with Maxwell Perkins, which encouraged him to stay with Scribners. The author was, however, not blind as to their traditional publishing philosophy which he did not always approve of: "I have not always been in sympathy with some of your publishing ideas (which were evolved under the pre-movie, pre-high-literacy-rate conditions of twenty to forty years ago)" (Turnbull 187). Charles Scribner and his staff were usually reluctant to publish new material, were cautious as to the size of reprints, and tried to play a safe game all the time. Scribners had also strict guidelines which authors had to take into consideration if they wanted to continue with the house. They addressed a conservative audience; therefore, texts which were too experimental as to style and subject matter were not preferred. Detailed physical description of the female body, sexual acts, love scenes, and offensive language were unacceptable. Fragmentation, a tendency of modernist writing, was to be kept at limits and any morally offending subject matter was considered with hesitancy. Despite this conservative philosophy which, at times, left authors discouraged by the sales and earnings as in Fitzgerald's case, Fitzgerald considered it a "curious advantage to a rather radical writer in being published by what is now an ultra-conservative house" (Turnbull 188).

Thus, writers like Fitzgerald, were at the mercy of a relentless marketplace where only the fittest and most thick-skinned and persistent writers survived. Since Fitzgerald was determined to make a career as a novelist which was not a high paid job, he was many times forced to turn out stories in an attempt to write his way out of debt. The author was never able to meet his high standard living expenses with the income which he received from the publication of his novels alone. The short stories, even though less important to Fitzgerald and his critics from a

literary standpoint, earned more than \$225,000, three times as much as his novel advances and royalties from Scribners (Mangum 255).

One should not assume, however, that Fitzgerald had an easy time getting his short stories published. Sometimes Fitzgerald was uneasy with how difficult it was to get what he considered 'good stories' published. He once wrote a short story entitled "The Smilers" and tried to place it with a mass-circulation magazine. Frustrated by the market forces, Fitzgerald wrote to Harold Ober asking: "Is there any market at all for the cynical or pessimistic story except the *Smart Set* or does realism bar a story from any well-paying magazine no matter how cleverly it's done?" (Brucoli, *As Ever* 7) Here, once again, Fitzgerald's struggle to produce good quality short fiction despite his rejection of short fiction as real art can be felt. Ober failed to sell a number of good short stories to distinguished slick-magazine like *The Saturday Evening Post*. *The Post* preferred light, exciting, and creative flapper stories like "Bernice Bobs her Hair" and "The Offshore Pirate" in which rebellious, young girls live out their dreams that, at times, turn into nightmares. Sporadically, Fitzgerald was also able to sell the movie rights for his stories. An example of this is "Head and Shoulders" for which he received \$2,500 for movie rights after selling it to *The Post* (Prigozy 64).

Scribners had a rewarding financial policy with writers like F. Scott Fitzgerald who had a long term business relationship with the company. This publishing house would occasionally decide to serialize the novels in their magazine and then publish the novel in book form. Perkins explained this policy to Fitzgerald who was still new in the business:

We hope you will give us a chance to consider any novel you write from this angle: but we may as well say in advance that as we can only serialize one novel a year and there are generally one, two or three under way which are destined for our pages, we often have to let a good thing go when we do not want to because we should otherwise have to postpone it much longer than the author would think wise. If we could not serialize your novel for any reason, we should want to help you to place it

elsewhere, partly because it would be advantageous to the book to have it serialized in any magazine but those of the very largest circulation." (Kuehl & Bryer 26)

This policy would keep Fitzgerald's name visible to readers and would enhance his reputation. At the same time Perkins was cautious not to encourage Fitzgerald to serialize in large circulation magazines so as to ensure the sale of the novel in book form to the largest possible audience after serialization. Scribners would then seek the publication of a short story collection until the next novel would be ready. West emphasizes that "this pattern novel/collection/novel/collection -- is apparent in the careers of several Scribners authors, including Henry James, Edith Wharton, Richard Harding Davis, Rudyard Kipling, Ernest Hemingway, and Thomas Woolf" (West, *Flappers* xi).

After they had accepted Fitzgerald's first novel, *This Side of Paradise*, and had published two of his short stories in *Scribner's Magazine* in May and June 1920, Scribners became Fitzgerald's publisher. It was Scribner's policy to recycle the literature of their contributors in order to make as much profit as possible from their publications. Since Fitzgerald did publish most of his short stories in high paying mass-circulation magazines like *The Saturday Evening Post*, Scribners would proceed to collect them after they had appeared in print. Those collections usually appeared in intervals between novels to cash in on the popularity of the writer until a new novel would be ready for publication (Petry 2).

The first story collection was published by Scribners after the publication of Fitzgerald's first novel. It was as early as January 1920 while Fitzgerald was correcting proofs for *This Side of Paradise* when a short story collection was negotiated. In a letter to Perkins, Fitzgerald sent his selection of stories to be published in book form: "I am sending herewith eleven stories, with my own selection of the seven best for publication" (Kuehl & Bryer 30). Fitzgerald chose his stories carefully for collection, bearing in mind both his art and the demands of his audience. The collection entitled *Flappers and Philosophers*, contained eight stories and was published on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, 1920. Fitzgerald inscribed a volume to H. L. Mencken as following: "Dear Mr.

Mencken: Worth Reading The Ice Palace The Cut Glass Bowl Benediction Dalrymple goes wrong Amusing The Offshore Pirate Trash Head and Shoulders The Four Fists Bernice Bobs her Hair With profound bows F. Scott Fitzgerald" (Fitzgerald's underscoring; Bruccoli, *A Life* 42). This inscription clearly refutes the long held assumption that Fitzgerald was a "literary ignoramus—[] someone who wrote brilliantly without knowing what he was doing" (Bruccoli & Baughman 20). Fitzgerald knew very well which stories had artistic worth, which ones particularly targeted the primarily female audience, and which were written for quick money at the expense of art. The first printing of this collection made 5,000 copies available. The edition was reprinted five times selling over 10,000 copies (West, *Flappers* xx).

The second collection of short stories was published immediately after the publication of *The Beautiful and Damned*. Fitzgerald suggested the title *Tales of the Jazz Age* and chose to include in it eleven stories. The publication of this collection came at a time when Fitzgerald had been very busy completing the composition of *The Beautiful and Damned* and had not had much time to focus on short fiction for the mass-circulation magazines (West, *Tales* xiv). Fitzgerald, therefore, did not have an abundance of short stories ready to select from. In fact, he had only published nine stories and a one-act play in mass-circulation magazines between September 10 1920, when the first short story collection was published, and July 1922 when he submitted to Perkins his selection for the second collection to be published in the fall of 1922. In *The Chicago Sunday Tribune* he published one story in December 1920; in the *Metropolitan Magazine* three stories appeared between October 1920 and April 1922; in the *Smart Set* two stories were published in February 1921 and June 1922; in *Vanity Fair* one story appeared in January 1921; in *Collier's* one story in May 1922, and in *The Saturday Evening Post* he published one story in February 1922. In the collection he decided not to include "Two for a Cent" which had appeared in April 1922 in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, but he decided to include "The Camel's Back" which had been published in *The Saturday Evening Post* in April 1920, and "May Day," published in *The Smart Set* in July 1920, instead. In June 1922, Fitzgerald expresses his satisfaction with the

collection: "Personally I think it's a million miles ahead of *Flappers* + a darn good book" (Bruccoli & Duggan 109).

In the fall of 1925, Scribners planned to publish the new collection which would include nine stories. Maxwell Perkins was enthusiastic about the new collection even though *The Great Gatsby* had not sold as well as expected. Even though Fitzgerald had received the royalty agreement in July of the same year, he delayed the submission of the manuscript because *Red Book* had not yet published a story which would appear in the collection to be published by Scribners. The story entitled "The Rich Boy" which Harold Ober had sold for \$3,500 was expected to be serialized by *Red Book* (West, *Sad Men* xi). The magazine, however, could not clear enough space for the story until January and February 1926; so Scribners had to wait until January 26, 1926 to release the collection entitled *All the Sad Young Men*.

The writer chose eight stories from among the nineteen that he had published in mass-circulation magazines between fall 1922, when his second short story collection was published, and fall 1925, the expected publication date of his third collection. One story, "The Rich Boy" was new and had not been published previously. In the *Metropolitan Magazine* he had published one short story in December 1922; in *Hearst's International* four stories between May 1923 and February 1925; *The American Mercury* printed one of his stories in June 1924; *The Chicago Sunday Tribune* published one story in June 1925; *Liberty* made one story available for its readers in July 1924; *McCall's* also published one story in July 1924; *Red Book* published one story in September 1925; *The Saturday Evening Post* printed six of his stories between March 1924 to October 1925; and finally the *Women's Home Companion* published three of his stories between February and November 1925 (Bruccoli, *Price* 33-176).

Fitzgerald usually communicated his ideas as to how he would prefer the collection to be presented and arranged to Maxwell Perkins. In June 1925, Fitzgerald provided his editor with data on the new collection. He evaluates several of the nine stories which he lists for publication as a "serious story and very good" and "a fine story," and a "good story" (Bruccoli, *A Life* 121). His evaluation is based on his experience as an

artist rather than a professional writer. In the same letter he tells Max that Christian Gauss and Jessie Williams (both friends) thought that "Gretchen's Forty Winks" was his best story so far. Fitzgerald disagrees. He feels that he had written other stories which were artistically more sincere than this one. Fitzgerald then goes on and communicates his advice on how to advertise his collection: "I think that, toned down as you see fit, is the general line. Don't say "Fitzgerald has done it!" + then in the next sentence that I am an artist. People who are interested in artists aren't interested in people who have "done it." Both are O.K. but don't belong in the same ad (122). This observation reveals the writer's distinction between his success as artist and professional writer. He is fully aware that people tend to separate these two concepts and is, therefore, rather careful not to place the two next to each other in the same advertisement.

The next short story collection entitled *Taps at Reveille* was published on March 10, 1935 when Fitzgerald had finally finished his fourth novel. During the period from winter 1925 and winter 1934, Fitzgerald was almost entirely a *Saturday Evening Post* contributor. He published forty-eight short stories in *The Post*. There is only one story published in October 1932 which appeared in *The American Mercury*; one story appeared in the *Century Magazine* in December 1928; four stories appeared in *Red Book* between January 1926 and October 1934, and one story was published in May 1927 in the *Woman's Home Companion*. His letters to Maxwell Perkins shed light on the laborious process of rewriting some stories for the collection. Fitzgerald always took his editor's professional advice very seriously:

Am sending along Number I of the stories because I feel it's going to be the devil to set up .... I am going to have trouble with two of the stories you suggested. In "The Captured Shadow," I'll have to make up a whole new ending which is almost like writing a new story. Secondly, the Josephine story, "A Nice Quiet Place," has some awfully phony stuff in the middle that I'll have to find a substitute for. (Turnbull 254)

Such correspondence elucidates Fitzgerald's dedication to both his art and his audience and highlights his rejection of agreeing to publish low-quality fiction.

During the 1930s, the times were difficult ones for Fitzgerald. Not only was Fitzgerald's financial situation difficult because of the depression, but also because of his wife's mental breakdown. Zelda had been hospitalized and was receiving psychiatric treatment which Fitzgerald had to pay for. He was also responsible for his only daughter's costs of schooling. Sadly enough, the publication of *Tender is the Night* in 1934 did not bring Fitzgerald the hoped-for breakthrough. *Taps at Reveille* was likewise dismissed as out-dated. His readership wanted something more interesting and contemporary, but his alcoholism started to prevent him from writing successful commercial stories; he felt he no longer had the skill to write. Fitzgerald shared perhaps his most revealing evaluation of stories with himself in his own notebooks:

The price was high, right up with Kipling because there was one little drop of something not blood, not a tear, not my seed, but me more intimately than these, in every story, it was the extra I had. Now it has gone and I am just like you now." (Brucoli, *Notebooks* 131)

Fitzgerald was depressed and felt he had lost his talent writing commercially successful magazine fiction.

He nevertheless continued writing, but preferred realism and autobiographical pieces over the romantic flapper stories which had been the hit in the 1920s. "The Crack Up" essays in 1936 which were later edited by Edmund Wilson and published in book form posthumously are an example. Towards the end of his life, Fitzgerald tried his hand at screen writing in Hollywood. His work there only resulted in one single screen credit. Nevertheless, he was able to pay off most of his debt that had accumulated in the 1930s. Fitzgerald also worked on the famous movie *Gone with the Wind*, but he never received screen credit for his work. More importantly, his presence in Hollywood gave him the material for a series of very good tales to be published in *Esquire* and later collected as *The Pat Hobby Stories* (1962).

In conclusion, Fitzgerald's career bears witness to the conflicting forces the writer had to confront in his profession as a literary artist and mass-circulation magazine writer. On the one hand, the author had a fervent desire to be a worthy literary artist -- a novelist in his understanding -- on the other, the forces of the marketplace created of him a professional short story writer. In any case, he was not willing to sacrifice the artistic value of his contributions. This attitude initiated a life-long struggle during which Fitzgerald suffered a great deal of guilt and self-reproach for producing salable pattern stories and for spending the greater part of his time in writing literature which he did not consider serious art.

Since the received royalties from the publication of his novels by Scribners were not enough to support Fitzgerald's spending habits, the writer was forced to look for other sources of income which would sustain him financially in periods during which he was writing novels. Even though Scribners paid Fitzgerald advances on the novels and also published short story collections for him in intervals, his income was not enough to keep him afloat. With the booming of the mass-circulation magazine market during the Jazz Age, Fitzgerald found a valuable source of quick and easy money. He found that publishing in slick magazines was very rewarding if one could master the art of short story writing. The financial rewards Fitzgerald enjoyed from the mass-circulation magazines of his time were clearly both a temptation for Fitzgerald to continue writing short fiction at a time of high demand for such a genre and an encouragement for him to master the art of magazine fiction to stay in demand for the longest possible time. At times he was eager to invest his artistic brilliance in his stories. Since he spent long times writing short stories when he was not busy with a novel, he considered it his responsibility towards himself as an artist and towards his large audience to present brilliant art. A number of highly reputable magazines enthusiastically took advantage of the young writer's budding talent and published his short fiction. Fitzgerald's reputation during the 1920s and 1930s stemmed mainly from his short fiction; in 1929 he was the highest paid slick-magazine fiction writer in the United States.

His short fiction was also used by his publisher, Scribners, to cash in on his popularity as a novelist. Each of his novels was followed



by a short story collection—a pattern which was part of the publisher's commercial policies. Tracing Fitzgerald's business connections with the mass-circulation magazines and his publisher, one realizes that Fitzgerald had learned the commercial and literary game quite well: he learned how to tailor his work to conform to mass-circulation magazine requirements and he worked closely together with his editor and friend Maxwell Perkins at Scribners to benefit as much as possible from their publishing policies. This gave Fitzgerald not only the opportunity to develop his writing techniques as a professional writer, but also helped him understand the contemporary marketing policies to learn how to maximize his income. Simultaneously, he did not want to compromise his artistic talent.

Fitzgerald was always committed to his work and loyal to his artistic talent. Instead of renouncing art for the sake of commerce, he was all the more dedicated to it, producing many high-quality short stories which he knew were superior in quality. The accusations that he prostituted his art and exhausted his talent by publishing for mass-circulation magazines are undeserved. This famous writer of the Jazz Age always believed that successful artists must be compensated for their hard work. He always tried, therefore, to develop his art in his writings -- be it in novels or in short stories. His novels, though, were not successful enough to earn him enough money as a professional novelist. Fitzgerald's magazine fiction was a different case. Between 1919 and 1936, F. Scott Fitzgerald had received some \$225,784 for his magazine fiction as opposed to only \$66,588 for his novels (West, *American Authors* 107). Thus, for twenty years, Fitzgerald functioned as a professional writer and a literary artist. Are these two conflicting careers? Fitzgerald's case is proof enough that even though the process may be a strenuous one, a reconciliation of both is possible.

### Bibliography

- Allen, Frederick Lewis. *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920's*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
- Brucoli, Matthew J., ed. *A Life in Letters*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.
- ---, ed. *The Notebooks of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.
- ---, ed. *The Price was High*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.
- ---. *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press, 2002.
- Brucoli, Matthew J. and Margaret M. Duggan eds. *Correspondence of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Random House, 1980.
- Brucoli, Matthew Joseph and Judith Baughman. *F. Scott Fitzgerald on authorship*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.
- Brucoli, Matthew and Jennifer McCabe Atkinson, eds. *As Ever, Scott Fitz--: Letters Between F. Scott Fitzgerald and His Literary Agent Harold Ober, 1919-1940*. New York: Lippincott, 1972.
- Bryer, Jackson R. *F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Critical Reception*. New York: Ayer Publishing, 1978.
- Burlingame, Roger. *Of Making Many Books: A Hundred Years of Reading, Writing, and Publishing*. 1946. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.
- Churchwell, Sarah. "'\$4000 a screw': the prostituted art of F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway." *European Journal of American Culture* 24,2 (2005): 105-130.
- Cohn, Jan. *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and The Saturday Evening Post*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.
- Curtiss, Thomas Quinn. *The Smart Set: George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken*. New York: Applause Books, 1997.
- Dolmetsch, Carl R. *The Smart Set*. New York: The Dial Press, 1966.

- Endres, Kathleen L. and Therese L. Lueck. *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Hemingway, Ernest. *A Moveable Feast*. New York: Scribner Books Company, 1996.
- Kuehl, John and Jackson Bryer, eds. *Dear Scott / Dear Max: The Fitzgerald-Perkins Correspondence*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- Levy, Andrew. *The Culture and Commerce of the American Short Story*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Lorimer, George Horace, ed. *The Saturday Evening Post*. New York: Curtis Publishing Company, 1920.
- Mangum, Bryant. "The Short Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald" in Ruth Prigozy, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Mizener, Arthur. *The Far Side of Paradise: A Biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965.
- Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- *New York Herald Tribune* 23 Dec. 1940, 18.
- *New York Times* 5 Feb. 1951.
- *New York Times* 10 July 1976.
- Petry, Alice Hall. *Fitzgerald's Craft of Short Fiction: The Collected Stories 1920-1935*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1989.
- Prigozy, Ruth, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Rascoe, Burton, and Groff Conklin, eds. *The Smart Set Anthology*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1934.
- Turnbull, Andrew, ed. *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Bantam, 1971.
- West, James L. W. III. *American Authors and the Literary Marketplace Since 1900*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.

- ---, ed. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald: All the Sad Young Men*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- ---, ed. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Beautiful and Damned*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- ---, ed. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald: Flappers and Philosophers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- ---, ed. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald: Tales of the Jazz Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- ---. "Did F. Scott Fitzgerald Have the Right Publisher? *Sewanee Review* 100,4 (1992): 644-659.
- ---, ed. *The Lost Decade: Short Stories from Esquire 1936-1941*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Wheelock, John, ed. *Editor to Author: The Letters of Maxwell E. Perkins*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987.
- Wilson, Edmund. *Classics and Commercials – A Literary Chronicle of the Forties*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 2007.