

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD AND THE DISENCHANTED

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INTRODUCTION

Budd Schulberg's novel, The Disenchanted (1950) was criticized by many as being a slanderous and exaggerated regurgitation of his experiences with F. Scott Fitzgerald as a Hollywood screenwriter. Assigned to collaborate with Fitzgerald on his own screen-play, Winter Carnival, Schulberg accompanied Fitzgerald to Dartmouth College with the purpose of observing the festivities and absorbing the college spirit as a means of providing inspiration for the screen-play, which was based upon Dartmouth College's Winter Carnival.

The trip proved to be disastrous for Fitzgerald. Spurred on by a glass of champagne given him by Schulberg, he went on a weeklong alcohol binge that landed him in the hospital and out of employment.

The Disenchanted tells a story that is in many ways identical to that of Fitzgerald's and Schulberg's. Although Schulberg strongly denied that the alcoholic and has-been author portrayed in The Disenchanted was meant to be Fitzgerald, a comparison of Schulberg's book with other accounts of their trip to Dartmouth and of F. Scott Fitzgerald in general, would seem to suggest otherwise.

Schulberg claimed that he modeled only a small part of his character Manley Halliday after Fitzgerald. However, people like Ernest Hemingway and Edmund Wilson condemned Schulberg as a slanderer and a grave robber.

Regardless of Schulberg's claims, the portion of Manley Halliday that was modeled after Fitzgerald, no matter how large or small, was quite enough to convince contemporary readers that it was indeed F. Scott Fitzgerald who was being written about.

Schulberg humiliated and degraded his creation before ending The Disenchanted with Halliday's death after a seven-day alcohol binge. And in the process of describing Halliday's decline, Schulberg condemned Fitzgerald by association.

Upon the two writers' return from New York and the Winter Carnival, Schulberg was rehired by Wangar to finish the screenplay. Fitzgerald, however, was not only not rehired, but was convinced that his name had been placed on a secret black-list which he thought was circulated among producers in the industry. Fitzgerald spoke of the alleged black-list in a letter to Leland Hayward in January of 1940:

Once Budd Schulberg told me that, while the story of an official black-list is a legend, there is a kind of cabal that goes on between producers around a backgammon table, and I have an idea that some such sinister finger is upon me.... I have a feeling that there is some unfavorable word going on around about me.... I only know that I have a strong intuition that all is not well with my reputation. (Fitzgerald, Letters, 428).

This was the same black-list that Fitzgerald eventually used in his short story called "Last Kiss." The details in

the story are almost identical to the way Fitzgerald described them to Leland Hayward:

...but she never did set foot on that lot [studio] again. Nor any other. She was placed quietly on that black-list that is not written down but functions at backgammon games after dinners... (Fitzgerald, Stories 770).

Black-list or no, the Winter Carnival engagement was, for all practical purposes, Fitzgerald's last as a Hollywood screen-writer before he died some twenty months later in December of 1940.

Though Fitzgerald lived only a short while after making Budd Schulberg's acquaintance, it was long enough for the two writers to establish a connection that would affect them both for the rest of their lives. It is this relationship that I wish to define and then utilize as a foundation to build a better understanding of Budd Schulberg and his treatment of F. Scott Fitzgerald in The Disenchanted. And although The Disenchanted was not kind to him in the least, it is still considered to comprise a certain element of the Fitzgerald revival. Thus, it is the symbiotic relationship that was shared between Fitzgerald and Schulberg, the influence and impression left on Schulberg and The Disenchanted by this relationship, as well as the place of Schulberg's The Disenchanted in the Fitzgerald revival that I wish to examine.

Few of Fitzgerald's biographers have mentioned The Disenchanted in terms of the Fitzgerald revival. Jeffrey Meyers dedicated a few sentences in his Scott Fitzgerald (1994) as such. Scott Donaldson acknowledged as much in his Critical Essays on The Great Gatsby (1984). Ironically enough though, Budd Schulberg takes credit for The Disenchanted's role as reviver himself--though by doing so he contradicts his earlier statements that were denials of his association of Fitzgerald with The Disenchanted (Four Seasons of Success 140). By making this ambivalent assertion, Schulberg raises the initial question of Fitzgerald's presence in The Disenchanted, as well as that of his reasons for putting him there.

The detailed autobiographical accounts of Schulberg's experiences with Fitzgerald that are available in The Four Seasons of Success as well as in his "Old Scott" article for Esquire, provide more than enough information to tie The Disenchanted to Fitzgerald. And, due to Schulberg's ambiguous position on the matter, as well as the contradictory nature of his autobiographical accounts of his experiences with Fitzgerald, there is much room for exploration in what has appeared to be a quite narrow topic in the past. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine Fitzgerald's role in The Disenchanted as well as the role of The Disenchanted in the Fitzgerald revival.

In Chapter I, I will present a brief biographical background of F. Scott Fitzgerald in order to provide insight

into his personal history as well as his lifestyle. This biographical sketch will extend from the height of his success in the 1920's until his decision to move to Hollywood in the late 1930's and will explain his motivations for doing so. Although there have been many biographical studies done on F. Scott Fitzgerald, I found Sheilah Graham's Beloved Infidel (1959) as well as Jeffrey Meyers' Scott Fitzgerald, (1994) to be most helpful in providing information for this period of Fitzgerald's life.

Chapter I will also provide background information on Budd Schulberg by explaining who he was and how and why he came to be collaborating with Fitzgerald on the Winter Carnival script. This information is, I believe, extremely important to the thesis because it was in Schulberg's background and life that Fitzgerald was originally interested. What was personal and family history to Schulberg was a novel to Fitzgerald--Schulberg, for instance, later claimed that he was shocked to see personal anecdotes and family stories that he had shared with Fitzgerald turn up in Fitzgerald's last novel, The Love of the Last Tycoon (Schulberg, Four Seasons 135).

In Chapter II, I will discuss the depth of the relationship that Schulberg and Fitzgerald shared. Although Schulberg had at one time believed the relationship to be an altruistic one--an older writer helping along a younger writer--he later came to realize that Fitzgerald had been making notes of all the things he had been told by Schulberg

in order to incorporate them into the novel he was writing at the time about Hollywood. Schulberg says in The Four Seasons of Success, "I wished, quite frankly, that I could call back some of the things I'd told [Fitzgerald]" (135).

Chapter III will focus on the effects of Schulberg's and Fitzgerald's relationship on The Disenchanted. Here I will make comparisons between the many similar or identical scenes of the novel and of actual biographical accounts of the two writers' trip to Dartmouth and of their friendship. The purpose of this comparison is to illustrate that Manley Halliday of The Disenchanted was indeed modeled after F. Scott Fitzgerald, or was similar enough that contemporary audiences had no trouble connecting Halliday to Fitzgerald.

Ernest Hemingway said in a letter to Arthur Mizener about The Disenchanted, "I like Budd Schulberg very much but I felt his book was grave-robbing" (Selected Letters 716). Hemingway went on to say much worse things about Schulberg and The Disenchanted and many of Fitzgerald's other friends were inclined to agree. Chapter IV will document the reaction of the public as well as Fitzgerald's friends and family to The Disenchanted and its treatment of him.

Prior to the publication of The Disenchanted, other events had already begun to stimulate interest in Fitzgerald and his work. Edmund Wilson had edited and published Fitzgerald's partially finished The Love of the Last Tycoon in 1941. Wilson also published The Crack-Up, which was a collection of various Fitzgerald letters and essays in 1945.

Dorothy Parker's The Portable Fitzgerald was also published in 1945.

Although it was not necessarily a literary event, the death of Fitzgerald's wife, Zelda, who had been something of a celebrity herself, provoked a considerable amount of interest in her and Scott and their once glamorous lifestyle.

Zelda had been institutionalized for her mental condition for several years. However, in 1948, the hospital where she was receiving treatment caught fire and burned her and nine other patients to death. The ghastly manner of her death was shocking and it caught the public's attention.

Two years after Zelda's death, The Disenchanted appeared in 1950 almost simultaneously with Arthur Mizener's The Far Side of Paradise. The Disenchanted was dedicated to Mizener who was already making a name for himself in the literary world as a Fitzgerald scholar. These books were followed by a collection of Fitzgerald short stories published by Malcolm Cowley in 1951, as well as a collection of reviews and criticisms of Fitzgerald published by Alfred Kazin and called F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Man and His Work. In 1957, Fitzgerald's Afternoon of an Author appeared and was followed by Sheilah Graham's Beloved Infidel in 1958 (Meyers, Scott Fitzgerald 338-339).

The Far Side of Paradise, The Crack-up, and Beloved Infidel were non-fictional biographical or autobiographical treatments of Fitzgerald. The Disenchanted was, or was purported to be, a fictional novel. However, it did call

attention to Fitzgerald's life and work. Thus, regardless of Fitzgerald's treatment in the novel, it cannot be ignored in terms of his revival. The last chapter will examine the effects that the novel may have had upon the first Fitzgerald revival.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON F. SCOTT FITZGERALD AND BUDD SCHULBERG

F. Scott Fitzgerald:

By the mid-1930's, the once dashing young author who had practically defined the roaring twenties was no longer so carefree. Despite the ever-increasing literary quality of Fitzgerald's writing, his book sales were astonishingly low and poor health and financial burdens were catching up to him rapidly.

Magazines like Esquire and Post, which had always paid so well for his stories had all but lost interest in him, and the selling price of his stories had plummeted to an all-time low. This was indeed a blow to Fitzgerald who had always depended upon income from the sale of his short stories to pay his bills while he worked on the novels that were his true passion.

However, by this time Fitzgerald's financial obligations had become more than just living expenses and the occasional party. His daughter Scottie had begun attending classes at Vassar College, and Fitzgerald was responsible for the cost of her education as well as the ever-increasing cost of therapy for his wife's mental rehabilitation. Not wishing to scrimp on either of these expenses, Fitzgerald was falling

more and more deeply into debt (Meyers, Scott Fitzgerald 297).

Although he had never really taken Hollywood seriously, Fitzgerald had written his way out of debt there on two other occasions. In 1927 he wrote Lipstick for United Artists, and in 1931 he worked on Red-Headed Woman for MGM. (Bruccoli, Fitzgerald and Hemingway xiv-xv). In 1937, in debt once more, Fitzgerald again looked to Hollywood as a means of meeting his financial obligations.

In July of 1937 he was offered a six-month contract at MGM studios at the lucrative salary of four thousand dollars a month with the option to renew at five thousand dollars a month at the end of the six-month period. (The top screen-writers at this time were making between five and six thousand dollars a month.) This money was too good for Fitzgerald to pass up, as he was by this time some forty thousand dollars in debt. Despite the fact that he considered the life of a Hollywood screen-writer to be detrimental to the career of a serious novelist, he vowed to go to Hollywood long enough to pay off his debts and to save money enough to support himself and his family while he finished his novel (Graham, Beloved Infidel 142).

Fitzgerald arrived in Hollywood in July of 1937 and moved into the Garden of Allah. The Garden of Allah was a hotel in Hollywood that was frequented by other authors and screen-writers--Dorothy Parker, John O'Hara, and Aldous Huxley were among some of the other writers staying there at

this time. Throughout the latter part of 1937 and into 1938, Fitzgerald was assigned to work on various screenplays, though he never met with much success.

In 1939, he was contracted by United Artists and Walter Wangar to collaborate with Budd Schulberg on Schulberg's own Winter Carnival. As a part of the assignment, Wangar had insisted that Fitzgerald and Schulberg fly to Hanover to attend the Winter Carnival. According to Schulberg in The Four Seasons of Success, Fitzgerald had been seriously opposed to making the trip because of his health and the awareness that he would be tempted with drink. The two writers were also suspicious that Wangar's real reason for wanting Fitzgerald at Dartmouth was to impress the faculty at Wangar's alma mater. Nevertheless, Wangar was insistent that he attend the event and could not be persuaded otherwise (Meyers, Scott Fitzgerald 316).

This trip to Dartmouth that resulted in the most disastrous experience in Fitzgerald's career as a screenwriter, also became the basis of Fitzgerald's and Schulberg's relationship. The writers' relationship then laid the foundation for Budd Schulberg's best-selling novel, The Disenchanted, that later played a crucial role in the Fitzgerald revival.

Budd Schulberg:

Budd Schulberg's father, B.P. Schulberg, had been "...one of the last big-studio bosses in the flamboyant days

of Clara Bow and Marlene Dietrich..." (Schulberg, Four Seasons 98). Thus, he had grown up in a close proximity to many important names and titles in the Hollywood film industry. In his autobiography entitled Moving Pictures: Memories of a Hollywood Prince (1981) Schulberg covered the inside of the front and back bindings of the book with inscriptions to himself from stars such as Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle, Clara Bow, and Joan Crawford, among others. Several of these inscriptions bear the message "Follow your dad!" or "Never forget you're a Schulberg!" or something similar and are dated in the late 1920's. Schulberg was born in 1914 so this would mean that in his early teens he was already being exposed to the biggest names of the day. However, rather than feeling exalted by his social position, he says, "If I had a silver spoon in my mouth, I was gagging on it" (344).

Not exceedingly capable in sports, physical or social, he turned his attention toward the writing and editing of his high school newspaper. By the time he graduated from high school he was determined to attend Dartmouth College, via Deerfield Academy, to develop his skills as a writer.

Schulberg left for Dartmouth in 1932 and returned to Hollywood and a screen-writing position under David Selznick of MGM in 1937. While under Selznick he worked on A Star is Born (1937) and Little Orphan Annie (1938) but was disheartened because his own creative attempts were being

back-shelved by Selznick in favor of those deemed more worthy (Schulberg, Four Seasons 105).

David Selznick, one of the most respected producers of the day, had been a protégé of Budd's father early in his career. According to Schulberg, Selznick had hired him on as a writer as a means of expressing his gratitude towards Schulberg's father. However, according to Schulberg in Four Seasons, Selznick also had had hopes of persuading him to produce movies rather than write them. This story of Schulberg's experience with David Selznick later became a Schulberg family anecdote of sorts.

Schulberg, it seemed, had asked Selznick not to renew his contract as a writer due to the lack of attention his original material was being given. When the offended Selznick demanded to know why he no longer wished to work for him, Budd told him that it was because he wanted to write scripts rather than produce them. To this Selznick disappointedly replied, "You told me you wanted to be a writer. But I felt if I kept you with me long enough, sooner or later your producer's blood would begin to assert itself" (Four Seasons, 105).

According to Schulberg, he had let Fitzgerald in on this family joke. Fitzgerald, he claims, later picked it up, used, and botched it in The Love of the Last Tycoon, as he had certain other stories and personal information that Schulberg had shared with him (Four Seasons 105).

Fitzgerald modeled a large part of the narrator of The Love of the Last Tycoon after Schulberg. However, though Fitzgerald's portrayal of Schulberg in the novel was not overly slanderous, Schulberg did not find it flattering either. Jeffrey Meyers speculated in Scott Fitzgerald, that it was indeed Schulberg's resentment of the way Fitzgerald treated him in The Last Tycoon that provoked his treatment of Fitzgerald in The Disenchanted (316). This does seem probable. However, according to Schulberg's description of the matter, he seems to have been more upset with the fact that Fitzgerald used his life experiences without his permission in The Last Tycoon rather than by the manner in which he was portrayed in it (Four Seasons 135).

CHAPTER II

THE FITZGERALD/SCHULBERG RELATIONSHIP

The relationship that developed between Schulberg and Fitzgerald over their weekend at Dartmouth and that extended on through the last twenty months of Fitzgerald's life is not entirely clear. Most of the information available comes directly from essays and books written by Schulberg. Many of these accounts, however, were written several years after the fact, and it is never certain that even Schulberg himself was clear on how he and Fitzgerald stood. A comparison of Schulberg's different accounts of the Dartmouth trip also reveals inconsistencies among the stories themselves. And furthermore, the more distance in time between the records and the actual events, the nicer Schulberg seems to become to Fitzgerald. In an article in TV Guide for the release of The Great Gatsby in 1974, Schulberg could not have been more respectful or kind to Fitzgerald. He speaks of being "awed" by Fitzgerald and of the "vengeance that we who never lost faith in him" felt for him in his restoration. ("Scott Fitzgerald" 23).

There was a certain ambiguity in the way Schulberg felt about Fitzgerald. His feelings seemed to form a progression from admiration to pity to resentment, and back to admiration with an ever-present under-current of tolerance. The best

that can be ascertained of Fitzgerald's perception of Schulberg was that he was interested in him as a source of information and as a sounding-board probably more than as a fellow writer or friend. Since Schulberg never openly defined the two writers' relationship, it is necessary to look at the manner in which he chose to portray Fitzgerald in his different accounts of their experiences to arrive at a conclusion.

In an article for the January 1961 edition of Esquire entitled "Old Scott: The Myth, the Masque, and the Man," Schulberg described the awe he had felt when Walter Wangar first told him he would be working with Fitzgerald. In this article Schulberg stated that Fitzgerald had been an "off-horse" favorite of his in college even though his novels were not necessarily in agreement with the political views and opinions popular in the late Depression years during which he was in school. However, upon meeting Fitzgerald, Schulberg claims to have overcome the intimidation of meeting a once-glamorous celebrity and warmed up to Fitzgerald quickly. This could be due, in part, to the fact that the Fitzgerald of Schulberg's imagination was not the Fitzgerald he saw before him. Schulberg had pictured the glamorous Fitzgerald of 1925. However, to his dismay, that was not the man with whom he was confronted. He says:

Looking back, it is difficult to realize that the Scott Fitzgerald I saw that day was still relatively young in his early forties. To my callow eyes of 1939, he looked

more like sixty. There is, of course, a patronizingly faulty time-machine in the minds of the young which transforms the most robust of middle-aged men into septuagenarians. But Scott Fitzgerald, with his pale and ghostly look, made his own contribution to this illusion. There seemed to be no colours in him. The proud, somewhat too-handsome profile of his dust-jackets was crumbled. To this day I am unable to say exactly what it was that left me with this lasting impression. The fine forehead, the leading man's nose, the matinee-idol set of the gentle quick-to-smile eyes, the good Scotch-Irish cheekbones, the delicate, almost feminine mouth, the tasteful, Brooks Brothers attire--he had lost none of these. But there seemed to be something physically or psychologically broken in him that had pitched him forward from scintillating youth to old age ("Old Scott" 96).

It is as if Schulberg admired the past work of Fitzgerald, but resented him for growing older at the same time. Thus it was with this mixed sentiment of admiration and pity that Schulberg began his collaboration with Fitzgerald. However, the two of them got along well for the first few days that they worked together.

...after the first few days of our imprisonment Scott warmed up and I relaxed and soon felt closer to him than I ever had to [Sinclair] Lewis. Of course I was a few years older now, and had published a dozen short stories

in national magazines, and was a promising rookie professional. But Scott's character was the deciding factor. Scott met you on equal terms. No matter how provoked, Scott would never have precipitated a scene at the Dartmouth Junto meeting like the blow-up with Lewis. After three or four days I began to think of him as a friend (101).

Throughout the rest of their stint as collaborators, Schulberg's admiration for Fitzgerald gradually gave way to pity and resentment. As the two writers began to know each other better, Schulberg found it depressing that Fitzgerald continually spoke about the 1920's and his heyday as if there were nothing left for him. Schulberg even comments in the "Old Scott" article that every conversation he and Fitzgerald began Scott would somehow find a way to revert it back to his glory days. Schulberg says of Fitzgerald, "One side of Fitzgerald, it's true, did seem to live constantly in the past" (104).

"Old Scott: The Myth, the Masque, and the Man", which first appeared in Esquire in 1961, appeared in a lengthened form as a chapter of a book that Schulberg published in 1972 called The Four Seasons of Success. Though Schulberg does not ever speak out in an overt judgment against him in this article, one can gather an idea of how he felt about Fitzgerald by the examples he set up to portray him. He claims that he had admired Fitzgerald, yet he continually depicts him as an old drunk and a bumbling oaf.

Schulberg describes one scene in which he and Fitzgerald were on the train from New York to Hanover. Fitzgerald had fallen off of the wagon in quite a large way and Schulberg was commanded by Walter Wangar to "Go back and keep an eye on him! For God's sake don't let him drink anymore!" Schulberg found Fitzgerald in the bathroom surrounded by a group of young Dartmouth graduates who were also on the way to the Winter Carnival, and whose "youth and vigor" he claims "made my sorry author look like a washed out eighty-three rather than a man who should have been in his prime of life at forty-three." He went on to describe the situation:

There was trouble brewing. One of the young visitors was a handsome blonde football star whose chemistry had begun to clash with Scott's. Like so many of our generation, the football player identified Fitzgerald with the follies of the Twenties. He said that he had read Gatsby in college and considered it an overrated novel. Scott had never wanted to be on this train in the first place and now one of his last props was being knocked out from under him, Of course it wasn't fair, and at the same time, as I was to learn along the way, with his genius not only for self-creating but for self-destroying, he had asked for it. He had introduced himself by asking if they realized that he was F. Scott Fitzgerald--an immodesty, I learned later, he indulged when he was potted. And then, in a pathetic effort to stand off the jibes of the football player, he had

questioned this apprentice corporation lawyer as to how much he earned a week and then trumped him by boasting that he made ten times that much. And the football player had retaliated--"The great Scott Fitzgerald--a Hollywood hack!" At this point, outweighed by seventy-five pounds and looking fit enough to last perhaps five seconds of the first round, Scott challenged his brawny tormentor to a fist fight" (110-111).

Schulberg's essay is full of examples such as the one described above. In another, he portrays a scene in which Fitzgerald's drunkenness has finally become too much for him and he runs out of their hotel room to seek refuge at the *Alpha Delta Phi* fraternity bar:

And I remember losing my patience and temper with him at last and running down the stairs and out through the lobby to Wheelock Street and over to the friendly *Alpha Delta Phi* fraternity bar, where I tried to drown our common sorrows and where, after fifteen minutes of troubled escapism, I felt a soft hand on my shoulder. Eerily, inescapably, the old ghost of many carnivals had tracked down his apprentice ghost.

He said something like 'Pal, you aren't going to desert your old pal now are you, pal?' as if he were Scott playing Gatsby playing Scott, and I confess I felt guilty, as if I had tried to ditch a blind date who had turned out to be a dog (108).

The scene occurring directly before this, which in fact precipitates this scene, is incredibly pitiful and powerful. Schulberg describes a Fitzgerald who has become so drunk and sick as to be delusional and completely disoriented. Schulberg has decided to take a nap before resuming work on Winter Carnival, when he awakes to see Fitzgerald walking in his sleep to the door of their room calling out to his wife who was miles away in a mental hospital:

I looked down to see Scott rising from his pass-out funk on the metal cot and groping slowly toward the door.

"Scott? Where the hell are you going?"

"I'm going to Zelda. She needs me. I'm going to Zelda."

...I remember dragging him back from the door and throwing him down on the cot, hard. I remember his feeling frail and defenseless in my hands. I remember thinking he had passed out and beginning to take off his shoes, and his reviving enough to say, "Oh you must be enjoying yourself, feeling so strong, so damn sure of yourself..."(101).

It is not difficult to see Schulberg's pity in the examples given above. It is also not difficult to see how quickly this pity could turn to resentment. Fitzgerald was, after all, the senior writer on the project and a world-famous literary figure at the time. He was also drawing almost twice Schulberg's salary to put together Winter

Carnival where Schulberg had failed. Andrew Turnbull said of Schulberg in Scott Fitzgerald:

Schulberg was an ambitious junior writer hungry for credits that would push him up the Hollywood ladder. Since Fitzgerald had been assigned to Winter Carnival because Schulberg wasn't making a go of it alone, there was bound to be a touch of resentment on the part of the younger man. That resentment increased when Schulberg--albeit pained by Fitzgerald and patient as it got more and more out of hand--found himself thrust into the role of Fitzgerald's chaperone and nurse. At the bottom Schulberg couldn't help feeling a little bit superior to this derelict 'genius' who was not only making a fool of himself but compromising Schulberg's first big assignment (297).

Indeed Schulberg's first big assignment was compromised. The pair of writers happened into Walter Wangar in the middle of their drunken spree and were fired on the spot and sent back to New York. They weren't even allowed time to collect their luggage (Four Seasons 121).

Fitzgerald was, by this time, so worn down that he could not even make it off the train under his own power. Schulberg says that after he and the porter lifted Scott from his bunk and carried him to the end of the train, "...I was alone with him on the platform. With my arm around his waist we made it slowly to the taxi stand" (Four Seasons 121).

Once the two writers made it back to New York, however, their troubles were not over. In the unkempt state they were in, no hotel would admit them. After riding around in a taxi for three hours looking for a hotel, Fitzgerald finally checked in to the Doctors Hospital in New York. Schulberg parted ways with Fitzgerald there and went back to Hollywood to finish what Jeffrey Meyers called "the embarrassingly bad script" (Scott Fitzgerald 315). Thus, Schulberg left Fitzgerald in the hospital in New York, and took back to California with him his newly formed impressions of pity and budding indignation.

Fitzgerald and Schulberg saw each other only briefly after the Dartmouth fiasco. Fitzgerald suffered from tuberculosis much of the time and was bedridden a good deal in the remaining months of his life. However, he had gotten very excited about the Hollywood novel he was working on and spent as much time as he could with it. And though Fitzgerald was no longer collaborating with Schulberg, his new novel very much concerned the younger writer and Hollywood native.

It was during the last days of Fitzgerald's life that the resentment Schulberg came to feel was probably realized. Schulberg had stopped in to visit Fitzgerald before heading East for the publication of his novel What Makes Sammy Run? and found Fitzgerald in bed looking over a chapter of what came to be called The Love of the Last Tycoon. Fitzgerald

offered to let him read the first few chapters and his reaction was this:

The shock of the opening lines is still keen to me:

"Though I haven't ever been on the screen I was brought up in pictures. Rudolph Valentino came to my fifth birthday party--I put this down only to indicate that even before the age of reason I was in a position to watch the wheels go 'round...."

Many years have passed but whenever I open this book I still get the same queasy feeling. For those were practically my words (except that I had said it was Jackie Coogan who came to my birthday party when he was a bare-kneed child star). My first reaction was a flare of resentment. Scott had led me on. Scott had cheated me of a birthright. Every writer has, we always say, just so many stories, and here was one of my central experiences typed neatly in Scott's book. He saw the look in my face and said with the shy, apologetic toughness I've seen in many writers since, "I sort of combined you with my daughter Scottie for Cecilia [the novel's narrator]. There'll be quite a few lines you'll recognize. I hope you won't mind.

...Again and again I heard myself. There were many moments when Scott seemed to be telling his story directly through my eyes. There were my anecdotes, my observations of Hollywood personalities with whom I had been raised. It was almost as if I had written the book

and then Scott had filtered it through his more tempered and sophisticated imagination. It is still the most uncanny experience I have ever had with another man's work (Four Seasons 133-134).

Schulberg elaborates on his feelings of Fitzgerald's betrayal later in Four Seasons. He says:

Scott had channeled off into his book some of my energy, some of my emotion and special insights into Hollywood. The sneak thief of vicarious experience that every writer has to be had taken possession of Scott--probably from our very first meeting. I wished, quite frankly, that I could call back some of the things I had told him. Now that they were imbedded in his book, to use them again would be a most curious form of plagiarism (135).

Fitzgerald passed away just days after Schulberg read the chapters of what came to be The Love of the Last Tycoon. The two writers had been acquainted for just over two years.

Though Schulberg states several times in several different places that he and Fitzgerald had become friends, the relationship he describes hardly seems to be friendly. Throughout Four Seasons he describes, as well as implies, feelings of intolerance, impatience, frustration, pity, and resentment towards Fitzgerald.

According to Andrew Turnbull in Scott Fitzgerald, after the Dartmouth fiasco, Schulberg kept in touch with Fitzgerald only briefly. He mentions an incident in which Fitzgerald

had dropped in to visit Schulberg only to be brushed aside by Schulberg and prior engagements (319). Schulberg mentions a time that Fitzgerald had joined him and his friends in a game of darts. However, he says that Fitzgerald was so sick that Schulberg's friends had to duck because Fitzgerald was throwing the darts at right-angles to the dart board. Some of Schulberg's friends wondered if Fitzgerald was drunk (Four Seasons 129).

Schulberg's impression of Fitzgerald appears to have been made ultimately by the Winter Carnival experience and by Fitzgerald's treatment of him in The Love of the Last Tycoon. However, even though Schulberg claimed that he forgave Fitzgerald's unauthorized use of his own personal experience and observations, his bitterness towards Fitzgerald does seem to have been asserted in The Disenchanted.

Schulberg's outrage and accusations of Fitzgerald's usurping of his own experiences whether justified or no, were not the only ones of this kind to have ever been leveled at Fitzgerald. In the March 1959 edition of Harper's, Dwight Taylor describes how Fitzgerald had used a distorted version of one of their experiences as writers in Hollywood to create the short story "Crazy Sunday":

The story was about two writers who had been asked to a big party at the beach house of a famous motion-picture producer. One of them gets drunk and makes a fool of himself by singing an unsolicited song. In a carefully delineated passage at the beginning of the story, giving

a description of his appearance, and an oblique reference to his famous actress mother, there is no mistaking the fact that this unfortunate drunk is supposed to be me! Scott is the Good Samaritan who takes him home. (Harper's, 1959, 71).

According to Jeffrey Meyers in Scott Fitzgerald, it was Scott who sang the unsolicited song and made a fool of himself. Dwight Taylor, whose mother was the famous actress Laurette Taylor, was the one who played the Good Samaritan and took the drunk Fitzgerald home. As Taylor says in his account: "The truth is turned topsy-turvy" (Harper's, 1959, 71).

Although Fitzgerald never actually appropriated any of Dwight Taylor's personal life experiences into his writing, he certainly did not hesitate to portray him in a manner that Taylor found to be most unacceptable. Nevertheless, the incident described by Taylor does set a precedent and lend a certain amount of authority to the accusations made by Schulberg.

CHAPTER III

SCHULBERG'S PORTRAYAL OF FITZGERALD IN THE DISENCHANTED

Schulberg stated on various occasions that Manley Halliday of The Disenchanted was only loosely based upon Fitzgerald. In an interview in the December 1958 edition of Theater Arts he says:

...though my experience with Fitzgerald may have triggered The Disenchanted, given it a dramatic form, and provided some of its content, Manley Halliday was not come by through a single experience or single human being. Halliday was my amalgam for the gifted writer of the twenties who was borne upon the crest of American artistic-material success, only to come crashing down to near oblivion, want, despair in the years that followed (15).

Whether Halliday was an amalgam of Twenties' writers or not, it was still Fitzgerald with whom he was identified. Malcom Cowley, for instance, speaks of The Disenchanted as the "popular novel with a hero suggested by Fitzgerald." He goes on to say that every reviewer of The Disenchanted mentioned Fitzgerald (Literary Solution, 126).

The similarities between Manley Halliday and F. Scott Fitzgerald are striking on even the most basic level. And

furthermore, the closer Halliday is observed, the more apparent the likeness of Fitzgerald becomes.

In the first chapter of The Disenchanted Halliday is described as having:

...exquisite chiseling of the face, theatrically perfect features, the straight classical nose, the mouth so beautiful as to suggest effeminacy, the fine forehead, the slicked-down hair parted in the middle (20).

In The Four Seasons of Success Schulberg describes Fitzgerald as having:

...the fine forehead, the leading-man's nose, the matinee-idol set of the gentle, quick-to-smile eyes, the good Scotch-Irish cheekbones, the delicate, almost feminine mouth...(96).

Ernest Hemingway gives a very similar description of Fitzgerald in A Moveable Feast:

...[Fitzgerald] looked like a boy with a face between handsome and pretty. He had very fair wavy hair, a high forehead, excited and friendly eyes, and a delicate long-lipped Irish mouth that, on a girl, would have been the mouth of a beauty. His chin was well built and he had good ears and a handsome, almost beautiful unmarked nose (149).

Thus, Schulberg links Halliday to Fitzgerald in the first chapter of The Disenchanted with a physical description alone. Although providing physical descriptions of characters is quite common practice to most writers, why

should Schulberg's Manley Halliday be given a description that is almost identical to Fitzgerald's? If Schulberg really did not mean for Halliday to be taken as Fitzgerald, why the almost identical physical association? However, Schulberg does not just use Fitzgerald's physical appearance. He goes on to describe Halliday's literary career which is so similar to Fitzgerald's that it erases any doubt as to the Twenties' writer Halliday is meant to represent. The description he gives could only be of Fitzgerald:

...the wonder-boy of the twenties, the triple-threat Merriwell of American letters, less real than the most romantic of his heroes, the only writer who could win the approval of Mencken and Stein and make fifty thousand a year doing it and look like Wally Reid (20).

To further emphasize the identities of the two writers in The Disenchanted, Schulberg includes a description of the younger writer, Shep Stearns, as well. This description bears a remarkable resemblance to Schulberg himself.

Schulberg describes Shep as being "big-boned, husky, good-natured, and easy-going" (The Disenchanted 47). Andrew Turnbull describes Schulberg in Scott Fitzgerald as a "husky, heavy-featured young man with a soft stammer that enlisted your sympathy" (296).

After Schulberg establishes the Halliday/Fitzgerald connection at the surface level, he then proceeds to develop Halliday with his own loosely paraphrased pool of biographical knowledge of Fitzgerald's life and opinions.

One such opinion is Fitzgerald's well-known dislike of Hollywood.

Apart from the financial salvation that Hollywood offered, Fitzgerald had no other interest in it. Jeffrey Meyers says in Scott Fitzgerald that "Fitzgerald had no belief in film as an art form" (291). Fitzgerald also believed that the lure of the extravagant Hollywood salaries was a trap that destroyed many talented writers. At one of his parties in Hollywood, Fitzgerald threw Nunnally Johnson out of his house and warned him never to return. Fitzgerald had become enraged when Johnson told him that he liked Hollywood (Graham, Beloved Infidel 192). Schulberg echoes Fitzgerald's dislike of Hollywood in Manley Halliday:

The realization that he [Halliday] and Bob [Benchly] and Dottie Parker and Eddie Mayer and Sammy Hoffenstein [all of whom had actually lived at the Garden of Allah with Fitzgerald] and perhaps a half a dozen others of the old gang had all been brought into the Hollywood fold suddenly oppressed him. There had been so many luncheons and cocktails and all-night sessions when Hollywood had been only a term of derision, when they had vied with each other in witty denunciation of this Capital of the Philistines. No one with any self-respect, he remembered saying, would ever go to Hollywood.... And fifteen years later here they were, all lured to the Garden of Allah, all on weekly payrolls, or worse yet, trying to get on. Were they men

of inadequate wills who had acquired the author's cancer--expensive tastes? Or could they, like Manley Halliday, persuade themselves that this was merely a stopover on the way back to positive work? (The Disenchanted 30).

Schulberg uses Fitzgerald's stay at the Garden of Allah further when he transforms an actual letter from Thomas Wolfe to Fitzgerald into a letter from Carl Van Vechten to Manley Halliday. Schulberg had Van Vechten, who was also a friend of Fitzgerald's, write to Halliday at the Garden of Allah. In the letter Van Vechten kids Halliday that there could be no such place actually called the Garden of Allah (The Disenchanted 42).

In a letter to Fitzgerald from July of 1937, Thomas Wolfe writes:

I don't know where you are living and I'll be damned if I'll believe anyone lives in a place called The Garden of Allah, which was what the address on your envelope said. I am sending this on to the old address we both know so well... (Fitzgerald, The Crack-up 312).

The Crack-Up, Edmund Wilson's book in which Thomas Wolfe's letter is found, is a collection of Fitzgerald essays and letters compiled by Wilson and published in 1945. This book was one of the early catalysts of the Fitzgerald revival and Schulberg would almost certainly have read it prior to writing The Disenchanted.

Later on in The Disenchanted, Schulberg again attributes significant and publicly known aspects of Fitzgerald's career and life to Manley Halliday:

...Halliday was a most satisfactory personification of the Twenties--his brilliant success in the 1920--his youthful fame, so perfectly in step with the Myth of Success and the Cult of Being Young--his personal crash in 1929 that coincided so neatly with the Wall Street Debacle--then the back-wash after the wave has broken: the sorry end of the "perfect marriage," the "post-humus" [sic] novel in 1930, a failure that seemed to indicate a spiritual dead end, and which the critics attacked with a ferocity that suggested that they were sitting in a judgement on an era rather than a book--and then the twilight years; Halliday a wandering wreck, occasionally appearing in mass circulation magazines with stories increasingly ordinary--and then finally, darkness--Hollywood.... It was really most obliging of Manley Halliday to have his first success in the first year of the Twenties and crack up in the last (55).

Schulberg undoubtedly modified some of the dates listed above in order to streamline the over-all presentation of his metaphor of Halliday and the Twenties. However, the dates still coincide quite readily with the parallel events of Fitzgerald's life.

This Side of Paradise, which catapulted Fitzgerald to international fame, was published in 1920. And although

Fitzgerald himself did not "crack up" until the mid-1930's, his wife suffered her first nervous breakdown in 1930 and the beginning of the decade did mark the beginning of his downward spiral. Jeffrey Meyers said in Scott Fitzgerald:

If, as Arthur Miller observed, "the 30's were the price that had to be paid for the 20's," then that decade was more costly than Fitzgerald had ever imagined. Just as his literary career spanned the Twenties and Thirties, so his personal life--which began to collapse at the same time as Zelda's breakdown, soon after the Wall Street Crash of October 1929--ran precisely parallel to the boom and bust phases of the decades between the wars (192).

The posthumous novel that Schulberg spoke of in The Disenchanted is almost certainly a reference to Fitzgerald's Tender is the Night. Published in 1933, eight years after The Great Gatsby, Tender is the Night is an autobiography of sorts which depicts the decline of the once worldly and glamorous central character. Oddly enough, the conclusion of Tender is the Night was to have taken place in 1930, which is the same year Halliday was supposed to have crashed in The Disenchanted.

The further one reads in The Disenchanted, the easier it becomes to recognize the thinly-disguised figure of F. Scott Fitzgerald. For not only were Halliday's physical appearance, life history, and literary career almost identical to Fitzgerald's, but his literary influences were

the same as well. Halliday is described in The Disenchanted as "...[writing] grammatically...and whose influences were largely Edith Wharton and Henry James..." (218). In Scott Fitzgerald, Jeffrey Meyers said "Fitzgerald set out to capture a social scene and satirize a social class in the manner of Henry James and Edith Wharton" (122).

There are also descriptions of Halliday's drinking in The Disenchanted which bear a marked resemblance to Fitzgerald's. Many of Fitzgerald's friends and biographers have testified that after only one drink Fitzgerald would undergo a startling transformation. Schulberg depicted a scene in The Disenchanted in which the same thing happened to Halliday:

Manley poured himself a second drink. He poured it recklessly without measuring. Shep watched uneasily. It hardly seemed possible that Manley could be in the bag, and yet there was an unfamiliar edge to his voice, a combative look in his eye. And see how his hand trembled when he tried to hold the lip of the bottle to the glass. Of course that could be merely fatigue on top of illness. But these wild things he was saying...(124).

Ernest Hemingway described a similar experience with Fitzgerald in A Moveable Feast:

As he sat there at the bar holding the glass of champagne the skin seemed to tighten over his face until the puffiness was gone and then it drew tighter until

the face was like a death's head. The eyes sank and the color left the face so that it was the color of used candle wax. This was not my imagination. His face became a true death's head, or death's mask, in front of my eyes...(167).

Hemingway went on to say:

...it had never occurred to me that sharing a few bottles of fairly light, dry, white Macon [over dinner] could cause chemical changes in Scott that would turn him into a fool. There had been the whiskey and Perrier in the morning, but in my ignorance of alcoholics then, I could not imagine one whiskey harming anyone...(167).

Halliday's and Fitzgerald's alcoholic similarities did not end with the short amount of time and liquor it took to intoxicate them. Even after they were drunk, they still had much in common. Schulberg described an incident in The Disenchanted in which the drunken Halliday wanted to fight with the younger Shep Sterns:

"Think I'ma 'fraid of you? Pro'lly got thirty pounds on me and twenty years. But I'll fight you. I'll beat the living--whaddo I care if they hear? Come on. Right now." He [Manley] started to rise. What he needed was air. He was very dizzy. Shep said with authority, "Sit down."

"Bet you're pretty handy with the gloves."

Shep said, "I've done some boxing."

"Did I ever tell you I boxed the ears off Freddy Walsh?" (182)

Schulberg writes another scene in The Disenchanted in which Halliday offers to fight a recently graduated football hero, who also happened to be on the train to Webster for the weekend and who outweighed him by seventy pounds, in the bathroom of the train:

There was a terrible expression on Manley's face. "Come on you son of a bitch. Not afraid of you. Use't' hold my own with Freddy Walsh."

"Who the hell was he?"

The insult to Freddy Walsh drove Manley to violence. He threw a wild punch that Hoffman easily avoided.

"Don't get me mad," Hoffman warned.

Shep felt a nightmare closing in like an ether cone over his face. He forced himself between them and grabbed Hoffman's arm. "Go on, beat it Gene. Leave him alone for Chris'sake." (209)

Apparently this was an incident which actually occurred because Schulberg wrote about it in Four Seasons. It is referred to in greater detail on page nineteen of the second chapter in this thesis.

Ernest Hemingway described Scott's tendency towards drunken violence as well. He said that it had gotten to the point that he would not go out in public with Fitzgerald because more often than not he would be obligated to save

Fitzgerald from fights and other embarrassing situations that Fitzgerald would provoke. He described one occasion in which Fitzgerald had even tried to beat up Hemingway's landlord (Hemingway, A Moveable Feast 184).

Matthew Bruccoli validated these stories of Fitzgerald's drunken aggression in Some Sort of Epic Grandeur by portraying an instance in which Fitzgerald was beaten up in the Jungle Club speak-easy for picking a fight with the bouncer. Bruccoli went on to say:

When Fitzgerald reached a certain stage of insobriety he was ready to fight anyone--all five foot seven of him. He thought he was--or should be--a proficient fighter. He wasn't, and his bar-fights usually resulted in beatings for him (149).

Aside from the fact that the intoxicated Fitzgerald was inclined to fighting, he also tended to be quite reminiscent of the past. As was mentioned earlier, Schulberg states in The Four Seasons of Success that Fitzgerald did indeed sometimes seem to live in the past (104). Halliday, of course, exhibited this same quality. The omniscient narrator of The Disenchanted told of Shep Sterns' first recognition of Halliday's many lapses into the past:

This time Shep's sturdy presence blocked Halliday's trap-door exit to the past. Only a few hours before Shep had been fascinated with Halliday's double sense of time. He did not go back to the past, he carried it with him. But now Shep had begun to be on the lookout

for those nostalgic cut-backs. He began to draw a line between the Manley Halliday whose works had so impressed him and the middle-aged collaborator who could not seem to differentiate between plot analysis and reminiscences (119-120).

Halliday also possessed Fitzgerald eccentricities that were unrelated to drink. A certain manner of speaking employed by Fitzgerald and his wife was also attributed to Halliday and his wife in The Disenchanted. Apparently, Fitzgerald and his wife would engage in what was meant to be baby-talk as a means of expressing displeasure or disapproval of people and things. Schulberg had Halliday do the same thing in The Disenchanted when Halliday says to Shep Sterns:

"Nize baby, et op all de ice."

"What--what's that Manley?"

"When we didn't like people that's what we always used to do--answer 'em in Nize Baby talk" (120).

This baby-talk example can also be found in Fitzgerald's essay "The Crack-Up," which is a part of Edmund Wilson's collection of Fitzgerald notebooks and essays bearing the same name and which was published five years prior to The Disenchanted. In the self-confessional and condemning essay, Fitzgerald responds to a female voice that is supposed to be taken as being his wife, "Baby et op all her Spinoza?" (74). Thus Schulberg exhibited in Halliday not only a characteristic of Fitzgerald's personality, but an event,

regardless of how insignificant, in the narrative progression of the two writers' actual trip to Dartmouth.

The baby-talk example is far from being isolated as far actual events that appear in The Disenchanted. As a comparison with Schulberg's accounts of the two writers' trip to Dartmouth and some of the later biographies prove, many of the scenes in The Disenchanted are almost identical to those that were described later by Schulberg as having actually occurred.

In the opening action of The Disenchanted, Schulberg used a short dialogue between the young writer, Shep Sterns, and his boss, Victor Milgrim, to introduce Manley Halliday. This dialogue is identical to the one that Schulberg describes as having actually taken place between him and Walter Wangar regarding the introduction of Fitzgerald. Schulberg writes in The Disenchanted:

[Milgrim to Sterns] "Think you'd like to work with Halliday?"

"Work with Halliday! Are you kidding? He's dead isn't he?"

Milgrim looked at the young man and smiled the smile of superior knowledge. "He's in the next room reading your script" (17).

And in his non-fictionalized account of the Winter Carnival experience, Schulberg says:

...when Mr. Wangar suggested that I might collaborate with him, I exclaimed (for this part of the myth is

true), "My God, I thought Scott Fitzgerald was dead!" To which Mr. Wangar had replied, "Not unless your treatment bored him to death. He's in the next room reading it now" (Four Seasons 95).

However, even though Schulberg claims that "this part of the myth is true," in an earlier account of this conversation he had had Wangar answer his question regarding whether or not Fitzgerald was alive in a totally different manner:

One day several years ago my producer called me in, said he was throwing out my script and putting a new writer on with me. When he told me who it was, I was dumbfounded. "F. Scott Fitzgerald," I said. "I thought he was dead."

"If he is," cracked the producer, "he must be the first ghost who ever got fifteen hundred dollars a week!" (New Republic 312).

Schulberg's initial reaction to meeting Fitzgerald is also quite similar to that of Sterns to Halliday. The reaction is mainly one of amazement and, shortly after, pity at the recognition that the glamorous young author had become old and gray. Schulberg describes the same reactions and observations in The Four Seasons of Success as he does in the fictional The Disenchanted. Halliday is described as having:

...hair, still combed back though parted on the side now, was gray and thinning; the famous turquoise eyes had washed out to a milky nondescript; the skin had lost color and tone; the face that Steiglitz had

photographed, Davidson had sculpted, and Derain painted with such flattering verisimilitudes had lost its luster (The Disenchanted 21).

In a similar voice, Schulberg says of Fitzgerald: ...with his pale and ghostly look, made his own contribution to this illusion. There seemed to be no colors left in him. The proud, somewhat too-handsome profile of his earlier dust-jackets was crumpled (Four Seasons 96).

In The Disenchanted, Sterns and Halliday spent the trip from Hollywood to New York discussing the differences between their generations--Halliday as a representative of the Roaring Twenties and Sterns representing the Depression Thirties. Halliday says:

...just think of what we had: The Wasteland and Pound and Cummings--your poets are midgets compared to them--and our novelists. Why in one year, 1925, we published An American Tragedy, Arrowsmith, Dos Passos' Manhattan Transfer, and The Great Gatsby. And books by Ellen Glasgow, Willa Cather, Tom Boyd, Edith Wharton, Elinor Wylie, and some I've forgotten. Yes, and our stage was alive...(52).

In Four Seasons, Schulberg has Fitzgerald say:

In 1925 alone, when The Great Gatsby was the Prodigy of American letters, other books published that year included Dreiser's An American Tragedy, Dos Passos' Manhattan Transfer, Lewis' Arrowsmith...volumes of

poetry by Ezra Pound, Archibald Macleish, Edwin Robinson...not to mention the movies...O'Neill had a new play ready every season...(102-103).

Jeffrey Meyers describes a scene in Scott Fitzgerald in which Schulberg's father accompanied him to the airport and presented him with two magnums of champagne as a celebratory and parting gift (315). Schulberg uses this scene in The Disenchanted as well, although it is Sterns' girlfriend who gives the champagne to the two writers. As Schulberg pressured Fitzgerald into taking his first sip of wine, Sterns also pressures the reluctant and diabetic Halliday (The Disenchanted 90).

From this first sip of champagne on the plane to New York, the rest of Schulberg's novel matches up quite closely with the other non-fiction accounts of the Dartmouth trip available. There is one scene, for example, in The Disenchanted, in which Sterns and Halliday are aboard the train from New York to Hanover. The train has stopped in a small town and Shep and Halliday, thinking that they can make it, hurry to a nearby diner to get some coffee before the train leaves. However, when the train pulls out of the station, they are not on it and have to hire a car to speed them through the icy night to the train's next stop in order to reboard:

"Are you coming? Are you coming?" Shep shouted. Run, the train's still here!" When Shep reached the train there was not a light on anywhere..."Help! Help! Stop

the train!" Shep was yelling, for it was moving now, creeping tantalizingly into motion. They stood there stupidly while it gathered speed. This incredible thing that couldn't really be happening was happening: the train chugged off into the night....

Shep and Manley huddled under their blankets that could not keep the cold from piercing to the bone. The applejack [a type of brandy] did what it could, but after a few miles their feet were numb....

...abruptly he [Manley] stopped, hurled forward by the force of his own momentum, out of the bright chaos of the past into the grim chaos of the present--"Oh God, I wrote checks in Hollywood against the advance [check from the producer] I meant to deposit in New York...."

Back into their frozen blankets, their eyes fascinated by the slippery road out between the deep snow banks they roared on.... Then just as unreally as they had been separated from the train...they were joined with it again (290-296).

Schulberg's account of this adventure in Four Seasons is almost identical:

Through the compartment window our bleary eyes recognized an all-night diner beyond the station platform. Hot coffee to sober us and keep us awake with bright ideas....he discovered that he had lost his paycheck. Why was he carrying a check for fifteen hundred dollars? He had planned to deposit it when we

got to New York.... We made a run for the train but as in a nightmare...we were on the platform when the train began to move. We found an old man to drive us in an old car cold as an icebox and we kept warm by huddling together and drinking from a bottle [whiskey this time].... We raced the train. Icy roads. We drew ahead of the train and reached the next station platform, where the train was not even scheduled to stop. But somehow we waved it down...waved it down and reboarded. Two shivering ghosts who had lifted off from Hollywood two days or light-years before. Surrealism rode that train to Hanover (112).

Upon reboarding the train, Fitzgerald had a revelation for the story Winter Carnival. Despite the fact that it was after five o'clock in the morning, he insisted upon waking up Wangar and sharing the story with him.

At five o'clock Scott had a brainstorm. He saw "the whole picture" in a poetic vision. All he had was an opening. Five of the hundred minutes we were in cold pursuit of.... He wanted to push the buzzer of Walter's drawing room and tell him "the story". I wanted us to coast into Dartmouth, try to clean up and sober up while Walter got involved in the festivities of arrival.... If I did not stand shoulder to shoulder with him [Scott said] he would go on alone.... After a long wait Walter opened the door. Scott told him we had solved the story. Walter did not look so dapper with his eyes full

of sleep and his mouth wanting teeth. There was a moment's hesitation. Perhaps this is the way genius strikes--at five o'clock in the morning on a train racing through the icy dark of New England.

Now he was the distinguished Dartmouth producer with the author of The Great Gatsby. "Fine Scott, I'd like to hear it." A pause. Scott turned to me. "Budd, why don't you tell it." I suggested we all go back to sleep.... But now that Walter was awake he insisted. I deferred to Scott and he went into the same lovely nonsense he had tried on me. Walter wasn't sure. Truth was, for all his pretense, Walter had no story mind at all. So it was agreed that we review the situation at his suite at the Inn as soon as we were bathed and unpacked (Four Seasons 112-113).

The fictional scene in The Disenchanted:

"Come on. Let's go and tell Victor" [the producer].

"Tell him what?"

"That we've licked his old story for him."

"Manley, know what time it is?"

"Doesn't matter. Why not relieve Victor's mind soon as we can?"

"Manley, I--I say no. I don't think it's such a hot idea."

Manley Halliday stared at Shep with astonishment, with indignation.

"I thought we were in this together," he said taking an attitude that might have seemed funny under less manic circumstances. "Thought you were going to stand by me."

Shep grabbed his arms. "Manley, you can't go now. Wait a couple of hours."

Manley Halliday wrenched free, "All right you summer soldier, I'll go see him alone...."

Pushing Milgrim's buzzer at 5:45 in the morning to tell him the fragment of an idea did not seem to Shep the surest way of gaining the Great Man's confidence, especially considering the worse-for-wear condition of their clothing and their minds....

After the buzzer had been sounded repeatedly...the opening of the door brought them terribly close to the sleep-dulled face of Victor Milgrim.... This face was softer around the mouth, perhaps from the removal of bridgework, and in need of a shave and a wash, a combing and powdering, it retained little to suggest the polish and assurance, the attraction of forcefulness that distinguished its public appearance....

"Victor, we've been working all night. We've come up with something that we'd like to try out on you." A faint ambiguous smile began to animate Milgrim's face. Well, it's an outrageous hour to rouse a man from his bed, it seemed to say, but maybe this is the way genius operates; it's the hacks who rent me their brains from

ten to five; takes genius to strike at five o'clock in the morning.

"All right, come in Manley. Let's hear the brainstorm.... All right, go ahead, I'm listening," Victor Milgrim said. "Shoot."

Manley Halliday opened his mouth, said nothing, and then turned to Shep. "Why don't you tell it?"

Shep blushed and began to stammer. "Well--I--I guess I--."

Victor Milgrim frowned. "Go on Manley," he ordered. "Let's have it."

Inhaling deeply through his mouth, Manley Halliday said it all again....

"Well," he [Manley] said exuberantly, "Was that worth being awakened for?"

The truth was, Shep suspected, Victor Milgrim didn't have the story mind to risk a final judgement. "Mmmm--it's a start," Milgrim said.... "I'll sleep on it--I think we'd all better sleep on it (300-304).

Later on in The Disenchanted, Halliday and Sterns are forced to stay in the servants' quarters in the attic of their hotel because their reservations have never been made. Halliday is quite upset and interprets the whole scene as a symbol of the writer's status in Hollywood:

Manley Halliday joined Shep at the house-phone.

"No room at the Inn?"

"How do you like that?"

Manley Halliday shrugged. "Symbol," he said.

"What?"

"Sure. Symbol of th' writer's status in Hollywood. Forgotten man."

"You ain't kiddin'," Shep said, sore. He turned back to the clerk.... The clerk frowned. "Well, if you don't mind the attic--it's more or less an unused servants' quarters. Not the most comfortable accommodations."

Manley Halliday laughed harshly. "Unused servants--not too comfortable--that's us, isn't it Shep?" (311).

Halliday's interpretation of this symbolism is also attributed to Fitzgerald in Schulberg's Four Seasons:

Only in some improbable fantasy would it have seemed possible for the film company to have forgotten to make reservations for us at the Inn, so that Walter Wangar could enjoy a spacious suite overlooking the campus while we were relegated to a makeshift maid's room in the attic devoid of furniture except for a metal double-decker bed and a single hard chair. "A perfect symbol of the writer's status in Hollywood," Scott described those neglected quarters...(113).

Schulberg then describes a scene in The Disenchanted in which the worn out, tattered, and protesting Halliday is made to follow the procession of spectators up a snow-covered mountain to witness the ski-jump:

...they had to walk at least a quarter of a mile through the snow to the crowd gathered in an enormous U around the lip of the jump. In his gray coat and battered hat, with the cold biting into his face, Manley Halliday looked more like a discouraged ghost than a holiday spectator at one of the highlight events of the Mardi Gras. He walked slowly, his footing uncertain, feeling club-footed from the numbing cold. A group of young people came up behind and a youth who showed his indifference to the elements by wearing only his letter sweater above his ski pants went beep-beep like an auto horn and shoved Manley Halliday aside to hurry on with his laughing friends.... Manley Halliday sank down in the snow-bank (337).

Schulberg describes Fitzgerald's ascent up the snow-covered mountain to witness the ski-jump in Four Seasons:

...I found him, trudging through the deep snow...in his baggy suit, his wrinkled overcoat, and his battered fedora that refused to make the slightest sartorial concession to Winter Carnival. What a grim, gray joke he was to the young, hearty, rosy-cheeked Carnival couples in their multi-colored ski clothes and their festive mating calls. I found them teasing Scott with the cruelty of children who torment the village idiot... (116).

On page twenty-one in Chapter Two of this thesis, a scene is described in which the highly intoxicated and

delusional Fitzgerald attempted to leave Schulberg, Hanover, and the Winter Carnival in order to go and search for his wife Zelda. However, Zelda was miles away and in a mental rehabilitation center. Schulberg rewrites this scene into The Disenchanted using Manley and his wife Jere:

...I'm going to her. I know where she is now.... I'll take her away. We'll go somewhere....

This goddamn romanticizing of everything, Shep thought, as Manley Halliday in this strange and agonized sleep, began to rise from the bed....

Manley weaving, but insisting, "I'm going--gonna get Jere," and actually started forward to the door one step and then another, swaying to catch his balance and then groping for the door knob where Shep was grabbing him, shoving him back toward the bed while he kept stubbornly pushing forward:

"Damn it, lemme go! What you got against Jere? All my frien's against Jere. Well, hell with you all, I'm going, gotta find Jere..."

He lurched for the door and almost fell, his knees giving like the joints of a break-away chair. He had started down when Shep caught him. He was limp in Shep's arms now and Shep carried him back to the berth with disturbing ease... (348).

Not only is this scene strikingly similar to the one Schulberg describes in Four Seasons, but Schulberg also incorporates an allusion to the fact that most of

Fitzgerald's friends did not approve of his wife Zelda. Ernest Hemingway, Edmund Wilson, John Dos Passos, H.L. Mencken, and many others had expressed feelings of disapproval towards Zelda and for the negative influence she had on Fitzgerald. Hemingway even believed that Zelda was jealous of Fitzgerald and deliberately distracted him with her extra-marital affairs, flirtations, and persistence in pushing Fitzgerald towards drinking. Hemingway says in A Moveable Feast:

If he [Fitzgerald] could write a book as fine as The Great Gatsby I was sure that he could write an even better one. I did not know Zelda yet, and so I did not know all the terrible odds that were against him....

Zelda was jealous of Scott's work and as we got to know them, this fell into a regular pattern. Scott would resolve not to go on all-night drinking parties and to get some exercise each day and work regularly. He would start to work and as soon as he was working well Zelda would begin complaining about how bored she was and get him off on another drunken party.... He told me many times on our walks of how she had fallen in love with the French navy pilot. But she had never really made him jealous with another man since. This spring she was making him jealous with other women...(180-181).

In The Four Seasons of Success, it is when Fitzgerald becomes delusional and attempts to go in search of Zelda that Schulberg loses the last remnants of his patience and runs

out to seek refuge in the *Alpha Delta Phi* bar. There is a parallel progression in The Disenchanted. After Halliday has stumbled to the door of their hotel room calling out his wife's name, Shep Sterns leaves him to seek refuge in a fraternity bar; although it is *Phi Delta Theta's* as opposed to *Alpha Delta Phi's*. And as Fitzgerald does in Four Seasons, Manley Halliday also miraculously appears in the same bar:

He [Sterns] tiptoed out, shut the door noiselessly behind him and felt an absurd elation when he realized he had made it and that he was outside by himself, on his way to the *Phi Delt* house where he might find old friends....

He lowered his glass, beginning to look around and see the sights, beginning to join the party and it was then that he felt the hand on his shoulder.

Somehow he knew without looking around that it was all over with his little outing. He accepted this so completely that he didn't even wonder by what drunken miracle, what quicker-than-eye sorcery, poor old Manley had risen from the dead and followed him. It was as if Manley Halliday merely had to reach out to pull him back into the nightmare again (350).

Shortly after Sterns was reunited with Halliday, the two writers decide to take the party to the *Psi U.* house. However, Shep, thinking Halliday is more intoxicated and less

aware than he actually is, tries to trick him into returning to their hotel:

[Halliday] "Le's go get a drink at the *Psi U.*'s. They prol'ly have the smoothest women."

At the entrance to the Inn, Shep tried to steer him up the steps. "Come on. Here we are at the *Psi U.* house."

But Manley Halliday caught it instantly. Far gone but not *that* far, he gave Shep such a look as he would never be able to forget, pulled his arm away and started running across the street...(355).

This progression of the two previous events, as well as the details of the events themselves, are identically parallel to two events described by Schulberg in Four Seasons:

And I [Schulberg] remember losing my patience and temper with him at last and running down the stairs and out through the lobby to Wheelock Street and over to the friendly *Alpha Delta Phi* fraternity bar...where, after fifteen minutes of troubled escapism, I felt a soft hand on my shoulder. Eerily, inescapably, the old ghost of many carnivals had tracked down his apprentice ghost (118).

It was at this point that Schulberg and Fitzgerald left the *Alpha Delta Phi* bar (the *Phi Delt* bar in The Disenchanted) and went off in search of the *Psi U.* house. It was also at this point that Schulberg attempted to fool

Fitzgerald into believing that their hotel was actually the *Psi U.* house:

"Let's have a drink at the *Psi U.* house!" Scott cried out like a stray from his own Flapper's and Philosophers. We were arm in arm as we came abreast the Hanover Inn, where, to head off another binge, I tried to play a dirty trick on Scott.

"*Psi U.* house!" I said as I turned him in toward the steps to the lobby. He pulled away, rightly infuriated--"Get away from me!--You can't fool me!--I'll go there alone!" and staggered on...(Four Seasons, 119).

Schulberg had, by now, become quite intoxicated himself. However, he managed to catch up to Fitzgerald before he reached the *Psi U.* house and persuaded him to return to the inn for some coffee and another stab at the screen-play. Once at the inn, the two writers were coincidentally confronted with the stenographer they had hired in New York and decided to make a chaotic drunken attempt at dictating the story to her. Neither of the two writers was sober enough to dictate anything seriously so they decided to step outside for "a breath of winter air to clear [their] heads" (Four Seasons 121).

It was at this point that Schulberg and Fitzgerald, in their drunken and woeful condition, ran into Walter Wangar:

Around the corner to the entrance of the Inn we loped, and there on the steps, coming out to begin his evening, was our nemesis Walter Wangar, sober and elegant,

standing several steps above us and wearing a top hat. The great cameraman Greg Toland could not have lined it up more perfectly. We were not really doing anything explicitly wrong at the moment but we felt guilty and it showed in our dilapidation and on our woeful countenances.

"I don't know what time the next train goes to New York," spoke the voice of doom, "but you two are going to be on it."

Someone volunteered the information that The Montrealer was coming through in half an hour. That would not even give us time to pack our bags, I protested. Walter said Lovey could bring them with him when he went down on Monday. Thus were we unceremoniously deposited on The Montrealer without our luggage, run out of town on a rail you might say (Four Seasons 121).

Halliday and Sterns reenact this scene in The Disenchanted:

As they turned the corner, laughing together, Victor Milgrim was approaching the Inn with the Dean and his wife. In his top-hat, his dress overcoat and his indignation, Milgrim seemed perfectly cast as a morality-play actor representing Outraged Respectability.

"Excuse me a moment," he said to the Dean and quickened his steps to intercept Manley and Shep, as if

the closer this drunken, dissolute, disgraceful pair were to come to sober, responsible, uncontaminated people, the worse would be their crime.

Even when Shep heard Victor Milgrim say, "The two of you are going to get into that cab, go down to the station and wait there for the next train to New York," it wasn't real enough to have impact....

Shep: "That cab? Right now? But our clothes? Our bags?"

Milgrim: "I'll have Hutch send them down after you. I want you two (lowering his voice so the Dean couldn't hear) bastards out of town, right now, this minute" (362).

Upon arriving at Pennsylvania Station, Schulberg found Fitzgerald in a comatose-like slumber from which he could not be roused. With the help of the porter, he carried Fitzgerald from the train:

A tap on the shoulder from the Negro porter brought me back to semi-consciousness and the information that we were already in Pennsylvania Station--and also that my traveling companion could not be roused. I jumped up, having slept in those already much-slept-in clothes, and hurried in to Scott. His face was ashen and he did not stir. He had fallen into that frightening void between sleep and something more final. Together the porter and I lifted him from the bunk and half-carried him to the end of the train. Then I was alone with him on the

platform. With my arm around his waist we made it slowly to the taxi stand (Four Seasons 121).

Halliday, like Fitzgerald, also has to be carried from the train by the younger writer and the black porter. However, in The Disenchanted, Schulberg does not specifically describe the porter as being Negro as in Four Seasons. It is reasonably safe to assume that he is though, based upon the manner of speaking that Schulberg assigns him:

The porter was back, interrupting. "Par' me, mister. You better come in and look at your friend. He's not hearin' nothin'. Gottah get him off," the porter said gently.

"How much time now?"

"'bout seb'n minutes."

"Well. Help me. Lift him up. Together. There. Now lift."

Together they maneuvered him out and into the aisle and down to the platform. Shep wasn't too clear about any of it: they were in the tunnel, holding the limp body between them and then Shep had Manley Halliday in his arms while the porter was opening the door--

"Yessuh--hope you be all right now"--and then they were on the station platform, Shep still managing to hold up the sagging body of his friend.

They made their way to the taxi landing (371).

Once back in New York, the two writers were in no better condition. For in the unkempt and disarrayed state they were in, no hotel would admit them:

They were lugging him [Halliday] in again. Another hotel lobby. Another try at the hotel clerk. Same cool eyes. Same cool appraisal....

"Do you gentlemen have a reservation?"

"Why, no, we--"

"Then I'm sorry...."

In the cab Shep said maybe we should try one of the big transient places, the Lincoln, the Commodore.

Louis Conselino [the taxi driver] (\$8.65, \$8.70) said, "Look, fella, I'll be glad t' drive ya around all day, but why doncha go down to Gran' Central, shave, clean up or a Turkish Bath maybe?"

Manley Halliday's eyes were open again. He had been listening.

"No use hotels," he mumbled, "...call Dr. Wittenburg...."

Dr. Wittenburg, being familiar with Manley Halliday and his condition through previous experience, suggested that Shep bring him to the hospital:

[Dr. Wittenburg to Sterns] "All right, I'll call Mount Sinai to arrange a room. Yes, I'll meet you there in a few minutes."

Oh Mount Sinai. Familiar place. Dr. Wittenburg had tapered him [Halliday] off there after some bad ones before (The Disenchanted 372-376).

Fitzgerald and Schulberg were in no better shape than Halliday and Sterns. And after being denied from every hotel, Fitzgerald asked to be checked in to his familiar Doctors Hospital:

For nearly three hours that Sunday morning we taxied the nearly deserted streets of East Side Manhattan in search of public hospitality. But such was our physical state and unkempt appearance that not even the meanest of hotels would have us. Finally, at Scott's whispered suggestion, we fell back on one of his familiar ports in the days of other storms, Doctors Hospital (Four Seasons 122).

At this point, the similarity between fact and fiction ends. Fitzgerald recuperated after a week of rest and flew back to Hollywood to live another twenty months and write the first several chapters of The Love of the Last Tycoon, which was praised by many critics as being the best he had ever written--Halliday continues to sink further and further into sickness and delirium. His toes turn black with frost-bite and gangrene. However, the coughing and choking, weak and sick, totally humiliated and ruined Halliday drowns in his own blood before the doctors can amputate his toes and humiliate him further.

The Disenchanted ends here with lines that are eerily reminiscent of those which conclude Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby. The Great Gatsby ends with the lines:

...the orgiastic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that's no matter--tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther....
And one fine morning--

So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past (182).

The last lines of The Disenchanted sound almost as if Schulberg has taken Fitzgerald's conclusion from The Great Gatsby and twisted and moulded it into his own sad condemnation of Manley Halliday. However, rather than having Halliday be "borne back ceaselessly into the past," Schulberg condemns and leaves Halliday to his end:

...he sat up straight and suddenly, with the power of final sight, he could look forward a lifetime into the future and backward a lifetime into the past. What he saw brought a final stab of pain, and when he fell back at last, he had ceased to be whirled about (388).

CHAPTER IV

THE REACTION TO THE DISENCHANTED

In the December 1958 issue of Theatre Arts, Budd Schulberg says of The Disenchanted's main character, Manley Halliday:

No, gentle readers and not so gentle critics, Manley Halliday, the hero of The Disenchanted, is not F. Scott Fitzgerald.

As author of the novel and co-author with Harvey Breit of the new play based on that novel, I do not enter this denial for reasons of legal expedience. I say it for an old fashioned reason: I believe it to be the truth (15).

However true Budd Schulberg may have believed his denial to be, he was for all practical purposes alone in his proclamation. Considering the evidence that has already been presented, it seems absurd for Schulberg to ever even have made such a claim. Though Schulberg's Four Seasons and "Old Scott" article for Esquire had not been published yet, and no detailed account of the two writers' Dartmouth trip had been given, many of Fitzgerald's close friends had no difficulty recognizing him in The Disenchanted.

Sheilah Graham, who had been Fitzgerald's live-in mistress during the last part of his life said that she came

to "resent the biographies with titles such as The Disenchanted..." (Graham, The Real F. Scott Fitzgerald 11).

Ernest Hemingway, who had been friends with Fitzgerald since the mid-1920's, not only identified Fitzgerald with The Disenchanted, but was also quite offended by it. However, Matthew Bruccoli speculated in Fitzgerald and Hemingway (1994) that Hemingway may have been irritated at all of the attention that was being given to the resurrected Fitzgerald while his own latest novel, Across the River and into the Trees, was falling under an immense volume of critical scrutiny (221).

After Hemingway had passed away, Budd Schulberg stated that Hemingway had been a very possessive and territorial writer and that he had considered the subject of Fitzgerald to be his own territory. Thus, Schulberg thought Hemingway was offended because he felt his territory was being infringed upon by The Disenchanted (Four Seasons 94). However, this seems to be faulty logic on Schulberg's part. And regardless of Hemingway's ulterior motives (if indeed there were any) for being upset with Schulberg and The Disenchanted, he nonetheless had no trouble recognizing Fitzgerald in Halliday's character.

Hemingway says in a letter to Malcolm Cowley:

I had the same reaction you did about what a shame it was for Scott not to be around for his own revival. But to be revived by such strange people: First Schulberg, a very nice guy everybody says, and most pleasant when I

met him once in Key West, writes something that really balls up everything about Scott and Zelda.... But Scott tried hard and did not die from dear old Dartmouth nor on the playing fields of Princeton and I am afraid that both Schulberg and [Arthur] Mizener are swine: not matter how plausible.... But that Schulberg-Mizener Axis could well be hanged, head down, in front of any second rate garage (Brucoli, Fitzgerald and Hemingway 222).

The Schulberg-Mizener Axis, as Hemingway called it, refers to Schulberg's The Disenchanted and Arthur Mizener's The Far Side of Paradise. Both books were published between 1950 and 1951 and both were quite critical in their treatment of Fitzgerald. Hemingway was not fond of the books or their authors. He went on to say that two books he would loved to have read if they had been written were: Longevity Pays: The Life of Arthur Mizener, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, and The Schulberg Incident, also by F. Scott Fitzgerald (Brucoli, Fitzgerald and Hemingway 222).

In a letter to Harvey Breit in 1956, Hemingway again refers to Schulberg's treatment of Fitzgerald:

Can remember one time on a TWA out of Los Angeles for N.Y. the hostess looked at me quite suspiciously because I needed a shave and was drinking a Chinese sort of vodka out of a flat pint flask. Then she brought the captain back to look at me like I was a character in a Budd Schulberg story about Scott Fitzgerald (Baker, Selected Letters 863).

Fitzgerald's daughter Scottie was also convinced that Manley Halliday was her father. She spoke of her father and The Disenchanted in a letter to Arthur Mizener:

I really felt I was in the room with Daddy the entire time during the drunken scenes--that was exactly the way he talked and acted during those bouts (Meyers, Scott Fitzgerald 316).

Although Scottie Fitzgerald's testimony hardly supports Schulberg's claim that Halliday was not modeled after Fitzgerald, it does, however, speak quite highly of Schulberg's skill as a reporting journalist.

Since The Disenchanted was published ten years after Fitzgerald's death, and twenty-five years after the publication of his last literary success, much of the The Disenchanted's audience would probably not have been immediately familiar with the details of Fitzgerald's life and career. However, not only did Fitzgerald's friends and acquaintances that knew him well connect him to Halliday, but reviewers who were not necessarily close to him did likewise. In a quite bland and general book review for the Library Journal of July 1950, W.K. Harrison writes:

Manley Halliday, has-been literary genius of the 20's, is given a last chance by Hollywood: to co-author a college musical. A trip East to pick up atmosphere serves as a catalyst to bring about Halliday's complete physical and spiritual disintegration. As Fitzgeraldian

as Fitzgerald, Halliday is the very essence of "the lost generation"... (1181).

Reviews such as Harrison's were common. In fact, many reviewers who were somewhat removed from Fitzgerald's story simply assumed that The Disenchanted was indeed biographical fiction. J. Donald Adams says in the November 19, 1950, issue of the New York Times Book Review: "it [The Disenchanted] is presumably a fictional treatment of the personal tragedy of F. Scott Fitzgerald" (2).

Those reviewers who did remember the story of Fitzgerald and Hollywood were a bit more sympathetic. In an article for The New Yorker of November 4, 1950, Alfred Kazin writes:

Budd Schulberg's The Disenchanted (Random House) is so frankly the story of F. Scott Fitzgerald that it is difficult to read this indignant novel about the humiliation of a leading American writer in Hollywood without regarding Manley Halliday as someone trying to impersonate F. Scott Fitzgerald--and not succeeding. It's unfortunate that one has to approach any novel in this way. But even if one did not know how much of The Disenchanted is drawn from Schulberg's experience with Fitzgerald on a movie musical based on the Dartmouth Winter Carnival, Halliday is so pointedly meant to remind us of Fitzgerald that naturally one expects him to show, somewhere, something of Fitzgerald's grace and literary intelligence. He never does (154).

Finis Farr, who wrote a review of The Disenchanted for the April 11, 1959, issue of National Review was also quite disturbed. He describes the "masterly way in which Mr. Schulberg, by some extraordinary reverse alchemy, managed to turn the admitted gold of Fitzgerald's personality and conversation into lead" (658). Farr goes on to say:

From Mr. Schulberg's show, one would get the idea that Fitzgerald passed his last days surrounded by bit-players, and died after a drunken frenzy at a college inn. For once, life has improved upon art, since things really turned out much better (658).

James M. Cain echoes this skeptical view of The Disenchanted in an article called "A Tarnished Hero of the Jazz Age," in the New York Times Book Review:

...one curious point must be made in regard to it [The Disenchanted], Scott Fitzgerald, in his lifetime, certainly did not lack recognition. Whether he was quite the genius, the sweet prince of narrative prose, that Shep seems to think, may be a moot point, for many will take exception to him, particularly on the scene of workmanship. But he carved out a niche for himself, and he still sits in it, for many do him reverence even now (Section 7).

Francis Downing expresses a similar opinion of Schulberg's treatment of Fitzgerald in the November 10, 1950, Commonweal. However, Downing stands much more firm on the issue than does Cain:

The waste of life and talent, the lavishness, the alcohol-clotted mind, the sense of adult infancy-- Fitzgerald has put them all down, and no one needs to do it again. The biographer may document, if he wishes, the physical atmosphere which the third-rate novelist feebly imagines is there, made present already by Fitzgerald. Budd Schulberg cannot create it, nor recreate it. It is absurd, it seems to me, that the inferior artist should go over what the greater artist has set down in the anguished honesty of his soul. Almost nothing about Fitzgerald can be said that he has not said better than anyone else is likely to phrase it (118).

However, despite the negative reaction of Fitzgerald's friends and of others that had been appalled at Schulberg's treatment of Fitzgerald, The Disenchanted was nevertheless a best-selling novel. And even if the image of Fitzgerald that was created by The Disenchanted was not flattering, it did, in any case, remind readers of the 1950's of the almost forgotten F. Scott Fitzgerald.

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF THE DISENCHANTED IN THE FITZGERALD REVIVAL

By 1950, and the publication of The Disenchanted, the Fitzgerald revival was well under way. Edmund Wilson, who had been a friend to Fitzgerald as well as a critic of Fitzgerald's work (and life), is commonly accepted as being responsible for the initiation of the Fitzgerald revival. Wilson edited and published the first several chapters of, as well as the notes and outline for, the last chapters of Fitzgerald's The Love of the Last Tycoon in 1941. Although less than half of this novel had been completed at the time of its publication, it commanded a new respect for Fitzgerald from the critics who had formerly written him off. Stephen Vincet Benét said of Fitzgerald in 1941:

You can take your hats off, gentlemen, and I think perhaps you had better. This is not a legend, this is a reputation--and seen in perspective, it may well be one of the most secure reputations of our time (Meyers, Scott Fitzgerald 338).

Ernest Hemingway felt differently about Fitzgerald's posthumously published novel. In a letter to Arthur Mizener, Hemingway says:

The Last Tycoon, after the part that is written, and was as far as he could write, is really only a scheme to

borrow money on (Brucoli, Fitzgerald and Hemingway, 209).

However, Hemingway and his opinion were very much a minority. Appearing in a volume along with The Great Gatsby and five other Fitzgerald stories, The Love of the Last Tycoon was given a warm reception by critics.

In 1945, Wilson published a book of various Fitzgerald essays, notes, and letters entitled The Crack-Up. Although several of the essays in The Crack-Up had already been serialized in 1936 in Esquire, The Crack-Up also consists of a number of Fitzgerald's previously unpublished letters to Wilson as well as letters to Fitzgerald from other literary celebrities such as Thomas Wolfe, John Dos Passos, T.S. Eliot, and Gertrude Stein.

One month after the publication of The Crack-Up, a collection of Fitzgerald stories called The Portable Fitzgerald, edited and published by Dorothy Parker, was released. Fitzgerald's friend and colleague, John O'Hara, who echoes Stephen Vincent Benét's sentiment of Fitzgerald's legend and legendary reputation, wrote the introduction to this volume.

Another incident that was important to the Fitzgerald revival, although on a level other than a literary one, was the death of Fitzgerald's wife Zelda. In 1948, Highland Hospital, where Zelda was being treated, caught fire and burned to the ground. Zelda was one of nine patients who were trapped inside and burned to death. In the 1920's and

30's, Zelda had been as much of a public figure as Scott himself. However, even though she was no longer a regular subject in the "society pages," the ghastly manner in which she died still aroused a considerable amount of interest in her and Scott's flamboyant and much-publicized lifestyle as well as Scott's writing. Consequently, by the time Schulberg published The Disenchanted, a fair amount of interest had already been returned to Fitzgerald and his work.

In 1952, Arthur Mizener wrote a letter to the editor of the Times Literary Supplement proclaiming as much about the Fitzgerald revival. Mizener's letter, which appeared in the January 25 issue, was a rebuttal of a letter that had been written on November 30 of the previous year by a Mr. Whitlock and that had apparently given credit to Mizener and Schulberg for initiating the Fitzgerald revival. Mizener says:

Nor will the facts bear out Mr. Whitlock's assertion that "much of the interest in Fitzgerald" has been produced by Mr. Schulberg's The Disenchanted and my book [The Far Side of Paradise].... I began to be deluged by questions about him [Fitzgerald] at least two years before my book [Far Side] was published [two years would also pre-date The Disenchanted by at least one year]. The revival of interest in him occurred well before either of these books appeared (77).

It has already been established that The Disenchanted was largely, and was taken quite largely as well, as being a

biographical treatment of Schulberg's experiences and knowledge of Fitzgerald. It was also established that Schulberg's biographical approach, whether intentionally so or not, was not at all kind to Fitzgerald. However, despite The Disenchanted's less than kind treatment of Fitzgerald, it nevertheless did him a great service by encouraging the public to remember him once again. And even though many critics agreed that The Disenchanted was a sophomoric bit of writing at best, it still made the best-seller list. The February 10, 1951, issue of Publisher's Weekly says of The Disenchanted:

...meanwhile, Budd Schulberg's best-selling novel, The Disenchanted (Random House), based on the life of Fitzgerald, continues to sell at a rapid rate. Five thousand copies were sold in January (880).

Scott Donaldson also spoke of the impact The Disenchanted had on Fitzgerald's reputation. In an essay concerning the resurgence of popularity of Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby, Donaldson says:

In 1951 Fitzgerald's ascending reputation skyrocketed after the publication of Budd Schulberg's novel The Disenchanted, whose alcoholic protagonist was modeled on Fitzgerald of the Hollywood period...(Critical Essays on The Great Gatsby 4).

Jeffrey Meyers agrees with this premise, yet elaborates on it by conceding that it was the Broadway play that was

adapted from The Disenchanted in 1958, which drew attention back to Fitzgerald (Scott Fitzgerald 339).

Thus, The Disenchanted, in one form or another, was widely distributed and associated with Fitzgerald. Although there were critics like Francis Downing, who were ardently opposed to The Disenchanted, Fitzgerald's reputation would probably have been worse off ultimately had it not been written. However, Downing says in the November 10, 1951, issue of Commonweal:

I am prepared to say that it [The Disenchanted] should not have been written. For it is a synthetic part of a revival of interest in the work of that fabulous, pathetic, gifted, and richly textured writer, F. Scott Fitzgerald; a revival begun five years ago by Dorothy Parker and John O'Hara (117).

Downing undoubtedly was upset with the immediate impact of The Disenchanted upon Fitzgerald's reputation. It was not fair, loyal, or by any means flattering to Fitzgerald. However, by calling attention to Fitzgerald's life, whether flattering or not, The Disenchanted also called attention to Fitzgerald's short stories and novels and reintroduced Fitzgerald to a public that had not seen him or his writing in ten years. According to Arthur Mizener in his letter of January 25, 1952, to the Times Literary Supplement, the primary readers and later revivalists of Fitzgerald's work were literary people (77). There was no mention of the general public audience that Fitzgerald had once had.

To be reintroduced was what Fitzgerald had been hoping for while alive and was what he had received in The Disenchanted ten years after he died. For once introduced, Fitzgerald believed, and rightly so, that his work could stand on its own.

Wilson's The Crack-Up and publication of The Love of the Last Tycoon were received warmly by critics. Schulberg's The Disenchanted was, however, a *best-seller*. In addition, at the same time that it was an entertaining and tragic biographical story, The Disenchanted was also a reminder of the F. Scott Fitzgerald that had once been. It had been almost twenty years since the Depression for which Fitzgerald and his generation had taken the blame. Tempers had cooled and the public was once again ready to hear the romantic stories that Fitzgerald had once told.

Whether Schulberg recognized this and set out to capitalize on it as well as to avenge his treatment in The Love of the Last Tycoon really is not significant when compared to the great service that The Disenchanted actually rendered to Fitzgerald. Academics and literary persons would probably have always recognized F. Scott Fitzgerald as a once-successful American author. However, with the help of Schulberg's push from The Disenchanted, Fitzgerald was given the respect and prestige that he had long deserved.

CONCLUSION

Curiously enough, throughout all of Schulberg's recollections and portrayals of Fitzgerald, he never completely condemns Fitzgerald. Obviously, the larger portions of his presentations are overwhelmingly negative, but there does always seem to be a small bit of awe and admiration showing through. Even in The Disenchanted, which is almost entirely slanderous, Schulberg maintains a certain amount of admiration for Halliday's character.

Near the end of The Disenchanted, when Sterns and Halliday are on the train back from the Webster *Mardi Gras*, Sterns reads the first three chapters of the new novel that Halliday has been working on. He was amazed that the Halliday he thought he knew as a washed out old drunk could still write so beautifully and effectively. Sterns' reaction to Folly and Farewell is much the same as Schulberg's and other friends' and critics' of Fitzgerald's had been to The Love of the Last Tycoon. As Halliday lies on his deathbed, Sterns says to him:

"Manley, listen, I haven't had a chance to tell you, but I finished those chapters on the train last night. They knocked me for a loop. Nobody writing today can touch it. Nobody. It's the old Halliday--but no, it isn't, it's new, sounder...(380).

In The Four Seasons of Success, Schulberg says of Fitzgerald and The Love of the Last Tycoon:

...I told him I thought he was on his way to a fascinating book that could be his best, possibly combining the depth of Tender with the precision of Gatsby (136).

Of course it is also entirely possible that the reference to Halliday's in-progress novel Folly and Farewell, which is obviously an allusion to Fitzgerald's in-progress novel at the time of his death, is just another detail added by Schulberg to authenticate the association between Halliday and Fitzgerald.

Schulberg had claimed that Manley Halliday was not F. Scott Fitzgerald, but that he was an amalgam of Twenties' writers. Surely, though, he must have known that Fitzgerald would be recognized in Halliday's character. It is possible though, that Schulberg had known other famous writers of the Twenties who had left behind the first chapters of what had promised to be first-rate novels as well.

Besides Schulberg, Fitzgerald had also allowed John O'Hara to read the first chapters of The Love of the Last Tycoon. O'Hara's reaction was quite similar to Schulberg's:

...this was such good writing I was reading. When I had read it I said, "Scott, don't take any more movie jobs 'til you've finished this. You work so slowly and this is so good, you've got to finish it. It's real Fitzgerald." Then, of course, he became blasphemous and

abusive, and asked me if I wanted to fight (New Republic 311).

O'Hara echoes the observations of Fitzgerald's tendency towards violence as well as the quality of writing found in The Love of the Last Tycoon.

Similar to Schulberg's reaction to Fitzgerald's The Last Tycoon, Shep Sterns is awed by Manley Halliday's in-progress novel Folly and Farewell. Throughout The Disenchanted, though, Halliday's Folly and Farewell is his only source of redemption. Sterns witnesses Halliday fall to great depths of humiliation and degradation before reclaiming even a small bit of self-respect with the first few chapters of Folly and Farewell. However, Schulberg then has Halliday die in a degrading manner. This quite ambivalent sentiment towards Halliday is duplicated in Schulberg's position towards Fitzgerald.

More often than not, in his early recollections of his experiences with Fitzgerald, Schulberg seems to be almost spiteful. However the more distance there is between the portrayal and the events depicted, the nicer Schulberg seems to become. In the January 5, 1974 issue of TV Guide, Schulberg speaks of Fitzgerald as being:

...fun and stimulating to talk with, even into the final tragic weeks when he was often propped up in bed to finish what he hoped would be his "comeback novel," The Last Tycoon (25).

The Fitzgerald described above is clearly not the same man depicted in Schulberg's The Four Seasons of Success or The Disenchanted. Certain of Fitzgerald's biographers have speculated that The Disenchanted was Schulberg's answer to Fitzgerald's treatment of him in The Love of the Last Tycoon. I suspect that these speculations may bear a certain amount of truth.

Fitzgerald had always written primarily autobiographical fiction. However, The Love of the Last Tycoon extends beyond autobiography and into Schulberg's own biographical story. This angered Schulberg because he felt that Fitzgerald had cheated him out of a part of his own life's story. This supposition is probably nearer the cause of Schulberg's motivation for writing The Disenchanted and for his treatment of Fitzgerald in it. Schulberg had not been pleased with the manner in which Fitzgerald had portrayed him in The Love of the Last Tycoon. However, considering that anyone other than Schulberg would probably have had a difficult time recognizing him in The Last Tycoon, this would seem to be quite a heavy-handed form of vengeance.

It is more likely that Schulberg, who was well aware of the rapidly increasing movement of the Fitzgerald revival, saw it as an opportune moment to capitalize on his experiences with Fitzgerald. The harsh treatment of Fitzgerald in The Disenchanted was probably only partly prompted by revenge.

It was practically common knowledge that The Disenchanted was based on the story of Schulberg's and Fitzgerald's experience at Dartmouth's Winter Carnival. However, by dramatizing the events of the story, Schulberg acquired for himself some of Fitzgerald's angst and tragic intrigue at the same time that he made an interesting literary anecdote seem even more so. And as a young author and the son of someone as well-known and powerful as B.P. Schulberg, he was probably interested in shaking the stigma of being a success based upon who he was rather than upon the actual quality of his writing.

Regardless of his motives for writing The Disenchanted, and regardless of whether or not his motives served their purposes, the best-selling novel did remind many readers of the F. Scott Fitzgerald of the Twenties and it did function as an important aspect of the Fitzgerald revival.

Schulberg acknowledges this himself and tries to accept credit for his part in the Fitzgerald revival when he remarks:

...with the publication of my novel, The Disenchanted,
...the floodgates were opened" (Four Seasons of Success,
140).

However, this quote from Four Seasons illustrates yet another aspect of the ambiguity exhibited by Schulberg towards Fitzgerald. Schulberg was known to have associated with Fitzgerald. He also wrote a novel in which he ruined and humiliated the main character that was inarguably modeled

after Fitzgerald. He then denied that the character was modeled after Fitzgerald, but accepted the credit for The Disenchanted's role in the Fitzgerald revival.

If Manley Halliday is not meant to suggest F. Scott Fitzgerald, why should The Disenchanted open any floodgates in the Fitzgerald revival? This statement of Schulberg's appears quite capricious. However, it does help to connect The Disenchanted to F. Scott Fitzgerald. This connection, in turn, helps to answer the question of what effects Fitzgerald's relationship with Budd Schulberg could have had on The Disenchanted, and ultimately, of what role The Disenchanted played in the Fitzgerald revival.

It cannot be told for certain if it was Fitzgerald's behavior at Dartmouth, his theft of Schulberg's story, his portrayal of Schulberg in The Love of the Last Tycoon, or all of these factors that motivated the writing of The Disenchanted. However, based upon Schulberg's accounts of their friendship, Schulberg seems to have been most offended by Fitzgerald's unauthorized use of his life in The Love of the Last Tycoon (Four Seasons 105).

The Disenchanted did play quite an instrumental role in the Fitzgerald revival. However, one could say that with The Disenchanted, Schulberg got even with Fitzgerald and the way he was portrayed by him in The Love of the Last Tycoon. On the contrary, though, Fitzgerald's literary reputation is now stronger than ever because of Schulberg and the way he chose to treat Fitzgerald in The Disenchanted.

Fitzgerald offended Schulberg with The Last Tycoon, who then retaliated with his portrayal of Fitzgerald in The Disenchanted. Ironically though, The Disenchanted helped to restore Fitzgerald's good name.

In 1998, almost fifty years after its first printing, The Disenchanted is out of print and relatively unheard of. Fitzgerald, however, is more popular than ever. Consequently, Schulberg's retaliatory slap in The Disenchanted actually awoke Fitzgerald's dormant reputation rather than injuring or insulting it.

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