

“I Wish for Another Pail”: The Fisherman on the Sand in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Love of the Last Tycoon*

Graeme Abernethy
Simon Fraser University*

And the sea cried to the hills and the hills answered the sea, till the city rose like
a widow and cast away her weeds, and toiled for her daily bread.ⁱ

-W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903)

In the posthumously published unfinished novel *The Love of the Last Tycoon: A Western* (1941), F. Scott Fitzgerald invoked a constellation of biblical, literary, and racial conventions in articulating a tentative and decidedly American morality. Monroe Stahr, the Hollywood executive of the book’s title, is in many respects the quintessential Fitzgerald protagonist: a charismatic young man of goodly wealth and “social potency.”ⁱⁱ He is also, atypically for Fitzgerald, Jewish. After commencing an affair with Kathleen Moore, his deceased wife’s doppelganger, Stahr encounters a solitary African American fisherman reading a book by Ralph Waldo Emerson. The nameless fisherman – a token of moral and, indeed, literary inquiry in a grossly commercial landscape – is shown to have a stake in Fitzgerald’s self-consciously American narrative. Presenting an example of self-reliance and an indictment of tales of American material and moral progress, he is also implicated in Stahr’s decidedly unliterary movie-making. In keeping with the novel’s (partly ironic) frontier trope, the scene occurs in the relatively uninhabited western outskirts of Los Angeles, shadowed by the frame of Stahr’s partly constructed beachfront home, an apparent monument to the insidious social and racial exclusivity that has already forced the black fisherman so far afield.

Euro-American literature is marked by a tradition of intensely moral, typically solitary, African American figures: Harriet Beecher Stowe’s saintly Tom in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852); Walt Whitman’s “picturesque giant,” the admired drayman in “Song of

* Graeme Abernethy recently completed a PhD on the iconography of Malcolm X at University College London. He is currently lecturing in twentieth-century American literature at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Canada.

Myself” (1855-1867); Mark Twain’s Jim in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884).ⁱⁱⁱ These often reproachful figures rarely herald the prospect of racial harmony. Nevertheless, they are agents of what Lauren Berlant describes as the “National Symbolic.” If “America” is understood, as Berlant asserts, as “an assumed relation,” the National Symbolic is “an alphabet for a collective consciousness or national subjectivity.”^{iv} Fitzgerald’s fisherman – a “figure of American division, failure, and tragic impasse” but also of potential conciliation – thus functions through invocation of existing narratives: he represents an allusive “engagement with the African American presence in American history.”^v

This article extends the analysis of Fitzgerald’s racial representation undertaken by such scholars as Forrey, Margolies, Smith, and Messenger to *The Love of the Last Tycoon*. More so than Breitwieser and Nowlin in their scholarship on the novel fragment, I will consider Fitzgerald’s depiction of the fisherman within the context of his representation of African Americans throughout his fiction. I will also pursue a new direction of inquiry, examining the portrayal of the fisherman in the light of the socially and racially restrictive geography of Los Angeles in the 1930s; indeed, with such novels as Arna Bontemps’s *God Sends Sunday* (1931) and Dorothy Baker’s *Young Man with a Horn* (1938), *The Love of the Last Tycoon* provides an early fictional glimpse of black Los Angeles. The city in *The Love of the Last Tycoon* crucially reproduces those patterns of exclusion evident elsewhere in the United States. Also crucial to the unfinished novel’s social landscape is the characterisation of Los Angeles as both migrant city and symbolic outpost of the mythic American West; in these potentially reside the prospect, for Fitzgerald, of some amelioration of America’s unresolved social and racial construction. It is worth noting that limited African American participation in the film industry, and the existence of an independent black film industry from the 1910s, disposed Fitzgerald to present Monroe Stahr as unaccustomed to considering questions even of black spectatorship relative to his films; Fitzgerald suggests, however, through invoking the African American musical idiom of the blues, that white spectatorship relative to black culture was more deeply entrenched. The encounter between Stahr and the fisherman, finally, proposes a conciliatory but finally partial consideration of American national coherence. I will show that the fisherman’s “wish for another pail” to

haul in his catch is allied, with Monroe Stahr, to what leading Fitzgerald scholar Mitchell Breitwieser calls Fitzgerald's "fervent articulation of American exceptionalism."^{vi}

"The vaguest race prejudices"

Hardly renowned as a champion of the lowly or indeed the non-white, Fitzgerald was deeply ambivalent regarding the prejudices of his class. Indeed, despite his preference for narratives set amongst the social elite, Fitzgerald described himself in 1938 as "a left-wing sympathizer."^{vii} Although he claimed that, "like most Middle Westerners, I have never had any but the vaguest race prejudices," it is less clear that his sympathies extended across racial as well as class boundaries.^{viii} While it can be argued that the fisherman in *The Love of the Last Tycoon* represents a departure from Fitzgerald's customary relegation of African American characters "to clownish and inferior roles" – the critic Robert Forrey presents a kind of conversion narrative, arguing that Fitzgerald altered his crude racial and political views in his latter years – even his early work had a varied approach to race.^{ix} Critical of Southern lynching in two early short stories ("Two for a Cent" [1922] and "The Dance" [1926]), he wrote elsewhere of African Americans "as 'coons,' 'niggers,' 'pickaninnies,' or 'Samboes,'" often speaking in malapropisms and exaggerated dialect.^x In his most famous fantasy, "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz" (1922), a group of African Americans, worshipful of their wealthy white employers, are contemptibly cast as gullible "darkies," easily misled into believing, in their Montana hermitage, "that General Forrest had reorganized the shattered Southern armies and defeated the North in one pitched battle."^{xi} Freedom is abhorrent to them; upon learning of their continued enslavement, they "held revival services immediately."^{xii}

Fitzgerald often traced across the Atlantic the implications of his assumptions about race in America. In a 1921 letter to Edmund Wilson, he expressed dismay at his discovery of what he perceived as Europe's ruinous character. This he attributed, at least in part, to racial impurity, acknowledging that his friend would perceive his tone as "philistine, anti-socialistic, provincial and racially snobbish":

God damn the continent of Europe. It is of merely antiquarian interest. Rome is only a few years behind Tyre and Babylon. The negroid streak creeps northward to defile the Nordic race. Already the Italians have the souls of blackamoors.^{xiii}

He would declare in 1923, however, that “No one has a greater contempt than I have for the recent hysteria about the Nordic theory,” or those pseudo-scientific white supremacist theories forwarded by such as eugenicist Henry Herbert Goddard, and by Lothrop Stoddard in *The Rising Tide of Color* (1920).^{xiv} In *The Great Gatsby* (1925), Tom Buchanan is quietly damned as a proponent of precisely such “stale ideas”; he also speaks in the novel against black-white intermarriage.^{xv} Buchanan’s voice is not the only one in *The Great Gatsby* expressive of a kind of racial jealousy. Narrator Nick Carraway casts three African Americans riding across the Queensboro Bridge in a limousine driven by a white chauffeur as risible, bug-eyed stereotypes, the two male “bucks” pretending to “haughty rivalry” with Gatsby’s seemingly more conventional wealth.^{xvi} Despite the convenience of conflating Carraway’s voice with Fitzgerald’s own – Fitzgerald himself employed African Americans as chauffeurs – the author’s personal views cannot straightforwardly be deduced from those of his narrator.^{xvii} Nor is Fitzgerald entirely identifiable with Dick Diver who, in *Tender Is the Night* (1934), dismisses the murder of the Afro-European Jules Peterson by a group of African Americans as “only some nigger scrap.”^{xviii}

As the only novel completed in Fitzgerald’s later period, and as the major work directly preceding *The Love of the Last Tycoon*, *Tender Is the Night* is nevertheless of particular importance in its gestures towards the author’s evolving racial attitudes. Critics have identified racial anxiety in the novel’s treatment of Jules Peterson, a black man from Stockholm, as “the expendable exotic outsider.”^{xix} For Felipe Smith, it is significant that the novel’s subtext of Spenglerian decline is enacted on a European stage. Rather than the violence of the murder itself, it is the implication of “social chaos” attending Peterson and his killers that most unsettles Diver.^{xx} While Peterson’s Swedish provenance suggests the Africanisation even of northernmost Europe, Peterson is cast as a former manufacturer of shoe polish, a trade hinting at minstrelsy – an economy of “commodified blackness” and racial duplicity with distinctly American origins.^{xxi}

Fitzgerald also draws the killers from that class of post-Jazz Age African Americans in Paris, intimating that their ostensible liberation in the City of Light may have led them into lawlessness; indeed, the city in the novel is associated with an unholy trinity of “black music, alcohol, and white male deterioration.”^{xxii} In addition to violence, both Smith and Messenger point to Diver’s perception of his diminished sexual authority in the presence of a series of racialised interlopers, an extension of Fitzgerald’s preoccupation with the dissipation of Euro-American vitality. In this light, Peterson’s bleeding to death on the hotel bed of actress Rosemary Hoyt “is much too charged an image in the national historical consciousness” – that is, of Americans – “to be expelled from critical discussion” on the strength of Diver’s casual dismissal.^{xxiii}

Fitzgerald may be glimpsed elsewhere attempting to come to terms with what has been called his “own American nativism.”^{xxiv} As Alan Margolies has shown, Earl W. Wilkins, an African American, called Fitzgerald to task in 1934 for again using the derisive term “buck” for African American males in “No Flowers,” a short story published in *The Saturday Evening Post*.^{xxv} Although he kept Wilkins’s letter, his reply two weeks later has not been preserved. In 1935, Fitzgerald told his friend Tony Buttitta that “Negro rights and equality” were “gibberish.”^{xxvi} He continued: “I hated Italians once. Jews too. Most foreigners. Mostly my fault like everything else. Now I only hate myself.”^{xxvii}

The Love of the Last Tycoon’s Monroe Stahr may be seen to emerge from this spirit of selective liberalisation. Stahr is Jewish, though not of a kind with the corrupt Meyer Wolfshiem in *The Great Gatsby*. He also stands well apart from the undifferentiated horde of “dark little bodies” bound for America from the Gare St. Lazare in *Tender Is the Night*.^{xxviii} In these abhorred precedents, however, may be the roots of Fitzgerald’s indulgence with Stahr and the fisherman of what Berlant terms a “fantasy of national integration.”^{xxix} Whereas the station scene in *Tender Is the Night* is suggestive of displacement anxiety – the racial renewal of America is observed with resentment by expatriate members of its white upper class – *The Love of the Last Tycoon* more actively attempts a reconciliation of Fitzgerald’s existing sense of the “American national character” with the presence of a new and “racially alien social order.”^{xxx}

As the child of Jewish immigrants to New York, Stahr is a representative of this class. He is not, however, like Wolfshiem, a plainly anti-Semitic figure, “a quintessential alien whose vulgarity and unbridled commercial instincts threaten America’s moral and cultural health.”^{xxxix} Stahr is not defined by his Jewishness. Rather, through his charisma, he transcends it; in a resonant turn of phrase, he claims of his executive function, “I’m the unity” (58). As Nowlin states, Fitzgerald assigned to Stahr a “Christ-like role”: “Stahr is one of the Jews and yet their very antithesis.”^{xxxix} While Stahr may be Christ-like, *The Love of the Last Tycoon*’s villain is Pat Brady – perhaps surprisingly, an Irish-American. According to Fitzgerald’s secretary Frances Kroll Ring, “It was a time when Hitler dominated the news and Scott avoided making the villain Jewish.”^{xxxix} He also avoided making the hero anything but glamorously rich; although the industrious Stahr is not of a kind with “the idle rich of Fitzgerald’s earlier fiction,” he shares with them an enviable degree of social access.^{xxxix} In Fitzgerald’s own words, Stahr was, like MGM executive Irving Thalberg on whom he was based, an individualist hero “built on the grand scale.”^{xxxix}

The persistence of the traditional

Unlike the exceptional Stahr, African Americans in *The Love of the Last Tycoon* are constrained by caste. They are also partly subject to Fitzgerald’s imaginative constraint. The other solitary African American in the book, a Tennessee drover glimpsed before dawn and given a quarter by a Hollywood screenwriter, conforms to customary condescension and, indeed, Whitman’s model of rustic elegance. In another passage, Fitzgerald resorts to the convenience of an African American musical idiom; just as his early characterisation as a “Jazz Age” oracle represented an incongruous appropriation, Stahr’s “post-epochal intuition,” afforded by the fisherman, is described as a “blues” (93).^{xxxix}

As T. Austin Graham suggests, Fitzgerald, as a pioneer of the “literary soundtrack,” commonly incorporated references to black popular music in his fiction.^{xxxix} In *Blues People* (1963), LeRoi Jones articulated the distinctive allure of black musical idioms: “Negro music is *always* radical in the context of formal American culture.”^{xxxix}

This dissident attraction of course extended to white Americans like Fitzgerald, whose Jazz Age branding was not the work of some mere publicist: he had titled his second collection of stories *Tales of the Jazz Age* (1922). (Perhaps to further bolster his jazz credentials, Fitzgerald dubiously claimed to have “discovered” Bricktop, the popular African American Parisian cabaret singer of the 1920s^{xxxix}). In *The Great Gatsby*, he would commemorate what Breitwieser calls “the image of jazz in the middle-class white popular imagination” – an image signifying “both primitivity and hypermodernity”.^{xl} Jazz, interpreted in these terms, was broadly identifiable with the popular perception of the American nation itself. In *The Love of the Last Tycoon*, Fitzgerald, having fallen out of fashion along with the Jazz Age, appeared to be seeking reversion to more traditional cultural models. While referencing such popular show tunes and jazz standards as “Lovely to Look At” and “Blue Heaven,” Fitzgerald implicitly critiques their commercial frivolity, assigning a measure of moral significance to the blues, a more traditional African American form. Amongst the first literary bluesmen, Fitzgerald’s fisherman is a sagacious figure representing the merit of more substantive cultural traditions.

It is, finally, the fisherman’s reading material as much as his association with the blues that distinguishes him from Fitzgerald’s other African Americans. A figure both esoteric and earthy, the fisherman represents the stubborn persistence of the traditional in an era of increasing mechanisation, signified by the novel’s abundant automobiles and airplanes – and, of course, films. The literary bias in the text is not the fisherman’s alone. Narrator Cecilia Brady, the daughter of a film producer, remarks very early on that, “When I was at Bennington some of the English teachers who pretended indifference to Hollywood or its products really *hated* it. Hated it way down deep as a threat to their existence” (3). Even Stahr expresses an “intense” and quasi-mystical, if finally unrealised, “respect for learning, a racial memory of the old shuls” (92). As a novelist sceptical of film’s collaborative and commercial compromises, Fitzgerald raised in *The Love of the Last Tycoon* what preoccupied him elsewhere: “the question of whether movies could be genuine art.”^{xli} In his 1936 essay “The Crack-Up,” he wrote that film

was an art in which words were subordinate to images, where personality was worn down to the inevitable low gear of collaboration. As long past as 1930, I

had a hunch that the talkies would make even the best selling novelist as archaic as silent pictures.^{xlii}

This cultural shift was for him, as for the fisherman, a source of “rankling indignity.”^{xliii}

In addition to ventriloquising Fitzgerald’s aesthetic doubts, the fisherman is also a conventional symbol inherited from the abolitionist era’s emphasis on African American literacy, honest toil, and Christian devotion; Fitzgerald employs him, in one regard, as Stowe employed Uncle Tom: as a measure of white American waywardness. Ascribed to the fisherman as a black man is a moral gravity not attributed, for example, to Stahr’s Filipino servant. Indeed, absent from the figure of the fisherman is the fatuously presumed “laughing stoicism” that Fitzgerald, in “The Crack-Up,” supposed had “enabled the American Negro to endure the intolerable conditions of his existence.”^{xliv} In the brief scene, the fisherman remarks that he has been reading Emerson and a book of Rosicrucian literature. He reveals, further, that he and his family “never go to movies,” as “There’s no profit.” Having drawn this implicit distinction between the moral and the monetary, he walks off, “unaware that he had rocked an industry,” (93) embodied by the highly ambitious – and, it is hereby revealed, highly sensitive – Monroe Stahr.

The fisherman’s literary identification is entirely with Emerson; he declares that he is “fed up” (93) with the vagaries of the Rosicrucian Order.^{xlv} Like the grunion he collects, the sight of which conjures a time “before Sir Francis Drake had nailed his plaque to the boulder on the shore,” (93) the fisherman’s reading of Emerson suggests a valorisation of communion with nature. In his 1836 essay “Nature,” Emerson wrote that, “Philosophically considered, the universe is composed of Nature and the Soul.”^{xlvi} Nature was for Emerson a mollifying influence: “In the woods, we return to reason and faith.”^{xlvii} For Fitzgerald, alienation from nature was a source of regret. In 1939, he wrote to his daughter that, “after reading Thoreau I felt how much I have lost by leaving nature out of my life.”^{xlviii} While Fitzgerald accessed the natural world from a readerly remove, the fisherman possesses an additional, elemental quality in his self-reliance – a symbolic trait attributed to him as a black man falling outside the author’s purview of urbane, predominantly white, society.

An unsteady frontier

The symbolic geography of the encounter is also crucial. Richard Lehan has described Los Angeles as “the supreme embodiment of the secular city.”^{xlix} As such, the “benevolent despot” Stahr is among its supreme citizens.¹ A sprawling city with origins in modern industry – the conjunction of two rail lines in Southern California in 1886 – Los Angeles was still coming in to being, more than doubling in size during the 1920s.^{li} With a mythology manufactured by popular films, Los Angeles emblematises Fitzgerald’s sense of the confluence of “a romantic idea of destiny and a mechanistic idea of entropy unfolding together to produce the story of America.”^{lii} The earthquake in the novel’s fourth episode suggests an inherently conflictual relationship with the environment itself; Los Angeles appears as a distinctly unsteady frontier.

It is less in Los Angeles proper, however, than in Stahr’s new home, under construction in a coastal wilderness west of Malibu, that the frontier trope suggested by the novel’s subtitle, *A Western*, finds its focus. Described as a “fuselage” lodged in “an open wound in the sea-scape,” (81) the frame also hints at the plane wreck intended, according to Fitzgerald’s notes, to kill Stahr at the novel’s conclusion.^{liii} As the western outpost of the city, the beach house is a microcosm of Fitzgerald’s America – a place where man and nature (again) violently and irreconcilably meet. In this instance, the expansion of the populace is the expansion of its industries. Indeed, for Stahr, the beach house is less a domestic than a commercial space. An extension of his office, which “is really home,” its only finished room is a projection room, described as “a nice place to read scripts”; it already contains a business telephone and is littered with “props” (82) from a film industry gathering held long before the house was fully built.

The passage of course also reveals the city’s unbalanced racial topography. With a fairly low percentage of black residency – just 63,000 black residents of more than two million when Fitzgerald was writing *The Love of the Last Tycoon* – Los Angeles had a low incidence of racial violence and “one of the highest proportions of black homeowners of any major American city.”^{liv} At the same time, segregation was strictly enforced in Los Angeles by “an extensive network of racially restrictive housing covenants” intended to restrict black residency to the Eastside – mainly to the Central

Avenue district and Watts, which was annexed by Los Angeles in the 1920s. The housing covenants “had become a widespread phenomenon on the urban landscape by the 1920s.”^{lv} The “provisions against ‘alien races’ and ‘non Caucasians’” mainly applied to Angelenos of African, Japanese, and Mexican descent; they “also sometimes applied to Los Angeles’s Jewish population, already the nation’s second largest by the 1920s.”^{lvi}

In this “Jim Crow city,” African Americans like Fitzgerald’s fisherman understood that all “public space was tacitly racialized.”^{lvii} While “the city’s greatest asset, space,” often “created an illusion of tolerance,” on Santa Monica beach, just a few miles from where Stahr encounters the fisherman, black persons were “restricted to a small patch of sand away from white beachgoers.”^{lviii} Fitzgerald does not mention the fisherman’s place of residence. It can be presumed, however, that he has travelled some distance to fish undisturbed; he informs Stahr that he used to fish near sparsely populated Malibu, but that film industry locals disapproved of his presence. Now even farther west on what Breitwieser calls “the geographical terminal beach,” his fishing ground has again been invaded by Hollywood in the person of Stahr, normally resident in the exclusive, gated Westside enclave of Bel Air.^{lix} Indeed, unlike the fisherman, Stahr was far too affluent to be subject to the housing covenants discussed above. As David Fine writes, “the Westside, from Hollywood to the ocean, emerged as the principal enclave of the at least partly Jewish, partially movie-dependent new middle- and upper-class population.”^{lx} While the construction of Stahr’s home further inscribes his undisputed social status, the fisherman remains on his small patch of sand.

Despite being obscured by Stahr’s surpassing wealth, the events of the novel can be dated to the depths of the Great Depression in the mid-1930s. Sheilah Graham, Fitzgerald’s partner at his death, wrote to Fitzgerald’s editor Maxwell Perkins in 1941, indicating that

the time of the book’s action was most important to Scott. I don’t know whether this appears in his notes, but he wanted it to be as of five years ago. He places the period with the songs of 1934-5 and by the mention of a few people who were alive or prominent at that time.^{lxi}

While such as Stahr remained buoyant, the Depression disproportionately affected African Americans, who in Los Angeles in the 1930s worked largely in domestic service, transport industries, construction, day labour, and farming. Many other African Americans in the city made their living as musicians.^{lxii} By 1934, however, “half of all black Angelenos were out of work.”^{lxiii} The fisherman may be regarded as among this number. His statement that “I wish for another pail” (93) to haul in his catch of grunion thus speaks to a perceived poverty of opportunities – to deprivation in a land of plenty: the spawning fish he harvests populate not the sea, but the sand, only seeking the former upon hatching. In confronting Stahr with a philosophy wrought from hardship, the fisherman awakens the abstractedly wealthy executive to the labour not only of finding one’s food, but of obtaining both knowledge and moral certainty while doing so.

Entertainment on an industrial scale

As elsewhere in Los Angeles in the 1930s, black workers and artists met with employment restrictions in Hollywood, “Los Angeles’s top-grossing industry.”^{lxiv} Angeleno historian Josh Sides writes:

By the end of the 1930s, African Americans held no writing jobs (with the exception of Langston Hughes), and no technical jobs were available for blacks. Only Paramount Studios had two African Americans on a regular payroll; both men were janitors.^{lxv}

Hollywood’s investment in racial exclusion was established early on with the casting of white actors in blackface, rather than black actors, in such seminal films as *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *The Jazz Singer* (1927). To counteract the influence of such films, black filmmakers established independent production companies, such as the Lincoln Motion Picture Company, founded in 1915; Oscar Micheaux, the most prolific African American independent filmmaker of the period, made more than forty feature films from the 1910s through to the 1940s.^{lxvi}

Stahr alludes to this African American cultural avenue in telling his female companion after the fisherman's departure that, "They have pictures of their own" (94). The period in which Fitzgerald was writing had in fact seen an increase in mainstream acceptance of black performances in films like *Judge Priest* (1934), *Show Boat* (1936), and *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Lincoln Perry, better known as the clownish Stepin Fetchit, the self-described "World's Laziest Man," was, beginning in the late 1920s, the first African American crossover film star and Hollywood millionaire.^{lxvii} For his part, Stahr seems less concerned with black performers than black audiences.

In a passage that "might be read as testimony to the African American's power as keeper of the national conscience," Stahr is shown to be haunted by the figure of "the Negro on the sand. He was waiting at home for Stahr with his pails of silver fish, and he would be waiting at the studio in the morning" (96).^{lxviii} The executive determines that the fisherman's literary bias "was prejudiced and wrong and he must be shown, somehow, some way. A picture, many pictures, a decade of pictures, must be made to show him he was wrong" (96).^{lxix} The passage may also be read as evidence of Stahr's mercenary opportunism; seeing in the fisherman a potential commercial convert, Stahr presumes to gain ownership of the fisherman's imagination with his films. Nowlin, for one, sees in this resolution a "sinister" and "imperial design," arguing that

the most powerful man in Hollywood is bent on coopting the attention and overcoming the resistance of a residual minority seeking genuine cultural capital and freedom in books rather than entertainment and (re)enslavement through pictures.^{lxx}

Stahr is, of course, not a Moses figure. In a memorable passage, he compares his apparently arbitrary creative decisions to the expediciencies of "a railroad man" (20) cutting a route across a vast continent. As a diligent, opportunistic executive, he pursues the mandate of the oligarchic studio system: entertainment on an industrial scale. For Stahr, African Americans reading books or having pictures of their own represents not an impediment, but an unoccupied site on which to erect another brokerage.

It is by way of this notion of imaginative purchase that Fitzgerald can be seen to have identified with Stahr, as much as with the literary fisherman, as a kind of alter ego. Despite that, or perhaps because, Stahr is so determinedly unliterary – he pointedly tells Kathleen “I don’t read” (113) – he becomes in the text “an ambiguous artist figure, a vehicle for Fitzgerald’s deeper preoccupation with at once the diminishing prospects of and the shifting character of authentic ‘genius’ in the age of mass culture.”^{lxxi} Fitzgerald created Stahr as a distinctly American, and distinctly modern, artist figure: both enviable and frightening, and of once-unimaginable creative sway.

It bears mentioning that Fitzgerald did not regard Hollywood as a mere backdrop for his artistic achievements, a place to write screenplays and the seventeen Pat Hobby stories (1940-1941) for *Esquire* that would finance his more serious literary endeavours. A postscript in a letter to Zelda Fitzgerald, dated 14 September 1940, indicates that he viewed Hollywood as a platform for his evolution as a modern artist; he quietly harboured a desire to become a filmmaker in his own right:

They’ve let a certain writer here direct his own pictures and he has made such a go of it that there may be a different feeling about that soon. If I had that chance, I would attain my real goal in coming here in the first place.^{lxxii}

Fitzgerald’s fascination with Hollywood’s cultural currency dated to the very outset of his writing career. In a 1936 letter, he claimed that, in 1920, he tried to convince D.W. Griffith, the famous director of *The Birth of a Nation*, “that people were so interested in Hollywood that there was money in a picture about that and romance in the studio.”^{lxxiii} In other words, *The Love of the Last Tycoon* may have had its inception, two decades prior, as an idea not for a novel but for a film, and perhaps with a very different tycoon than Irving Thalberg in Fitzgerald’s mind.

From the first films publicly shown in America in 1896 – the year of Fitzgerald’s birth – to the consolidation of the Hollywood studios through the 1910s and ’20s, the movie industry can be seen to have paralleled Fitzgerald’s own development. Having long pondered film’s cultural influence, he first attempted to write for the movies in

Hollywood in 1927. He later reflected that his early literary experience caused him to take screenwriting too lightly:

I honestly believed with *no effort on my part* I was a sort of magician with words – an odd delusion on my part when I had worked so desperately hard to develop a hard, colorful prose style.

Total result – a great time and no work.^{lxxiv}

The lack of success was compounded during a second stint in 1931 during which Fitzgerald failed to wrest creative control from his collaborators, confirming for him that filmmaking, at least for writers, was far removed from the novelist's autocratic craft. He would bemoan the studio hierarchies that ranked novelists-turned-screenwriters as rather lowly. While working on a script for *Red-Headed Woman* (1932) at MGM, Fitzgerald, "beginning to drink more often than I ought to [...] ran afoul of a bastard named de Sano, since a suicide, and let myself be gypped out of command."^{lxxv} His script rewritten by Anita Loos, Fitzgerald left Los Angeles "disillusioned and disgusted, vowing never to go back."^{lxxvi} He returned, of course, in July 1937, soon dividing his time between screenwriting efforts and plans for his Hollywood novel. Spending his final three years in Los Angeles, Fitzgerald received just a single screenwriting co-credit, for *The Three Comrades* (1938), an adaption of Erich Maria Remarque's novel of the same name. Although he would be paid \$38,000 by MGM in 1938 alone, his mounting debts and expenses far outstripped his income.^{lxxvii} The Pat Hobby short stories – tales of an often humiliated alcoholic screenwriting hack, a sort of inverse Monroe Stahr – suggested that Fitzgerald was well aware of his dishevelled reputation; despite recognising Hollywood's narrative attractions, Fitzgerald remained a peripheral figure and a self-conscious outsider in Los Angeles, that city of outsiders and recent arrivals.

Conclusion: outsiders in the migrant city

David Fine has written that, "In Los Angeles fiction [...] History is not so much absent as displaced; it exists as a different geography."^{lxxviii} In *The Love of the Last Tycoon*, Los Angeles is a migrant city, generated by the mesmerism of narratives extolling "the

Western Ideal.”^{lxxix} Stahr, himself of humble beginnings in the Bronx, trades in such narratives. (Fitzgerald was of course a migrant to Los Angeles by way of St. Paul, Princeton, New York, France, and Asheville). The fisherman pursues his own narrative of emancipation from the broadening tyranny of the American South. According to Douglas Flamming, “Black Los Angeles always had in view both the South and the West.”^{lxxx} Stahr’s companion Kathleen Moore, an Irishwoman from London newly arrived in California, only knows African Americans abstractly; she thinks to drive Stahr’s “momentary blues away” by remarking of the fisherman, “Poor old Sambo” (93) – Sambo being the name of one of many “black stereotypes that had existed since the days of slavery and were already popularized in American life and arts” when they began to appear in early films like *The Birth of a Nation*.^{lxxxi} To his credit, Stahr appears to be mildly perturbed by the patronising phrase.

While the privileged Stahr’s Jewishness, unlike the fisherman’s blackness, may appear to be regarded benignly in Fitzgerald’s Los Angeles, the novel’s opening chapter includes the suicide of another Jewish American producer, Mannie Schwartz, another sort of foil to Stahr: Schwartz’s name is as suggestive of darkness as Stahr’s is of light. Nowlin argues that “Fitzgerald could not conceive of Stahr as a model of assimilation without conjuring up his unassimilable shadow,” noting that, while the former finds a measure of anonymity on an airplane with the alias Mr. Smith, “Schwartz cannot shed his congenital Jewishness.”^{lxxxii} That the suicide occurs on the grounds of another emblematic house – The Hermitage, the Tennessee birthplace of Andrew Jackson, “that quintessential self-made American democrat” – implies a rather more comprehensive indictment of American democracy than appears in the novel’s other fragments.^{lxxxiii} Schwartz advises Stahr in a final note to “look out! I know” (16). As if unconsciously heedful of Schwartz’s obscure warning, Stahr, in seeking a renewed purpose for himself and his industry, is instinctively drawn to a quality of profound incorruptibility in the fisherman. The fisherman scene is, on the one hand, “a remarkably prescient instance of the encounter whereby the successful American Jew meets in the figure of the black the racial ‘otherness’ he has shed, along with the oppositional conscience it entails.”^{lxxxiv} On the other, it is a scene of artistic conversion in which Stahr embraces the need for a more comprehensively moral vision in Hollywood, that most American of industries.

Fitzgerald himself, as an outsider in the film industry and, increasingly, in the literary establishment – and being, in his phrase, “a moralist at heart” – was also imaginatively drawn to the symbolism of the black fisherman, a figure of richly biblical texture.^{lxxxv} Professing his moral doubts while occupying a liminal space, the fisherman stands comfortably outside present time, untainted by modern compromises. He nevertheless evokes a distinctly American morality, not least in his association with Emerson’s model of self-reliance.

Although the fisherman may be a figure without precedent in Fitzgerald’s fiction, the scene’s elegiac tone recalls his most famous work. Breitwieser has stated that,

In Fitzgerald’s novels, African Americans commonly appear at the moment when the main character’s world is deeply disturbed [...] Only in *The Last Tycoon*, though, is that disturbance refreshing and inexplicably inspiring – a sense of possibility perhaps enhanced by the echo between Drake’s arrival in California and the transfixed gaze of the Dutch sailors at the end of *The Great Gatsby*.^{lxxxvi}

By shifting the temporal focus from the present, the two evoked landings confirm Fitzgerald’s ongoing narrative investment in America’s founding myths. By providing glimpses of Los Angeles and New York as recent wildernesses, he demonstrates that “space is always altered by history.”^{lxxxvii} Implicating these already mythologised cities within a complex of unfolding histories and industries, he positions them as contingent spaces subject to modification by discursive as well as physical means. *The Love of the Last Tycoon*, then, presents Los Angeles not only as a confluence of man and nature, but also as an illustration of the utility of narrative in seeking to reconcile both.

In *The Love of the Last Tycoon*, Fitzgerald deploys the black fisherman and his wished-for pail as part of “a constellation of national signs” described as “the National Symbolic.”^{lxxxviii} In imagining a fellowship between Stahr and the fisherman, a pair of symbolic outsiders nevertheless invested in American narratives, he extends this “fantasy of national integration” or coherence to what, in his earlier fiction, he regarded as a “racially alien social order.”^{lxxxix} Perceived by the fisherman as the inevitable incursion of apartheid, Stahr’s unfinished house may also be understood to signify something more hopeful for America’s unresolved social and racial destiny. On 8 December 1940,

America entered into a war that would irrevocably transform these discourses; the same month, F. Scott Fitzgerald succumbed at forty-four to a heart attack, leaving his last novel – like Stahr’s beach house – incomplete.

One critic has argued that, “In his overt representations of black males, Fitzgerald always falls back on stereotypes and finds no way past satirical and caricatured brushstrokes; there are no sympathetic imaginative renderings.”^{xc} In *The Love of the Last Tycoon*, a text defined by its open-endedness, Fitzgerald found in the fisherman on the sand the possibility of an imaginative renewal.

Endnotes

ⁱ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 715.

ⁱⁱ Mitchell Breitwieser, “Jazz Fractures: F. Scott Fitzgerald and Epochal Representation,” 372.

ⁱⁱⁱ Walt Whitman, “Walt Whitman (Song of Myself),” 37.

^{iv} Lauren Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy*, 4, 5, 20.

^v Michael Nowlin, “‘A Gentile’s Tragedy’: Bearing the Word about Hollywood in *The Love of the Last Tycoon*,” 177, 158.

^{vi} F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Love of the Last Tycoon*, 93. References are hereafter given parenthetically in text. Breitwieser, “Jazz Fractures,” 361.

^{vii} F. Scott Fitzgerald, “Letter to Frances Scott Fitzgerald, 19 September 1938,” 52.

^{viii} F. Scott Fitzgerald, “The Crack-Up,” *The Crack-Up*, 73.

^{ix} Robert Forrey, “Negroes in the Fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald,” 293.

^x Alan Margolies, “The Maturing of F. Scott Fitzgerald,” 89. Forrey, “Negroes in the Fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald,” 293.

^{xi} F. Scott Fitzgerald, “The Diamond as Big as the Ritz,” *The Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 15, 16.

^{xii} *Ibid.*, 16.

^{xiii} F. Scott Fitzgerald, “Letter to Edmund Wilson, May 1921,” *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 346.

^{xiv} F. Scott Fitzgerald, *In His Own Time*, 143.

^{xv} F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, 25.

^{xvi} *Ibid.*, 73.

^{xvii} Forrey, “Negroes in the Fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald,” 294. Chris Messenger identifies *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922) as “Fitzgerald’s most racially and ethnically biased against disparate peoples.”

Messenger, “‘Out Upon the Mongolian Plain’: Fitzgerald’s Racial and Ethnic Cross-Identifying in *Tender Is the Night*,” 163.

^{xviii} F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender Is the Night*, 123.

^{xix} Felipe Smith, “The Figure on the Bed: Difference and American Destiny in *Tender Is the Night*,” 188.

^{xx} *Ibid.*, 201.

^{xxi} Susan L. Keller, “The Riviera’s Golden Boy: Fitzgerald, Cosmopolitan Tanning, and Racial Commodities in *Tender Is the Night*,” 151.

^{xxii} Smith argues that “Peterson’s murder foretells the inevitability” of the later “beating death outside of a speakeasy” of the slumming white American, Abe North – an evocatively named friend of Dick Diver. Smith, “The Figure on the Bed,” 200, 208.

^{xxiii} *Ibid.*, 189. See also Messenger, “‘Out Upon the Mongolian Plain,’” 160-176.

^{xxiv} James W. Tuttleton, “Seeing Slightly Red: Fitzgerald’s ‘May Day,’” 190.

^{xxv} Margolies, “The Maturing of F. Scott Fitzgerald,” 77.

^{xxvi} Tony Buttitta, *After the Good Gay Times*, 164.

^{xxvii} *Ibid.*, 5.

^{xxviii} Fitzgerald, *Tender Is the Night*, 89. In his discussion of Fitzgerald’s drafts for the novel, Felipe Smith indicates that the “dark little bodies” of the published version were initially explicitly identified as Jews. Smith, “The Figure on the Bed,” 205-207.

^{xxix} Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy*, 22.

^{xxx} Smith, “The Figure on the Bed,” 205.

^{xxxi} Nowlin, “‘A Gentile’s Tragedy,’” 172.

^{xxxii} *Ibid.*, 175.

^{xxxiii} Frances Kroll Ring, *Against the Current*, 49.

^{xxxiv} Forrey, “Negroes in the Fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald,” 297.

^{xxxv} Matthew J. Bruccoli, “Introduction,” *Last Tycoon*, xxxiv.

^{xxxvi} Breitwieser, “Jazz Fractures,” 375.

^{xxxvii} T. Austin Graham, “The Literary Soundtrack: Or, F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Heard and Unheard Melodies,” 519.

^{xxxviii} LeRoi Jones, *Blues People*, 235.

^{xxxix} Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir*, 45.

^{xl} Breitwieser, “Jazz Fractures,” 368.

^{xli} Nowlin, “‘A Gentile’s Tragedy,’” 158.

^{xlii} Fitzgerald, “The Crack-Up,” *The Crack-Up*, 78.

^{xliii} Ibid., 78.

^{xliv} Ibid., 84.

^{xlv} Rosicrucianism, a secret society of alchemists and moral, religious, and political reformers, gained prominence in Europe in the early 17th century, influencing early freemasonry. Purportedly founded in medieval Germany, modern adherents trace the Order's mystic origins to Ancient Egypt.

^{xlvi} Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature," *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 8.

^{xlvii} Ibid., 10.

^{xlviii} F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Letter to Frances Scott Fitzgerald, 11 March 1939," *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 66.

^{xlix} Richard Lehan, *The City in Literature*, 257.

^l David Fine, *Imagining Los Angeles*, 169.

^{li} Ibid., 9.

^{lii} Lehan, *The City in Literature*, 223.

^{liii} Fitzgerald's working notes for the novel-in-progress are included with the 1993 Cambridge University Press edition of *The Love of the Last Tycoon*.

^{liv} Fine, *Imagining Los Angeles*, 9. As early as 1910, "almost 40 percent of African Americans in Los Angeles County owned their homes, compared to only 2.4 percent in New York and 8 percent in Chicago." Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 2, 13, 16.

^{lv} Ibid., 17.

^{lvi} Los Angeles's African American population would only begin to expand dramatically with the opening of wartime industries to black workers; it would reach 763,000 by 1970. Ibid., 2, 11, 12, 13, 18.

^{lvii} Fine, *Imagining Los Angeles*, 195. Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 21.

^{lviii} Ibid., 16, 21.

^{lix} Breitwieser, "Jazz Fractures," 372.

^{lx} Fine, *Imagining Los Angeles*, 11.

^{lxi} Bruccoli, "Introduction," *Last Tycoon*, lxviii.

^{lxii} Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 26. Fine, *Imagining Los Angeles*, 195.

^{lxiii} Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 27.

^{lxiv} Ibid., 25.

^{lxv} Ibid., 25-26.

^{lxvi} Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom*, 89-90.

^{lxvii} Mel Watkins, *Stepin Fetchit*, 4. Perry's on-screen antics would not endear him to a later generation of black critics.

lxviii Nowlin, “‘A Gentile’s Tragedy,’” 178.

lxix Surprisingly, the fisherman scene is unceremoniously absent from the 1976 film of *The Last Tycoon* directed by Elia Kazan and adapted for the screen by Harold Pinter.

lxx Ibid., 178.

lxxi Ibid., 162.

lxxii F. Scott Fitzgerald, “Letter to Zelda Fitzgerald, 14 September 1940,” *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 142. The “certain writer” Fitzgerald had in mind may have been the novelist, screenwriter, and director Ben Hecht, who co-directed his own screenplay for *Angels over Broadway* in 1940.

lxxiii F. Scott Fitzgerald, “Letter to Harold Ober, 8 February 1936,” *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 423.

lxxiv F. Scott Fitzgerald, “Letter to Frances Scott Fitzgerald, July 1937,” *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 31.

lxxv Ibid., 31. de Sano is the likely original for *The Love of the Last Tycoon*’s Mannie Schwartze.

lxxvi Ibid., 31.

lxxvii Kevin Starr, *The Dream Endures*, 312.

lxxviii Fine, *Imagining Los Angeles*, 16.

lxxix Flamming, *Bound for Freedom*, 58.

lxxx Ibid., 37.

lxxxi Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks*, 4.

lxxxii Nowlin, “‘A Gentile’s Tragedy,’” 177, 176.

lxxxiii Starr, *The Dream Endures*, 313.

lxxxiv Nowlin, “‘A Gentile’s Tragedy,’” 177.

lxxxv F. Scott Fitzgerald, “Letter to Frances Scott Fitzgerald, 4 November 1939,” *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 79.

lxxxvi Breitwieser, “Jazz Fractures,” 374-375.

lxxxvii Fine, *Imagining Los Angeles*, 135.

lxxxviii Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy*, 21.

lxxxix Ibid., 5, 21, 22. Smith, “The Figure on the Bed,” 205.

lxxxix Messenger, “‘Out Upon the Mongolian Plain,’” 169.

Bibliography

Books and articles

- Baker, Dorothy, *Young Man with a Horn* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1938).
- Berlant, Lauren, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- Bogle, Donald, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films, Fourth Edition* (London: Continuum, 2001).
- Bontemps, Arna, *God Sends Sunday* (New York: Washington Square Press, 2005).
- Bourgeois, Pamela and John Clendenning, , "Gatsby, Belasco, and Ethnic Ambiguity," *The F. Scott Fitzgerald Review* Vol. 6, No. 1 (2007-2008), 105-120.
- Breitwieser, Mitchell, "Jazz Fractures: F. Scott Fitzgerald and Epochal Representation," *American Literary History*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2000), 359-381.
- Buttitta, Tony, *After the Good Gay Times: Asheville – Summer of '35, A Season with F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Viking, 1974).
- Callahan, John F., "Ralph Waldo Ellison, Francis Scott Fitzgerald, and 'The Dark Fields of the Republic,'" *The F. Scott Fitzgerald Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2002), 122-139.
- Du Bois, W.E.B., "The Souls of Black Folk," in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature: Second Edition*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Nellie Y. McKay (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 692-766.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Volume 1: Nature, Addresses, and Lectures*, ed. Robert Ernest Spiller and Alfred Riggs Ferguson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).
- Fine, David, *Imagining Los Angeles: A City in Fiction* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott, *The Crack-Up* (New York: New Directions, 2009).
- _____, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995).
- _____, *In His Own Time: A Miscellany*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Jackson R. Bryer (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1971).

-
- _____. *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. by Andrew Turnbull (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968).
- _____. *The Love of the Last Tycoon: A Western*, ed. by Matthew J. Bruccoli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- _____. *The Pat Hobby Stories* (New York: Scribner, 1995).
- _____. *The Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Selection of 28 Stories* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951).
- _____. *Tales of the Jazz Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- _____. *Tender Is the Night* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
- Flamming, Douglas, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- Forrey, Robert, "Negroes in the Fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald," *Phylon*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1967), 293-298.
- Graham, T. Austin, "The Literary Soundtrack: Or, F. Scott Fitzgerald's Heard and Unheard Melodies," *American Literary History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (2009), 518-549.
- Jones, LeRoi, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963).
- Keller, Susan L., "The Riviera's Golden Boy: Fitzgerald, Cosmopolitan Tanning, and Racial Commodities in *Tender Is the Night*," *The F. Scott Fitzgerald Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2010), 130-159.
- Lehan, Richard, *The City in Literature: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- Margolies, Alan, "The Maturing of F. Scott Fitzgerald," *Twentieth Century Literature*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1997), 75-93.
- Messenger, Chris, "'Out Upon the Mongolian Plain': Fitzgerald's Racial and Ethnic Cross-Identifying in *Tender Is the Night*," in *Twenty-First-Century Readings of Tender Is the Night*, ed. William Blazek and Laura Rattray (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 160-176.

-
- Nowlin, Michael, "'A Gentile's Tragedy': Bearing the Word about Hollywood in *The Love of the Last Tycoon*," *The F. Scott Fitzgerald Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2003), 156-185.
- Ring, Frances Kroll, *Against the Current: As I Remember F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Berkeley: Creative Arts, 1985).
- Sides, Josh, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
- Smith, Felipe, "The Figure on the Bed: Difference and American Destiny in *Tender Is the Night*," In *French Connections: Hemingway and Fitzgerald Abroad*, ed. J. Gerald Kennedy and Jackson R. Bryer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 187-213.
- Starr, Kevin, *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Stoddard, T. Lothrop, *The Rising Tide of Color: Against White World Supremacy* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 2003).
- Stovall, Tyler, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996).
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, *Uncle Tom's Cabin or, Life Among the Lowly* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986).
- Tuttleton, James W., "Seeing Slightly Red: Fitzgerald's 'May Day,'" in *The Short Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald: New Approaches in Criticism*, ed. Jackson R. Bryer (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 181-197.
- Twain, Mark, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001).
- Watkins, Mel, *Stepin Fetchit* (New York: Vintage, 2005).
- Whitman, Walt, *Leaves of Grass, 1860: The 150th Anniversary Facsimile Edition*, ed. by Jason Stacy (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009).

Films

- Angels over Broadway*, Directed by Ben Hecht and Lee Garmes (Los Angeles: Columbia Pictures, 1940).
- The Birth of a Nation*, Directed by D.W. Griffith (Los Angeles: Epoch Film Co., 1915).

Gone with the Wind, Directed by Victor Fleming (Los Angeles: MGM, 1939).
The Jazz Singer, Directed by Alan Crosland (Los Angeles: Warner Bros., 1927).
Judge Priest, Directed by John Ford (Los Angeles: Fox Film Corporation, 1934).
The Last Tycoon, Directed by Elia Kazan (Los Angeles: Paramount Pictures, 1976).
Red-Headed Woman, Directed by Jack Conway (Los Angeles: MGM, 1932).
Show Boat, Directed by James Whale (Los Angeles: Universal Pictures, 1936).
Three Comrades, Directed by Frank Borzage (Los Angeles: MGM, 1938).