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From Flapper to Philosopher: F. Scott Fitzgerald's Hidden Cultural Evaluations of American Society in "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," "The Passionate Eskimo," "May Day," and "The Hotel Child"

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From Flapper to Philosopher: F. Scott Fitzgerald's Hidden Cultural Evaluations of American Society in "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," "The Passionate Eskimo," "May Day," and "The Hotel Child"

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

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Abstract

FROM FLAPPER TO PHILOSOPHER: F. SCOTT FITZGERALD'S HIDDEN CULTURAL EVALUATIONS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY IN "BERNICE BOBS HER HAIR," "THE PASSIONATE ESKIMO," "MAY DAY," AND "THE HOTEL CHILD"

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This thesis examines the treatment of Native American and Jewish American characters in four of F. Scott Fitzgerald's short stories: "Bernice Bobs Her Hair" (1920), "The Passionate Eskimo" (1935), "May Day" (1930), and "The Hotel Child" (1931). Little critical attention has been given to these stories even though they illustrate Fitzgerald's awareness of the negative ramifications of culturally destructive views and an exploration of new culturally pluralistic ideas. In these stories, Fitzgerald undermines common ethnic stereotypes and demonstrates tension between the intolerance of the American public and the fear of immigrant influence. Fitzgerald is able to re-image the representation of members of these groups and show the evolution of his views on ethnicity and culture. In conclusion, this thesis argues that these stories

reveal Fitzgerald's interest in supporting some level of cultural pluralism and his need to tolerate, if not accept, the differences in the beliefs and cultures in America.

Introduction

F. Scott Fitzgerald became famous as a literary artist with the publication of his third and perhaps best known novel, *The Great Gatsby* (1925). Many critics have since discussed numerous aspects of his novels, such as Fitzgerald's treatment of the American Dream and the corruptive power of wealth, focusing their scholarly attention on the progression and creation of Fitzgerald's Jazz Age novels. While critics have delved deeply into Fitzgerald's longer works of fiction, many of his short stories, especially the stories from his first collection entitled *Flappers and Philosophers*, have been largely neglected. The lack of scholarship and neglect of Fitzgerald's short works of fiction were specifically discussed in the volume *New Essays on F. Scott Fitzgerald's Neglected Stories*, in which twenty-three essays focus attention on a number of these largely overlooked early stories. In contrast to Fitzgerald's novels, many of these stories are considered by most critics to simply be light flapper stories that contain little depth or deeper cultural meaning.

Robert Merrill directly addresses this common assumption regarding Fitzgerald's short stories in his essay "'Dalyrimple Goes Wrong': The Best of the Neglected Early Stories," when he highlights the arguments of three major critics. As Merrill states, "Richard Lehan speaks of these stories as 'slight'; John Kuehl suggests that among the stories in this collection 'only 'The Ice Palace' transcends entertainment'; and Sergio Perosa characterizes one piece, 'Dalyrimple Goes Wrong,' as 'undoubtedly one of the worst' stories Fitzgerald ever wrote" (Merrill 24). Merrill disagrees with these assessments just as Jackson Bryer does in his introduction to *New*

Essays on F. Scott Fitzgerald's Neglected Stories. Bryer notes that Milton Crane's widely-used and cited anthology, *50 Great American Short Stories*, does not contain a single short story by F. Scott Fitzgerald. Bryer sheds light on the vast amount of critical analysis that has yet to be completed on Fitzgerald's works of short fiction:

Crane's decision to exclude Fitzgerald from his anthology seems an apt indication of the generally low regard in which the short fiction of one of America's greatest modern writers is held. Despite the fact that Fitzgerald wrote 178 short stories, all but a very few of which are now easily found, they tend to be overlooked in favor of his novels. (1)

Bryer concludes that this low regard for Fitzgerald's short stories is due to the fact that "most critics, readers, and students seem to continue to accept the popular conception that all but a very few of the stories are worthless potboilers, written hastily in order to raise money to support their author while he wrote his novels" (3). When one focuses on the aspects of culture, race, and the treatment of minority groups in these early works, however, these once light flapper stories reveal deep and significant evaluations of American society during the 1920s. Many of these evaluations hinge on anti-assimilationist and culturally pluralistic ideas.

At the time Fitzgerald was beginning to compose his short stories, the American public was being exposed to many new cultural and nationalistic ideas. These ideas challenged America's long-standing "melting pot" theory, which called for the assimilation of all foreign and indigenous cultures into what was deemed "American" culture. As the assimilationists called for the destruction of the cultural beliefs of America's alien populations, a new group of critics began to emerge who desired a new cultural and nationalistic framework for America. One such influential critic was Randolph S. Bourne. Bourne published an essay in *The Atlantic* entitled

“Trans-national America” in July of 1916. This essay was controversial at the time because it introduced the concept that would later be called “cultural pluralism” to the American public. “Cultural Pluralism” is the belief that smaller groups are able to maintain their distinct cultural beliefs, traditions, and values while the dominant group of the nation accepts the existence of these distinct cultural identities (Deveaux 7). In his essay, Bourne asserts that “with the exception of the South and that New England which, like the Red Indian, seems to be passing into solemn oblivion, there is no distinctively American culture.” Bourne argues that “what [Americans] emphatically do not want is that these distinctive qualities should be washed out into a tasteless, colorless fluid of uniformity.” Bourne believes that these culturally distinct groups are valuable to America and deserve the respect and protection of the dominant group because there are “no longer masses of aliens, waiting to be ‘assimilated,’ waiting to be melted down into the indistinguishable dough of Anglo- Saxonism. They are rather threads of living and potent cultures, blindly striving to weave themselves into a novel international nation.” Culturally pluralistic ideas such as these began to spread and these new ideas had an effect on Fitzgerald’s writings, often seeping into his prose.

In four of his short stories in particular, Fitzgerald explores the ramifications of assimilationist views on two ethnic groups and the need to preserve these quickly vanishing cultural traditions. During the 1920s, the American public had an “obsessive fascination with ethnic and racial distinctions” (Del Gizzo 224). Fitzgerald’s writings reflect this obsession and often contain many racial and ethnic stereotypes, many of which center on his representation of African Americans and Jewish Americans. While some critics have explored the possibility that the racial and ethnic stereotyping present in his stories mirrors Fitzgerald’s own personal views, many scholars, such as Alan Margolies, “observe that his use of racial and ethnic stereotypes

reflects the attitudes of the period and is thus an extension of his interest in faithfully representing the world around him” (Del Gizzo 224). These four stories reflect Fitzgerald’s awareness of these stereotypes and his knowledge of the negative ramifications of destroying culturally distinct groups

The first group of marginalized individuals that Fitzgerald specifically examines is Native Americans. He explores the treatment of Native Americans by the dominant white society during the Assimilation Era in the United States in two of his short stories: “Bernice Bobs Her Hair” (1920) and “The Passionate Eskimo” (1935). Fitzgerald approaches these stories in two drastically different fashions, but the evaluations of mainstream American society in them are the same. On the surface, Fitzgerald’s depictions of Native characters seem to support ethnic stereotyping of this marginalized group. While Fitzgerald does reference common ethnic stereotypes in these texts, he also works to undermine these stereotypes and create new positive images to represent this group. Unlike many other depictions of Native people at the time, Fitzgerald’s native characters are intelligent, strong, and occupy the role of the story’s protagonist; Fitzgerald often gives these characters power and agency over their white counterparts.

Similarly, Fitzgerald also works to undermine Jewish American stereotypes and to create new associations with this ethnic group by examining the treatment of Jewish Americans by mainstream American society in two of his short stories: “May Day” (1920) and “The Hotel Child” (1931). Previously, critics have remarked that readers of Fitzgerald’s works “can see changes in Fitzgerald’s views of foreigners as he got older,” stating that Fitzgerald’s depictions of Jewish Americans became increasingly positive but that his early depictions of members of this ethnic group were stereotyped or caricatured (Abramson 116). While some of these negative

images are present in Fitzgerald's works, he ultimately undermines these ethnic stereotypes in favor of more positive depictions in his later works.

Even though Fitzgerald only examines the treatment of these two groups in depth in four of his one hundred and seventy-eight short stories, his evaluations of their treatment by mainstream American society is quite telling because they illustrate the author's awareness of the negative ramifications of culturally destructive views. While these stories do not totally re-write Fitzgerald's attitudes in his early stories, they do shed light on the evolution of his views and the tension he explores between what was expected by the dominant society and the desire to preserve the cultures of marginalized individuals. In these stories, Fitzgerald challenges the common ethnic representation of the time and re-images the characters belonging to these groups. When the cultural images and allusions are analyzed in the stories "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," "The Passionate Eskimo," "May Day," and "The Hotel Child," the evidence suggests that the author expresses a growing social consciousness as deeper cultural meanings emerge through his treatment and characterization of these marginalized groups. By unveiling these aspects of Native American and Jewish American representation in Fitzgerald's work, Fitzgerald's support of cultural pluralism and greater cultural acceptance and preservation becomes apparent to the reader.

Chapter 1: Re-imagining Native American Representation

“Bernice Bobs Her Hair” (1920)

F. Scott Fitzgerald's first references to Native culture and his first inclusion of a Native American character occur in his short story entitled “Bernice Bobs Her Hair.” This story, which was first published on May 1st, 1920 in the *Saturday Evening Post*, contains many veiled allusions to Native Americans and hidden, or veiled, evaluations of American society. There is a significant lack of scholarship regarding this story. In fact, only two articles directly discuss it at length: “‘The Starry Heaven of Popular Girls’: Fitzgerald's Bernice Bobs Her Hair and Catullus's Coma Berenices” by Chris McDonough and “Bernice Bobs Her Hair: Fitzgerald’s Jazz Elegy For Little Women” by Susan Beegel, both of which will be examined in this chapter. Most articles or chapters that include any reference to the story “Bernice Bobs Her Hair” only mention its inclusion in *Flappers and Philosophers* offering no further analysis, ignoring the story’s numerous inclusions of Native American cultural imagery. When these images of and allusions to Native American culture and traditions are analyzed in the text, the evidence suggests that the author expresses a growing social consciousness and support of cultural pluralism and for the preservation of Native American cultures through his treatment and characterization of this indigenous group.

When Fitzgerald was composing “Bernice Bobs Her Hair,” Native Americans were considered to be “a vanishing race,” one that would eventually become assimilated into Western

society or die out completely (Weston 19). According to Mary Ann Weston, a Journalism Historian, many members of American society “widely assumed that, given proper incentives, Native Americans would readily reject their cultures and assimilate into the white world” (100). This belief sparked the federal government’s interest in Native lands and the natural resources that could be found there, such as oil and timber. This realization led to the seizure of tribal lands by the federal government and the forced assimilation of Indians into the “white world” by the implementation of radical education policies and the suppression of Native rituals and languages (Lomawaima xi, 86). By dispossessing Native American cultural rituals and languages, the American government wished to destroy connections to Native cultures. The process of assimilation stripped Native individuals of their languages, cultural ties, and cultural histories, effectively fracturing their Indian knowledge and cultural identity.

The debate between the forced assimilation of Native peoples and cultural pluralism held a great deal of attention in the press during the early 1920s due to the great clash between the supporters of these vastly different philosophies (Weston 21). Opponents of assimilation, those who supported cultural pluralism, frequently depicted Native peoples as romanticized versions of the noble savage, believing these individuals lived superior lives to those led by the materialistic and often individualistic members of Western society (Weston 43). In fact, many of Fitzgerald’s works indicate that he, too, opposed American materialism. The corrupting and negative influence of materialism can be seen in *The Great Gatsby*, for example, as well as in his short story “The Diamond as Big as the Ritz,” where characters who idolize wealth and materialism die. Because of the large coverage of this debate in the press, it is likely that Fitzgerald would have heard of or read these important headlines. Fitzgerald’s ledgers indicate that he resided in New Orleans, Louisiana while he composed “Bernice Bobs her Hair” in early 1920. At the very

least, Fitzgerald would have most likely encountered articles similar to the article entitled “Carnival Capital in Gay Attire as Pershing and Rex Draw Near; God of Revelry Ousts Dull Care,” that was published in the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* in 1920. This article did not directly discuss assimilation practices but it did describe annual festivals in New Orleans in which American Indians were often put on display and ‘othered’ during their inclusion in annual festivals. Prior to this article’s publication, the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* published many articles that supported the assimilation policy. As early as 1879, the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* published editorials that argued that the federal government should determine how best to manage the Native people in order to allow American “progress” to flourish instead of working to establish collaborative relationships with tribal leaders (Hoxie 14). For example, the *Times-Picayune* editors argued that Native Americans hindered American progress with their barbarous traditions:

[T]he Indian could not any longer be permitted to usurp for the purpose of barbarism, the fertile lands, the products of mines, the broad valleys and wooded mountain slopes, which organized society regards as magazines of those forces which civilization requires for its maintenance and development. (Qtd. in Hoxie 14)

This view of Native Americans as groups of barbarous, simple people who obstruct American progress continued throughout what was later deemed the “assimilation era,” 1880 to 1920 (Hoxie ix). In “Bernice Bobs Her Hair,” Fitzgerald counters these ideas subtly in favor of greater cultural acceptance.

In this story, Fitzgerald not only supports the questioning of materialism as he does in many of his other works, but also actively works to support the preservation of Native American cultural traditions. Fitzgerald begins by suggesting an opposition between the story’s protagonist,

Bernice, and her cousin, Marjorie. This opposition is expressed both in their different physical and personality traits. Marjorie is described as having blond hair and light skin while Bernice is described as having dark hair and a redder skin tone, or “high color” (Fitzgerald 27). Marjorie’s personality and general demeanor is described as being “cold,” “never giggled, was never frightened, seldom embarrassed, and in fact had very few of the qualities which Bernice considered appropriately and blessedly feminine” (Fitzgerald 29). Marjorie is also said to be “hard and selfish,” “frigid,” “scornful, aloof,” “the sphinx of sphinxes,” and to maintain a “serpentlike” air, which causes Bernice “uneasiness” (Fitzgerald 34, 41, 41, 41, 44). The qualities that Fitzgerald associates with Marjorie are distinctly negative and even predatory. Bernice, on the other hand, is described as being “nice,” “pretty, with dark hair and high color” even though the society in her cousin’s town considers her to be “no fun on a party” (Fitzgerald 27). Throughout the story, Bernice is largely described in positive terms by the narrator while her cousin tries to discredit and to make others pity Bernice. The constant bombardment of negative terms describing Marjorie work to place the reader squarely on the side of the story’s protagonist, on the side of the Native character.

From the beginning of the story, Marjorie directly marginalizes Bernice’s Native American heritage. Marjorie states to her mother that “it’s that crazy Indian blood in Bernice... Maybe she’s a reversion to type. Indian women all just sat round and never said anything” (Fitzgerald 31). By using the term “crazy,” Marjorie negatively differentiates “Indian” heritage, or “blood,” from what she considers to be proper society. The term “crazy” also marginalizes Native Americans and Bernice by indicating that members of this group are of a substandard quality by comparison to those of Marjorie’s own culture. This reference to the widely-distributed stereotype of the “lazy Indian” indicates that this was the common image of the

Indian in the minds of most Americans. The inclusion of the term “red penny” is also a reference to this common stereotype (Fitzgerald 29). The phrase “red penny,” or “red cent,” is a distinctly American phrase and it refers to the Indian Head penny that was first minted in 1859, which depicts a portrait of a Native American male on the front of the coin (Fitzgerald, *The Best Early Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald* 297). The addition of the word “red” before the word “penny” or “cent” is both in reference to the reddish color of the copper coin as well as to the slang term “Redskin” that was used when negatively referring to Native Americans. Characteristically, a “red penny” was considered to be practically worthless. This implied that Native Americans were also worthless, supporting the stereotype that American Indians were lazy (Hoxie 60). Stereotypes such as this are problematic images because they are simply static and simplified depictions of a multigenerational and multicultural group of individuals; they allow for no growth or evolution of the marginalized self. By placing the Indian, or “the half-blood” in this case, in the role of the protagonist, Fitzgerald gives a Native American the opportunity to challenge this stereotype, allowing the marginalized individual to finally have a voice.

In order to further challenge this stereotype, Fitzgerald aligns Marjorie with the views of the assimilationists. Marjorie goes on to neglect, insult, and hurt Bernice emotionally, while showing a lack of compassion when confronted with her cousin’s sadness and wounded spirit (Fitzgerald 32). By making Bernice feel unwanted, Marjorie forces her cousin to leave behind all of the beliefs her parents had instilled in her in order for Bernice to fit in with Marjorie’s society. Bernice must leave behind the culture that “brought [her] up on the warm milk prepared by Annie Fellows Johnston and on novels in which the female was beloved because of certain mysterious womanly qualities, always mentioned but never displayed” (Fitzgerald 30). Due to Bernice’s differences from the members of Marjorie’s society, she becomes a social pariah in the

eyes of her cousin. In order to overcome this position, Bernice is persuaded to transform into someone who embodied all of the values of Marjorie's culture. Marjorie forces Bernice to assimilate into the Western "white world," by changing everything about her, such as her dress, the way she speaks, what she speaks of, and how she dances, while insisting Bernice accept these changes "without reservations" (Fitzgerald 34). The use of the phrase "without reservations" not only stipulates that Bernice cannot turn back once she agrees to Marjorie's oppressive terms, but also suggests that Bernice will be without a reservation, without her cultural homeland. By 1868, many American Indian tribes were forced to live on specific parcels of tribal land, or reservations, by the federal government (Weston 19). This implies that the phrase "without reservations" can also be representative of Bernice's turning her back on her place of birth, her cultural beliefs, and her home, leaving behind all she knows in order to assimilate into this new flapper society. Bernice's seclusion from her family for "three more weeks" and her inclusion into a new cultural house also mimics the American government's use of Native American boarding schools during the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s. Native anthropologist K. Tsianina Lomawaima describes the loneliness and demoralization felt by students of the Chilocco Indian School in the 1920s at the hands of assimilationists for the purpose of forcibly integrating these young children into mainstream American society. Just as Marjorie attempts to indoctrinate Bernice into a new culture, the federal government attempted to use boarding schools as a way to destroy and eliminate Native American cultures and communities, separating the Native children from their ancestral homeland and from the lessons and stories of their elders (Lomawaima 98).

Just as Native children were first forced to adopt the dress of the dominant culture, Bernice's first act made upon entering into Marjorie's world was the adornment of a red dress that Marjorie picked out for her. The scarlet color of the dress signals the great change and

corrupt behavior that Marjorie forces upon Bernice, bringing to mind images of the scarlet letter. As the ultimate act representing her full assimilation, Bernice is pressured by her new peers to bob her hair. Upon arriving at the Barber Shop, Bernice states that the Barber Shop sign looked like “a guillotine indeed, and the hangman was the first barber... Would they blindfold her? No, but they would tie a white cloth round her neck lest any of her blood--nonsense--hair--should get on her clothes” (Fitzgerald 42). The graphic images of death, blood, and a forced execution associated with the loss of Bernice’s hair, indicate that this act is symbolic of a greater loss than simply the loss of hair or the mockery of others. The significance of cutting Bernice’s hair is directly discussed in Chris McDonough’s article entitled “‘The Starry Heaven of Popular Girls’: Fitzgerald's Bernice Bobs Her Hair and Catullus's Coma Berenices.” McDonough argues that F. Scott Fitzgerald included the act of cutting long hair in this story as a way to reference the story of Queen Berenice II of Egypt, who is said to have cut off a lock of her hair in celebration of her husband’s success and return from battle. McDonough comes to this conclusion by analyzing Fitzgerald’s particularity in naming the characters in his other works, suggesting Fitzgerald’s prior knowledge of the tale of Catullus, and acknowledging Fitzgerald’s love of classic literature.

While it is possible for Fitzgerald to have chosen the name “Bernice” as an allusion to Queen Berenice II, it is unlikely that this short story is mainly signaling an “engagement with a more ancient tradition” (McDonough 226). When analyzing these two stories, many features of “Bernice Bobs Her Hair” greatly differ from the tale of Queen Berenice II. Unlike the ancient story, Fitzgerald’s Bernice does not cut her own hair in celebration or in reference to a positive event. Another point of difference lies in the fact that Queen Berenice II was said to have cut only one “lock” of her hair, rather than cutting the entire length of her hair away (McDonough 226). Matthew Bruccoli, an authority on Fitzgerald life and works, also states that Fitzgerald

initially submitted this story for publication under the title “Barbara Bobs Her Hair.” The fact that Fitzgerald completed his story in its entirety and had attempted to publish it before changing the protagonist’s name from Barbara to Bernice indicates that the ancient tale of Queen Berenice II likely did not have a direct influence on the initial plot of Fitzgerald’s story.

When the act of cutting Bernice’s hair is viewed in the context of the numerous hints to Native American history in this story, the violence and brutality with which this act is described indicate that Fitzgerald is more likely invoking a different tradition: assimilation era practices. The long hair of American Indians, especially that of Indian children, was often forcibly cut by white assimilationists as a way to outwardly detach the individual from his or her culture (Weston 20, 139). This fact indicates that the cutting of Bernice’s hair due to societal pressure is also symbolic of cutting ties to a previous cultural heritage in which long hair is favored and highly valued (Weston 20). Like the practices in Native boarding schools, the loss of Bernice’s hair is made to be a public spectacle done in a public forum for the purpose of demoralizing and humiliating the oppressed individual, forcing her to lose her “blood,” her ties to her Native heritage.

Bernice’s hair was the last outward connection between her and her familial community. When confronted with the “guillotine,” Bernice states that “it was all she could do to keep from clutching her hair with both hands to protect it from the suddenly hostile world” (Fitzgerald 42). Bernice viewed her new surroundings as a malicious and cruel environment that she could not protect herself from. The use of the term “guillotine” indicates that Bernice, or a part of Bernice, will die during this scene. The negative terms with which Bernice’s loss of her “dark-brown glory” is portrayed suggests that Bernice did not desire to conform to these new cultural values that she was being forced to abide by, casting assimilation practices in a decidedly negative light

(Fitzgerald 43). At the end of Bernice's bobbing, she states that her hair appeared as "lank lifeless blocks on both sides of her suddenly pale face. It was ugly as sin--she had known it would be ugly as sin" (Fitzgerald 43). This reference to her "pale face" suggests that Bernice was both terrified by her reflection and that she "suddenly" reflects all of the other pale faced characters around her. The use of the word "sin" implies that this transformation was viewed as an extreme violation of her Native cultural traditions. The level of violence that is portrayed by the graphic language used illustrates and illuminates the violence of assimilation era policies and tactics.

This allusion to the forced American Indian assimilation into a predominantly white culture is furthered by Fitzgerald's detailed depiction of Bernice rising up against her oppressor. Fitzgerald describes Bernice's refusal to conform by stating that Bernice "snapped" and "scalp[ed] the selfish thing!" (Fitzgerald 47). Bernice states that she "severed" one of Marjorie's braids and then "deftly amputated the other" (Fitzgerald 46). In her essay, "Bernice Bobs Her Hair: Fitzgerald's Jazz Elegy For Little Women," Susan Beegel interprets this act as allowing Bernice to transform from a woman who was "formerly able only to imitate Alcott's idea of a 'little woman' or Marjorie's notion of a 'modern girl,'" to a woman who "now makes decisions of her own without regard for convention" (Beegel 71). Beegel views this image as representing the power of the independent woman. While this conclusion offers a valuable assessment of gender and the social implications of a young woman's actions, Beegel's evaluation of the text does not address the numerous references to Native Americans and assimilation policies in the story, which work to transform this evaluation into one that connects this act of independence with a more culturally significant one. This violent description of scalping an opponent references the stereotypical image of a Native warrior's actions in battle, an image that the press and popular

culture used quite often in the representation of American Indian warriors (Weston 93). This image also implies that Bernice has taken back the power from her oppressor by claiming the long hair of her opponent, just as her long hair was forcibly taken from her. After she “amputates” Marjorie’s braids, Bernice “opened the big front door, closed it carefully behind her, and feeling oddly happy and exuberant stepped off the porch into the moonlight, swinging her heavy grip like a shopping-bag” (Fitzgerald 46). Here, Bernice has completed her final act of revolt against Marjorie and finally reclaimed her independence from Marjorie’s oppressive values and influence as well as literally recaptured the symbol for her Native American heritage. The use of the words “happy” and “exuberant,” as well as the inclusion of the image of a joyful prancing away, shows that Bernice has regained her self-respect and self-worth, capable of independent action and agency. Bernice no longer needs to “restrain[] herself” or illustrate the figure of the sacrificial lamb killed at the “jealous whim of a selfish girl” (Fitzgerald 46, 45). By describing Bernice’s ending actions in such a triumphant fashion, “Bernice Bobs Her Hair” ultimately demonstrates the support of greater cultural acceptance and the need for cultural plurality as well as illustrating the damaging effects of assimilation practices on Native populations.

In addition to demonstrating the harmful outcomes of assimilation era practices, the ending scene of “Bernice Bobs Her Hair” also allows the main character to reverse the social power structures in the story. Previously, Bernice had been subjected to her cousin’s beliefs and social rules, placing Bernice in the position of the outsider and the follower. Bernice entered into Marjorie’s world and did not share Marjorie’s social values, forcing her to occupy the lowest position in Marjorie’s social hierarchy. Because Bernice did not initially fit in with Marjorie’s friends, Bernice was not accepted by Marjorie and as a result was shunned for a short time,

casting her as an "outsider" and a half-blood. It was only when Bernice agreed to follow Marjorie's example and to conform to social and specifically non-Native expectations that Bernice was able to begin to become a part of the mainstream. In order to assimilate into Marjorie's society and, in so doing, move upward along the social hierarchy, Bernice was required to follow all of the rules that Marjorie set for her, including the final act of cutting her hair. Bernice's blind following of Marjorie's will indicates that Marjorie maintained a much higher position on the social hierarchy and also forcibly asserted a great deal of power over Bernice's thoughts and actions. It was at the moment Bernice's appointment with the guillotine ended, the moment that her hair hit the barber shop floor, when Bernice finally realized her cousin's purposeful treachery and deceit etched on her smirking face. This realization allowed Bernice to retaliate, breaking mainstream American society's values and shattering the power hierarchy present between Bernice and Marjorie. By reverting to Bernice's culturally specific traditions and actively revolting against her oppressor, Bernice is able to assert power over Marjorie, who represents mainstream American society. Bernice is able to explore the streets at night by herself, something that "proper" young ladies were not permitted to do. Bernice's triumphant display in the streets of Marjorie's neighborhood shows that she not only has gained power over her cousin, but that she has also gained power over the assimilationist society and its values which demonstrates the full reversal of the social power structure in this story.

"The Passionate Eskimo" (1935)

Fitzgerald revisited the theme of cultural pluralism late in his literary career with the publication of the short story entitled, "The Passionate Eskimo," published in 1935 in *Liberty*

Weekly magazine. Like “Bernice Bobs Her Hair,” scholars and critics have largely ignored “The Passionate Eskimo” and have only mentioned its title in passing, focusing little literary analysis on the story. “The Passionate Eskimo” deserves critical attention due to its bold and controversial stance against Assimilation Era practices and Fitzgerald's inclusion of a powerful, intelligent Native main character. Fitzgerald's treatment of Native Americans and the reversal of power structures present in “Bernice Bobs Her Hair” seem subtle and restrained in light of Fitzgerald's treatment of Native Americans in “The Passionate Eskimo.” “The Passionate Eskimo” marks the stark difference between a Native American perspective and the mainstream American view of people from different cultures, highlighting the cunning, intelligence, and power of Native people as well as the skewed representation of Native individuals by most of the white American society at the time.

In this story, Fitzgerald once again allows the Native character to occupy the role of the story's protagonist, giving the Native American character the power to challenge the thoughts and assumptions of rich white men and to also forcibly confine them to specific spaces. Unlike in “Bernice Bobs Her Hair,” Fitzgerald's main character of this story, Pan-e-troon, is directly connected to a specific tribe and geographic region. Pan-e-troon is said to be from Lapland, an area in Alaska that houses the indigenous Inuit tribes of the Arctic Circle. Pan-e-troon's first words are said to have been spoken in “Lapp,” the traditional language of Lapland. This focus on a specific type of Indian tribe and specific cultural traditions is highly significant in light of society's tendency to generalize and homogenize Native Americans. Fitzgerald's choice to create a character that is from the Arctic Circle was not uncommon at the time. This choice reflects America's interest in this new and exotic culture, which was made famous by the 1922 docudrama, *Nanook of the North*, and the 1933 film, *Eskimo*. Both of these films played on

America's new-found desire to see exotic places and people as well as their fascination with primitivism. These films also reflect American society's common representation of Inuit, or "Eskimo," communities as groups of "noble savages." The fact that Fitzgerald explicitly details the geographic region, the tribe, the cultural traditions, and language of his Native main character indicates that the author wanted to accurately portray the culture of this individual rather than rely on common stereotypes.

This story begins with Pan-e-troon's discussing with his father his desire to explore Chicago before he must return to Lapland the following day. This discussion is entirely conducted in Lapp. The translations that are given to the reader indicate that Pan-e-troon is a very intelligent individual. His speech in his native language is elegant, clear, and educated. This image of the intelligent Indian is in direct opposition to the common stereotype of the "noble savage." Instead, against societal expectations, the first image of a Native character that the reader is presented with is one of intelligence, eloquence, and logic, showing that from the beginning, Pan-e-troon is not to be seen as a bumbling Indian savage. This first image of Pan-e-troon works to create tension between the common image of the Native character, the "passionate" Eskimo or the expected image of a buffoon as described in the magazine's illustration captions, and this new image of the educated Native character. This new image does not reflect what a reader expects to find when first presented with the label "The Passionate Eskimo." Instead, Pan-e-troon is not representative of all Native Americans or all American Indians living in the Artic Circle; he has a distinct identity and associated culture that works to differentiate him from the other "exhibits" around him.

Pan-e-troon's experience in Chicago is unique. He and some other members of his tribe have been brought to Chicago in order to exhibit their cultural traditions and way of life at the

World's Fair. Pan-e-troon's father, the tribe's chief, does not wish for Pan-e-troon to venture out of the fairgrounds on his own. As his father states, "when we have a guide and are together, all right, but alone you'll get hurt, get lost" (Fitzgerald 11). This statement shows that the tribal members are fearful of this new unknown and unpredictable world, a world that is completely unlike their homeland. Pan-e-troon, on the other hand, wishes to have an adventure and to be exposed to a new culture. The narrator focuses his attention on Pan-e-troon, allowing the reader to see the world, their world, from this Native character's perspective. In the logical argument he presents to his father and later in his inner thoughts, Pan-e-troon describes his surroundings in terms that he recognizes. He calls Chicago "a great village" and names shops "trading posts" (Fitzgerald 12). When Pan-e-troon describes his observations and experiences with this new culture, the reader is forced to look at his or her own culture from the point of view of the marginalized individual, casting the American characters in the role of the foreign and the alien.

Through comments made by some of the American characters in the story, the reader soon realizes that most of the American characters do not see Pan-e-troon as a human being at all. Instead, they view him as an object of interest that is to be put on display for their enjoyment. This idea is emphasized by Humphrey's statement that "we have more trouble rounding up these exhibits" (Fitzgerald 14). Here, Humphrey does not use the identifiers "people," "individuals," "guys," or even "Eskimos." He chooses to use the term "exhibits" to describe groups of people who are working at the World's Fair. The use of this terms serves to objectify Pan-e-troon and the other individuals working at the World's Fair, making them seem unimportant and less than human. Humphrey also confuses Pan-e-troon's ethnic background with that of someone with Chinese or Japanese heritage. Even so, Humphrey shows that he also views people with these

ethnic backgrounds to be inferior to his own by using stereotypical and derogatory terms such as “chink” and “mangy yellow tramp” to describe Pan-e-troon (Fitzgerald 17).

Pan-e-troon also encounters three other American characters who treat him with a similar level of disrespect. First, a shop keeper calls Pan-e-troon “Robinson Crusoe” and then states “don’t set yourself on fire or melt down your house” after he sells Pan-e-troon tobacco (Fitzgerald 12). Next, an errand boy expresses dismay at being forced to be seen on the street in the company of someone with Pan-e-troon’s indigenous heritage. And finally, Pan-e-troon meets Westgate, who openly mocks and scoffs at Pan-e-troon’s perceived lack of intelligence and societal knowledge due to Pan-e-troon’s less than perfect command of the English language. Even after Pan-e-troon seemingly attempts to assimilate into American culture for the day by donning a straw hat that makes him feel as if he is “quite a part of the [American] crowd,” speaking in the English language, and using common polite phrases and gestures, he is still not taken seriously by the males that he encounters (Fitzgerald 12). These experiences highlight the common mood of American society towards people of non-white indigenous heritage. In each one of these encounters, Pan-e-troon smiles and moves on. These pacifying gestures suggest that Pan-e-troon does not really attempt to assimilate, but instead merely pretends to have bought into the expectations of the white public. It is as if Pan-e-troon wears the mask of the passive cheerful Indian that outwardly mimics what he believes society expects of him, pretending that he is engaging the white public. Pan-e-troon occasionally speaks up for himself, but he prefers to express his intelligence and exert his power in other ways.

Interestingly, the two female characters that Pan-e-troon meets, a shop clerk and Ms. Edith Cary, become fond of Pan-e-troon and wish to help him. These two characters are also the only ones to speak against the negative and derogatory comments that the other American

characters make towards Pan-e-troon. Edith, an especially rich young woman for whose attention Westgate and Humphrey are vying, goes so far as to invite Pan-e-troon to stay at her country house for the night. Westgate and Humphrey escort her. Pan-e-troon describes Edith as “the most beautiful creature he had ever seen in his life—a ripply blonde who, had it been necessary, could have posed for any of those exquisite creatures in the advertisements” (Fitzgerald 13). He also states that “‘she’s a chief’s daughter,’ he said to himself.’ Doubtless the daughter of one of the greatest chiefs of all—ruler of one of the great trading posts” (Fitzgerald 13). From the very beginning, Pan-e-troon romantizes Edith, giving her the highest complements he can think of and attributing her the qualities of wealth, respect, and high social and economic status. By equating Edith with the daughter of an Indian chief, Pan-e-troon places Edith on the same social and economic level as himself, the son of an Indian chief. Pan-e-troon not only equates their two social and economic statuses, but he also places Edith within his own world and frame of reference. For him, Edith could fit into his culture and society.

Similarly, Edith works to fit Pan-e-troon into her own society. Unlike the other members of the party who make snide remarks towards Pan-e-troon, Edith “greeted him with no less courtesy than if he had been the accredited ambassador from the North Pole” (Fitzgerald 14). By treating Pan-e-troon with this kind of courtesy, Edith places Pan-e-troon on the same social level as an educated and influential member of state. This action raises Pan-e-troon’s social status in the eyes of Edith and the men around her.

Edith also works to communicate with Pan-e-troon in phrases that are familiar to him. When she describes the history of her family’s tiara made of a “circular setting of gold stuffed with alternate diamonds and rubies large as lumps of sugar,” she states that it is “very old—it belonged to a big lady chief a long time ago” (Fitzgerald 14). Her use of the phrase “big lady

chief” and her desire to know more about Pan-e-troon's culture works to show Edith's desire for Pan-e-troon to feel included in the conversation, which effectively privileges Pan-e-troon's culture over her own. It also indicates that Edith has no desire to force Pan-e-troon to assimilate into her society. Instead, she values his differences and wishes to make him feel comfortable. These kind actions are reflected in Pan-e-troon’s and the narrator’s positive descriptions of Edith, indicating that the way Edith treats Pan-e-troon is the right way to treat a Native individual.

On the other hand, Westgate and Humphrey are described as a “morose-looking young man” and “a ruddy man of forty with a bristling mustache,” respectively (Fitzgerald 13, 14). These negative descriptions immediately cast the two men in an undesirable and unfavorable light. The outward unappealing natures of their appearances reflect their unpleasant personalities, which are epitomized by the racist comments they both make towards Pan-e-troon. By creating a binary of what ideas and actions towards marginalized individuals are considered to be favorable and what is considered to be unfavorable in this story, Fitzgerald indicates that he supports cultural pluralism, or the acceptance and preservation of other culturally distinct identities.

This binary is strengthened by Pan-e-troon’s status as being an inherently good and well-meaning character. When Pan-e-troon senses that someone in the house will attempt to steal Edith's priceless tiara, he concocts a plan to thwart the thief. Pan-e-troon's actions not only show the intelligence and shrewdness of this Native character, it also indicates that Pan-e-troon holds power over the people in the house as well as power over the landscape. First, Pan-e-troon is able to turn Western technology against the characters in the house. He uses his knowledge of locks to confine Westgate, Edith, and Humphrey to their rooms. Pan-e-troon is able to manipulate Western forms of technology for his own uses while tricking his dinner companions into entering their rooms. Like Bernice who gains agency and power over her oppressive cousin, Pan-e-troon

is able to gain and exert power over the Western characters by forcibly confining them to specific spaces. When he is able to catch the thief in the act, Pan-e-troon's status as a bumbling Indian is forever vanquished. His intelligence and cunning allowed him to outsmart those who felt superior to him and allowed him to fully assume the role of the heroic protagonist.

These acts not only signal the story's desire for the preservation of the Native American culture and anti-assimilationist views, they also suggest a reversal in the power structure of the story. First, Edith's actions of conversing with Pan-e-troon using words and phrases that are more culturally specific to Pan-e-troon's Inuit culture, treating Pan-e-troon with such a high level of courtesy and respect, and actively incorporating Pan-e-troon into the group's conversations work to place Pan-e-troon on the same social level as Edith and the two men staying at her family house. Then, Pan-e-troon manipulates and exerts power over the buildings, pieces of Western technology, and the structures built on the estate by white Americans to trap the true barbarous and materialistic individual: the butler. Pan-e-troon's ability to forcibly confine his white companions indicates that he alone holds the most power in the story. By giving the marginalized individual the most power and agency in the story and placing the reader on the side of the Native character, a new image of a Native American is created. In Fitzgerald's stories, Native characters are powerful, intelligent, educated, and gain strength through their association with their native traditions and cultural knowledge. By privileging native cultures and native languages in this story, Pan-e-troon's traditions were celebrated rather than condemned. Here, Fitzgerald revealed the value of these traditions and exposed the need to preserve these cultures and their people.

Chapter 2: Eroding Jewish American Stereotypes

In addition to supporting the preservation of Native American cultures in two of his works of short fiction, Fitzgerald also strove to illuminate the common stereotypes and ill treatment of another ethnic group, Jewish Americans, in at least two distinct instances in his short fiction. Fitzgerald's coupling of a high degree of violence with the ill treatment of his Jewish American characters works to combat anti-Semitism. A significant amount of scholarship has been conducted on the treatment of Jewish American characters in Fitzgerald's novels, such as analyses of the seedy mysterious business associate of Jay Gatsby, Meyer Wolfsheim, in *The Great Gatsby*, or the Hollywood Film Producer and main character, Monroe Stahr, of Fitzgerald's last and unfinished novel, *The Love of the Last Tycoon*. While critics have analyzed Fitzgerald's longer works of fiction, they have largely ignored the progression of Fitzgerald's treatment of Jewish American characters which began in his works of short fiction, specifically in his short stories "May Day" and "The Hotel Child." These two stories highlight the evolution of Fitzgerald's Jewish American characters and his exploration of the tension between ethnic stereotyping and ethnic misrepresentation.

Creating stereotypes of Jewish characters is not a new practice, making the old images of Jewish individuals very hard to discount and destroy. Stereotypes of Jewish individuals in literature began as early as the late tenth century in Europe (Marger 322). Soon, an image of a greedy, wealthy, and materialistic Jewish male emerged (Marger 324). This image has since

become one of the most common stereotypes of Jewish males in literature, present also in Shakespeare. Jewish women, on the other hand, have not been associated with greed, but instead with material and social privilege. Jewish female characters are often caricatured and then categorized into one of three specific types: the belle juive, the Jewish mother, and the Jewish-American princess. The belle juive, or the beautiful temptress, is a beautiful young Jewish female who is often deemed the source of temptation for the males around her (Pellegrini 129). The Jewish mother is a stock character who embodies the characteristics of being loud, overbearing, over-protective, and often nagging her children (Pellegrini 291). The third Jewish female stereotype, the Jewish-American princess, is characterized by privilege, wealth, materialism, and sometimes selfishness (Woodbury 102). This classification became popular after the end of World War II with American male authors. The belle juive and the Jewish mother stereotypes were present in American literature by the 1920s. This was due to the fact that during this time, young, Jewish American female socialites were filling the social scene in the United States. This was especially apparent during the mid-1920s, when “the Jewish population in America comprised well-established citizens” who had gained a great deal of wealth during their or their parent’s path to citizenship (Abramson 117). Over a forty-four year period, the Jewish immigrant population in the United States became the largest immigrant population in America, consisting of almost 2.5 million individuals by 1924, most of whom settled in New York City (Abramson 117). The size of this immigrant population and the small amount of time that this migration took place caused the American public to become wary of these newcomers. Suzanne del Gizzo notes that “these mass migrations not only made immigrant and African-American populations increasingly visible in American cities, but they also highlighted the rapid economic, social, and cultural changes that self-christened ‘native’

Americans perceived as a threat to their power and control” (226). The mistrust and suspicion of Jewish immigrants by the American public were channeled into the formation of stereotypes of Jewish individuals and the perpetuation of old prejudices and discrimination.

“May Day” (1920)

Fitzgerald's first mention of a Jewish American character occurred in his short story “May Day,” published in *Smart Set* magazine in July of 1920. “May Day” is one of Fitzgerald’s most famous short stories, or more accurately categorized as a novelette due to its length, and it has been successful due to its appeal with American readers in the 1920s and at present. “May Day” is the story of a group of Yale University students meeting for a dance against the backdrop of the May Day Riots of 1919 in Cleveland, Ohio. The May Day riots were conducted by socialists and communists lead by socialist Charles Ruthenberg in response to the arrest and imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs (Bellamy 188). The demonstration quickly turned violent as many groups of factory workers and political groups clashed. Since these riots occurred only a year before this story was published, the events of the riots were still fresh in the minds of American readers. By using this political clash as the backdrop of “May Day,” Fitzgerald gives the story a broader political and historical scope than that of the lives of a single group of characters. The intensive level of detail present in the story also works to show the reader what this type of violence was like to experience as well as who was being persecuted.

Buried deep within this famous tale of love and youth lost is a fleeting mention of a Jewish man being beaten in the street for speaking to a group of drunken soldiers of his socialist beliefs and the effects of war. This short scene has not been generally discussed as depicting an act of brutality against a Jewish man even though the scene includes many graphic details of the

beating. The scene, which lasts the length of half a page, begins with the two main characters, Key and Rose, fighting their way through the May Day crowds:

Reaching the outskirts of the crowd they immediately became an indistinguishable part of it. It was composed of ragged civilians somewhat the worse for liquor, and of soldiers representing many divisions and many stages of sobriety, all clustered around a gesticulating little Jew with long black whiskers, who was waving his arms and delivering an excited but succinct harangue. Key and Rose, having wedged themselves into the approximate parquet, scrutinized him with acute suspicion, as his words penetrated their common consciousness. (Fitzgerald 108)

The Jewish man is described as being a “gesticulating little Jew with long black whiskers.” The inclusion of the terms “little” and “long black whiskers” as the main descriptors of the “Jew,” calls attention to the commonly associated markers of this ethnic group, which sets up the physical stereotype of a Jewish man for the reader. The phrase “little Jew” is repeated several times in the paragraph, creating an association between this description and the man. He is nameless, but stands in representation of his entire culture. To be called “little” or simply “Jew,” rather than seen as a person with thoughts and feelings that are solely his own, was during this period of time demeaning but common. The Jewish orator is not only described as being physically different from the other members of the crowd, but he is also described as being spatially separated from the members of the crowd. He is physically distant from the crowd by his placement in the center of the mob and the empty space between himself and the surrounding crowd. This physical separation works to highlight the Jewish man’s physical and cultural differences from the members of the crowd, placing them physically on opposite sides of a cultural divide.

In response to seeing this man, the two main characters are said to have “scrutinized him with acute suspicion.” Key and Rose only look upon this orator with “acute suspicion” because he has the physical markers of a Jewish individual and is connected to socialism. The connection between the orator and his socialist views highlights the common belief that most Jewish individuals supported socialism. This connection only heightens the reference to the orator’s Jewish heritage and the fact that this is enough to cast suspicion upon him brings the persecution of Jewish individuals to light for the reader. Key and Rose were most likely basing their assumptions on common negative Jewish stereotypes. This highlights the quickness of the American public in the 1910s and 1920s to form negative assumptions about individuals belonging to immigrant groups who had moved upward in society.

In addition to stereotyping this orator on the basis of his cultural heritage, the text marks the violent response to this individual’s socialist speech:

[T]he little Jew's oration was interrupted by the hostile impact of a fist upon the point of his bearded chin and he toppled backward to a sprawl on the pavement. "God damn Bolsheviki!" cried the big soldier-blacksmith who had delivered the blow. There was a rumble of approval.... The Jew staggered to his feet, and immediately went down again before a half-dozen reaching-in fists. This time he stayed down, breathing heavily, blood oozing from his lip where it was cut within and without. There was a riot of voices, and in a minute Rose and Key found themselves flowing with the jumbled crowd. (Fitzgerald 108)

The words that are shouted at the orator are spoken out of drunken minds and the acts that are committed against the Jewish man are void of logic. The drunken soldier hits the orator and causes him to become “sprawl[ed] on the pavement.” The fact that the crowd “rumble[d]

approval” in response to this violent act implies that the crowd, acting as it does as a passive character, does not see the orator as a man, but as a common enemy who must be struck down. This realization is followed by “a half-dozen reaching-in fists” that beat the orator to the ground again. The fact that the Jewish man is reduced to an image of unconsciousness and blood shows the reader the level of brutality forced upon the orator because of his Jewish and socialist connections, casting the actions of the crowd in a negative light. Their actions are also called into question by the narrator’s description of them as being “big,” “drunken,” and rioting. These descriptors work to cast the members of the crowd in a negative light. No one attempts to aid the unconscious orator and no compassion is shown on the part of the crowd. Compassion is invoked in the reader by creating a contrast between the actions of the Jewish orator and the high level of brutality forced upon him in response to his Jewish background. The crowd’s and the main characters’ lack of action and failure to help the orator is worse than the actual beating because it shows the tendency of mainstream American society to allow such acts to occur. At the conclusion of the altercation, the Jewish orator is swallowed by the crowd, disappearing into the masses as if run over by a stampede of bodies, ignorance, and cruelty.

For the reader, this moment in the story was a passing and forgettable mention of a Jewish character, taking place as the story’s protagonists are being swept quickly through the crowd, but even though this was such a small moment in this story, it illustrates the tension between the intolerance of the American public and the fear of foreign or immigrant influence. The brutality, violence, and high level of graphic detail that is present in this scene work to create a sympathetic view of a Jewish man just as the violence of Bernice’s hair cutting scene work to align the reader with the victim of the abuse. This is done in order to show the ill-treatment of individuals belonging to marginalized groups and to call for a change in societal beliefs and

actions, suggesting Fitzgerald's interest in supporting some level of cultural pluralism and his need to tolerate, if not accept, the differences in the many diverse beliefs and cultures in America.

“The Hotel Child” (1931)

Eleven years after the publication of “May Day,” Fitzgerald again included a Jewish-American character in one of his short stories. Instead of giving the reader a passing glance at the cruelty inflicted upon Jewish Americans or creating a minor Jewish character, Fitzgerald places a Jewish American heiress as the center of his short story entitled “The Hotel Child.” This story marks Fitzgerald's first use of a Jewish protagonist as well as his inclusion of a highly positive portrayal of a Jewish character. This positive progression in Fitzgerald's treatment of Jewish characters by elevating them to the role of the protagonist and creating sympathetic and cunning marginalized characters will only continue throughout Fitzgerald's novels. Like Fitzgerald's portrayal of Native American characters, Fitzgerald combats common stereotypes of Jewish American characters and works to change the image of the Jewish American female character, emphasizing her innocence, power, and intelligence.

“The Hotel Child” was first published in the *Saturday Evening Post* on January 31, 1931. Unlike many of Fitzgerald's other short stories, this one in particular was drawn from his real life experiences. Upon its completion, Fitzgerald told his literary agent, Harold Ober, that “practically the whole damn thing is true, bizarre as it seems” (Brucoli 598). This connection to Fitzgerald's recollections and experiences rather than to made-up fantasy is perhaps why this story in particular contains such lengthy descriptions and poignant observations. The first of these lengthy descriptions is a detailed account at the beginning of the story, of the protagonist's eighteenth birthday party. The protagonist of this story is a young woman, named Fifi Schwartz.

Fifi Schwartz is a young naïve American girl living among a large group of Europeans in the Hotel des Trois Mondes. While this Jewish American character is not subjected to the same type of physical violence as the man in “May Day,” she suffers emotional violence and persecution due to her religious affiliation. In the short story “The Hotel Child,” Fitzgerald addresses several stereotypes of Jewish American women, but ultimately works to undermine those stereotypes in favor of more positive portrayals.

In the first sentence of Fifi’s description, the narrator notes that Fifi is a “Jewess,” or a young Jewish woman, marking the importance of this characteristic in the story. This ethnic distinction automatically places Fifi in the role of the “other” against the backdrop of wealthy European Caucasian men and women. Because of this ethnic distinction, the men and women of the hotel automatically place Fifi in an inferior social position. Just as Bernice is “othered” by members of her own peer group, Fifi is also othered and persecuted by the other wealthy individuals at the hotel. Fifi is constantly bombarded with hurtful remarks by the female hotel guests who claim to dislike everything from Fifi’s dress and her manners to her physical appearance. From the beginning of the story, the narrator notes that the “Furies,” or the wealthy, fur-wearing European women at the hotel, “were after Fifi now—after her childish complacency and her innocence, even after her beauty--out to break it all down and drag it in any convenient mud” (Fitzgerald 606). Fifi’s positive traits of “innocence” and “childish complacency” are the targets of her peer group. These wealthy women and men wished to make her aware of the workings of the world and the social and ethnic hierarchy. Even though Fifi and her family were quite wealthy, they were not able to escape ethnic stereotyping and prejudice even among their peers.

From this first description of Fifi in the story, she is not only categorized as being Jewish, but she is also automatically categorized as the belle juive character due to the narrator's intense focus on her physical appearance. Fifi is carefully described, the narrator noting and commenting on every aspect of her physical appearance is detailed at length. She is first described as being "exquisitely, radiantly beautiful" with a "fine, high forehead," "eyes [that] were bright, big, clear, wet, and shining; the color of her cheeks and lips was real, breaking close to the surface from the strong young pump of her heart" (Fitzgerald 599). Over half a page is devoted to sentence after sentence of faltering descriptions about Fifi's physical beauty. Del Gizzo notes that "Fitzgerald presents Fifi as a classical beauty with only a fleeting reference to her slightly large nose. His insistence on her beauty, however, to some extent continues the logic of eugenics, which located morality and intelligence in physical appearance" (Del Gizzo 232). While Fitzgerald could have been influenced by eugenics, Fitzgerald's emphasis on Fifi's physical beauty and the narrator's observations that a group of young men follow Fifi around and are enamored by her also casts Fifi into the stereotypical role of the beautiful Jewish temptress. Quickly, Fitzgerald erodes this common stereotype, replacing each aspect of the belle juive character with more positive characteristics.

Fitzgerald begins the erosion of the stereotype by disassociating Fifi's character from the image of the "temptress." Even though many young men wish to court Fifi, she actively tries to avoid them. When she was so unfortunate as to find herself alone with the Marquis Kinkallow, Fifi was forced to protect herself against his advances. The narrator states that "the marquis' face was now decorated by a long, irregular finger-nail scratch that ran diagonally across his cheek, traversed his nose in a few sketchy lines and finished in a sort of grand terminal of tracks upon his lower jaw" (Fitzgerald 604). While Fifi is described as naïve and innocent, she is not timid.

Like Bernice, who can physically fight back against her oppressor, Fifi can actively protect herself against the unwanted attentions of the Marquis Kinkallow. The marquis insults Fifi in response to her self-protective measures in an attempt to discredit and degrade Fifi, exclaiming that she is “a common little person” who is the “laughingstock of the hotel” (Fitzgerald 604). By actively pushing most of the men in the hotel away from her and spurning their advances, Fifi embodies the traits of innocence and honesty instead of temptation.

In addition to eroding the “temptation qualities” about his character, Fitzgerald also corrodes the belle juive’s physical markers of beauty. In response to Borowki’s statement that “there is no flaw or fault in you,” Fifi finds fault in each of her facial features:

“Oh, yes,” said Fifi modestly. “I got a sort of big nose. Would you know I was Jewish?... Besides, my forehead is too high,” observed Fifi abstractedly. “It’s so high it’s got sort of wrinkles in it. I knew an awfully funny boy who used to call me ‘the highbrow.’” (Fitzgerald 608)

The narrator’s use of the term “modestly” to describe Fifi’s description of what she takes to be her physical flaws works to connect Fifi with the traits of honesty and humility, making the reader more likely to believe in and approve of Fifi’s thoughts and actions. Fifi’s thoughts that follow this declaration of humility are self-deprecating. She notes that she has “a sort of big nose,” a “highbrow,” and wrinkles on her forehead. Having a large nose was a common stereotypical marker of a person of Jewish heritage at this time (Ashkenazi 22). Fifi’s question following her declaration that she has a “big nose,” “would you know I was Jewish,” enables her to poke fun at this common stereotype by adding a bit of humor into her facial analysis. By seeing and analyzing her perceived flaws in physical appearance, Fifi disassociates herself with

the image of the ultimate female “beauty.” This ability to see and accept her own flaws, as well as the fact that she was teased because of one of these perceived flaws, make Fifi more of a believable, likeable, and sympathetic character to the reader. It also works to combat the image of the selfish and self-absorbed socialite. Fifi openly denies the role of the belle juive by ignoring many of the young men around her and casting doubt on her own beauty. Fifi is no longer the symbol of temptation or beauty for those around her. This denial works to break down the stereotype of the belle juive and replace that false image with one of innocence, humility, and strength.

Even though Fifi is a socialite and an heiress, she carries with her an air of innocence and naïveté that highlights the fact that she is not pampered or selfish. Instead, she falls victim to one of the many men who are vying for her attention and her money. Many of these poorer men wish to trap Fifi in order to gain her wealth through marriage. While she is able to spurn most of their advances, one man in particular attempts to dazzle her: Count Borowki. The Count constantly pressures Fifi to marry him, claiming that if she does not, he will be forced to marry someone else in order to satisfy his mother’s desire to see him married. Fifi soon learns that the Count is not what he seems to be. Borowki is not wealthy and has been secretly stealing possessions from the Hotel’s guests in order to offset his lack of funds. Even though Fifi is described as being naïve, she is also clever and discovers the Count’s deception and traps the Count in his lies, effectively taking the power away from the deceptive man. As Borowki confesses:

I thought I had convinced her to come with me, and I knew that if she didn't, I had only to snap my fingers to the other girl. . . . That very afternoon Fifi visited the jeweler's and discovered I'd paid for the cigarette case with a hundred-dollar American note I'd lifted from her mother's chiffonier. She went straight to the police. (Fitzgerald 615)

Just as Pan-e-troon was able to act as his story's investigator, Fifi was also able to outsmart Borowki and discover the connection between the cigarette lighter and his form of payment. What actually caused Fifi to doubt Borowki's honesty was an unkind statement Fifi overheard him make about her mother. As Fifi states, "I was standing in the hall looking in the mirror... and I heard him talking to the English lady--the one who set the hotel on fire. And I heard him say, 'After all, my one nightmare is that she'll turn out to look like her mother'" (Fitzgerald 615). In response to Borowki's statement of fear, "Fifi's voice blazed with indignation." After getting the bartender to state that her mother is "a very fine woman she is," Fifi "knew there was something the matter with him" (Fitzgerald 615). Because Fifi's mother is described as "fine" yet "plain," Fifi immediately understood that Borowki did not care for her as he professed he did.

Borowki's attitude could also have something to do with his fear of the overbearing Jewish mother stereotype. This assumption causes Fifi to question Borowki's motives because Fifi's mother, Mrs. Schwartz, does not adhere to this stereotype in the least, beyond the fact that she is a mother and she is Jewish. Mrs. Schwartz is a kind woman, who must take care of her children without her husband's aid. As a widow, she is afforded many more freedoms than married women and, in turn, can be indifferent to the negative attitudes and criticisms of the hotel guests. She understands that her family will be persecuted for their beliefs anywhere they decide to go, so she simply wishes to do what is best for her family. Fitzgerald's decision to not caricature Mrs. Schwartz and instead portray her as a kind and intelligent woman undermines and challenges the existence of the Jewish mother stereotype.

Many other characters in the story do judge the Schwartz family based on preconceived stereotypes. The hotel manager is quick to blame Fifi and her family for all of the thefts at the hotel, until they ultimately become victims of the thief themselves. The fact that the manager, by

giving in to the stereotype of the greedy and guilty Jewish individual, automatically decides that Fifi is the thief indicates that this stereotype was prevalent in European and American societies at the time. Since the reader knows that Fifi is innocent of these crimes, her youth and innocence work to transform her into a sympathetic character. Fifi recognizes the injustice of these accusations and the treatment of her family when she states: “I never saw such a narrow-minded bunch of people in my life; always criticizing everybody and making up terrible things about them, no matter what they do themselves” (Fitzgerald 607). Here, Fifi acknowledges their unfair treatment in front of many of the hotel guests, refusing to allow their criticism and ill-treatment of those who are ethnically different to go unchallenged.

Fifi and her family moved to Europe to escape the discrimination they faced in America. Fifi does not wish to return home because she believes that everyone in America “is so bigoted” (Fitzgerald 605). This direct reference to the treatment of Jewish Americans in America indicates that Fitzgerald is aware of their ill-treatment. The grace and cunning that Fifi displays when faced with this persecution invokes sympathy in the reader, encouraging the reader to support Fifi as the marginalized other, and to react negatively towards anyone who mistreats Jewish characters.

Just as in his treatment of Native characters, Fitzgerald grants these Jewish characters a great deal of agency and works to create sympathetic depictions in order to combat anti-Semitic views and prejudices. While his first portrayal of a Jewish American character is not completely positive, it does show an inclination to expose injustices and ill-treatment done to members of marginalized groups. This inclination becomes a theme in Fitzgerald’s later work where he does provide the reader with examples of racist characters and characters who mistreat others based on their ethnic background. These characters are typically cast in the role of the villain within

these works, with their views presented in a highly negative light. Examples of this can be seen in the characters of the racist villain, Tom Buchanan in *The Great Gatsby* and Anthony Patch in *The Beautiful and the Damned*, who receives a punch after calling someone a “Goddamn Jew.”

These observations are supported by the findings present in a new edition of Fitzgerald’s fourth short story collection, *Taps at Reveille*, the latest volume of *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F Scott Fitzgerald*, which restores Fitzgerald’s stories to their original, unscrubbed states. Many stories in this collection were “scrubbed clean” by *The Saturday Evening Post*’s editors in an attempt to appease their middle-class readers (Flood). The editor of this new edition of *Taps at Reveille* notes that “before these stories were bowdlerised (sic), they contained antisemitic slurs, sexual innuendo, instances of drug use and drunkenness. They also contained profanity and mild blasphemy” (Flood). After *The Saturday Evening Post*’s editors scrubbed these stories, they no longer contained any references to “sexual innuendo,” “profanity,” or “any passages touching on racial or ethnic prejudice,” “drunkenness,” or “drug-taking” (Flood). By restoring these stories to their original form present in Fitzgerald’s manuscripts, West notes that scholars are able to see how Fitzgerald intended each story to be published and fills in some of the questions that have plagued critics (Flood). West specifically discusses two stories in his interview with Alison Flood: “Two Wrongs” and “The Hotel Child.” West asserts that

Two Wrongs [] now makes much more sense,’ with Bill ‘punished more justly for his wrongdoings – his antisemitism and his reprehensible treatment of his wife.’ And in *The Hotel Child*, [] ‘the decadence of several of the characters is revealed more clearly because of their alcoholism, drug use, and prejudice. (Flood)

While these restored stories do contain anti-Semitic remarks, specifically in “The Hotel Child,” West’s restorations still support the claim that “The Hotel Child” does not support anti-Semitic behavior or views due to the fact that “the antisemitic slurs in these stories are spoken by reprehensible characters. These slurs are not spoken in Fitzgerald's authorial voice. It's the characters who are antisemitic, not Fitzgerald” (Flood). These new versions of the *Taps at Reveille* stories also show that one of the more common points in Fitzgerald criticism, that Fitzgerald “avoided unpleasant topics and realistic language in his magazine fiction,” “was not altogether his choice” (Flood). These restored stories show that Fitzgerald often explored controversial topics and chose to engage in unpleasant debates, even if his evaluations of societal behaviors and beliefs appear subtle.

These early depictions of villainous or morally wrong characters allowed Fitzgerald to explore further Jewish characters in his later work, moving from the Jewish protagonist in the short story, “The Hotel Child,” to a Jewish protagonist in a longer work, his novel *The Last Tycoon*. Fitzgerald’s exploration of Jewish characters is far reaching and extensive in his novels, but it is in his short stories where Fitzgerald first depicted a Jewish character and a Jewish protagonist. These milestones paved the way for Fitzgerald’s ever increasingly positive and sympathetic portrayals of Jewish characters, making their inclusion in his work significant. Within his stories, Fitzgerald is able to challenge common ethnic stereotypes and re-image the Jewish character in a positive light and eventually in the position of a story’s lead.

Conclusion

Fitzgerald's portrayals of characters belonging to marginalized groups differ significantly from those of other authors at the time such as Faulkner and Hemmingway. Fitzgerald chose to undermine common ethnic representations of two particular groups: Native Americans and Jewish Americans. Many other American modernist authors explored the trope of the "vanishing Indian" in Indian narratives in the early part of the twentieth century. Americans became enthralled with the Western Art movement of Primitivism, making stories containing characters of indigenous origins quite desirable in the eyes of the middle class magazine readers. Such works include Ernest Hemingway's 1924 short story "Indian Camp" and William Faulkner's 1942 short story "The Bear." Each American Modernist author approached this subject in drastically different fashions, but none were as radical in their approach as Fitzgerald's. Fitzgerald brought indigenous characters into the foreground, depicting them as fully realized human characters capable of complex emotions and active agency.

Fitzgerald's portrayals of Native American characters challenge the common representation of Native individuals of the time, while also displaying an awareness of the damaging effects of the Assimilation Era policies of radical cultural suppression. "Bernice Bobs Her Hair" and "The Passionate Eskimo" allows the Native character to occupy the role of the protagonist; as a result, these characters acquire power and agency over the members of mainstream American society. Since Fitzgerald's favorable portrayals of Native Americans occur at the beginning and the end of his literary career, his evaluations of common stereotypes

and treatment of Native people by the American public become more significant and persuasive in the face of the public's dominant assimilationist views.

The recurring sympathetic and powerful portrayals of Native people in the short stories of Fitzgerald indicate that these stories hold a great deal of significance for the author, implying that the values and challenges to Native representation in these texts are not unintentional or insignificant. Fitzgerald's subtle challenges to the image and representation of Native characters bring the issue of the assimilation of Native populations into the homes and minds of everyday American readers. While these subtle evaluations of the federal government's assimilation policies are more apparent to a scholar or student of ethnic and cultural studies, the level of violence used to describe the destructive effects of the actions similar to those of assimilationists works to align the reader with the oppressed and marginalized individual, with the protagonist. This further allows the reader to see the Native character as a member of American society who should be treated with the same level of respect and kindness as any other, just as the cultural pluralists argue.

Similarly, Fitzgerald treats Jewish characters with a great deal of sympathy and works to challenge the common ethnic representation and stereotypes of this group. Through his exploration of the characters in "May Day" and "The Hotel Child," Fitzgerald is able to re-imagine the characteristics belonging to Jewish characters, making them strong, amiable, intelligent, and sympathetic, granting them a great deal of agency and voice against their oppressors. Del Gizzo attributes this "increased sensitivity, particularly in his representation of Jews, [] to the significant shift in cultural attitudes about race and ethnicity as World War II had begun to expose how truly dangerous racist thinking and eugenics could be"; also to the impact that several setbacks experienced through the 1930s had on Fitzgerald (232). These milestones in

Fitzgerald's representation of Jewish characters — the first occurrence of a Jewish character and his first Jewish American protagonist — occurred before these setbacks arose and paved the way for many other characters in Fitzgerald's works. The treatments on Native American and Jewish characters, while few in number compared to Fitzgerald's vast collection of short fiction, indicate a support of cultural pluralism and a questioning of the ill-treatment of individuals based on their ethnic background.

These four stories, "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," "The Passionate Eskimo," "May Day," and "The Hotel Child," have been largely ignored by critics of Fitzgerald's work, but their importance lies in their ability to illustrate Fitzgerald's awareness of the negative ramifications of assimilationist views and signal the evolution of Fitzgerald's indigenous and ethnic characters. The tension between common ethnic stereotypes and the questioning of the effects of assimilation and discrimination indicate the struggle and evolutionary process that Fitzgerald underwent when exploring this topic. These stories work as Fitzgerald's proving ground, where he is able to explore these types of characters and introduce them to the public before he attempted to include these characters and views in his novels. While not all of these views were explored in his novels, these stories show that Fitzgerald did examine culturally pluralistic ideas and attempted to undermine common ethnic stereotypes, which works to cast some of his other ethnic characters present in his novels and short stories into a new a more positive light.

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