Edith Wharton in the Post-War Literary Marketplace: The Case of the Missing Chapter of *In Morocco* (1920)

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Abstract

Edith Wharton studies have been focusing increasingly on the author's relationship to her publishers to document her sensitivity to changing requirements of the reading public. For instance, Pavlina Pajot (2020) showed that in the 1920s and 30s Wharton navigated the publishing world by targeting two audiences at the same time. She relied on the technique of publishing short stories and book chapters in middlebrow journals first and then rewriting them for a highbrow audience in more highbrow style for the book version. Drawing upon Pajot's results, the paper proposes to investigate the literary production process of Wharton's popular Moroccan travel book *In Morocco* (1920) which had also been compiled from earlier illustrated articles. The paper surveys the cultural undercurrents of production and publishing: it shows that the book version carries new chapters that had no earlier journal versions and suppresses a journal article which could have been part of the volume; and that the book version rearranges photo illustrations provided by the French colonial administration. The paper claims that the exclusion/inclusion of chapters and the selection and arrangement of illustrations for *In Morocco* not only relied on a French colonial discourse of Morocco but also catered to requirements of the post-war US literary marketplace.

Keywords: Edith Wharton, Morocco, publishing, illustrations, French colonialism, North Africa, the Great War

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Introduction

In the fall of 1917, the expatriate US author Edith Wharton left her home in war-weary Paris and made a relaxing excursion to the industrial fair in the French protectorate of Morocco. Between September 15 and October 25, Wharton traveled by French military motor from the Northern port of Tangiers to the coastal city of Salé and then Rabat, visited the ruined city of Volubilis and the sacred Moulay-Idris after attending an industrial fair at Rabat she was a special guest at. She explored Meknez and Fez and arrived eventually in Marrakech. She had been invited to the excursion and the

fair by the military Resident-General of the French Protectorate of Morocco, Hubert Lyautey. Lyautey's colonial strategy was to reinvigorate economic life in the colony, including a gradual opening for European tourism, and he welcomed Wharton both as a friend from before the war and as an ally who promoted his local French colonial administration and its economic ventures.

Today, Wharton's journey is not remembered on account of the fair she was the guest of but rather because of the book on Morocco she wrote about her journey. Wharton's guidebook titled *In Morocco* was published after the war in 1920. For Wharton, colonial Morocco presented a mixture of modern French life and traditional Oriental customs and settings she deemed almost Medieval. The aim of her book was to showcase the presence of this lingering Medieval and Oriental past in the country before impending forces of industrialization and modernization blotted it out. At the same time, Wharton was proud to point out that her book was remedying the lack of a guidebook to Morocco (vii, 3). So somewhat ambiguously, she was writing to preserve existing traces of the Moroccan past for drawing in tourists who embodied the very modernization whose effects Wharton was resisting (Lee 513). All along her narrative, Wharton praised the attitude of the French colonial administration to both preservation and development of the colony.

It is not surprising to point out, then, that *In Morocco* has usually been read in the context of Wharton's endorsement of French colonial policies in North Africa. In 1993 Judith Sensibar thought the book was subtle "propaganda" (242), while Rich used the term "positive public relations report" (8). In Hermione Lee's precise wording, Wharton adopted a "nationalistic Francophile attitude to North Africa" (511) in the book. Nancy Bentley problematized unifying views of Wharton's colonial sensibility: she illustrated not only Wharton's aestheticization of French colonial rule in Morocco but also pointed out how Wharton differentiates Lyautey's colonial administration from aesthetically destructive colonization elsewhere, such as Algeria and Tangiers (442).

This paper proposes to reconsider colonial context of *In Morocco* in 1920 along with its publishing context to investigate the interplay of colonial and publishing factors in the construction of the text. From a publishing perspective, *In Morocco* belongs to the literary production of the war years (Lee 509). In 1919 Appleton did not publish Wharton's novel about the war, *Son at the Front*, because "the war was beginning to be an unpleasant and embarrassing topic" (Hutchison 215) – it was published by Scribner's in 1923, and the publication of Wharton's historical novel, *The Age of Innocence* (1920) intervened. Wharton came up with the idea of writing *In Morocco* to Scribner "as a combination of exotic travel guide . . . and Francophile propaganda" (Lee 509). She proposed to send material for a guide-book that was needed in English, articles first, and indeed she published four articles in *Scribners' Magazine* in 1919 (on Rabat, Meknez, Fez, and Marrakech) and one in the *Yale Review* (on ceremonies). The five articles were supplemented by three more chapters in the book version: a praise of Lyautey's work in Morocco, a sketch of Moroccan history and a sketch of Moroccan architecture.

In 1998 an additional Wharton essay was recovered that could have been included in the book on Morocco (Singley et al. 277). Frederick Wegener republished the

English translation of Wharton's essay about Mme Lyautey's charities in Morocco that appeared in 1918 in *France-Maroque,* the official French publication of the Protectorate of Morocco. Wegener highlighted the telling omission of the essay from the later book version and explained it by personal reasons (17). While the husband's, General Lyautey's, work is praised in a full chapter of the book, Mme Lyautey's charity and medical work is mentioned only as an aside in the chapter on the husband, a fact that Wegener takes to be the sign of Wharton's "distaste for social service" and charities (17) performed by the members of Wharton's own sex.

The article reconsiders possible reasons behind Wharton's exclusion of her essay on Mme Lyautey's charities from the published volume through highlighting the role of publishing reasons for the omission. The discussion opens with an overview of the publishing contexts Wharton worked in after the war and the investigation of the journal issues in which Wharton's articles were published in 1919 to show how these were transformed into a book. The narrative of republishing, additions, and photo arrangements sheds light on how extensively Wharton relied on the French colonial administration for the material sources of her writing. Two, the article includes the problem of Wharton's "missing chapter" on the work of Mme Lyautey to the book version as part of the combined colonial and publication contexts right after the war. Three, parallel hypotheses about possible reasons are compared and assessed.

Publishing contexts of Wharton's work

The reduced costs of production and increasing demand rendered the nineteenth century the golden age of periodicals (Nettels 137). In line with contemporary practices, Edith Wharton published her poems, short stories, book chapters, and essays in illustrated monthly magazines between the 1890s and 1930s. These works were typically followed by book publications, often altered and supplemented with additional sections. Wharton's business correspondence, as detailed by Towheed, Shaloo, and Girling,[1] reveals her continuous negotiations with magazine editors and book publishers concerning plans, needs, deadlines, marketing strategies, and crucially, prices and sales revenues. Wharton formed strong connections with Scribner's editors William C. Brownell and Edward Burlingame, and later with Appleton's Rutger B. Jewett, who became her agent. The journals she contributed to included highbrow publications like *Century Magazine*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *The North Atlantic Review*, and later middlebrow periodicals such as *Pictorial Review*, the *Delineator*, and *Ladies' Home Journal*. Elsa Nettels observed that "the majority of her most notable writings were first available to the reading public in serial form" (144).

Wharton's travel essays were also first published in illustrated monthly journals. This genre was particularly popular among periodicals because it provided a refreshing

1 See Towheed's discussion of Wharton's correspondence with Macmillan and Girling's article on Wharton's connection to her Scottish publisher, John Murray; also Shaloo's general chapter on Wharton's work with her editors.

contrast to short stories and other literary forms (Wright 37). At the turn of the century, U.S. middle-class female readers had been educated in the tradition of mid-century impressionistic travel authors, though this was slowly changing in highbrow periodicals such as *Harper's*, *Scribner's Monthly*, and *The Century Magazine* (Wright 37). Editors were compelled to cater to readers' needs, and the publication process reveals much about the literary expectations of the time. Although Wharton primarily identified with male travel writers as her predecessors, she entered the marketplace of illustrated monthly magazines for women after ceasing exclusive publication in *Scribner's Magazine* in 1913 (Pajot 9-10).

The study of the periodical market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has become a vibrant field in recent periodical studies, offering new insights into Wharton's reception and expanding her literary legacy. Viewing periodicals as institutionalized literary production relies on a socially oriented perspective of the literary field, where a diverse literary marketplace serves a broad range of readers, both highbrow and middlebrow. Wharton's publishing practices were in line with the norms of her time, initially linked to periodicals managed and read by her social class, such as *The Atlantic Monthly*'s circle (Billips 147).

Pavlina Pajot's dissertation exemplifies how the periodical market shaped Wharton's navigation of the needs of different publishing platforms, as reflected in her revisions from journal pieces to book chapters. Pajot notes that in the 1910s, Wharton published her work in highbrow magazines and remained loyal to *Scribner's Magazine* and her editor Richard Burlingame until the volume of her output exceeded what Scribner's could manage (Pajot 10, Shaloo 122). Subsequently, she sought multiple outlets for her shorter works. By the end of the decade, she also published in middlebrow magazines such as the *Pictorial Review* and the *Delineator*. In the 1930s, she faced challenges in finding the appropriate market for her socially critical stories (Pajot 26). Throughout these years, Wharton adapted her journal publications to meet the expectations of her book readers, a transformation most evident in the revisions she made for book versions of these pieces in the 1920s.[2]

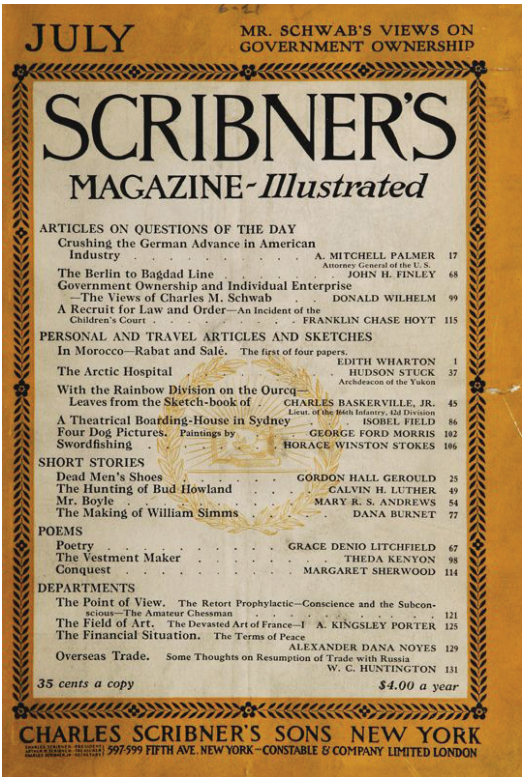
The publication of Wharton's *In Morocco* by Scribner's poses the question if the travel genre changed Wharton's attitude towards publishing books only after transforming the earlier periodical publications stylistically. In other words, *In Morocco* can function as a new testing site, of Wharton's travel output, for Pajot's model. To be able to study this question, one needs to survey the publication process of the chapters and of the final book text and compare the publications.

Wharton wrote five articles in 1919 that would become the main body of *In Morocco*. She published four articles in *Scribner's Magazine* between July and October 1919 (see Table 1). She published a fifth one titled "Harems and Ceremonies" in the *Yale Review* in 1919. The journal articles were all illustrated, each article carried four to seven black and white photographs. Wharton composed three extra sections for the book version on Colonel Lyautey's work, Moroccan history, and Moroccan architecture. She wrote admiringly about the economic and cultural improvements

2 See a more detailed overview of these aspect in the Introduction of my *The Memory of Architecture in Edith Wharton's Travel Writings* (Kovacs 24-29).

under Lyautey's colonial administration, and she also compiled a history and an architectural history of Morocco as separate chapters to the volume.

The text of the articles and the book publication is basically the same. Some captions that segment the journal articles have been deleted from the book text but otherwise the text remains faithful to the journal publication. It is the picture illustrations that change places and are relied on more expansively in the book version (see Table 1). Based on these data, there is no trace of a significant content level or stylistic rearrangement of the material between journal articles and book publication but rather the addition of thematic chapters on colonial policies, history and architecture, even a Bibliography, to make the book version long and authoritative enough.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Picture 1: The cover of Scribner's Magazine 66:1 from August 1919 in which Wharton's first article on Morocco was published. https://modjourn.org/issue/bdr480023/
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The missing chapter on Mme Lyautey

For the 1920 publication of the book, Wharton composed her first new chapter about General Lyautey's colonial work in Morocco, in which she praised his colonial achievement. Interestingly, it turns out that in 1918 Wharton had already published

an essay about the charities of Mme Lyatuey, the general's wife, in the journal *France-Maroq*. The account illustrated Wharton's admiration for Mme Lyautey's work and was based on her visit in 1917. A comparison of the essay from 1918 and the chapter from 1919-20 reveals thematic intersections.

Wharton published "Madame Lyautey's Charitable Works in Morocco" in the fall of 1918, in a double issue of *France-Maroc*, accompanied by articles from her traveling partner Walter Berry and friend André Chevrillon (Wegener 12, 14). Frederick Wegener located Wharton's essay about Mme Lyautey's charities in French and he published the English translation in 1998 with an accompanying article.

Wharton's essay is composed of three parts (four sections). The introduction sums up Wharton's arrival in and positive impressions of colonial Morocco and how her interest in charities was raised there: she was curious to explore the background story of peaceful wartime prosperity. The second section recounts her visit to a sanatorium of wounded Moroccan soldiers, a space she describes as modern, ordered, serene, and replete with a view (30), a perfect villa and 'opitale' like the one she had praised in Milan back in 1905 (Wharton *Italian* 160-1). The third section describes Wharton's experience of the maternity hospital and segregated Dispensary for French and Arab women, and she is impressed by these ordered spaces, along with their ordered daily routine supervised by "Madame la Présidente." The last, concluding section, compares the skills needed for directing a charity to those for governing a colony. It identifies their core similarity as a "guiding energy" "to do good," "to make it [Morocco] a source of provisions" at the time of war, and "to preserve Morocco for France" (33). In short, the essay describes Mme Lyautely's work with charity as part of the activities performed by the colonial administration.

Wharton's chapter on General Lyautey praises the work the military colonial administration has done in the Protectorate. It surveys Lyautey's determining role in the history of the Protectorate from 1912 till the outbreak of the war, the military establishment of a commercially profitable colony. She represents his stance at the outbreak of the Great War as heroic because he did not abandon the colony to bring his soldiers to the mother country but rather sent his troops home and he kept the line through administrative means. Lyautey the hero of Morocco appears as the colonial parallel to General Foch, the hero of the Marne:

> the reply he sent was that of a great patriot and a great general. In effect he said: "I will give you all the troops you ask, but instead of abandoning the interior of the country I will hold what we have already taken, and fortify and enlarge our boundaries." No other military document has so nearly that ring as Marshal Foch's immortal Marne despatch (written only a few weeks later): "My centre is broken, my right wing is wavering, the situation is favorable and I am about to attack." (215)

Lyautey's wartime colonial strategy was to maintain commercial activities and make peace profitable for colonial subjects, Wharton states (220-1). The fair she visited formed part of the strategy of a benign colonial control different from methods exercised by other French colonial administrations and of course from life in the

German and Spanish colonial zones in North Africa (222, 218). She explains how Lyautey's plans for Moroccan tourism play a part in his economic policies. Finally, Wharton's chapter enlists diverse forms of modernization endorsed by Lyautey's colonial administration: traffic (roads, railways, ports); commerce, justice, education, medical aid. Mme Lyautey's charities are mentioned at the end of the list on medial modernizations, in one sentence.

The two sections are similar both in their positive attitude to French colonial policies and their piecemeal approach to displaying the results. The descriptions illustrate how an initial situation of disarray was transformed into order and harmony through the thoughtful administrative measures by the husband and the practical daily regulations by the wife. The general is called a hero; the Madame la Présidente of the charities is compared to a governor of a colony. The two texts work in tandem, may even complement each other, yet the essay on "Madame Lyautey's charititable works" only appears as a short sentence in Wharton's book version of her articles on Morocco.

Hypothesis B

Frederick Wegener problematized the omission of the essay on Mme Lyautey from the book version and explained it by personal reasons. Wegener drew attention to the fact that Mme Lyautey's charity and medical work is mentioned only in the final sentence of the chapter on General Lyautey. Wegener takes this to be the sign of Wharton's personal "distaste for social service" and charities (Wharton *A Backward Glance* 348 quoted by Wegener 17) performed by American women. He also argues that Wharton's satirical portrayal of women working for charities in her fiction indicates her personal dislike of the topic (17).

Let us consider the possibility that Wharton's negative personal attitude to war charities might not be taken for granted. It is true that she travelled to Marocco hoping for a vacation from her own charities in France (Wharton "Mme Lyautey" 29), but as Wegener also points out, she herself "had initiated, overseen, or financed more than half a dozen charitable entities [...] since the start of the war," (Wegener 15) and perhaps because of this involvement, she asked Mme Lyautey to see the Moroccan charities as an addition to her official Moroccan program. Moreover, Wharton admired both the work she saw at the convalescent home/maternity ward and the woman who organized that work. Based on this, there seems to be slight chance that Wharton's personal attitude to charities may not have been totally unfavorable.

In addition, Wharton's description of Mme Lyautey's active female managerial position in the essay resembles the way she describes socially constructive roles of the "new" Frenchwoman in her *French Ways and Their Meaning* (1919) published a year after the essay. The middle-class Frenchwoman, Wharton explains in the book, has always been her husband's business partner in the sense that they have the same interests (Wharton *French* 105-6). Moreover, she states that French women have three key social roles: in addition to being business partners of their husbands they are also mothers and artists (111). She emphasizes the importance of cooperation

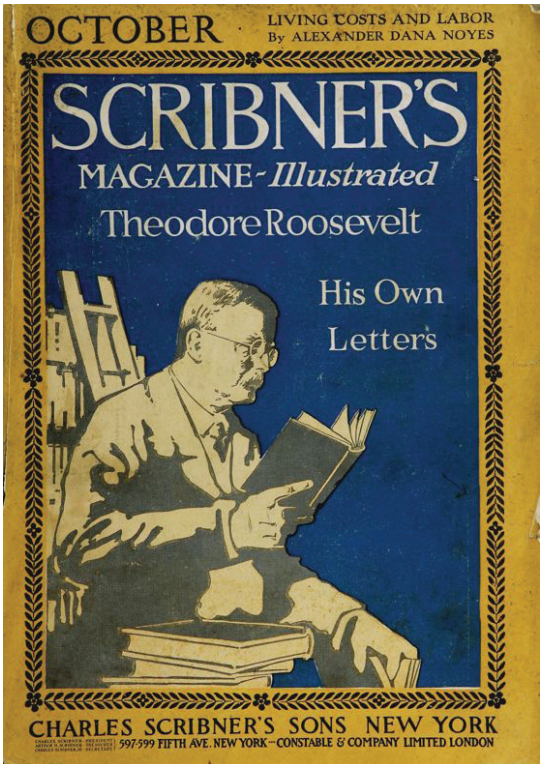
behind these roles: "The more civilised a society is, the wider is the range of each woman's influence over men, and of each man's influence over women" (112) she claims. These generalizations sound reminiscent of the connection between General and Mme Lyautey's medical arrangements in Morocco, their common purpose and method. In that sense, Wharton's representation of Mme Lyautey reads as an example for the category of the "new Frenchwoman," – whose position Wharton admires and introduces to her female American readers in *French Ways*.

All things considered, there is reason to suppose that Wharton might not have had an altogether negative attitude to charities. Rather, there might also have been other reasons at play when the article on Mme Lyautey's charities was omitted from the book. Apart from possible personal reasons, a consideration of the publishing contexts of the book publication provides arguments for a different hypothesis which highlights the role of contextual reasons. These reasons come from the publishing industry and can be differentiated as market expectations, genre, and audience.

The Anglo-American publishing market was saturated by war publications during the war, so after the end of the Great War publishers' interest in war themes was brimming. Hazel Hutchison's analysis of literary production during the war underscores the lack of interest in the war by 1918 (215). The essay on Mme Lyautey's charities starts out with the description of a convalescent soldiers' home, so it is a starkly war-related account. In contrast, her husband's story starts with war achievements but centers on the task of construction and reconstruction primarily.

The genre of travel writing offered a most welcome possibility of an escape from war. Travels to exotic destinations offered glimpses of areas of the world undisturbed by war. A quick overview of the table of contents of *Scribner's Magazine* illustrates this need – this is where Wharton's four Moroccan articles were published. In 1919, the volumes contain new sections on "Travel articles and sketches" and "Unusual articles" instead of the staple section "The World War" of the previous years. For instance, apart from Wharton's essays, the September 1919 issue carried Carl Lumholtz's article on head hunters in Borneo and the October issue had his essay on a native festival in central Borneo. As a somewhat different kind of diversion, Theodore Roosevelt's death in January 1919 initiated a series of commemorative writings looking into the past: In September 1919, a series of 9 articles started in *Scribner's Magazine*, which demonstrated the political legacy of Theodore Roosevelt from before the world war through his letters.

Writing about charities presupposes a specific reading audience: a circle of feminine readers. Charities are identified with the idea of feminine social service, as Wegener also argued (14), and in the context of publishing this means that the target readers are female. Wharton's essay on Mme Lyautey caters directly to female readers at the time of war who are happy to read about how patients receive good medical care and how, in general, order is restored. However, Wharton's guidebook about Morocco was not intended for a female audience only, even though its author was a woman. As in the case of her previous travel books, her output was markedly ungendered, i.e. appealing to mixed audiences. The inclusion of learned new chapters on history and architecture (complete with a bibliography) rather than charities worked directly towards that aim.



Picture 2: The cover of Scribner's Magazine 66:4 from October 1919 in which Wharton's last article on Morocco was published. https://modjourn.org/issue/bdr480813/
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A consideration of the publishing context draws attention to the role market expectations, genre preference, and target audience could have played in Wharton's decisions to omit her essay on Mme Lyautey's charities from her book *In Morocco* in 1920.

Conclusion

Edith Wharton transformed five of her articles published in 1919 into her travel book *In Morocco* (1920). Wharton added three new chapters to the pre-published material to round out the volume. The edition process did not amount to stylistical changes but rather involved the rearrangement of picture illustrations and the inclusion of new material on the colonial administration of General Lyautey, Moroccan history, and Moroccan architecture. Wharton also decided not to include one essay published in 1918 in the book version, a piece on Mme Lyautey's charities, at the point when she wrote a new chapter on the husband's colonial work instead. In the absence of actual evidence like editorial correspondence, diverse hypotheses can be formulated as possible explanations for the omission of Wharton's essay on Mme Lyautey from

the book. Apart from giving personal reasons, it is also possible to hypothesize that publishing factors like market expectations, genre, and target audience played a role in the decision to omit the essay about Mme Lyautey's charities.

Appendix

Table 1: The movement of picture illustrations between journal articles and book version.

#	Picture title	Source	Article	A pos, within article	Book, ch	B pos, cont.
1	Fez, Ebali ramparts	Service de Beaux Arts de Maroc	3	3	frontispiece of book	1
2	Cover image Court of the medersa el Attarine	Service	3	5	front matter	2
3	Map of Morocco		1=66:1 July 1919	2	front matter	3
4	Rabat view of kasbah Oudayas	Service	1	1	ch3	15
5	Rabat interior court of medersa Oudayas	Schmitt	1	4	3	13
6	Salé enetrance of medersa	Service	1	5	3	14
7	Salé market	Schmitt	1	8	3	5
8	Salé, Chella, ruins of mosque	Service	1	9	3	6
9	Volubilis, Western portico of basilica Antoniua Pious	Service	2=66:2 Aug 1919	1	ch2 frontispiece	4
10	Moulay Idriss, aerial view	Service	2	2	3	5
11	Moulay Idriss marketplace	Service	2	3	3	8
12	MI rite	Capt. Henissart	2	4	3	9
13	MI procession	Capt. Henissart	2	5	3	10
14	Meknez, Gate Bab Mansour	Service	2	7	3	11
15	Meknez, ruins	Service	2	6	3	12

16	Fez, upper city	Service	3=66:3 Sep. 1919	1	3	17
17	Fez, roofed streets	Service	3	2	3	18
18	Fez, Nedjarim fountain	Service	3	4	3	16
19	Fez, bazaaars	Service			Ch 7	20
20	Marrakech, Bahia, garden	Service	4=66:4 Oct. 1919	3	Ch 4	19
21	Marrakech, Bahia, great court	Felix	4	4	7	21
22	Marrakech, Bahia, apartment of favorite	Mme de la Segonzac	4	5	7	22
23	Marrakech, fondak	France-Maroc	4	6	7	23
24	Marrakech, Mausoleum of Saadi sultans	André Chevrillion	4	7	7	24
25	Sultan under green umbrella	France Maroc 1916			7	25
26	Caid and mountains	FM			7	26
27	Sultan entering Marrakech	FM			7	27
28	Women on roof	FM			7	28
29	Marrakech, street fountain	Service	2	4	7	29
30	Rabat, gate of kasbah of the Oudayas	Service	1	3	Ch 8 frontispiece	34
31	Fez, medersa Bouanyana	Service	3	6	7	30
32	Fez, medersa el Attarine, praying chapel	Service	3	7	7	31
33	Salé, medersa, interiour court	Service	1	6	7	32
34	Marrakech, gate of the Portugese	Service	1	4	7	33
35	Salé ruined medersa outside the walls	Service	1	7		

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