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Tender is the Night

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

TENDER IS THE NIGH

A Romance

F. Scott Fitzgerald

With an Introduction and Notes by
HENRY CLARIDGE
University of Kent

Already with thee! tender is the night
. . . But here there is no light,
Save what from heaven is with breezes blown
Through verdurous glooms and winding mossy ways.

'Ode to a Nightingale'[1]

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Wordsworth Classics are inexpensive editions designed to appeal to the general reader and students. We commissioned teachers and specialists to write wide-ranging, jargon-free introductions and to provide notes that would assist the understanding of our readers, rather than interpret the stories for them. In the same spirit, because the pleasures of reading are inseparable from the surprises, secrets and revelations that all narratives contain, we strongly advise you to enjoy the book before turning to the Introduction.

General Advisor
KEITH CARABINE
Rutherford College, University of Kent

INTRODUCTION

With the obvious exception of *The Great Gatsby*, *Tender is the Night* is Fitzgerald's best-known novel. As with *The Great Gatsby*, its genesis lies in that period of the mid-1920s when Fitzgerald's creative talents were rescued from the temptations of writing 'primers' on adolescent sexual activity or guidebooks for would-be 'flappers', and his attachment to the model of what he called the 'Wells-Shaw-Chesterton-Mackenzie combination' that he had identified as his fictional ideal whilst training as an officer at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in 1918. The more demanding models of Joseph Conrad and Anatole France inform the achievement of *The Great Gatsby*, particularly, of course, the 'discovery' of the sympathetic 'middle-man narrator' (*pace* Marlow in *Heart of Darkness*) who both edits his author's material and guides his readers' judgements. T. S. Eliot's encouragement of Fitzgerald in his letter to him of December 1925, where he writes of *The Great Gatsby* as 'the first

step American fiction has taken since Henry James', may have led him to believe that a social novel, on a grander scale than *Gatsby* (whose 'world' feels, admittedly, larger than the 125 or so pages taken to evoke it), was well within his ability. Thus, in a letter of 1 May 1925 to his editor at Scribner's, Maxwell Perkins, written just after the publication of *The Great Gatsby*, he spoke ambitiously of his new novel as 'something really NEW in form, idea, structure – the model for the age that Joyce and Stein are searching for, that Conrad didn't find.' At this point in his life, given the extensive revisions he had effected to *The Great Gatsby* at galley stage, the 'new novel' could have been little more than the adumbration of a few ideas. In its original form *Tender is the Night* seems to have been conceived of as a murder story (though not a detective novel). Like many of his contemporaries, Fitzgerald was fascinated by two celebrated contemporary murders, the Leopold–Loeb case of 1924 and Dorothy Ellingson's murder of her mother in 1925 after a heated argument over her daughter's wild and impulsive behaviour. The murder in Chicago of a boy of fourteen called Bobby Franks by two wealthy University of Chicago students, Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb, seems especially to have intrigued him. Their 'explanation' of the crime was that they were trying to commit the perfect murder (Franks was selected randomly) and thus the whole thing was a kind of intellectual exercise in sensationalism. The details of the crime surfaced just before the Fitzgeralds left Long Island for the south of France and we know the degree of Fitzgerald's interest in the case from the fact that an article about it from *Liberty* magazine (in which one of his stories, 'The Sensible Thing' was about to be published) was filed amongst his papers. The finished novel suggests that his fascination with the case lay not with the genesis and execution of the murder itself, but rather with Leopold and Loeb as types of malign 'genius': both were intelligent and, to an extent, sensitive, but their wealthy backgrounds acted in ways that seemed to promote degenerate behaviour. In other words, they were victims of the social advantages secured by wealth. The fact, also, that so much of the testimony and evidence in the trial took on a psychiatric (and psychoanalytical) character might also have impressed upon Fitzgerald the degree to which actions of the most heinous kind were to be understood in a scientific vocabulary that owed little to the appeal of moral or religious certitudes of earlier generations, and was thus evidence of the very modernity that he had seen (and described) in the early nineteen-twenties.

Scholars describe various *Ur* versions of *Tender is the Night* with

titles such as *Our Type, The Melarky Case, The World's Fair* and *The Boy Who Killed His Mother* in which a young man called Frances Melarky, evicted from West Point military academy, travels to Europe with a domineering mother and falls in with a group of expatriated Americans, whose influence over him, though at times charming and seemingly innocent, provokes an ineluctable process of degeneration. In one adumbration of the plot inspired by Dorothy Ellingson's murder of her mother, Francis was to finally kill his mother. (We should be very thankful Fitzgerald never wrote this novel.) Though Fitzgerald told Perkins and Harold Ober in 1925 that he was making steady progress on his new novel and, indeed, promised it for serialisation in *Liberty* by June 1926, his work on it was fitful. *The Great Gatsby* was followed not by the new novel, but by *All the Sad Young Men* (1926), his third collection of short stories, many of them from the period between 1922 and 1924.

Two years later in July 1928 he told Perkins in a letter from Paris that 'The novel goes fine. I think its [*sic*] quite wonderful & I think those who've seen it (for I've read it around a little) have been quite excited.' Clearly the new novel wasn't going 'fine', and his reference in the same letter to James Joyce's telling him that his new novel would be finished in 'three or four years' is a coded way of intimating to Perkins that he, too, may have to wait longer than he would like, despite Fitzgerald's unconvincing assurance that 'Mine will be done *sure* in September.' In November 1928 Perkins wrote to Fitzgerald after having read two chapters of the novel, noting in passing that the second of the chapters 'contains some of the best writing you have ever done . . . ' But despite effusive promises this is all Perkins saw and one letter to him from Cannes in June 1929 is particularly telling; in it Fitzgerald wrote that 'I am working night & day on novel from new angle that I think will solve previous difficulties.' Five months later in November 1929 he told Perkins that 'For the first time since August I see my way clear to a long stretch on the novel . . . ' There can be little doubt that what work Fitzgerald was doing on his novel, no matter how faltering or intermittent it was, was radically reshaping the original. He continued to publish short stories in this period, above all as a way of keeping his head above water financially, and many of them provide insights into the nature of his re-fashioning of the material of the novel with which he had begun. A man married to a jealous wife who discovers his infidelities is a situation common to both 'The Love Boat' 1927) and 'The Rough Crossing' (1929), the latter notable for the fact that the thirty-one year old playwright, Adrian

Smith, falls in love with a girl of eighteen. The story recalls Fitzgerald's fascination with the young American actress Lois Moran whom he met in 1927, and, of course, foreshadows the relationship between Dick Diver and Rosemary Hoyt in *Tender is the Night*. Another story, 'One Trip Abroad' (1930), plays out its drama of the disintegration of the marriage of a wealthy couple against the background of the expatriate community in the south of France. Here, the husband, Nelson Kelly, who has resigned his business interests in the hope of becoming a painter, and his wife, Nicole, are drawn into a world of moral dissolution (particularly drunkenness and infidelity) and violence. The 'new angle' of which Fitzgerald wrote in June 1929 seems to have had a striking similarity to this story. In the novel version, however, the characters become Lew and Nicole Kelly, the husband now a film director who becomes infatuated with a young American actress called Rosemary whom he meets on a transatlantic voyage to Europe.

Progress on the novel was now seriously interrupted by his wife's illness: in April 1930 Zelda suffered a nervous breakdown and Fitzgerald took her to a psychiatric clinic in Montreux, Switzerland, where she was diagnosed schizophrenic. In July he wrote to Perkins from Switzerland that 'Zelda was sick as hell . . . ' and that he 'was so upset in June when hopes for her recovery were black that I could do practically no work and got behind . . . ' But the black cloud had a silver lining. Zelda's illness and his conversations with her doctors enabled him to re-imagine the materials that had gone into the early drafts of *Tender is the Night* and the group of stories that had appeared, roughly, at mid-point in its gestation. The film director gives way to a doctor, not the physician of nineteenth-century fiction, but the 'new' doctor of the age of modernity, a psychiatrist/psychoanalyst. The work that emerged from this 'fusing' of Fitzgerald's new conception of his hero with the older material from *Ur* versions such as *The Melarky Case* and *The Boy Who Killed His Mother* now assumed the identity of *The Drunkard's Holiday*, a title we are pleased Fitzgerald did not finally adopt but one that for all its clumsiness adverts to the dangerous, indeed fatal, combination of excess and leisure that has led some critics to write about *Tender is the Night* as if it were an extended footnote to Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). *The Drunkard's Holiday* mutated to *Dick Diver* and by now, that is some time in the summer of 1932, Fitzgerald had a clear idea of what the finished novel would look like. In a hand-written 'Sketch' amongst his preliminary working notes for the novel he wrote:

> The novel should do this. Show a man who is natural idealist, a spoiled priest, giving in for various causes to the ideas of the haute Burgeoise [*sic*], and in his rise to the top of the social world losing his idealism, his talent and turning to drink and dissipation. Background is one in which the leisure class is at their truly most brilliant and glamorous such as Murphys.

(The 'Murphys' were Gerald and Sara Murphy, wealthy expatriate American friends who lived in the south of France and to whom Fitzgerald dedicated the novel.) This theme now drove his renewed energies and a manuscript ready for submission was prepared by October 1933, though its new title was *Richard Diver* and *Tender is the Night* emerged only at a very late stage in Fitzgerald's revisions.

The 'new' novel – conceived at the height of the 'Roaring Twenties' only to see publication in one of the worst years of the Depression – was now finished. *Tender is the Night* was published serially in *Scribner's Magazine* in four parts January–April 1934, and then in book form on 12 April 1934. Sales of the novel, however, were poor, possibly because the serial publication had already attracted a substantial readership. The novel sold around thirteen thousand copies, but given the economic vagaries of depression-era publishing these are not unrespectable figures. The issue of the novel's sales, however, and the income generated by them, influenced Fitzgerald's subsequent reconsideration of the novel's narrative structure.

The Novel

There can be no doubt that the long period of gestation had deleterious consequences for the finished work we read as *Tender is the Night*. Fitzgerald admitted as much in a letter of April 1934 to H. L. Mencken where he remarked that 'The first part, the romantic introduction, was too long and too elaborated largely because of the fact that it had been written over a series of years with a varying plan . . . ' The simplest way in which we can recast the 'problem' of the novel is to point to its uncertainty of focus and this will, inevitably lead us into some consideration of the competing merits of the two versions of the novel that I describe in my 'Note on the Text' below. What we know of the genesis and composition of the novel – the seventeen drafts that Fitzgerald's best textual scholar, Matthew J. Bruccoli, identifies – reveal how little resemblance Fitzgerald's original conception of the novel bears to the finished text. Dr Richard Diver emerges quite late in the chronology and

then he has to be 'fitted into' a wealth of disparate materials that were conceived (and in many cases enacted) without his organising presence. It is this that explains why Fitzgerald was continually exercised about whether the novel had achieved 'the cohesion I aimed at.' In the original, 1934, version reprinted here the world of the Divers is evoked through the point of view of Rosemary Hoyt, the eighteen year old American actress who is brought by her mother to the south of France; the girl's perspective yields both ironic and dramatic potential. The Divers are a family who seem to own part of the beach and the 'tanned prayer-mat' that Dick fashions from raking the pebbles and seaweed on the sand registers precisely the degree to which the Divers' world is invested with a kind of pseudo-religiosity, with Dick acting as the priestly overseer, or conductor, of its rituals and observances. Rosemary is too naïve and inexperienced to understand it in this way, but Fitzgerald's authorial interruptions and commentary allow him to hint at hidden forces at work in the Divers' marriage (and, indeed, in the world of their friends and acquaintances) whilst allowing Rosemary's overly romanticised response to the loveliness and refinement of what she sees (including Dick's physical attractiveness) to be rendered ironically. The effect is, of course, simultaneously dramatic, for the reader senses some inner sickness that discolours Rosemary's initial impressions, but the causes of this are obscure and the reader is drawn towards the unfolding of the materials of causation as if it were towards the explanation of a mystery. But the dramatic achievement comes at the expense of our 'placing' of the hero, for Rosemary's registrations are atmospheric and are, above all, responses to what Fitzgerald describes in Chapter 6 of Book One as 'the intensely calculated perfection of Villa Diana . . . ' Nicole, an important catalyst, if not the single cause, of Dick's decline is a largely silent figure, observed primarily in social context. As Dick's and Rosemary's relationship develops and she is drawn ever deeper into the world of the Divers, and their friends, notably Abe and Mary North and Tommy Barban, so some of the superficial glamour to which she is attracted peels away, partly as a result of external disasters (such as the murder she witnesses whilst saying farewell to Abe at the Gare Saint-Lazare as he departs for New York), partly as a result of what I have described as the discolouration of her initial impressions. The problem with this is that it can (and for many readers does) cause some diminution in our sympathies for Dick Diver, who, as Rosemary sees him, is identified, is almost co-extensive, with his world. I shall return to this issue when I come to

look at the competing arguments for the original and revised editions of *Tender is the Night*.

These opening chapters of the novel (the 'romantic introduction') are modernist in character, for Fitzgerald is working according to the narrative methods of Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Ford with their insistence on the artificiality, indeed unreality, of omniscient narration. But Rosemary is inadequate to the task Fitzgerald has set for himself in the novel. If *Tender is the Night* were a novel about the American expatriate rich idly passing the summer of 1925 (the height of the 'Jazz Age') at some of the most exclusive resorts on the French Riviera she would be ideal: she, after all, is a beautiful young actress, a creation of the age of cinema and someone aware, to an extent, of the 'commodification' of her sexuality (we learn, of course, through Collis Clay that her innocent cinematic image is complicated by sexual indiscretions) and she is uncritical of the expatriate community and its values. But this isn't the novel Fitzgerald is writing. It becomes apparent to us in Book One, partly during the visit to Paris in Chapter 12, more obviously during the visit to the battlefields of the World War I in the subsequent chapter, that a more profound intelligence is at work on this seemingly frivolous subject. These chapters begin a process by which Fitzgerald starts to generalise the significance of his story, both with respect to Dick's personal dissolution and decline, and how they might be understood naturalistically, and also with respect to socio-historical (though rarely political) realities. The brutalities of European war (brilliantly evoked by Dick when they stand overlooking the battlefield at Beaumont Hamel in Chapter 13) mark a significant moment of transition from the certitudes and securities of the Victorian age to the world of modernity. It is Abe North who ironically remarks in response to Dick's 'This was the last love battle', that Dick wants to 'hand over this battle to D. H. Lawrence.' The joke is a good one, but behind it lies the more profound realisation that, at bottom, the transition is ideological. As Dick reflects on the recent past we recall that the Russian revolution followed in the wake of Russia's ignominious defeat by Germany in 1918, and that beyond the eastern borders of France are fascist Italy and an economically depressed proto-fascist Germany. But the war also marks a transitional moment in the history of consciousness: Dick's remark in this scene that he is 'an old romantic' serves to link him with the pre-war order that has shaped his sense of duty, moral responsibility and his commitment to the exacting demands of his profession. Fitzgerald himself was impressed,

primarily through his reading, and re-reading, of Joseph Conrad, of the moral seriousness of high art, and he has worked his understanding of a life of vocation (in Dick Diver's case to science, not art) into the portrait of his hero. But we don't see this aspect of him through Rosemary; instead it is Fitzgerald himself, in the authorial voice, who anticipates Dick's demise when he remarks, in Chapter 20 of Book One, of Dick's confused feelings about his relationship with Rosemary that 'He knew that what he was now doing marked a turning point in his life . . . ' The reader now understands that Dick's charming, civilised and successful exterior masks an inner turmoil. This theme recalls a sketch for *Tender is the Night* in one of its earlier 'incarnations':

> *The Drunkard's Holiday* will be a novel of our time showing the break up of a fine personality. Unlike *The Beautiful and Damned* the break-up will be caused not by flabbiness but really tragic forces such as the inner conflicts of the idealist and the compromises forced on him by circumstances.

The 'circumstances' are complex and arise both from what Fitzgerald identifies as 'inner conflicts' and from the human and social contexts through which Dick Diver moves. His marriage to Nicole Warren, the daughter of a wealthy Chicago businessman who brings her for treatment to the clinic in Zurich where Dick works, sets in motion a chain of events that lead, with the inevitability of the 'tragic forces' of which Fitzgerald spoke, to his decline, his separation from Nicole, and his final return to the United States to take up work as a small-town doctor. His fall is in many ways precipitated by his marriage to Nicole, but Fitzgerald does not suggest that this is its sole cause. When Dick takes Nicole as his wife he gains access to the Warren fortune. With this come the temptations of luxury and indolence, and Dick struggles to keep his professional and personal probity untarnished by paying his own way and not drawing on Nicole's fortune. The bargain struck with the Warren family, particularly with Baby Warren, Nicole's older sister who acts as her guardian, is to make Nicole better and this involves making her happy. Marriage to her, though he is warned against it and despite what he knows of Nicole's past condition, is part of the treatment and thus a world of material possessions is now made available to him without the necessity of its being worked for, and the 'pull' of his vocation now meets the 'counter pull' of what Fitzgerald subtly renders as the moral and spiritual desolation

of the lives of the rich. But this isn't an adequate account of what explains his fall, for, as some critics have pointed out, it's not great wealth that unhinges Fitzgerald's male protagonists, it's great wealth in the hands of women (a theme we also find in *The Great Gatsby*). If Dick could just play doctor, or even nurse, to Nicole he would be immune to the dangers she presents. But as Fitzgerald makes clear in the middle of the novel (in Chapter 12 of Book Two): 'It was not so much fun. His work became confused with Nicole's problems; in addition, her income had increased so fast of late that it seemed to belittle his work.' As Nicole improves, so Dick's relationship to her becomes more tenuous, and, indeed, when there is no need for Dick as a doctor there is equally no need for him as a husband. It is one of the cruel, and powerful, ironies of *Tender is the Night* that as Nicole is cured so Dick becomes redundant, and her full recovery is marked by her submission to the conventional physical attractions of Tommy Barban. Interestingly, Fitzgerald writes of their relationship in epochal terms: Nicole and Tommy are the figures of modernity, and Dick, still possessing the idealism and illusions of his youth, is consigned to the past.

The depiction of the working life of a psychiatrist is one of the most striking aspects of *Tender is the Night*. The figure of the medical practitioner is, of course, familiar to us from nineteenth-century fiction: we think of Tertius Lydgate in George Eliot's *Middlemarch* or, at the opposite extreme, Charles Bovary in *Madame Bovary*. In the modern novel he is found in characters such as Andrew Manson in A. J. Cronin's *The Citadel* (1921) or Martin Arrowsmith in Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* (1925). The doctor was often invested with heroic qualities, not merely as a result of his abilities to diagnose and heal, but also because the medical practitioner represented the application of the great discoveries of nineteenth-century science to the world of human disorders. In his notes Fitzgerald emphasised that he sought 'suggestion' rather than overly detailed technical description is his account of Dick's professional activities, not wanting *Tender is the Night* to be 'like doctor's stories' where the interest might lie more with the presentation of Nicole's mental illness and less with the tragic inevitability of Dick's fall from intellectual and scientific brilliance. Dick's role in life is to cure, but Fitzgerald had done enough research into psychiatry and psychoanalysis (despite some caveats we may have about certain details) to know that both the nature of mental disorders and their treatment were matters of complex and intricate investigation, and that the results of psychiatric medicine were not conclusively scientific. Biographers have shown

how much Fitzgerald profited from conversations he had with the doctors who treated Zelda's illness when she was hospitalised in Switzerland in April 1930. She was treated, in the main, by doctors of a Jungian persuasion, but in the novel Fitzgerald draws on the vocabulary and clinical methods of Sigmund Freud, and we assume that the book Dick Diver published in Zurich in 1920 (see Chapter 1 of Book Two) was heavily influenced by Freudian psychoanalysis. Nicole, diagnosed as schizophrenic, (her illness is, in part, attributed to an incestuous relationship with her father) is treated by a process of 'transference', one of the clinical methods of psychoanalysis that distinguishes it from other forms of therapy, whereby psychological experiences are revived in analysis and are then 'transferred' to the person of the physician or analyst. The relationship between patient and analyst can assume a hostile character; in *Tender is the Night* it is one of dependency and love. Paradoxically, however, the 'transference' issues in Nicole's liberation and release, whereas for Dick the 'counter-transference' brings only defeat and disillusion, and the 'imprisonment' of the little towns of western New York State with which the novel concludes. It is a measure of the novel's achievement in its portrayal of the working life of Dr. Richard Diver that a review in the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* of July 1935 remarked that for 'the psychiatrist and psychoanalyst the book is of special value as a probing story of some of the major dynamic interlockings in marriage which, conditioned by economic and psychobiological situations, have their innumerable counterparts in differences of degree rather than of kind.' The review concluded with the opinion that 'Mr. Fitzgerald has written a book which is extremely valuable both as an understanding and sensitive record of human life, and as an accurate and fully prepared chronicle of European life *circa* 1917–1930.' It is a pity that there is no evidence that Fitzgerald ever read this encomium to his most ambitious and profound novel.

Fitzgerald was aware that in *Tender is the Night* he had written a novel very unlike its predecessor, *The Great Gatsby*. Of *Gatsby* he said the novel was 'selective', of *Tender* that it was 'full and comprehensive'. He wrote to H. L. Mencken in May 1925 of 'the elaborate and overlapping blankets of prose' in *The Great Gatsby* that served to disguise what he took as the novel's fundamental weakness, 'the lack of an emotional presentment of Daisy's attitude to Gatsby after their reunion . . . ' But *Tender is the Night*, as he explained in a letter to John Peale Bishop in April 1934,

was shooting at something like *Vanity Fair*. The dramatic novel has canons quite different from the philosophical, now called psychological, novel. One is a kind of *tour de force* and the other a confession of faith. It would be like comparing a sonnet sequence with an epic.

The invocation of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* reveals how strongly Fitzgerald sensed that he had written a novel in the manner of the great social realist works of nineteenth-century fiction. Such a novel demands something other than the broad impressionist brush-strokes of *The Great Gatsby*. Instead it demands an attention to, and precision of, detail, and the composition of a densely actualised social, historical and geographical background against which the dramas of the characters' lives are played out (this alone explains why *Tender is the Night* is a more allusive novel than *The Great Gatsby*). We can think of few realist novels in which our sense of the characters' 'reality' is achieved without their being placed in a human and social context. Fitzgerald knew as much and his working notes for the novel (particularly those gathered around what Bruccoli calls the Third Version of *Tender is the Night*) are replete with reminders to himself of the importance of setting, chronology (especially of a character's age and growth), and historical moment. The richly particularised details about, amongst other things, World War One and contemporary conflicts such as those in Morocco and Asia Minor, of scientific, technological, and medical fact, the use of lyrics from popular songs and the abundance of references to film stars and film directors, all lend to *Tender is the Night* a strong and vivid objective framework for the actions, and thoughts, of its characters.

It is the tension between *Tender is the Night* as a modernist novel and its harking back to the fictional model we associate with the great tradition of European social realism that is at the heart of the debate about the merits, and demerits, of the two versions of the novel, the original 1934 edition and Malcolm Cowley's revised edition of 1951. We can dismiss the scholarly argument for the revision on the simple grounds that the revision never bore Fitzgerald's *imprimatur* (see the 'Note on the Text' below). But the critical case is more compelling and has to be addressed, in part because it will yield us some valuable final insights into the fictional experience the novel offers. Cowley argued (in his Introduction) that the opening pages of the novel confuse us, for we don't know 'whether the author had intended to write about a whole group of

Americans on the Riviera . . . or whether he had intended to write a psychological novel about the glory and decline of Richard Diver as a person.' If we begin, as in Cowley's version, at the beginning (that is, where chronology dictates) it becomes clear that the novel is psychological, that Dick is at its centre, and the force of his decline and dissolution is all the more powerful by virtue of our being made aware of how his early scientific brilliance gives way beneath the superficial and meretricious temptations of the indulgent and leisured lifestyle now afforded him by his marriage to Nicole. The dramatic and ironic effects of the original opening of the novel as seen through Rosemary's point of view are necessarily sacrificed, but the revision more clearly emphasises the 'dying fall' of which Fitzgerald spoke in a letter to H. L. Mencken shortly after the novel's publication, and lends it an overall symmetry that is lacking in the 1934 edition (a symmetry that, Cowley noted, turned in part on the image of General, later President Ulysses S. Grant, in his family's general store in Galena, Illinois – see Notes). Cowley's critical preference for the revision gained support from Wayne C. Booth. In *The Rhetoric of Fiction* Booth restated the case for a 'clean direct, old-fashioned presentation of his hero's initial pre-eminence and gradual decline.' This, he argued, could only be achieved by Fitzgerald's repudiation of the discoveries of modernism, for not every story demands the methods promoted by Conrad and Ford where a strong, vivid impression of the central character (such as, for example, the description of Jim Brown in the opening pages of *Lord Jim*) is registered and is then supplemented by materials that extend backwards and forwards over chronological time. Cowley's revision, Booth concluded, serves to correct 'a fault of over-distancing, a fault that springs from a method appropriate to other works at other times but not to the tragedy Fitzgerald wanted to write.'

Clearly there is much to be said for the arguments put forward by Cowley and Booth, and it is wrong to dismiss them, out of hand, as some critics have done (Brian Way is one of them) as harmful and misleading. In fact, it should be pointed out that the reader who reads both versions does not experience radically dissimilar novels: the characters are the same, the settings and scenes are the same, the incidents are the same, the characters speak the same words and feel the same emotions. The rearrangement of sections and scenes affects how we experience the novel as a sequence of moments of enlightenment and insight, and our evaluation of its achievement as an aesthetic whole, but we are left with the much the same picture

of Dick's decline and much the same understanding of its causes and consequences. Our aesthetic experience necessarily differs from one version to another and much of this (as I have shown above) arises from Fitzgerald's use of Rosemary. In the revision, as Cowley conceded, we know the truth about the Divers before Rosemary meets them and thus her discovery at the end of Book One ('. . . now she knew what Violet McKisco had seen in the bathroom at the Villa Diana.') loses its dramatic force. But as we go back to the beginnings of Dick's career in Zurich in 1917 Rosemary has to be put aside and when she re-enters the narrative in Chapter 19 of Book Two (after Dick's return to Europe from his father's funeral) their affair is resumed, but with none of the pleasure of its conception, and by Book Three Rosemary recedes into the background. Cowley's revision doesn't overcome the difficulties Rosemary creates, since by moving her to the second book (which Fitzgerald in his notes entitled 'Rosemary's Angle') she may appear to us an intrusion and an irrelevance; however we arguably have a clearer sense, now that we have a picture of his scientific and vocational promise, that Dick's infatuation with her is both misguided and a debasement of his high ideals. Against this we can argue that our realisation of Nicole's mental illness is the more touching when refracted through Rosemary's perspective on the indulgent lifestyle of the American expatriate community on the Riviera. Thus, there is a critical case for Cowley's revision, but it is not conclusive and, given both the critical and scholarly arguments for the original edition it is the 1934 version that is reprinted here.

It should be noted that from Chapter 11 of Book Two in this edition and chapter fourteen of Book Three in Cowley's revision, the two versions are, to all intents and purposes, identical.

HENRY CLARIDGE
University of Kent