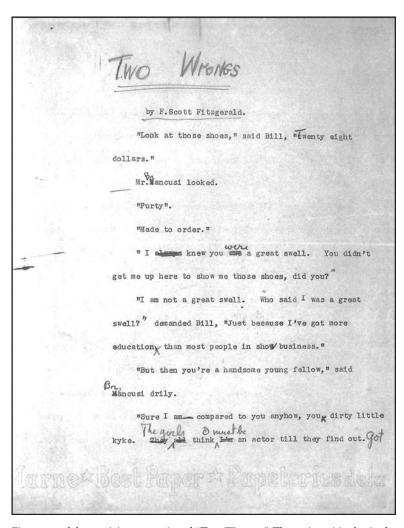


THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF F. SCOTT FITZGERALD





First page of the surviving typescript of "Two Wrongs." The anti-semitic slur in the last two lines did not appear in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Princeton University Libraries.



TAPS AT REVEILLE

* * *

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

Edited by JAMES L. W. WEST III





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J. L. W. W. III



ILLUSTRATIONS

(Beginning on p. 391)

Frontispiece. First page, surviving typescript of "Two Wrongs."

- 1. Page 5, working typescript of "One Trip Abroad."
- 2. Page 7, working typescript of "The Hotel Child."
- 3. Page 17, working typescript of "The Bridal Party."
- 4. Page 12, working typescript of "Babylon Revisited."



INTRODUCTION

I. BACKGROUND

F. Scott Fitzgerald's short-story collection *Taps at Reveille* has a complicated textual history. On 15 May 1934, a little more than a month after the formal publication of his novel *Tender Is the Night*, Fitzgerald wrote to Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Charles Scribner's Sons, offering four plans for a new book to be published in the fall. The practice at Scribners was to follow a novel or other major book with a collection of shorter pieces—usually, for fiction writers, a collection of short stories. One sees this pattern in Fitzgerald's career and in the careers of other authors of his period, both at Scribners and at other publishing houses. The aim was to keep the author's name in the public eye for the next publishing season and, not incidentally, to generate a second round of income for work that had already been sold on the magazine market.

In his 15 May letter Fitzgerald presented Perkins with four ideas. The first was to publish an omnibus volume "including both new stories and the pick of the other three collections"—that is, previously uncollected stories plus the best stories from Fitzgerald's three published volumes of short fiction—Flappers and Philosophers (1920), Tales of the Jazz Age (1922), and All the Sad Young Men (1926). The second suggestion was for a volume that would bring together the eight Basil Duke Lee stories and the five Josephine Perry stories, two series that Fitzgerald had published in the Saturday Evening Post between 1928 and 1931. Third was a book of previously uncollected short fiction, chosen from the approximately forty stories that Fitzgerald had on hand. And fourth was a

¹ The letters between Fitzgerald and Perkins in the account that follows are quoted from John Kuehl and Jackson R. Bryer, eds., *Dear Scott/Dear Max: The Fitzgerald–Perkins Correspondence* (New York: Scribners, 1971): 195–218.



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nonfiction collection comprised of personal essays and travel writings from throughout Fitzgerald's career.²

After consulting with his colleagues at Scribners, Perkins wrote back on 17 May urging Fitzgerald to make a collection of the Basil and Josephine stories, which Perkins had read in the *Post* and had very much liked—especially the Basil stories. Perkins thought that Fitzgerald could probably produce copy for the printers fairly quickly, in "not more than six weeks say," and that the collection, featuring two attractive young characters, would appeal to readers and have a brisk sale. Fitzgerald reread the Basil and Josephine stories and reported to Perkins on the 21st that they were "not as good as I thought." Making the stories into a collection would require "a tremendous amount of work and a good deal of new invention," especially since Fitzgerald wanted to write a final story for the volume, a story in which Basil and Josephine would meet and fall in love. Fitzgerald also feared that the Scribners sales department would market the collection "to some extent as a novel," undercutting his credibility with book critics and the reading public.

Fitzgerald therefore settled on a plan to merge his second and third ideas into a single collection. He decided to republish the best of the Basil and Josephine stories and to add eight or ten other stories to fill out the volume. His working title was "More Tales of the Jazz Age," though on 8 June he suggested several other titles to Perkins, including "Basil, Josephine and Others," "When Grandma Was a Boy," "Last Year's Steps," "The Salad Days," "Many Blues," "Just Play One More," and "A Dance Card." Eventually Fitzgerald chose "Taps at Reveille" as his title, though he continued to fret about the matter. A few weeks before publication he suggested "Last Night's Moon," "In the Last Quarter of the Moon," "Golden Spoons," or "Moonlight in My Eyes." By then, Perkins informed him, it was too late. The collection would be published as *Taps at Reveille*.

Perkins wanted Fitzgerald to gather his energies and send in revised copy as soon as possible. Perkins promised to put the volume into production immediately. He would have the stories typeset

² This fourth proposal by Fitzgerald is made incarnate in *My Lost City: Personal Essays*, 1920–1940 (Cambridge University Press, 2005).



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as they came in and would release the collection in October. "My personal idea of it would be that we should publish the book of stories as soon as we could," he wrote to Fitzgerald on 20 August. "I think it urgently important that you should bring out these stories close to 'Tender Is the Night' for I think that the reviewers will be impressed by them.... Besides, the stories themselves show more sides of you than 'Tender Is the Night.'" Fitzgerald must have seen the wisdom of Perkins' suggestion, but he doubted his ability to deliver copy on schedule. Fitzgerald was still in debt to Scribners for past advances and owed a great deal of money to his literary agent, Harold Ober. He was living modestly, in an apartment in Baltimore, where he could be near his wife, Zelda, who was undergoing treatment for mental illness at the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of Johns Hopkins Hospital. The treatments were expensive, and Zelda's condition was uncertain. Fitzgerald had to concentrate his primary energies on new writing for the magazine market in order to meet his financial obligations. He was producing a series of stories about a medieval count named Philippe and selling these to Redbook as he finished them. He was also attempting to write other stories for the *Post*. His health, never strong, had been weakened by his recent ordeals, and his drinking had increased. He asked Scribners for advances on royalties in order to meet his expenses while he prepared Taps at Reveille for press—but the publisher, unwilling to advance further money to Fitzgerald until he had squared his existing debts, turned him down (Dear Scott/DearMax, 207-08).

Fitzgerald decided to delay the publication of *Taps at Reveille*. "I am not in the proper condition either physically or financially to put over the kind of rush job that this would be," he wrote to Perkins in an undated letter sent toward the end of August. "I have got to get myself out of this morass of debt," he added. "I am terribly unhappy in debt and do not get much comfort out of my personal life if I feel any such shadow over me." Further, Fitzgerald had discovered in rereading his stories that he had "bled" them (his term) of some of their best phrases and passages for reuse in *Tender Is the Night*. He deleted or rewrote these parts when he recognized them, but he could not identify all the passages. The problem, he explained



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to Perkins on 26 June, was that "there were so many revisions of 'Tender' that I don't know what I left in it and what I didn't leave in it finally." Perkins counseled Fitzgerald not to worry overly much about the problem. "There is no reason a writer should not repeat a little," he wrote to Fitzgerald on 20 August. "Hem has done it." Fitzgerald was unpersuaded. "The fact that Ernest has let himself repeat here and there a phrase would be no possible justification for my doing the same," he replied on 24 August. "Each of us has his virtues and one of mine happens to be a great sense of exactitude about my work. He might be able to afford a lapse in that line where I wouldn't be and after all I have got to be the final judge of what is appropriate in these cases." Fitzgerald spent much time during the months that followed comparing the texts of his stories to the text of *Tender Is the Night*. He cut and revised many doublings but did not identify them all, leading to problems after Taps at Reveille appeared in print.³

Fitzgerald's initial choices for the collection were the Basil stories "The Scandal Detectives," "The Freshest Boy," "He Thinks He's Wonderful," and "The Perfect Life"; the Josephine stories "First Blood" and "A Woman with a Past"; and the additional stories "Crazy Sunday," "Two Wrongs," "Jacob's Ladder," "Majesty," "Family in the Wind," "A Short Trip Home," "One Interne," "The Last of the Belles," "A New Leaf," and "Babylon Revisited"—sixteen stories in all. He began submitting revised copy in late June. Perkins had these first stories set in type, but Fitzgerald was slow to address the galley proofs. When he did, he revised heavily—creating difficulties for the Scribners compositors and proofreaders. One of the best stories he had selected, "Jacob's Ladder," was sent to him in fresh galleys, but he found as he entered corrections that he had incorporated numerous passages from the story into *Tender Is the Night*, passages that he had not noticed at first. He began to

³ George Anderson, "F. Scott Fitzgerald's Use of Story Strippings in *Tender Is the Night*," in Matthew J. Bruccoli with Judith S. Baughman, *Reader's Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald's* Tender Is the Night (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996): 1–48.



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mark heavy revisions on these galleys, which survive in his papers at Princeton, but quickly gave up the task, deciding instead to drop the story. This pattern held over the remaining months before publication. Fitzgerald withdrew stories from the lineup, sometimes after they had been set in type, and added other stories that Perkins thought inferior to the withdrawn stories. He was slow with the proofs, entering heavy revisions when he did turn his attention to them.

Fitzgerald apologized frequently to Perkins in letters, explaining always that his primary energies were going toward new magazine writing for immediate payment. Much of this writing, however, was not selling, and Fitzgerald's debts continued to grow. Perkins was indulgent at first but eventually lost patience. Editorial and make-ready expenses for Taps at Reveille were mounting, with no publication date in sight. Stories were being held in standing type for long periods at the Scribners printing plant, and the junking of already-typeset stories was adding further to production costs. This might have been acceptable if Fitzgerald had been working on a book with strong sales potential—a full-length novel, perhaps—but a collection of short fiction, even by Fitzgerald, was not likely to sell in significant numbers, especially in one of the darkest years of the Great Depression, when book sales were down for all publishers. Indeed, the production of Taps at Reveille was beginning to resemble the production of *Tender Is the Night*—a complicated business that had stretched over six months in 1933 and 1934, with cost overruns and extra corrections charges and with numerous errors in the text when the novel finally appeared.

For immediate expenses Fitzgerald was writing for *Esquire*, a new magazine edited by Arnold Gingrich, a talented young literary man who had sought him out and had flattered him with praise and attention. As a kind of reward to Gingrich, Fitzgerald added two of these *Esquire* stories, "The Fiend" and "The Night of Chancellorsville," to *Taps at Reveille*, cutting "Her Last Case," a *Post* story. Perkins now bore down on Fitzgerald and insisted that he make up his mind about which stories he wanted to include. Eventually Fitzgerald complied, settling on the Basil stories "The Scandal Detectives,"



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"The Freshest Boy," "He Thinks He's Wonderful," "The Captured Shadow," and "The Perfect Life"; the Josephine stories "First Blood," "A Nice Quiet Place," and "A Woman with a Past"; and the additional stories "Crazy Sunday," "Two Wrongs," "The Night of Chancellorsville," "The Last of the Belles," "Majesty," "Family in the Wind," "A Short Trip Home," "One Interne," "The Fiend," and "Babylon Revisited."

This table of contents has not been followed for the Cambridge *Taps at Reveille*. All of the Basil stories (including "That Kind of Party," a story that remained unpublished during Fitzgerald's lifetime) and all of the Josephine stories have been published in the Cambridge volume *The Basil, Josephine, and Gwen Stories* (2009). The appearance of these stories together, in an earlier volume of this series, has made it impossible to follow Fitzgerald's arrangement for the 1935 *Taps at Reveille*. The ten additional stories from the original Scribners collection are published here in the order in which Fitzgerald arranged them; to these stories have been added nine others from the 1928–1931 period, presented chronologically by date of serial publication. These stories are "Outside the Cabinet-Maker's," "The Rough Crossing," "At Your Age," "The Swimmers," "The Bridal Party," "One Trip Abroad," "The Hotel Child," "Indecision," and "A New Leaf."

This strategy shows the high quality of many of the stories that Fitzgerald did *not* include in the original *Taps at Reveille*, either because he had used passages from them in *Tender Is the Night* or because they were too close in theme and characterization to that novel. Among these rejected stories are several that are as good as any he produced during this period. If he had lived longer, Fitzgerald might have reprinted these stories in later collections, but because he died early—in 1940, at the age of 44—the stories were unknown and unread until later editors exhumed them and included them in miscellaneous collections that were, in some cases, published decades after Fitzgerald's death. Appreciation of his skill and craftsmanship as a writer of short fiction was held back by the

⁴ For dates of composition and publication for these stories, see Appendix 3.



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accidents and exigencies that came into play during the preparation of *Taps at Reveille*. With this Cambridge volume, the record is filled out, allowing readers to see and appreciate Fitzgerald's considerable achievement in short fiction during the late 1920s and early 1930s.

2. PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION

Taps at Reveille was formally published on 20 March 1935 at \$2.50 per copy. Scribners manufactured 5,100 copies of the first impression. The publisher did not sell the last copies of this print run until 1960, twenty years after Fitzgerald's death. Fitzgerald's royalties did not square his debts with Scribners; he owed money to the firm until 1938, when he was finally able to pay off his indebtedness, and his much greater debt to Harold Ober, from his Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer earnings during his last stint in Hollywood. Fitzgerald expended much effort on *Taps at Reveille*, but in the short run this labor did nothing to help his finances.

Taps at Reveille was not widely reviewed. Most of the notices appeared in regional newspapers, though there were some reviews in major metropolitan outlets. John Chamberlain, writing for the New York Times, called Fitzgerald "our only poet of the upper middle class" but complained that he "cannot explain the tragedy of his characters" (27 March). Elizabeth Hart, in the New York Herald Tribune Book Review, singled out "Babylon Revisited" as a story written "in full relation to the contemporary scene" (31 March). Edith H. Walton, reviewing for the New York Times Book Review, offered mixed praise: "The characteristic seal of his brilliance stamps the entire book," she wrote, "but it is a brilliance which sputters off too frequently into mere razzle-dazzle" (31 March). William Troy, writing in the Nation, found the "moral interest" in the stories to be "acute" but saw little else to praise (17 April). Some negative notices appeared: the reviewer for the New York Sun found Fitzgerald's characters "as remote today as the neanderthal man" (5 April); and T. S. Matthews, in a review for the New Republic, felt that Fitzgerald had sold his characters "down the river for a good price" (10 April). Gilbert Seldes, an old friend



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of Fitzgerald's, praised the collection in the *New York Evening Journal*, calling "Babylon Revisited" the "saddest and truest" of the many stories Fitzgerald had written (11 April).⁵

3. POST-PUBLICATION CORRECTIONS

The haphazard production and proofing of Taps at Reveille left marks on the published text. The stories were disfigured by numerous misspellings and typographical errors, including "base" for "bass," "Tschaikowsky" for "Tchaikovsky," "Stravinksi" for "Stravinski," "Greenwhich" for "Greenwich," "Assis" for "Assisi," "permaturely" for "prematurely," "Bernaise" for "Béarnaise," and "de toute" for "à tout." Two slugs of linotype at 346.7–8 of the first edition were switched, creating a jumble of text. "One Interne" was marred by two near-nonsensical passages. At 350.5-7 one finds: "he need not base himself on the adding machine-calculating machineprobability machine-St. Francis of Assis machine any longer." And at 351.29-30 the text reads: "Oh, catch it—oh, catch it and take it—oh, catch it,' she sighed." Fitzgerald noticed these passages soon after publication and sent corrections to Perkins. For page 350 he asked that the text be made to read: "need not base himself upon that human mixture of adding machines and St. Francis of Assis [sic] any longer." And for page 351 he requested that the sentence read: "Oh, things like that happen whenever there are a lot of men together." So far as can be determined from the surviving evidence, the readings that displeased Fitzgerald were his own fault. Perkins, knowing that Taps at Reveille was unlikely to sell in high enough numbers to make necessary a second printing, had the corrections introduced into the remaining bound stock by having the printers prepare a second state of the first printing—a fussy and expensive business. The erroneous text was chiseled off the printing plates for

⁵ Annotated references to the reviews of *Taps at Reveille* can be found in Jackson R. Bryer, *The Critical Reputation of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1967): 90–98. The major reviews have been reprinted in Jackson R. Bryer, ed., *F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Critical Reception* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1978): 337–53.



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pages 350 and 351 (a facing verso and recto). The corrected text, typeset and electrotyped, was mortised in. New leaves for pages 349-50 and 351-52 were printed (that is to say, these leaves had to be printed on both sides) using the same paper stock that had been employed for the first state. These new leaves, which a bibliographer would call "cancellantia," or simply "cancels," were now run through a paper cutter and reduced to the trim size of the book. (In bibliographical terms these were leaves 5 and 6 of the twenty-third gathering of the volume.) Next came handwork at the bindery: the leaves bearing the offending readings were removed from the remaining copies of Taps at Reveille with a cutting tool, leaving stubs in the gutters where these leaves had been. Glue was applied to the corrected leaves along the inner edges, and these leaves were inserted into the books by hand so that the inner edges would be glued to the stubs. (In printer's language the leaves were "tipped in.") For a descriptive bibliographer this creates a second state of the first impression; the copies with the uncorrected leaves bound integrally constitute the first state.

Making corrections in this fashion was common in eighteenthand nineteenth-century book publishing, but by 1935 it was unusual for a publisher to go to such trouble and expense, especially for a book with limited sales potential. If *Taps at Reveille* had been likely to go into subsequent impressions, Perkins would simply have had the printing plates altered and waited until it was time to order a reprint, which would have been executed from these corrected plates. This had been done for some of Fitzgerald's previous books, including This Side of Paradise, Tales of the Jazz Age, and The Great Gatsby, creating plate variants, instead of different states, for a bibliographer. The meticulous labor required to correct the plates and the handwork needed to excise the offending leaves and tip in the corrected leaves can be interpreted as a gesture by Perkins indicating his high regard for Fitzgerald's writing, or at least as an effort by the editor to soothe Fitzgerald's feelings over the nonsensical text. Fitzgerald's corrected readings for "One Interne" have been accepted for the Cambridge text and are recorded in the emendations list for the story.



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Fitzgerald discovered another error, a significant one, in "Babylon Revisited." On page 384 of the Scribners text one finds the following two paragraphs:

Outside, the fire-red, gas-blue, ghost-green signs shone smokily through the tranquil rain. It was late afternoon and the streets were in movement; the *bistros* gleamed. At the corner of the Boulevard des Capucines he took a taxi. The Place de la Concorde moved by in pink majesty; they crossed the logical Seine, and Charlie felt the sudden provincial quality of the left bank.

Charlie directed his taxi to the Avenue de l'Opera, which was out of his way. But he wanted to see the blue hour spread over the magnificent façade, and imagine that the cab horns, playing endlessly the first few bars of *Le Plus qu Lent*, were the trumpets of the Second Empire. They were closing the iron grill in front of Brentano's Book-store, and people were already at dinner behind the trim little bourgeois hedge of Duval's. He had never eaten at a really cheap restaurant in Paris. Five-course dinner, four francs fifty, eighteen cents, wine included. For some odd reason he wished that he had.

These paragraphs present a problem. The taxi-cab in which Charlie Wales is riding appears to cross the River Seine twice going in the same direction, from the Right Bank to the Left Bank. This illogicality originated in the fact that Fitzgerald had used phrases in the first paragraph in *Tender Is the Night*, on page 97 of the 1934 first edition. (The text in question appears on page 85 of the Cambridge edition of the novel.) He wanted to cut the first paragraph. He wrote

⁶ For commentary on the text of "Babylon Revisited," see Bernth Lindfors, "Paris Revisited," Fitzgerald Newsletter, 16 (1962): 3–4; Richard R. Griffith, "A Note on Fitzgerald's 'Babylon Revisited," American Literature, 35 (1963): 236–39; William White, "Two Versions of F. Scott Fitzgerald's 'Babylon Revisited," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 60 (1966): 439–52; Kenneth McCollum, "Babylon Revisited' Revisited," Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual, 2 (1971): 314–16; Garry N. Murphy and William C. Slattery, "The Flawed Text of 'Babylon Revisited," Studies in Short Fiction, 18 (1981): 315–18; Christa E. Daugherty and James L. W. West III, "Josephine Baker, Petronius, and the Text of 'Babylon Revisited," F. Scott Fitzgerald Review, 1 (2002): 3–15; and Allison E. Krebs, "The 'Human Ingenuity and Effort Expended in' Fitzgerald's 'Revisiting' of his 'Babylon," University honors thesis, Kent State University, 2003. My thanks to Ms. Krebs for sending me a copy of her thesis.



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a new paragraph, the second paragraph above, to replace the first paragraph. In a letter dated 15 April, Fitzgerald told Perkins that he had deleted the first paragraph on the proofs: "I'd carefully elided it and written the paragraph beneath it to replace it, but the proof readers slipped and put them both in." Perkins would probably have ordered a correction to the plates if Fitzgerald had insisted, but Fitzgerald did not supply substitute text for the first paragraph. No correction was ever made. Fitzgerald remained aware of the error, however, and in at least one instance deleted the first paragraph in a copy of *Taps at Reveille*, writing "Used in <u>Tender</u>" in the margin of the page. This copy was inscribed by Fitzgerald to Anthony Buttitta, an aspiring writer whom he befriended in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1935. The letter to Perkins, together with the copy emended in Fitzgerald's hand, are compelling evidence that Fitzgerald wanted the paragraph to be removed.

This, however, has not happened. "Babylon Revisited" has become one of Fitzgerald's best-known and most frequently anthologized stories. All texts of "Babylon Revisited" known to this editor publish both paragraphs, one after the other, as they appeared in the 1935 first edition. It might be argued that the erroneous text has become fixed by the numerous reprintings and that the text for this Cambridge edition should not alter what readers are accustomed to seeing. This argument, however, is more than counterbalanced by Fitzgerald's letter to Perkins and by his markings in the Buttitta copy. For the text of "Babylon Revisited" presented here, the first paragraph has been deleted. The second paragraph stands alone, as Fitzgerald intended. The first paragraph is preserved in the emendations list for the story.

Another problem with the text of "Babylon Revisited" has been identified by Barbara Sylvester in "Whose 'Babylon Revisited' Are We Teaching? Cowley's Fortunate Corruption—and Others Not

⁷ Fitzgerald to Perkins, 15 April 1935, in Matthew J. Bruccoli with Judith S. Baughman, eds., F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Life in Letters (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994): 279.

⁸ This copy is in the Bruccoli Collection of F. Scott Fitzgerald at the Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina.



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So Fortunate."9 The reading under examination occurs near the beginning of the story, in a passage of meditation by Charlie Wales. In all surviving typescripts and in the *Post* text, the passage reads: "He believed in character; he wanted to jump back a whole generation and trust in character again as the eternally valuable element. Everything wore out now." In revising for *Taps at Reveille*, Fitzgerald deleted the word "now" to make the sentence read "Everything wore out." As Sylvester explains, the revision was likely dictated by Fitzgerald's deletion of the two sentences that follow the words "wore out now." Fitzgerald almost surely removed these sentences because part of the first sentence had been used in Tender Is the Night. Depending upon one's interpretation of the passage, this deletion might cause the referent of "Everything" in the Taps at Reveille text to be unclear. The editor and critic Malcolm Cowley seems to have thought so. In preparing the text of "Babylon Revisited" for his edition of The Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald, published by Scribners in 1951, Cowley added the word "else" to make the sentence read "Everything else wore out." This is the "fortunate corruption" of Sylvester's title; after Cowley's emendation, "character" is not among the traits that wear out. 10 Cowley's emendation has not been adopted for the Cambridge text; Fitzgerald's revision of the *Post* text has been preserved. The reading is not confusing as it stands. Fitzgerald might indeed have meant to say that character, like other human traits, can become depleted, causing psychic enervation and emotional bankruptcy.

4. EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

For editorial purposes the stories in this volume have been divided into two groups. In the first group are the stories (other than the Basil and Josephine stories) that Fitzgerald chose for the Scribners

⁹ In F. Scott Fitzgerald: New Perspectives, ed. Jackson R. Bryer, Alan Margolies, and Ruth Prigozy (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000): 180–91.

Note that the rest of her examination that other silent emendations by Cowley, and changes presumably made at the *Post* (especially in punctuation), are not so fortunate and alter the texture and meaning of several important passages.



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edition of *Taps at Reveille*. He revised these texts for a second outing, working with tearsheets of the serial appearances and with proofs from Scribners. The base texts for these stories—that is, the texts against which emendations have been recorded—are the Scribners versions. The Scribners texts have been collated against the serial versions and against any surviving typescripts. The collations have uncovered readings, both substantive and accidental, that have been restored, either because of alterations, cuts, and bowdlerizations by magazine editors or because of typist or compositorial error.

In the second group of stories are those that Fitzgerald did not collect in *Taps at Reveille*. These stories survive in serial form and, in most instances, in final revised typescripts sent by Fitzgerald to Ober before magazine publication. Here the base texts are the serial texts. These versions have been collated against the Ober typescripts in search of mistranscriptions by typists, alterations by magazine editors, and typographical errors by compositors. Restorations and corrections have been recorded in the apparatus.

No copy-texts have been declared for these stories. The editorial procedure followed is that described by G. Thomas Tanselle in "Editing without a Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography*, 47 (1994): 1–22. This seminal article has guided the editorial policy of the Cambridge edition since the first volume under the current editor's direction, *This Side of Paradise*, published in 1995. Under this approach, equal authority is vested in the manuscript, typescript, serial, and collected texts—this in order to avoid dominance by any single witness. The evidence that survives for each story is described at the head of the emendations list for that story in the apparatus. The authority of each extant version is commented upon, and the strategy for emendation is set forth. Each story presents a separate editorial problem.

No evidence of editorial interference at Scribners has emerged, other than the styling of Fitzgerald's punctuation, capitalization, and orthography—the "accidentals," in editorial parlance. For Fitzgerald's earlier books with Scribners, and especially for *This Side of Paradise* (1920) and *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922), Scribners had imposed a quasi-British style of pointing and



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orthography that was alien to his prose. By 1935 the Scribners house style had been adjusted to favor American spellings, but the Scribners copy-editors still exercised a heavy hand with punctuation. Fitzgerald's revised typescripts are of some help here, but he could not himself type and relied on hired stenographers, both in Europe and in the United States. Some of the typists he employed in France and elsewhere automatically imposed British spelling, punctuation, and word division on his texts—single quotation marks in dialogue, for example, or *-ise* and *-our* spellings, or abbreviations not followed by full stops. Fitzgerald's substantive revisions on these typescripts carry his authority, as do his handwritten changes in punctuation and spelling; but the texture of *typed* accidentals in these versions has been regarded with skepticism, especially when the usages are contrary to Fitzgerald's usual practices in holograph.

Fitzgerald kept personal copies of some of his books and marked corrections and revisions into them. These alterations have been incorporated into earlier volumes of the Cambridge series. For Taps at Reveille, however, no personal copy is known to survive. The changes introduced into the second state of the Scribners Taps at Reveille have been adopted. Because Scribners executed only one impression of the book during Fitzgerald's lifetime, there are no impressions subsequent to the first to be subjected to a machine collation, and therefore no plate variants to consider. For some of his books Fitzgerald ordered corrections for a British edition, but no British edition of Taps at Reveille was ever published. Extra tearsheets of some of the stories are preserved in Fitzgerald's papers, but these tearsheets do not bear post-publication revisions. The tearsheets on which he entered revisions for Scribners do not survive and were likely discarded once fresh typescripts had been made, or galley proofs pulled.

5. REGULARIZATIONS

Fitzgerald used American spellings for most words, though he did favor some British forms—"grey" and "theatre," for example. These forms have been allowed to stand. He was inconsistent about word division, as most authors are, but study of his holographs has established his preferences for most words—for example,



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"taxi-cab," "band leader," and "deckhouse." Compound words in this volume have been regularized to Fitzgerald's customary forms. Question marks and exclamation points are italicized when they follow italicized words. Structural breaks indicated by roman or Arabic numerals are followed; nonstructural divisions signified in magazines by blank space and a display cap, inserted to break up the text visually, have been ignored unless they correspond to similar breaks in an extant typescript.

Years are given in Arabic numerals; seasons of the year are rendered in lower-case. Numbered avenues in New York City (Fifth Avenue) are spelled out; numbered cross-streets (59th Street) are in Arabic numerals. All dashes are one em in length. The convention of three ellipsis points within sentences and four at the ends of sentences has been followed unless Fitzgerald, in typescript, used three points at the end of a sentence to indicate interrupted speech or unfinished thought.

Fitzgerald punctuated dialogue inconsistently—sometimes correctly and sometimes in this fashion: "I'm in the sunroom," she said, "please join me." In such cases the second comma has been editorially emended to a period and, when necessary, the first word in the second clause has been capitalized. Fitzgerald often omitted the comma between two adjectives of equal weight, and he usually left out the comma between the last two elements in a series. Sometimes he did not employ a comma before the conjunction in a compound sentence. These practices are preserved in the Cambridge texts unless they cause confusion in meaning. Emendations have been recorded in the apparatus.

This approach to emendation has introduced a measure of consistency to the pointing of the Cambridge texts. No effort has been made, however, to create and impose a new house style on Fitzgerald's texts. The effect, for the Cambridge texts, is to present a slightly irregular texture of accidentals that is nevertheless faithful to Fitzgerald's usages during this period of his career.

6. RESTORATIONS

In his commercial fiction, Fitzgerald avoided or downplayed certain themes and subjects that, he knew from experience, were



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verboten—not only at the *Post* but at other mass-circulation magazines. These included alcoholism, suicide, open adultery, incest, racial prejudice, mental illness, homosexuality, and violent crime. One does not find frank treatments of these subjects in very many of Fitzgerald's commercial stories. He does take them up, all of them, in his novels. There is plentiful evidence to indicate that, during the late 1920s and early 1930s, Fitzgerald was writing mature stories on adult themes for the *Post* but that these stories were being edited at that magazine to remove forbidden elements. Any sexual innuendo, however faint, was eliminated. Nearly all profanity was cut. Almost all blasphemy, even mild oaths such as "Christ!" or "By God," was taken out. Passages having to do with racial or ethnic prejudice were cut or muted—likewise for drunkenness and alcoholism, unless the drinker was a candidate for reformation.

No purpose is served by criticizing the *Post* for adjusting Fitzgerald's texts. These were the rules of the marketplace: Fitzgerald, as a professional author, accepted them. The Post aimed for a broad middle-class readership and avoided potential offense to readers or advertisers. As Fitzgerald composed and revised, he included language or situations in his stories that he surely knew might be softened or deleted with the blue pencil. During this period, the *Post* was paying him between \$3,500 and \$4,000 for each story, its top price. To arrive at an estimate of the buying power of these sums today, one should multiply by a factor of at least ten or eleven, perhaps higher. Fitzgerald needed the money because he supported his family on literary earnings. He had no trust fund or inheritance or other source of income; his wife did not come from a wealthy family. Especially after 1930, Fitzgerald depended on the Post to keep going. He was able to provide what the Post wanted to publish, though sometimes only after scrubbings and bleachings had been carried out.

During these years, the late 1920s and early 1930s, Fitzgerald's habit was to set down a holograph first draft of a story and then to put it through successive typescripts, usually three of them, each of which he would revise, augment, cut, and polish. As mentioned, he worked with hired stenographers. His typical practice was to make wholesale revisions on the first typescript (often triple-spaced), then



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revise the second typescript somewhat less heavily, and finally put the third typescript into publishable shape.

The final typescripts always bore handwritten revisions, often fairly extensive ones. These typescripts, which were typically smudged and untidy, were unsuitable for submission on the fiction market. Fitzgerald sent these final typescripts to Harold Ober in New York; Ober had clean typescripts made and submitted them to the Post or to other magazines. The typescripts that Fitzgerald had sent to Ober, the last typescripts to bear his handwritten revisions, would be placed in Ober's files. Ober kept these typescripts; eventually they made their way to the Fitzgerald Papers at Princeton. These documents have been exceptionally valuable in editing the stories in this Cambridge volume. Fitzgerald kept files of tearsheets for his stories—the pages of printed text, torn out of magazine issues but these tearsheets preserved the texts *after* they had been altered. The revised typescripts from Ober's files represent the stories as last revised by Fitzgerald, as last touched by him, before the publication process began.¹¹

Collation of these typescripts against the published *Post* texts uncovers a great deal. Most references to sex, race, and alcohol were excised. Profanity was cut or muted. Fitzgerald was not allowed to use the names of real hotels, restaurants, or other businesses—for fear that such establishments might object if some fictional unpleasantness took place on their premises. Such editing was not fatal to the stories. It diminished the force of some exclamations and robbed the stories of verisimilitude, but the plots and characters remained the same.

Some of the editing, however, went deeper. This happened with several of the stories in this Cambridge volume. A good example is "Two Wrongs," a story written by Fitzgerald in October and November of 1929 and sold by Ober to the *Post* shortly thereafter. "Two Wrongs" appeared in the *Post* on 18 January 1930. It was

¹¹ For elaboration of this point, see James L. W. West III, "Editorial Theory and the Act of Submission," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 83 (1989): 169–85; reprinted in West, *Making the Archives Talk* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 2011): 17–28.



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one of the stories that Fitzgerald revised and included in *Taps at Reveille*. The protagonist of "Two Wrongs" is Bill McChesney, a theatrical producer who has had a recent string of hits on Broadway. Bill is typical of many of Fitzgerald's leading men: he comes from modest beginnings, is of Irish extraction, attends an elite Eastern university (Harvard, in this instance), encounters snobbishness there, and succeeds in the world of art or entertainment after he has left college. Success has made Bill cocky, abrasive, and obnoxious. He meets an aspiring dancer, a beautiful redheaded Southern girl named Emmy Pinkard, and tries to seduce her. He fails, but out of backhanded respect he gives her a small part in one of his productions, perhaps as a way of keeping her around. Bill and Emmy see a good deal of each other in the months that follow; eventually they fall in love and marry.

They move to London, where Bill is overseeing successful British productions of his Broadway hits. (His new shows in New York, however, have been failures.) He makes money in London, but on old productions. His behavior deteriorates: he has affairs with other women, begins to associate with louche aristocrats, smokes incessantly, and drinks heavily. Emmy becomes pregnant; on a night when Bill is out carousing with his friends, she goes into early labor. She makes her way to the hospital alone and gives birth to a stillborn child. Somehow Bill and Emmy make it past this disaster, and he resolves to be a better husband.

Bill and Emmy return to New York, but he has only mixed success with his productions there. Emmy, having regained her health, begins to pursue ballet seriously. She attracts notice from a star dancer named Paul Makova and has an offer to perform with him at the Metropolitan Opera House. Meanwhile Bill's health deteriorates from excessive drinking and smoking, and he falls ill with tuberculosis. Emmy, a saintly woman, offers to give up her ambitions for the ballet so that she can accompany Bill to a sanitarium in Denver, Colorado. Bill, sensing that it is Emmy's turn to enjoy success, decides to go alone. At the end of the story he leaves her to pursue a career, and possibly a romance, with Makova in New York.

"Two Wrongs" is similar to several stories Fitzgerald wrote around this time, narratives that drew on his and Zelda's personal



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lives. After a late start, Zelda was pursuing ballet fervently, determined to make of herself something other than a celebrated flapper girl, a role that Fitzgerald had created for her but which she had outgrown. Fitzgerald was ambivalent about Zelda's efforts in the ballet. Her lessons were expensive, and he was supporting her by writing stories for the *Post* instead of working on his next novel, the one that became *Tender Is the Night*. Fitzgerald was not convinced that Zelda had the talent to achieve anything more than a modest success in the world of dance. He understood her frustrations and wanted her to remake herself, but unfortunately his own career had stalled. He had been unable to advance on his novel for several years, his own health was on the downslide, and his smoking and drinking were increasing, causing a flare-up of what he thought might be tuberculosis.

Bill McChesney, in "Two Wrongs," is based partly on Fitzgerald. One discerns a touch of authorial self-punishment here: Bill needs to be taught a lesson—and is, in the end. Readers of popular fiction must be made to dislike a character who is going to take a fall. Thus it is interesting to note that Bill, in the typescript that Fitzgerald sent to Ober, is anti-semitic.¹² This is apparent in scenes between Bill and one of his friends, a Jewish producer named Brancusi. This antisemitism is one of Bill's most unattractive traits. Brancusi has played an important role in Bill's successes, co-producing several of his first Broadway hits. Brancusi likes Bill and understands that his abrasive behavior comes as much from his personal insecurities as from his innate character. Brancusi absorbs the anti-semitic comments the first time they occur. Only six paragraphs into the narrative, Brancusi says to Bill, with mild irony, "You're a handsome young fellow." Bill responds, in typescript: "Sure I am-compared to you anyhow, you dirty little kyke." Brancusi seems to recognize that this is rough kidding, perhaps marginally acceptable at the time, and does not take open offense.

One recalls that Anthony Patch in *The Beautiful and Damned* is anti-semitic, and that Tom Buchanan in *The Great Gatsby* places great faith in the quasi-science of eugenics. One of Joel Coles' major faux pas in "Crazy Sunday" (a story in this volume) is to perform a mildly anti-semitic comedy routine at a gathering of Hollywood royalty.



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Three years pass. Bill is in London, managing his old shows there and planning a return to New York. Brancusi has come over to visit him; the two men are sitting together in the Savoy Grill. Brancusi, who has worries about Bill, tells him that he is drinking too much. We learn from Brancusi that the flops in New York resulted from a guarrel between Bill and an erstwhile friend of his named Aronstael, another producer. 13 Brancusi criticizes Bill, telling him to slow down and to treat his friends with more consideration. Bill says, "Shut your trap, you lousy little kyke." This time Brancusi reacts differently. He sees that Bill has become artistically and personally bankrupt. Fitzgerald tells us that Brancusi "made a decision, then and there, that McChesney was on the down grade; it was quite typical of him that at that point he erased him from his mind forever." Brancusi has judged correctly: Bill will soon experience illness and defeat. The point is more strongly made when readers see that Bill is callous to the feelings of others, even to the point of using antisemitic language. The Post, however, cut out both "dirty little kyke" and "lousy little kyke." Bill still rejects Brancusi's advice, but after the cuts Bill only seems rude and abrupt rather than anti-semitic.

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Other editing of "Two Wrongs" occurred at the *Post*. Bill and Emmy have returned to New York, and, as the story approaches its conclusion, Emmy comes home to Bill one evening after her dancing practice. He must tell her that he has been diagnosed with tuberculosis. She is about to take a bath; before he can reveal his condition, she invites him to sit and talk with her while she bathes. This is a charged sexual situation and is presented that way by Fitzgerald. Emmy steps into the running bath, and Bill watches as she sponges herself. She tells him about her offer to dance at the Metropolitan, and about Paul Makova's personal interest in her. Bill wonders whether Makova's attentions might grow into something more, just as his gift of a small part to Emmy, shortly after he had met her, had done. Emmy finishes her bath, steps out of the tub,

¹³ Suggestively Jewish names, such as Aronstael, are significant in the story. Fitzgerald probably took Brancusi's name from the sculptor Constantin Brancusi, who was of Romanian Jewish descent. Paul Makova, who later in the story will invite Emmy to dance with him professionally at the Metropolitan Opera House, bears the name of an Hasidic dynasty.



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and begins to dry her dancer's body. She throws a wet arm around Bill, but he does not embrace or touch her. His desires are dead; he can think only of his sickness and alcoholism. He reveals his illness to her, and the story moves quickly to its conclusion.

The *Post* altered the bath scene. After the editing, Bill and Emmy have their conversation with her fully clothed, before she bathes. In the Ober typescript, she urges him to "cut out smoking and drinking," but in the *Post* text even this reference to alcohol has been removed. Thus, in the magazine text, Bill's sexual diminishment is not apparent, Emmy's sexual allure is gone, and his debilitation seems to come only from smoking.

One does not want to make more of these cuts and bleachings than is reasonable. Even with the cuts, "Two Wrongs" is an effective story. The tension between Bill and Brancusi is discernible, and the complex feelings between Bill and Emmy are present. But Fitzgerald was a master of subtlety: one must pay attention to details and dialogue in his fiction and stay alert for suggestions and inferences. Certainly that is true of "Two Wrongs" in its unbowdlerized state. The story is more forceful if the two instances in which Bill calls Brancusi a "kyke" are left as Fitzgerald wrote them. The narrative is stronger if we see that Bill has ruined himself with alcohol, and it is more complex if he watches his wife's naked body and imagines what will happen if she remains in New York with Paul Makova.

Fitzgerald's typescript, bearing his last round of revisions, is the authoritative document for "Two Wrongs." The *Post* text has been bowdlerized. The setting copy for the story, prepared in Ober's offices, and on which any alterations would have been marked by the *Post* editors, does not survive. Nearly all of the *Post* files from this period were destroyed when the magazine ceased publication in 1969. Fitzgerald was living in Paris when the *Post* was preparing this story for the press. He might conceivably have seen the proofs and made these alterations himself, but there is no indication in the surviving correspondence that proofs were passing back and forth across the Atlantic between Fitzgerald and the *Post*—either for "Two Wrongs" or for other stories that he wrote during his expatriate years in Europe.



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Similar patterns of bowdlerization have been uncovered for several of the other stories in this volume. ("The Hotel Child" is a particularly good example.) In each case a typescript bearing Fitzgerald's final handwritten revisions was sent to Ober. After a clean typescript had been made for the *Post*, the typescript revised by Fitzgerald was preserved in Ober's files, and this copy is today at Princeton. For these stories, the published texts in the Post differ from the typescripts only in the ways that have been described above. That is to say, no other variants that can be attributed to Fitzgerald have emerged—no new stylistic touches or added details of characterization and description that might have been added in proof. Variants involving profanity, sexual suggestiveness, real names for buildings and businesses, inebriation, and racial or ethnic prejudice have been revealed in collation. The material has been reinstated for the Cambridge texts; emendations have been recorded in the apparatus.

If Fitzgerald had wanted to restore the anti-semitic comments and the bathing scene to the text of "Two Wrongs," why did he not do so when he prepared the story for *Taps at Reveille*? The texts were being freshly typeset by Scribners for the collection; Fitzgerald could have altered "Two Wrongs" in any way he chose. The likely explanation is that in 1934 and 1935, when he was preparing copy for *Taps at Reveille*, he no longer possessed the earlier versions of "Two Wrongs" or of the other stories for reference. The unbowdlerized texts were in Ober's files in New York, where they stayed until after Fitzgerald's death. For most of the stories that he included in *Taps at Reveille*, he had on hand only the magazine tearsheets, which would have given him only the bowdlerized texts to work with.

The *Post* text of "Two Wrongs" is a good example of a socially constructed document. It is a collaborative work of fiction produced by Fitzgerald, his typists, Harold Ober, Ober's typist, the editors at the *Post*, and their typesetters and proofreaders. The text of the story in *Taps at Reveille* incorporates further revisions by Fitzgerald and adds a new group of collaborators: Maxwell Perkins, the Scribners copy-editors, and the compositors and printers at the Scribners printing plant in New York. Such a socially constructed text can be