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978-1-108-42680-0 — The Great Gatsby

F. Scott Fitzgerald , Edited by James L. W. West, III , Edited with Introduction and Notes

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by Don C. Skemer

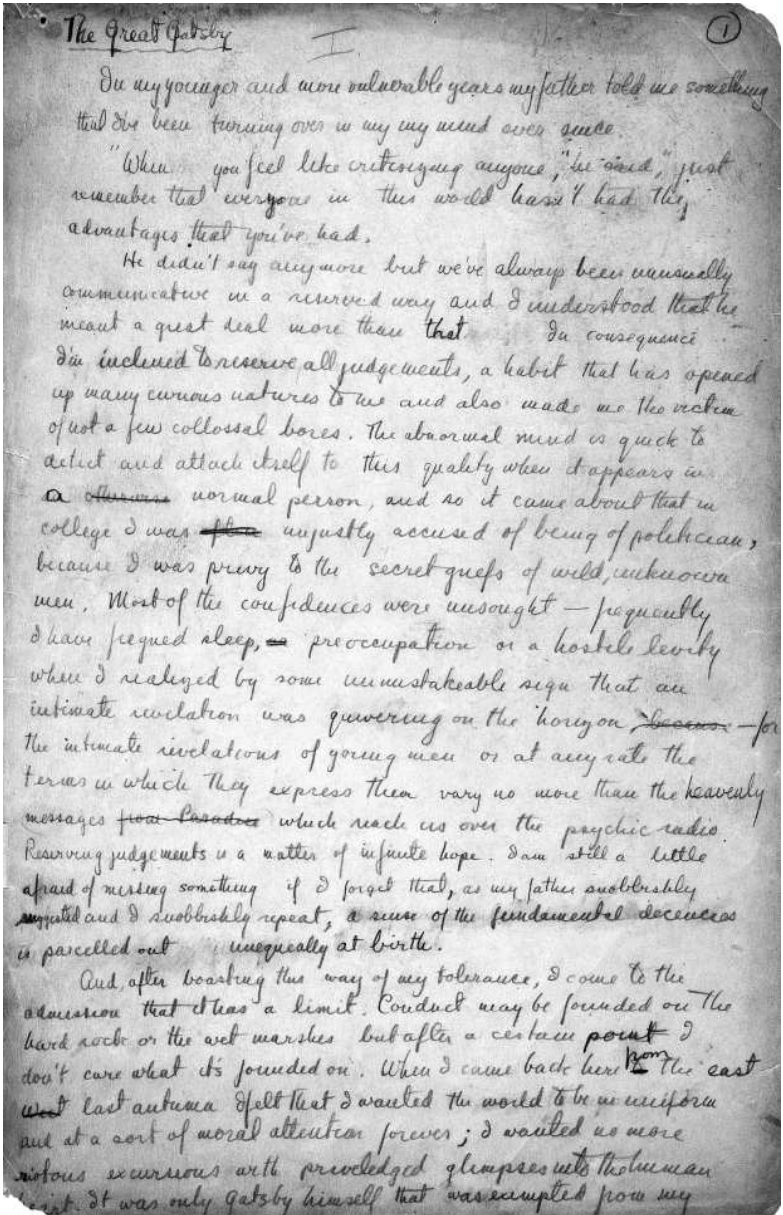
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F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

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First page of the holograph.  
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# THE GREAT GATSBY

An Edition of the Manuscript

\* \* \*

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

Edited by

JAMES L. W. WEST III

and

DON C. SKEMER



CAMBRIDGE  
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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

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[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108426800](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108426800)

DOI: 10.1017/9781139019613

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Fitzgerald Smith.

Introduction and notes © 2018 James L. W. West III

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First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-108-42680-0 Hardback

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For permission to publish the text of the manuscript we thank Eleanor Lanahan, Eleanor Blake Hazard, and Chris Byrne, the Trustees of the F. Scott Fitzgerald Estate. Phyllis Westberg and Craig Tenney of Harold Ober Associates, Inc., gave valuable assistance with copyrights and permissions.

For institutional support James L. W. West III thanks Susan Welch, Dean of the College of the Liberal Arts at Penn State, and Mark Morrisson, Head of the Department of English. These research assistants at Penn State helped with transcribing and proof-reading: Jeanne Alexander, Robert Z. Birdwell, and Eric Vallee.

Don C. Skemer thanks Ted Stanley, Special Collections Paper Conservator, Collections Conservation Unit, and Roel Muñoz, Library Digital Imaging Manager, Digital Studio, Princeton University Library.

Both editors thank Anne Margaret Daniel for her expertise and useful advice.

For permission to publish the facsimiles and other images in this volume we are grateful to the Princeton University Library and to Harold Ober Associates, Inc., on behalf of the Fitzgerald Trust.

J.L.W.W. III

D.C.S.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

(Beginning on p. 173)

*Frontispiece.* First page of the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*.

1. The first page of ur-text.
2. The second page of ur-text.
3. A page from the Ada/Dud version of the novel.
4. Nick and Jordan encounter Owl Eyes in Gatsby's library.
5. The guest list, final version in holograph.
6. The valley of ashes, "the back alleyway of Hell."
7. Wolfshiem: "looking for a business gonnegtion."
8. Gatsby's shirts "in many colored disarray."
9. Ending of the first chapter: "the dark fields of the republic ..."
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Additional facsimiles and illustrations appear in the Introduction, pp. xxiv and xxv, and in the Commentary, pp. xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvii, xlv, and xlv.



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## INTRODUCTION: COMPOSITION OF THE NOVEL

This volume of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald presents a diplomatic reading text of the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*, the earliest full version of the novel that survives. An intermediate version, published under the title *Trimalchio*, has also appeared in the Cambridge series.<sup>1</sup> Comparison of the holograph text with *Trimalchio*, and of both texts with the first edition, reveals much about the composition of the novel.<sup>2</sup> The three versions differ from one another in language, structure, and mood. *The Great Gatsby* did not spring fully formed from its creator's brow. Fitzgerald labored hard on the novel, putting it through several drafts and revisions and continuing to work on it until a few weeks before formal publication. The period of its creation was an extended moment during which he brought together talent, inspiration, and self-discipline to produce a masterpiece.

This edition of the holograph is supplemented by a full-color digital edition of the original, available online from the Princeton University Library. Also available at this source are digital images of the galleys of *Trimalchio*—the long proofsheets on which Fitzgerald entered his last round of revisions.<sup>3</sup> The scans of these documents,

<sup>1</sup> *Trimalchio*, ed. James L. W. West III (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> In this Introduction and in the Commentary on the holograph that follows, the word “holograph” refers to autograph manuscript draft(s) of *The Great Gatsby* written in Fitzgerald's hand. The word “manuscript” refers to autograph drafts of other literary works written in Fitzgerald's hand.

<sup>3</sup> Black and white facsimiles have appeared earlier: the holograph in *The Great Gatsby: A Facsimile of the Manuscript*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Washington, D.C.: Microcard Editions Books, 1973); and the corrected galleys in vol. III of *F. Scott Fitzgerald Manuscripts*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (New York: Garland, 1990). In 2017 an unannotated facsimile edition of the holograph was published in Cambremer, France, by Éditions des Saints Pères.

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made at Princeton with a Cambo large-format camera, are remarkable for their clarity and detail. One can see pencil strokes, erasures, cancellations, revisions, and even the texture and grain of the paper.<sup>4</sup>

The availability of the holograph, together with *Trimalchio* and the 1925 first edition, makes it possible to trace the history of *The Great Gatsby* from Fitzgerald's work table to its first appearance in print.<sup>5</sup> Critics, teachers, and students will be able to study the novel as a fluid text, evolving and progressing toward its final form. The holograph is a work in progress; one should not read it impatiently, waiting for it to turn into the published novel. A more productive approach is to notice how much of the final version is already present in the holograph, and how much Fitzgerald will add and discard as he moves forward. *The Great Gatsby* was not yet a masterpiece in holograph, but its essential elements were in place. This edition makes it possible to study the novel in its earliest surviving text, as it was taking form in its author's mind.

## I. COMPOSITION AND UR-TEXT

Fitzgerald began to consider settings, characters, and themes for his third novel as early as June 1922.<sup>6</sup> His first novel, *This Side of Paradise*, had been published in April 1920; his second, *The*

<sup>4</sup> The originals of the holograph leaves were imaged in the Princeton University Library's Digital Studio in the Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library, at 7200 pixels on the long side, using a Conservation by Design book cradle with a Cambo 4x5-inch large-format camera, adapted to take a Phase One P65 digital back. The lens was a 90mm Schneider APO-Digitar. See footnote 2 of the Commentary.

<sup>5</sup> A facsimile of the first printing of the 1925 first edition was published in 1990 by Collectors Reprints, Inc., in its First Edition Library. This facsimile mimics with considerable success not only the text of the first printing but also its paper, casing, and jacket.

<sup>6</sup> Composition narratives include the following: Kenneth Eble, "The Craft of Revision: *The Great Gatsby*," *American Literature* 36 (November 1964): 315–26; the introduction by Matthew J. Bruccoli to *The Great Gatsby*, ed. Bruccoli (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): ix–lv; and James L. W. West III, "The Composition and Publication of *The Great Gatsby*," in *Approaches to Teaching Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby*, ed. Jackson R. Bryer and Nancy P. VanArsdale (New York: Modern Language Association, 2009): 19–24.

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*Beautiful and Damned*, had appeared in April 1922. He was living in a rented cottage at White Bear Lake, a resort in Minnesota near his home town of St. Paul, and was correcting proofs for his second collection of short fiction, *Tales of the Jazz Age*, which would be published in September. In a letter to Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Charles Scribner's Sons, Fitzgerald announced that this new novel would be set in "the middle west and New York of 1885" and that the story would have "a catholic element."<sup>7</sup> Fitzgerald worked intermittently on this novel until the late months of 1923 but did not produce a full draft. Much of this writing he would scrap, salvaging only the short story "Absolution," published in the *American Mercury* for June 1924. "Absolution" can be read as a preamble to *The Great Gatsby*. It is set in the Midwest; its main characters are a young boy and a Catholic priest; the boy, Rudolph Miller, is an early version of Jay Gatsby—a dreamer who wants to escape from his limited upbringing in order to fulfill his fantasies of romance and adventure.

Fitzgerald abandoned the Midwest material early in 1924. He reconceived the novel that spring while he was living with his wife, Zelda, and their daughter, Scottie, in Great Neck, New York. Paper and watermark evidence from the holograph, detailed by Don C. Skemer in his Commentary, demonstrates that Fitzgerald was at work on this reconceived version as early as April 1924 and perhaps a month earlier. In a much-quoted letter to Perkins, written ca. 10 April, Fitzgerald promised that the novel would be "purely creative work" and that it would draw upon "the sustained imagination of a sincere and yet radiant world."<sup>8</sup> Fitzgerald made rapid progress on this version; he had probably produced the first three chapters by the time he and Zelda and Scottie sailed for an extended stay in Europe in May 1924.

Two days before his departure, Fitzgerald answered a letter from Charles C. Baldwin, who had written to ask for biographical information. Baldwin was preparing a work of literary journalism—*The*

<sup>7</sup> Fitzgerald to Perkins, ca. 20 June 1922, in *Dear Scott/Dear Max: The Fitzgerald-Perkins Correspondence*, ed. John Kuehl and Jackson R. Bryer (New York: Scribner, 1971): 61.

<sup>8</sup> *Dear Scott/Dear Max*, 70.

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*Men Who Make Our Novels* (Dodd, Mead, 1924)—and wanted to include remarks about Fitzgerald. The author obliged with a few details about his life and reading. He then told Baldwin: “My third novel (unpublished) is just finished + quite different from my other two in that it is an attempt at form, and refrains carefully from trying to ‘hit anything off.’”<sup>9</sup> Fitzgerald’s claim to have finished his novel before he sailed for Europe is doubtful. He does not mention having completed a novel in his letters to Perkins or to Harold Ober, his literary agent, or in other letters from the spring of 1924. But the letter to Baldwin does show that Fitzgerald had strong momentum, was confident of completion, and was aiming for a high literary mark.

More substantial evidence of the beginnings of *The Great Gatsby* is provided by two leaves of ur-text, sent by Fitzgerald to Willa Cather in late March or early April 1925.<sup>10</sup> By this time Fitzgerald had completed his work on the proofs of the novel and was waiting, on the island of Capri, for its publication. Here is Fitzgerald’s letter to Cather:

Hotel Tiberio, Capri, Italy

MY DEAR MISS CATHER:

As one of your greatest admirers—an admirer particularly of My Antonia, A Lost Lady, Paul’s Case and Scandal I want to write to explain an instance of apparent plagiarism which some suspicious person may presently bring to your attention.

To begin with, my new book *The Great Gatsby* will appear about the time you receive this letter (I am sending you the book besides). When I was in the middle of the first draft *A Lost Lady* was published and I read

<sup>9</sup> Quoted from the facsimile of this letter published in 2013 by the University of South Carolina Libraries. The original of the letter is in the Brucoli Collection, Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, at South Carolina.

<sup>10</sup> These two leaves, and Fitzgerald’s accompanying letter to Cather, were purchased by Princeton University Library in November 1977 from Seven Gables Bookshop. The availability of the documents was made known to the library by Charles Scribner III. A transcription of Fitzgerald’s letter and facsimiles of the two leaves of ur-text were first published in Matthew J. Brucoli, “An Instance of Apparent Plagiarism”; F. Scott Fitzgerald, Willa Cather, and the First *Gatsby* Manuscript,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 39 (Spring 1978): 171–78. The leaves and the letter are in the Fitzgerald Additional Papers at Princeton.

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it with the greatest delight. One of the finest passages is the often quoted one toward the end which includes the phrases “she seemed to promise a wild delight that he has not found in life... “I could show you” ... ect (all misquoted here as I have no copy by me).

Well, a month or two before I had written into my own book a parallel and almost similar idea in the description of a woman’s charm—an idea that I’d had for several years. Now my expression of this was neither so clear, nor so beautiful, nor so moving as yours but the essential similarity was undoubtedly there. I was worried because I hated the devil to cut mine out so I went to Ring Lardner and several other people and showed them mine and yours and finally decided to retain it. Also Ive kept the pages from my first draft to show you and am enclosing them here. The passage as finally worked out is in my Chapter One. Hoping you will understand my motive in communicating this to you I am

With Best Wishes and Most Sincere Admiration

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

The passage in *A Lost Lady* that Fitzgerald was thinking of reads as follows, from the Knopf 1923 first edition:

Her eyes, when they laughed for a moment into one’s own, seemed to promise a wild delight that he has not found in life. “I know where it is,” they seemed to say, “I could show you!” He would like to call up the shade of the young Mrs. Forrester, as the witch of Endor called up Samuel’s, and challenge it, demand the secret of that ardour; ask her whether she had really found some ever-blooming, ever-burning, ever-piercing joy, or whether it was all fine play-acting. Probably she had found no more than another; but she had always the power of suggesting things much lovelier than herself, as the perfume of a single flower may call up the whole sweetness of spring. (pp. 171–72)

The passage in *The Great Gatsby* about which Fitzgerald was worried is a description of Daisy Buchanan’s face and voice, quoted here from the first edition:

Her face was sad and lovely with bright things in it, bright eyes and a bright passionate mouth, but there was an excitement in her voice that men who had cared for her found difficult to forget: a singing compulsion, a whispered “Listen,” a promise that she had done gay, exciting things just a while since and that there were gay, exciting things hovering in the next hour. (p. 11)

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Cather wrote back to Fitzgerald on 28 April 1925:

MY DEAR MR. FITZGERALD:

I had read and hugely enjoyed your book before I got your letter, and I honestly had not thought of “A Lost Lady” when I read that passage to which you now call my attention. So many people have tried to say that same thing before either you or I tried it, and nobody has said it yet. I suppose everybody who has ever been swept away by personal charm tries in some way to express his wonder that the effect is so much greater than the cause,—and in the end we all fall back upon an old device and write about the effect and not the lovely creature who produced it. After all, the only thing one can tell about beauty, is just how hard one was hit by it. Isn’t that so?

Very cordially yours,

WILLA CATHER<sup>11</sup>

The two leaves from the ur-novel that Fitzgerald included in his letter to Cather provide a revealing glimpse of this ur-version.<sup>12</sup> Here are transcriptions of the two leaves, with revisions and cancellations indicated. The text of the first leaf reads as follows:

They stood up when dinner was announced. Jordan Vance stood up very straight with her slim shoulders back and she leaned the upper part of her body leaning a little backward. She put her hands on her hips and threw back her brown wan lovely face. Ada rose too and said

I’m so tired of eating, arn’t you? Nobody ever does anything but eat” Her voice was dark and musical like her great eyes and Nick followed eyes and mouth and voice up and down their scale. It was not a gay voice—it was

<sup>11</sup> *The Selected Letters of Willa Cather*, ed. Andrew Jewell and Janis Stout (New York: Knopf, 2013): 370. Fitzgerald saved the letter and pasted it into his scrapbook for *The Great Gatsby*, which is among his papers at Princeton. Digital images of this and other Fitzgerald scrapbooks are available online from the Princeton University Library. For Cather’s influence on Fitzgerald, see Tom Quirk, “Fitzgerald and Cather: *The Great Gatsby*,” *American Literature* 54 (1982): 576–91; Guatam Kundu, “Inadvertent Echoes or ‘An Instance of Apparent Plagiarism’? Cather’s *My Ántonia*, *A Lost Lady* and Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*,” *Études anglaises* 51 (1998): 325–37; and Robert Seguin, “Ressentiment and the Social Poetics of *The Great Gatsby*: Fitzgerald Reads Cather,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 46 (Winter 2000): 917–40.

<sup>12</sup> Fitzgerald marked both leaves “SAVE!” and, in the left margin of the first leaf, wrote “For Willa Cather.” Images of the two leaves are available online from the Princeton University Library and are reproduced as Plates 1 and 2 in the Illustrations section of this volume, pp. 175–76.

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somewhat sorrowful but held a promise of infinite gaiety that it had known or would know gay things ~~on~~ with the memory or anticipation which the soul behind it ~~brooded~~ played all the while.

As they went into the dining room on a screened terrace porch

And the text of the second leaf:

It was a dark sad face with bright things in it like children playing in a house of death. The ~~mo~~ curve of the mouth and the ~~voie~~ singing ~~compel-~~  
~~lingness~~ compulsion of the voice. The whispering of it “listen” ~~to me~~ of  
it richness of it which seem to proceed every word—the words changed  
their notes. The sentences were songs. There are no words to describe such  
voices but there is a promise of gay things in them of something magical  
done or yet to do.

About the rest of her Caraway felt ~~rather than~~ was aware of a diminish-  
ing of vitality since he first knew her. ~~He supposed there was a strain in an~~  
~~intensely strong vital man like Fay~~

These two passages belong to the first extended scene in the narra-  
tive, presumably the first scene in the ur-text as well. Nick comes  
to Tom and Daisy’s house and there meets Jordan. Nick is pres-  
ent on both ur-leaves (on the second one as “Caraway”), as are  
Daisy (here called “Ada”) and Jordan (here “Jordan Vance”). The  
narrative point-of-view is omniscient. The language on the two  
leaves is free-form: Fitzgerald was feeling his way into the narra-  
tive, attempting to discover words and phrases that would describe  
Daisy’s voice and Jordan’s faintly arrogant posture. Fitzgerald was  
casting about, searching for impressionistic language that would  
capture the essence of each woman, neither of whom he would  
picture in a conventional way in the published novel. Fitzgerald  
found the words he needed: the “promise” of Daisy’s voice, its  
musical timbre, its underlying “sorrowful” note, her “sad and  
lovely” face, her “bright passionate mouth.” He envisioned Jordan  
with her hands on her hips, “proceeding to the dinner table”; he  
pictured her “slim shoulders” and “wan lovely face”; he discerned  
her habit of leaning “a little backward”—a habit that gave her a  
supercilious air.

Tom is present as well, in the cancelled sentence at the end of  
the second ur-leaf. He is “an intensely strong vital man” who, the  
narrator suggests, has robbed his wife of some of her own vitality.

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Tom's surname is "Fay" in the cancelled sentence, but this name, with its suggestion of fairy-like puckishness, is inappropriate. Fitzgerald seems to have recognized the problem immediately, scribbling through the name before cancelling the entire unfinished sentence with three horizontal strokes. Fitzgerald would use the name Fay (taken from his boyhood mentor Monsignor Sigourney Fay, to whom *This Side of Paradise* is dedicated) as Daisy's maiden name in the published novel.

These two leaves from the ur-version are tantalizing: one wishes that Fitzgerald had saved the entire draft. One would be especially curious to read the opening scenes of the novel in third-person narration, without having the action and dialogue filtered through Nick's consciousness.

## 2. HOLOGRAPH TEXT

The surviving holograph is not a continuous text or a fair copy of the published novel. It is instead a conflation of at least two handwritten drafts. The many differences in language and structure between the holograph and the unrevised galley indicate that Fitzgerald put the novel through several revisions in typescript drafts that are now lost. Finally he arrived at a typescript that he was satisfied to mail to Perkins. Fitzgerald executed this revising during September and October 1924; he mailed the complete typescript to Perkins on 27 October.<sup>13</sup> Fitzgerald continued to work on the novel in proof. Perkins had the text set up from Fitzgerald's final typescript and mailed two sets of galleys to the author in December 1924. Fitzgerald performed major and thoroughgoing revisions on these galleys, necessitating much resetting of type and a second complete proofreading by his publishers.

All of Fitzgerald's characters are present in the holograph. Some of them—Tom and Daisy Buchanan, George and Myrtle Wilson, Meyer Wolfshiem, and Owl Eyes—are fully formed, or nearly so. Nick Carraway and Jordan Baker, however, are not yet completely developed. Nick, in particular, is snobbish and aloof, not particularly

<sup>13</sup> *Dear Scott/Dear Max*, 80–81.



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likable and inclined to pass judgment on nearly everyone he meets. Jordan is a minor character, a partner for Nick and his co-conspirator in arranging the affair between Gatsby and Daisy. Gatsby is not nearly as complex a character as he will be in the published book. At this point he is a shadowy figure, an accomplished host who is socially insecure, a veteran of the First World War who might be an Oxford man, and a sentimentalist with a crooked streak. He uses the expression “old sport” in the holograph, but the words do not appear until Chapter VI, when Tom and the Sloanes visit him at his mansion. And the memorable description of his smile, which appears on p. 58 of the first edition, is not found in the holograph. Fitzgerald added it on galley 15 of the *Trimalchio* proofs.

Two early versions of the famous guest list are present, one at the beginning of Chapter III and an earlier draft that Fitzgerald saved and kept with the holograph. The final lines of the novel are also here, and in two versions. The first of these commands attention. At the end of Chapter I, as Nick observes Gatsby standing alone on his blue lawn, Fitzgerald appears to discover, almost by accident, the overarching theme of his novel. He ends this first chapter with the following passage:

The sense of being in an unfamiliar place deepened on me and as the moon rose higher the inessential houses seemed to melt away until I was aware of the old island here that flowered once for Dutch sailors eyes—a fresh green breast of the new world. Its vanished trees, the very trees that had made way for Gatsby’s house, had once pandered in whispers to the last and greatest of all human dreams—for a transitory and enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presense of this continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder.

And as I sat there brooding on the old unknown world I too held my breath and waited, until I could feel the motion of America as it turned through the hours—my own blue lawn and the tall incandescent city on the water and beyond that the dark fields of the republic rolling on under the night. (I:36–37, pp. 17–18)<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> References to the holograph in this Introduction are by chapter and page number of the document itself, followed by the page number on which the passage is printed in this edition.

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Fitzgerald recognized the depth and resonance of this language and transferred the extended passage to the end of the book. In the holograph the final paragraphs, expanded and amplified, read almost exactly as they do in the published novel:

Most of the big shore places were closed now and there were hardly any light except the shadowy glow of a ferryboat across the Sound. And as the moon rose higher the unessential houses themselves began to melt away until suddenly I became aware of the old island here that flowered once for Dutch sailor's eyes—a fresh, green breast of the new world. Its vanished trees, the trees that had made way for Gatsby's house had once pandered in whispers to the last and greatest of all human dreams; for a transitory and enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presense of this continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder.

And as I sat there, brooding on the old unknown world I thought of Gatsby when he picked out the green light at the end of Daisy's dock. He had come a long way to this blue lawn but now his dream must have seemed so close that he could hardly fail to grasp it. He did not know that it was all behind him, back in that vast obscurity on the other side of the city, where the dark fields of the republic rolled on under the night.

He believed in the green glimmer, in the organic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then but never mind—tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther. And one fine morning—

So we beat on, a boat against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past (VIII [IX]:43–45, pp. 156–57)

## 3. DELETIONS AND RELOCATIONS

Fitzgerald cut the text heavily between holograph and print. Some of the deletions—Nick's attempt to describe the “Jazz History of the World,” for example—are still present in the *Trimalchio* galleys and were jettisoned in the revising that Fitzgerald did on the proofsheets. Other material, already missing from *Trimalchio*, must necessarily have been removed in the lost typescripts that followed the holograph. These lacunae include the confrontation between Tom and Gatsby at the Polo Grounds, the suggestion of drug-taking among Gatsby's guests, and the song that Gatsby sings to Nick.

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Fitzgerald's instincts about what to cut were sound. Nick's attempt to describe the "Jazz History of the World" was unsuccessful; the face-off between Tom and Gatsby could hardly take place at a baseball game; Gatsby's song is overly emotional, even saccharine.

Some of the writing in the holograph appears in different locations in the published novel. Fitzgerald moved a great many phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and extended sequences to other places when he revised the galleys. This is one of the pleasures of reading the novel in its holograph text: to ponder Fitzgerald's reasons for moving an image or sentence or paragraph, to think about the effect of that bit of text in its original location as opposed to its effect in the new place. Fitzgerald's most significant relocation of this kind was to reposition an entire chapter. Myrtle Wilson's party, which occurs in the flat that Tom Buchanan keeps for their trysts, occupies all of Chapter IV in the holograph; but in the typescripts that followed, Fitzgerald moved the section forward and made it into Chapter II. In its original location, the chapter satisfied our keen (and delayed) curiosity about Myrtle, who had only been glimpsed in the first three chapters, and whose role in the novel was unclear. In its new position, the chapter introduces much earlier the contrasts between Myrtle and Daisy, and provides a better understanding of Tom—of his tastes and attitudes, and of the violence latent in his personality.

One very good sequence, present in the holograph and in an expanded form in *Trimalchio*, did not survive into print. Fitzgerald cut it in the galleys. This sequence, which takes place at a costume party at Gatsby's mansion, teaches a lesson about celebrity, about Gatsby's desire to associate with well-known people and his assumption that Daisy wants to be famous for her beauty and style. Daisy comes to the party dressed in a "Provençal peasant costume." She is at first excited by the music, the decorations, and the guests—the many "faces of people you've heard of," as Gatsby tells her. Later in the evening, Gatsby tells Daisy that a "moving picture celebrity" has complimented her beauty and wants to know "where you get your hair-cut." To his puzzlement, Daisy will not reveal her hairdresser's name. "You don't understand," says Gatsby. "She'll probably have hers done the same way and you'll

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be the originator of a new vogue all over the country.” Daisy still declines to reveal the name of the hairdresser. “Do you think I want that person to go around with her hair cut exactly like mine?” she says. “It’d spoil it for me.” Then, sensing Gatsby’s disappointment, Daisy relents. Using her “little gold pencil” she writes the address of her hair stylist on a tablecloth. Gatsby, however, has already absorbed the lesson: the truly wealthy prefer anonymity. They have no desire to appear in the rotogravure sections of the Sunday papers and want nothing to do with the temporary celebrity of movie and stage people. Taking his own pencil, Gatsby strikes through the address that Daisy has written on the tablecloth, obliterating “her markings with his own.”<sup>15</sup> It is a telling exchange; one wishes that Fitzgerald had found a way to keep it in his novel.

One missing line of text from the holograph invites close attention. The line disappeared between holograph and galleys. It occurs in the four-sentence paragraph in Chapter I in which Nick first sees Daisy and Jordan, shortly before everyone is called to dinner. In the handwritten draft, the paragraph reads as follows, with errors uncorrected:

The only completely stationary object in the room seemed to be a enormous couch on which two young women were buoyed up as though upon an anchored balloon. They were both in white and their dresses were rippling and fluttering as if they had just been blown back in after a short flight around the house. I must have stood for a few moments on the threshold, dazzled by the alabaster light, listening to the whip and snap of the curtains and the groan of a picture on the wall. Then there was a boom as Tom Buchanan shut the rear windows and the caught wind died out about the room and the curtains and the rugs and the two young woman ballooned slowly to the floor. (I: 11–12, p. 8)

The words “on the threshold, dazzled by the alabaster light” in the third sentence go missing between the holograph and galley proofs. These words occupy a complete line in the holograph, line 4 on leaf 12, Chapter I. The positioning of the words on the leaf suggests that

<sup>15</sup> VI:101–108; pp. 82–87. The expanded sequence, with the pencils, address, and tablecloth, appears on pp. 85–86 of the Cambridge *Trimalchio*.

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the typist’s eye might have skipped from “moments” at the end of the third line to “listening” at the beginning of the fifth line. Eyeskip errors of this kind are often found in typed transcripts; because this omission would have caused no obvious grammatical or syntactical fault, Fitzgerald would probably not have noticed it. Possibly the typist *did* include “on the threshold, dazzled by the alabaster light” in the transcription; possibly Fitzgerald deleted the words in revision. Because the intermediate typescript does not survive, we cannot know. The evidence is not strong enough to justify restoring “on the threshold, dazzled by the alabaster light” to a scholarly text of *The Great Gatsby*, but the presence of the words in the holograph prompts the reader to speculate, to judge the rhythm and effect of the third sentence in both versions, and to wonder whether the original sentence was the one that Fitzgerald wanted.<sup>16</sup>

4. ADDITIONS AND REVISIONS

What did Fitzgerald add before his novel was published? His most important additions have to do with Gatsby’s past. In the holograph and in *Trimalchio*, Gatsby’s origins are revealed only at the end of the story, after Daisy has run down Myrtle Wilson while driving Gatsby’s yellow car. Gatsby tells Nick about his background in a scene that resembles a Catholic confessional, with Gatsby as the confessor and Nick as the priest.<sup>17</sup> In galley proof Fitzgerald broke up this material and moved parts of it to earlier positions in the narrative. In the published book, Gatsby’s character therefore unfolds in a different way—gradually, in bits and fragments, until all that Nick will ever know about him has been revealed. Gatsby still remains mysterious in the published novel; there is much about him that remains unclear. This uncertainty is intentional on Gatsby’s

<sup>16</sup> This passage from the holograph appeared originally in Appendix 3 of the Cambridge *Trimalchio*, p. 191, and is included in the ebook edition of *Trimalchio*, published by Scribners in 2014.  
<sup>17</sup> Michael D. DuBose, “From ‘Absolution’ through *Trimalchio* to *The Great Gatsby*: A Study in Reconception,” *F. Scott Fitzgerald Review* 10 (2012): 73–92.

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part. “I’ve shifted things around a good deal to make people wonder,” he says to Nick.<sup>18</sup>

The publication of this holograph text makes it possible to trace in detail the evolution of Daisy Buchanan’s voice. In the two leaves of ur-text Fitzgerald is already attempting to capture this voice—its musicality, its promise, its gayety, its underlying darkness. In the published text, Gatsby provides the definitive statement: “Her voice is full of money.” Fitzgerald hit upon this phrase early on. The words “full of money” are present in the holograph, but it took three attempts for the author to get the preliminary exchange between Gatsby and Nick exactly right.<sup>19</sup>

Each attempt begins in the same way. Gatsby, Nick, and Tom are standing in the driveway outside the Buchanan house in East Egg, waiting for Daisy and Jordan, who are inside, to gather their belongings for the drive into Manhattan. Here, from the holograph, is Fitzgerald’s first try:

“Shall we take anything to drink?” called Daisy from an upper window.

“I’ll get some whiskey,” answered Tom. He went inside.

Gatsby turned to me, his eyes glittering with happiness.

“She loves you,” I agreed. “That voice is full of wonder.”

“Its full of money.” (VI [VII]:11, p. 97)

The dialogue is awkward and elliptical. Why should Gatsby be happy? Does Daisy indeed love him, as Nick supposes? And there is a non sequitur: with whom or what is Nick agreeing? Nick’s suggestion that Daisy’s voice is “full of wonder” is weak, and Gatsby’s response—“Its full of money.”—is blunt and flat.

Fitzgerald revised the passage in the typescripts that followed. In the galleys, set from the final typescript that Fitzgerald sent to Perkins, the passage is quite different. It reads this way:

“Shall we take anything to drink?” called Daisy from an upper window.

“I’ll get some whiskey,” answered Tom. He went inside.

Gatsby turned to me, his voice trembling:

<sup>18</sup> *Trimalchio*, 117.

<sup>19</sup> The passages that follow were published, with commentary, in West, “Composition and Publication,” 23–24.

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“I can’t stand this,” he said, “it’s agony. I wanted to put my arms around her at luncheon when he began that talk. She’s got to tell him the truth.”  
“She loves you. Her voice is full of it.”  
“Her voice is full of money,” he said suddenly. (*Trimalchio*, p. 96)

Gatsby’s eyes are no longer “glittering with happiness.” Instead his voice is “trembling.” He has been waiting in vain for Daisy to confront Tom at luncheon and announce that she is leaving him. Nick attempts a soothing remark: “She loves you,” he says. “Her voice is full of it.” Gatsby’s answer—that Daisy’s voice is “full of money”—is perceptive, but he blurts out the words, as if he resents Daisy’s background of wealth and privilege. Perhaps he is beginning to sense that she will stay with Tom, that she will choose money and social standing over love. Readers, however, are not yet ready for that insight.

Fitzgerald rewrote the passage one final time in the *Trimalchio* galleys. He was working in limited space and was forced to write his revisions in a balloon along the right margin of the galley sheet.

“Shall we take anything to drink?” called Daisy from an upper window.  
“I’ll get some whiskey,” answered Tom. He went inside.  
Gatsby turned to me rigidly:  
“I can’t say anything in his house, old sport.”  
“She’s got an indiscreet voice,” I remarked. “It’s full of—” I hesitated.  
“Her voice is full of money,” he said suddenly. (First edition, p. 144)

All is changed by this revision. The word “rigidly” signals Gatsby’s discomfort. He is no longer overwrought and emotional; now he is tense. He uses the locution “old sport,” as he often does when he is unsure of himself. “I can’t say anything in his house,” he tells Nick, who responds sympathetically. “She’s got an indiscreet voice,” he says, but “indiscreet” is not the proper word. Nick casts about: “It’s full of—” he begins, then pauses. “Her voice is full of money,” says Gatsby in a level tone. His statement now conveys an entirely different feeling, as if he has had the thought many times before. This is not a sudden insight; he is not bitter. He has listened to Daisy’s recollected voice for many years in his dreams and musings, attempting to understand what makes it so alluring. Nick, too, has been fascinated by Daisy’s voice, but it is Gatsby who has hit upon



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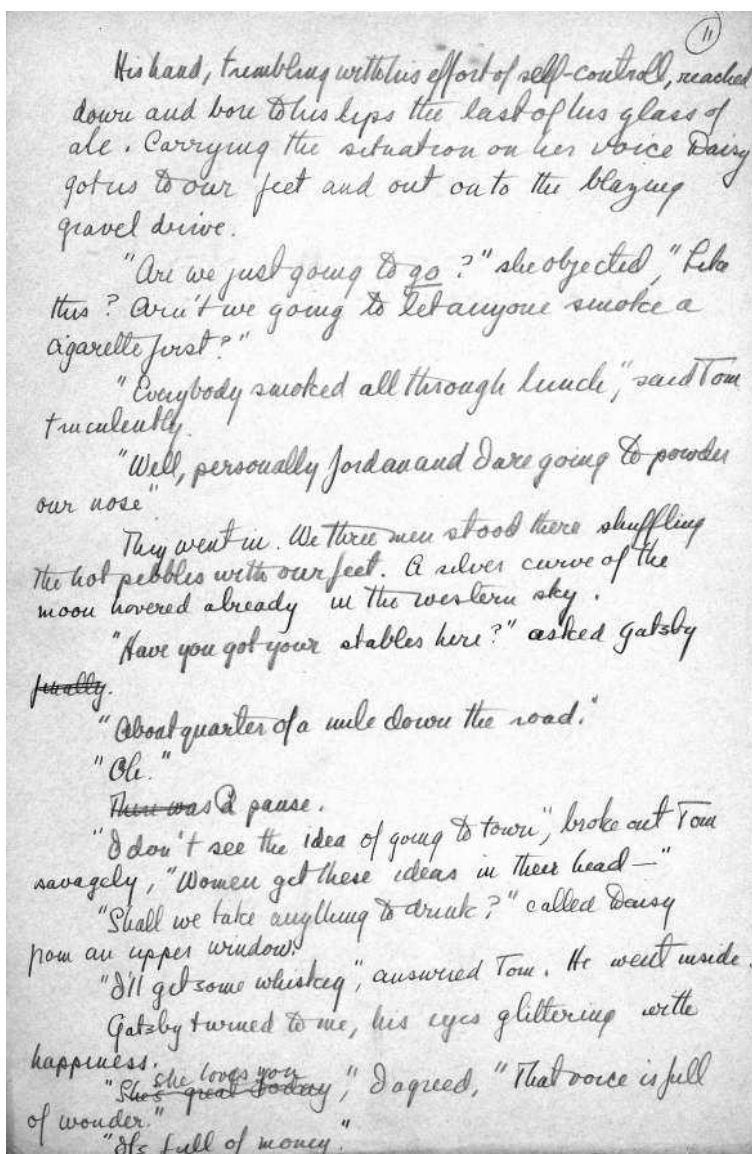


Fig. 1: Holograph Chapter VI [VII], p. 11. Fitzgerald's first attempt at describing Daisy's voice.



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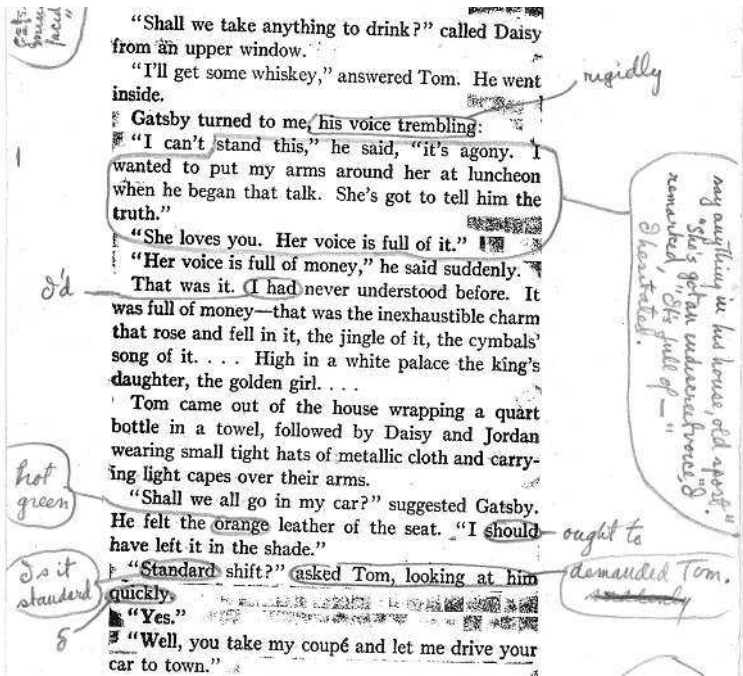


Fig. 2: Detail from *Trimalchio* galley 37, with Fitzgerald's revisions.

the proper words: “Her voice is full of money.” For us this remark is a surprise, a penetrating observation that we have been on the verge of making throughout the novel but that Gatsby, we can now see, has known all along.

\*\*\*

The remarks in this Introduction are meant to suggest the insights that can come from close study of the holograph text and of its relationship to *Trimalchio* and the first edition. Examination of these forms of the text by scholars and teachers will result in a deeper understanding of Fitzgerald’s characters, themes, and methods of composition. The holograph of *The Great Gatsby* is a testament to Fitzgerald’s powers of invention and his skill at revision. Most

of the elements of the novel are already present in the holograph. By relocating blocks of material, by inventing new scenes and sequences, and by adjusting words and phrases, Fitzgerald transformed his narrative from a well-crafted novel of manners into a literary classic that has become a national scripture. This edition makes it possible to study *The Great Gatsby* in its earliest surviving incarnation—to watch as the words and phrases flow onto the leaves of paper from Fitzgerald’s gifted hand.

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## COMMENTARY: HOLOGRAPH OF *THE GREAT GATSBY*

### I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The holograph of *The Great Gatsby* is the earliest version of F. Scott Fitzgerald's classic novel to survive.<sup>1</sup> The author, who could not type, composed and revised his books, short stories, and other writings in longhand, almost always using No. 2 graphite pencils. Fitzgerald wrote the 264-page holograph entirely in 1924 on the rectos of legal-size Cascade Bond typing paper, a subject to which we shall return in connection with the chronology of composition. His plain cursive script shows the influence of the Palmer Method of penmanship, widely taught in American schools from the 1890s onward. The holograph is a conflation of at least two autograph drafts. The first leaf is an unpaginated title page, on which the author has inscribed and twice underscored "THE GREAT GATSBY / BY / F. Scott Fitzgerald." The text begins on the next page and opens almost identically with the published book: "In my younger and more vulnerable years ..." (I:1, p. 2). And the holograph ends: "So we beat on, a boat against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past" (VIII [IX]:45, p. 249). At the top of the first page in Chapter I, the author has used a broad-nibbed fountain pen and red ink to inscribe and underscore the title. He has written but then cancelled the title in pencil on the first page of an early version of the opening of Chapter III—the guest list for Gatsby's parties, which appears at the beginning of Chapter IV in the published book.

The internal organization of the holograph pages in the present Cambridge edition follows, for the most part, Fitzgerald's original pagination and unpaginated inserts. The digitized holograph, available

<sup>1</sup> F. Scott Fitzgerald Papers (Co187), box 5a. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Unless otherwise noted, all archival materials cited are in the Manuscripts Division.

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online from the Princeton University Library, also follows this page order.<sup>2</sup> Fitzgerald changed the numbering sequence for the chapters as he composed the novel. One finds two chapters headed “III,” for example, and two headed “VI.” In the description below, Fitzgerald’s chapter numbers are given first and are followed, within brackets, by the number that reflects the final sequence of chapters in the holograph.

- Title page. Unpaginated.
- Chapter I:1–2, insert, 3–19, 19½, 20–26, [17] (“~~Number this 17~~”), (“27–29”), 30, (“31+32”), 33–37. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 1–7; book chapter I; pp. 3–18 of this edition.
- Chapter II:38–62. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 12–19; book chapter III (through Gatsby’s first party); pp. 19–36.
- Chapter III:63–65, insert, 66–67, insert, 68–90. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 19–25; book chapter IV (through the trip of Gatsby and Nick to New York City); pp. 37–53.
- Chapter III [IV]:1–6, insert, 7–29. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 7–12; book chapter II (through Myrtle Wilson’s party); pp. 54–67.
- Chapter V:1–12, 12½, 13–14, insert, 15–17. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 25–30; book chapter V (through reunion with Daisy); pp. 68–78.
- Chapter VI:97–112. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 30–34; book chapter VI; pp. 79–89.
- Chapter VI [VII]:1–16, 113–115, 117, [118] (“Insert at \* on p. 118”), 109–116, 131½, 132–134, 134½, 135–137, 137½, 138–139, 139½, 140, 140½, 28–29, 23, 31–40. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 34–45; book chapter VII (through confrontation at the Plaza Hotel and the automobile accident that killed Myrtle); pp. 90–126.
- Chapter VII [VIII]:1–22. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 45–51; book chapter VIII (through murder of Gatsby); pp. 127–142.
- Chapter VIII [IX]:23–32, [33] (“Number the page 140–141 ect” / “33”), 34–45. Corresponds to *Trimalchio* galleys 51–57; book chapter IX; pp. 143–157.
- Chapter III\*:[1–5]. Unpaginated draft of the opening of chapter III, with Gatsby’s guest list. Book chapter IV; pp. 158–160.

<sup>2</sup> The digitized holograph is part of the online Fitzgerald Collection in the Princeton University Digital Library, which will be migrating into the Digital Princeton University Library. The permanent URL for the holograph is <http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/fq977wo7f>. Also in the online Fitzgerald Collection are the digitized ur-text (<http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/kho4dq988>) and *Trimalchio* galleys (<http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/gz9o3115m>).

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Fitzgerald typically wrote first drafts of his manuscripts in a large cursive script. The size and density of the script and the corrections help to distinguish between early and late draft pages. Earlier pages of the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*, such as I:30 and I:31+32, respectively contain twenty-six lines per page (168 words) and twenty-eight lines per page (212 words). Later pages tend to be approximately twice as densely written in a smaller, neater cursive hand, with fewer corrections and revisions of the sort found in his first drafts. For example, I:1 and I:2 respectively contain thirty-four lines (359 words) and thirty-nine lines (480 words).

The holograph of *The Great Gatsby* provides ample evidence of Fitzgerald's working method of line-editing and revision. Most commonly he crossed out or lined out particular words and supplied interlinear replacements. During revision, Fitzgerald cancelled sizable passages by crossing out as many as ten to twenty continuous lines, generally with a large "X" and in one case with zig-zag lines. Heavy correction and revision in the holograph contrasts with light changes in Fitzgerald's short stories of the same period, such as "Rags Martin-Jones and the Prince of Wales," written in December 1923.<sup>3</sup> Minor changes made on the line, concurrent with composition or at a later time, were similar in script size.

More significant revisions were made in several ways. Fitzgerald supplied new text in inserts on separate pages, tied to particular textual locations; he made splices by deleting some words and adding others in order to connect old and new draft pages; and he relocated entire passages and sections. Sometimes Fitzgerald began writing on a sheet of paper, quickly changed his mind, crossed out what he had just written, and turned the sheet over for reuse.<sup>4</sup> On one such page, for example, he wrote and crossed out the phrase

<sup>3</sup> Fitzgerald, "Rags Martin-Jones and the Prince of Wales," autograph manuscript, F. Scott Fitzgerald Papers, box 21c. Fitzgerald notes in his *Ledger* that he composed the 54-page short story in December 1923. F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Ledger: A Facsimile*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Washington, D.C.: NCR/Microcard Editions, 1972), 6. The original *Ledger* is part of the Bruccoli Collection at the University of South Carolina, and has been digitized at [http://library.sc.edu/digital/collections/Fitzgerald\\_Ledger\\_-\\_USC\\_Transcription\\_2013.pdf](http://library.sc.edu/digital/collections/Fitzgerald_Ledger_-_USC_Transcription_2013.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> There are six such pages in the holograph: II:60, p. 61 of this edition; III:80, p. 83; III:86, p. 86; III [IV]:6, p. 99; V:14, p. 138; VI:104, p. 150; and VII.11, p. 169.

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“Formally, with neither awkwardness or grace”—a description of Gatsby dancing with Daisy. This was the author’s rewording of “Formally, without awkwardness or grace,” as written in a paragraph, later cancelled, on the previous page (VI:103). Fitzgerald then turned over the sheet and reused it for a new paragraph that incorporated the phrase he had just cancelled on the verso (VI:104).

The earliest identifiable pages in the holograph are six leaves in Chapters I–III, the first chapters that were completed and typed.<sup>5</sup> On these leaves one finds the abandoned first names “Ada” (Daisy Buchanan), as in the ur-text, and “Dud” (Nick Carraway). Fitzgerald probably changed Daisy’s name first, then Nick’s—two pages include both the names Dud and Daisy (I:26; I:31+32). The



Fig. 1: Photograph of a Fitzgerald party in Great Neck, 1923. F. Scott Fitzgerald is seated third from left in the lower row ("Scott"), and Zelda Fitzgerald is standing at the left side of the upper row ("me"). Annotations by Zelda. From Scrapbook III.

<sup>5</sup> I:26, I:31+32, II:57, III:84, III:89, and III:90.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-42680-0 — The Great Gatsby

F. Scott Fitzgerald, Edited by James L. W. West, III, Edited with Introduction and Notes

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Fig. 2: Fitzgerald family in a touring car on the French Riviera, 1924. From Scapbook III.

six pages, written in the author's large script on legal-size Cascade Bond, were most likely among those produced in Great Neck, before Fitzgerald departed for Europe in May 1924.

The holograph of *The Great Gatsby* was completed in Saint-Raphaël on the French Riviera, between June and October 1924. To prepare chapters for typing, Fitzgerald paginated them, most often with circled Arabic numbers in the upper right-hand corners, as he did in other manuscripts. Typically he liked the first typescript draft to be triple-spaced to facilitate correction and revision. Subsequent drafts were usually double-spaced.<sup>6</sup> We can infer from a note (“3 exempl”), written in a French cursive script on III [IV]:1, that the typist was to produce an original typescript and two carbon copies.<sup>7</sup> Fitzgerald might have used a typing agency in Nice,

<sup>6</sup> Fitzgerald retained this habit throughout his career. His last secretary noted the practice in connection with her typing for the author in 1939–1940. Frances Kroll Ring, *Against the Current: As I Remember F. Scott Fitzgerald* (San Francisco: Daniel S. Ellis, 1985): 48, 95.

<sup>7</sup> In French, this might be expressed fully as “trois exemplaires dactylographiés (l'original et deux copies carbonées).”



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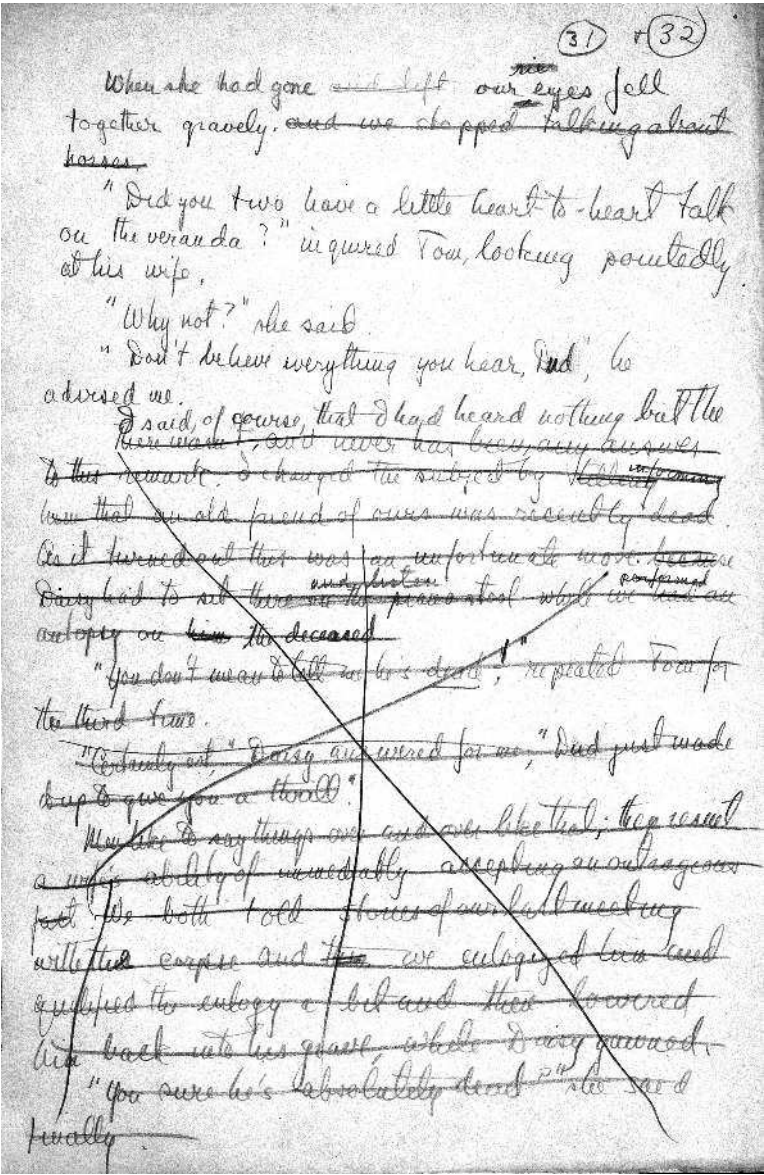


Fig. 3: The holograph page that Fitzgerald numbered “31 + 32,” including the name “Dud,” is among the pages that the author most likely wrote in Great Neck (I:31–32, p. 16).



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about forty miles northeast by train or automobile.<sup>8</sup> He completed the novel in September and then faced the hard work of completing the correction and revision of the typescripts until he had arrived at a clean copy suitable for submission to Charles Scribner's Sons.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately none of the typescripts, either working or final, or the carbon copies survive.

On 27 October 1924, Fitzgerald mailed the final typescript of the novel to Maxwell Perkins in New York City. Perkins sent the typescript to the Scribner Press, the publisher's subsidiary at 311 West 43rd Street, where compositors typeset the book under its working title *Trimalchio*, and several sets of galley proofs were pulled on a proofing press. The publisher probably retained the setting-copy typescript through the proofing process and then discarded it.<sup>10</sup> In late December, Perkins sent two sets of the *Trimalchio* galleys to Fitzgerald, who made extensive revisions in Rome and returned a master set around 18 February 1925. This master set does not survive. Fitzgerald retained his working galleys; today they are among his papers at Princeton.<sup>11</sup>

Fitzgerald sometimes facilitated the typist's work by rewriting pages or sections in a small, neat cursive script, producing leaves of fair copy, with numbered or renumbered pages. Yet substantial portions of the text are reused early draft pages. He was writing

<sup>8</sup> A handwritten note on the verso of VII:41 appears to refer to a typing agency: "Returne a / Institut Gaudeo / 19 Avenue de la / Victoire / Nice." In correct French, the note should have read, "Retournez à l'Institut Gaudeo." The Institut Gaudeo has not been traced. The street address is now 19, avenue Jean-Médecin, a commercial building in the central business district of Nice. Coincidentally, a series of sepia-tone portraits of Fitzgerald were taken around that time at a studio in Nice located a few doors away: Photographie Lauro, E. Hazebroucq Successeur, at 13, Avenue de la Victoire.

<sup>9</sup> Fitzgerald, *Ledger*, 178–79.

<sup>10</sup> West, *Trimalchio*: xv–xx. On book production at the Scribner Press, see Charles Scribner, Jr., *In the Company of Writers: A Life in Publishing* (New York: Scribner, 1990): 43–44.

<sup>11</sup> Thirty-eight pages of inserts for the corrected *Trimalchio* galleys are housed with the holograph of the novel. These were either handwritten by the author, typed single-spaced by a typist, or some combination of the two. Fitzgerald also conveyed additional changes and recommendations to Perkins by letter and telegram.

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and revising the text while the typist was at work, as attested by his penciled note “(43 on typewriter)” in the upper right corner of III:63. He sometimes keyed holograph pagination to the typescript, as with VI:97–112 and VI [VII]:113–140. His brief instructions for the typist can be found on many pages, such as “One Space Here” or “Put in Capital Letters.” Fitzgerald also added circled capital letters or asterisks as tie-marks to show the typist where to add inserts.

Fitzgerald often moved passages within chapters. For example, Nick Carraway realizes in the midst of the tense confrontation between Gatsby and Tom that it is his thirtieth birthday; VI:115: “I just remembered this is my birthday. I was thirty. Beside that realization their importunities were dim and far away. Before me stretched the portentous menacing road of a new decade.” During revision, Fitzgerald moved the passage to the ill-fated drive home and deleted the sentence that included the word “importunities.” Nick’s realization about his birthday appears again on VI [VII]:116, and once more, in the final version, on VI [VII]:140. “I just remembered that today’s my birthday. I was thirty. Before me stretched the portentous menacing road of a new decade.” Then Fitzgerald extended Nick’s thought: “Thirty—a decade of loneliness, a thinning list of single men to know, a thinning assortment of illusions, thinning hair” (VI [VII]:140½).

It is impossible to know whether the holograph of *The Great Gatsby* came to the Princeton University Library in the order that Fitzgerald left it. When his manuscripts were first inventoried at the Library, probably in early 1945, the holograph was described as “pencil MS. pp. not in order—part seems missing.”<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the confusing pagination made the holograph appear less well organized than it actually was. From 1946, two researchers with access to the Fitzgerald Papers could conceivably have improved

<sup>12</sup> “MSS. In Scott Fitzgerald Collection,” p. [1]. This 11-page typed inventory of Fitzgerald’s manuscripts and library accompanies a letter, Julian Boyd to John Biggs, Jr., 14 February 1945. Princeton University Archives, Mudd Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library Records, box 169, folder 3.

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the internal order of the holograph by comparing it with the *Trimalchio* galleys.<sup>13</sup> The researchers were Arthur Mizener (1903–1988), Princeton Class of 1930, then a Professor of English at Carleton College, in Northfield, Minnesota; and Henry Dan Piper (1918–1999), Princeton Class of 1939, a graduate student in the Department of English, who made his research notes available to Mizener.<sup>14</sup> Piper wrote notes about internal organization on 3 × 5-inch cards and inserted them in the holograph, where they were microfilmed in 1951. The notes are still present in the holograph.<sup>15</sup>

2. PAPER, WATERMARKS, CHRONOLOGY OF  
 COMPOSITION

Fitzgerald’s personal testimony about the chronology of composition for *The Great Gatsby* is vague and sometimes contradictory. From various sources, we know that he began thinking about his third novel in the summer of 1922 while living at White Bear Lake, Minnesota. He first wrote to Maxwell Perkins: “I may start my novel and I may not” (ca. 20 June 1922); and then “I want to write something new—something extraordinary and beautiful and simple + intricately patterned” (mid-July 1922).<sup>16</sup> Fitzgerald had the central themes of the novel in mind by September 1922, when he wrote the short story “Winter Dreams,” which was published three months later in *Metropolitan Magazine*. Yet he notes in the *Ledger*, “Began my novel” (June 1923), “Intermittent work on novel” (July 1923), and “A new schedule + more work on novel” (September 1923).

<sup>13</sup> Permission to use the papers was granted by Judge John Biggs, Jr., executor of the Fitzgerald Estate, and by Scottie Fitzgerald Lanahan, the author’s daughter.  
<sup>14</sup> Arthur Mizener, *The Far Side of Paradise: A Biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1951): xiii–xiv.  
<sup>15</sup> Page order in the Brucoli facsimile edition and the microfilm is identical in Chapters I–II. Brucoli then reversed the order of the two sections he labeled “MS III”; that is, III, III\* in the present volume, rather than III\*, III in the microfilm. Thereafter the internal order is again identical.  
<sup>16</sup> *Dear Scott/Dear Max*, 60–61; Matthew J. Brucoli, Margaret M. Duggan, and Susan Walker, eds., *Correspondence of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Random House, 1980): 112.

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These are references to the ur-text, a preliminary attempt.<sup>17</sup> After several months away from the book, Fitzgerald notes in the *Ledger*, “Out of the woods at last + starting novel” (April 1924)—referring to *The Great Gatsby* as he had reconceived it.<sup>18</sup> In a letter (ca. 10 April 1924), Fitzgerald told Maxwell Perkins about his renewed work: “I’ve had to discard a lot of it—in one case 18,000 words (part of which will appear in the *Mercury* as a short story).”<sup>19</sup>

The two extant leaves of ur-text, sent by Fitzgerald to Willa Cather and discussed by James L. W. West III in the Introduction, are written on American-made, letter-size paper, with the watermark “SHAMROCK / TYPE-WRITER / LINEN,” arranged around a three-leaf clover incorporating the letters of the manufacturer’s abbreviated name (ANC). Shamrock Typewriter Linen (8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11 inches) was a brand of typing paper with a laid finish, manufactured by the American News Company, New York.<sup>20</sup> It is a different brand and size from the paper Fitzgerald used in 1924 for the holograph. We cannot know whether Shamrock Typewriter Linen was used for all leaves in the ur-text. Fortunately, Fitzgerald often used the same paper for letters and literary work, which are dated or datable by contents. Watermark research can shed light on the chronology of composition by showing when the author was using a particular paper stock. By identifying outgoing letters on Shamrock Typewriter Linen, we know that Fitzgerald had a supply of this paper at least from the fall of 1922 and therefore could possibly have used it to draft some of the ur-scenes and passages between then and the summer of 1923.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ledger*, 4, 177–78.

<sup>18</sup> *Ledger*, 178.

<sup>19</sup> *Dear Scott/Dear Max*, 69–70.

<sup>20</sup> *Registry of Water Marks and Trade Marks*, 4th edition (New York: Andrew Geyer, 1900): 158.

<sup>21</sup> In Great Neck, Fitzgerald used Shamrock Typewriter Linen for an undated letter (“I was in Vanity Fair office the other day ...”) to Irish writer Ernest Augustus Boyd (1887–1946). F. Scott Fitzgerald Additional Papers (Co188), box 4, folder 7. The letter has been dated by its content to the fall of 1922 (*Correspondence*, 104). Fitzgerald also used Shamrock Typewriter Linen for an undated 1923 letter, probably written in early May, to Thomas A. Boyd (1898–1935). Fitzgerald Additional Papers, box 4, folder 10. In the letter (“Am returning autobiographical books ...”), Fitzgerald refers to a printed copy of *The Vegetable* (published 27 April 1923) and to reviewing Boyd’s novel *Through the Wheat* (1923).

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Fig. 4: Shamrock Type-Writer Linen watermark from the ur-novel.

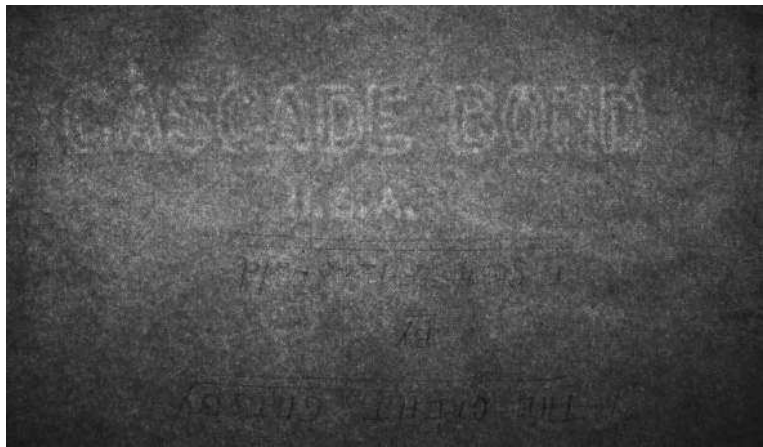


Fig. 5: Cascade Bond watermark from the title page of the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*.

In mid-October 1922, the Fitzgeralds moved to a large Mediterranean-style house at 6 Gateway Drive, in Great Neck, about twenty miles northeast of midtown Manhattan, reachable by the Long Island Railroad or by automobile. In a room

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over the garage, Fitzgerald worked on the ur-novel in the summer of 1923, despite many distractions. He was compelled to stop around 15 October owing to the demands on his time for rehearsals and revisions for the Atlantic City production of *The Vegetable*, his failed play, compounded by his need to write commercially for the magazines. The words discarded from the ur-text included those salvaged and reworked for “Absolution,” a 5,600-word short story published in the *American Mercury* (June 1924). If we assume that Fitzgerald averaged about 150 words per page on the letter-size paper, his estimate of 18,000 words might correspond to as many as 120 handwritten pages. It is impossible to know how much or little of the ur-text survives in the holograph. Many of the surviving pages of description and dialogue might originally have been written in the third person and then reused in the first person, after Fitzgerald made Nick his narrator. Fitzgerald probably brought the ur-text with him to France and had at least two leaves of it with him on Capri in 1925. These leaves he sent to Willa Cather. He could easily have revised passages from other pages of the ur-text in writing the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*.

Fitzgerald wrote the holograph on sheets of plain, unruled white-wove paper, measuring  $8\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{7}{8}$  inches ( $8\frac{7}{16} \times 13$  at the widest point). Dimensions of about  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 13$  inches were then standard for American legal-size typing paper. The watermark “CASCADE BOND / U.S.A.,” probably made by the dandy-roll process, is found in different positions on the pages of the holograph. Like the trim dimensions, the thickness of this machine-made paper was slightly variable.<sup>22</sup> Fitzgerald continued using legal-size Cascade Bond for the *Trimalchio* inserts until he began using paper with the

<sup>22</sup> On 9 November 2015, Don C. Skemer measured the thickness of a sampling of sheets in the holograph by using a Starrett no. 1010M Dial Indicator Pocket Gage. Sheets measured for thickness included earlier and later draft pages. Results showed that most of the sheets were 0.09 or 0.10 mm thick, but some were 0.08 mm or 0.11 mm. This is within the range of thicknesses possible for such machine-made paper. Matthew J. Brucoli interpreted the slight variations in thickness to mean that Fitzgerald used two different weights of paper (*The Great Gatsby: A Facsimile*: xxi).

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watermark “Universal Post” surmounted by a crown.<sup>23</sup> In Matthew J. Brucoli’s brief physical descriptions of the holograph, he correctly identifies the holograph paper as Cascade Bond.<sup>24</sup> But he is somewhat vague on the question of how much of the holograph might have been written in Great Neck and never traces Fitzgerald’s use of Cascade Bond for other writing purposes in order to shed light on the chronology of composition.

From this additional watermark research, we learn that Fitzgerald had been writing on Cascade Bond in Great Neck for months before he departed for Europe. As early as October 1923, Fitzgerald began using letter-sized Cascade Bond ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$  inches), smaller than the holograph paper stock and probably purchased in New York or Great Neck. Fitzgerald used this paper in October or November 1923 to write out changes and addenda for *The Vegetable*, which Charles Scribner’s Sons had published in April. He used the same paper in December 1923 for the manuscript of “Rags Martin-Jones and the Prince of Wales.”<sup>25</sup> The paper was also used for a letter to his editor Maxwell Perkins (ca. 5 November 1923) and for three letters to his literary agent Harold Ober (12 November 1923–5 February 1924). Thereafter Fitzgerald switched to legal-size Cascade Bond ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{7}{8}$  inches),

<sup>23</sup> The switch from legal-size Cascade Bond to Universal Bond occurs with Fitzgerald’s handwritten insert for *Trimalchio* galley 30. The watermark “Universal Post” (with crown) cannot be precisely identified, though there were similar American brand names. Fifteen years earlier, the American Writing Paper Company, Holyoke, Massachusetts, produced brands of paper watermarked “Crown Imperial Linen,” “Crown Royal Linen,” and “Universal Bond.” See *Watermarks and Brands Used in the American Paper Trade, Extracted from Post’s Paper Mill Directory for 1910 ...* (New York: Lyman Derby Post, c. 1909): 21, 76.

<sup>24</sup> For example, Brucoli states in *The Great Gatsby: A Facsimile of the Manuscript*, p. xxi: “Since the entire holograph draft is written on American-made paper, the idea suggests itself that Fitzgerald had arrived in France with a complete or substantially complete draft of the novel. However, his correspondence with Perkins makes it clear that this was not the case. The best explanation of the paper is that Fitzgerald brought a supply to France.”

<sup>25</sup> Fitzgerald, “Changes and Addenda to the Vegetable.” Fitzgerald Papers, box 28, folder 9. *Ledger*, 6. “Rags Martin-Jones” was published by *McCall’s* (July 1924), then revised heavily for *All the Sad Young Men* (1926).



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the same stock that he employed for the holograph. Its earliest dated use was for two letters to Ober (18 March 1924; 12 April 1924). He also used legal-size Cascade Bond for two undated April 1924 letters to Perkins (ca. 10 April 1924; n.d.) and a later letter (ca. 7 November 1924).<sup>26</sup>

The author's use of legal-size Cascade Bond, at least from March 1924, raises the possibility that he could have been at work on the holograph of *The Great Gatsby* that early, even though April 1924 is the month given in the *Ledger*. Fitzgerald could have been working on the holograph with legal-size Cascade Bond for almost a month before his letter to Perkins (ca. 10 April 1924), in which he says that while he has "every hope + plan of finishing the novel in June," despite a lack of progress since the summer of 1923, he thinks that much more time will be needed for it to be "a consciously artistic achievement." Two months of intense work in Great Neck, before departing for France on 3 May aboard the S.S. *Minnewaska*, was probably enough time for Fitzgerald to draft the first three chapters of the holograph.

Eaton, Crane & Pike Company, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, manufactured Cascade Bond as a brand of inexpensive typing paper. The company marketed Berkshire Hills Typewriter Papers under different brand names, including Cascade Bond, each with its own watermark, and with varying dimensions, weights, colors, finishes, and textures. The papers were primarily manufactured from bleached wood pulp, though the company advertised

<sup>26</sup> Fitzgerald to Perkins, Archives of Charles Scribner's Sons (COTI), box 73, folder 7. Published in *Dear Scott/Dear Max*, 67–68. Fitzgerald to Ober, Ober Manuscripts, box 1919–1929, The Lilly Library, Indiana University. Folder 1923: Fitzgerald to Ober, 12 November 1923 ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$  inches), 23 December 1923 ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$  inches). Folder 1924, Fitzgerald to Ober, 5 February 1924 ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$  inches), 18 March 1924 ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 13$  inches), 12 April 1924 ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 13$  inches). The author wishes to acknowledge The Lilly Library's Cherry Williams and Kelsey Emmons, who on 9 November 2015 identified and measured the Fitzgerald letters with Cascade Bond watermarks. Fitzgerald used Cascade Bond for an undated letter that he wrote to Perkins from Saint-Raphaël (ca. 7 November 1924); *Dear Scott/Dear Max*, 81–82.



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some brands as having 16 or 20 percent cotton-fiber rag content.<sup>27</sup> XRF spectroscopy performed in 2015 on a blank sheet of Cascade Bond found in the holograph revealed that this brand of paper was made almost entirely of wood pulp.<sup>28</sup> Sulfite bond paper had been manufactured in Europe from the mid-nineteenth century and in the United States from the 1880s. This manufacturing process requires cooking wood chips in calcium bisulfite [ $\text{Ca}(\text{HSO}_3)_2$ ], which leaves the paper with a damaging acid residue. Paper manufacturers and users did not then understand that acidity would over time turn the paper from white or off-white to yellow or brown and render it increasingly brittle by breaking covalent bonds in long-chain cellulose molecules.<sup>29</sup> Cascade Bond and other brands of Berkshire Typewriter Papers were retailed chiefly in the United States, though they were available in some stationery shops in Britain and on the continent. These papers were sold in 500-sheet reams (“long reams”) packaged in cardboard boxes with attractive cover designs. A ream of Cascade Bond or another Berkshire typing paper of similar quality typically retailed for less than a dollar.<sup>30</sup>

The inherent vice of paper acidity in the holograph of Fitzgerald’s novel was not helped by nearly two decades of non-archival storage before the holograph arrived at Princeton, and thereafter by wear and tear owing to handling, research use,

<sup>27</sup> “Berkshire Note,” *New England Stationer and Printer* 13 (March 1899): 16; Sanford E. Thompson, et al., “Scientific Management in a Manufacturing Plant,” *Transactions of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers* 39 (1918): 123–73, esp. pp. 152, 159–165; *Lockwood’s Directory of the Paper, Stationery and Allied Trades*, 46th edition (New York: Lockwood Trade Journal Co., 1921): 688.

<sup>28</sup> On 29 October 2015, Bruce Kaiser performed the XRF (X-ray fluorescence) analysis at Firestone Library with a Bruker Tracer series hand-held XRF spectrometer.

<sup>29</sup> American Writing Paper Company, *Handbook of Quality-Standard Papers; A Reference Book ...* (Holyoke, Mass.: American Writing Paper Company, 1922): 364.

<sup>30</sup> “Berkshire Typewriter Papers in New Boxes,” *Walden’s Stationer and Printer* 35 (10 April 1910): 66; *Walden’s Directory of Papers* (1918), 28A, in *The Paper Record: A Semi-Annual* 5 (July 1918).

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and display. The holograph was already showing signs of deterioration when it was microfilmed in 1951. Surely aware of the condition of paper used in some of her father's manuscripts, Scottie Fitzgerald Lanahan had asked Princeton to microfilm the manuscripts and offer surrogates for research use. This preservation measure facilitated wider access by remote users while limiting unnecessary handling of the precious originals. In time, preservation photocopies were also produced to the same end. By the early 1960s, the Library had rehoused the holograph. Its chapters were foldered in heavy paper wrappers, which were kept inside a pale-green clamshell box.

The holograph itself did not receive full conservation treatment until the late 1990s, when the author of the Commentary, Curator of Manuscripts, and Robert Milevski, Preservation Librarian, prepared the Library's successful grant proposal for "Save America's Treasures," a \$30 million grant program to preserve "nationally significant intellectual and cultural artifacts, and historic structures and sites." Princeton's \$50,000 federal grant, matched by the Library itself, was announced in a White House ceremony on 19 May 1999. Princeton's priority was some 30 linear feet of Fitzgerald materials, including the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*, the *Trimalchio* galleys, and other manuscripts, typescripts, and proofs of Fitzgerald's novels, short stories, magazine articles, movie scripts, and miscellaneous writings. Also conserved under the grant was the author's correspondence, the most extensive two series being with Maxwell Perkins and Zelda Fitzgerald. Conservation work in the Library's Preservation Office was supervised by Ted Stanley, Special Collections Paper Conservator. The holograph of *The Great Gatsby* and other Fitzgerald papers were nonaqueously deacidified by spraying them with Wei T'o<sup>TM</sup>, using methoxy magnesium methyl carbonate (MMMC) in a solvent solution. This treatment neutralizes the damaging acidity and deposits an alkaline buffer for future protection, though it cannot restore the paper to its original fold strength. In addition, serious paper tears and cellophane-tape damage were repaired. Then all manuscript leaves were

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inserted into protective Mylar sleeves and rehoused in acid-free wrappers, folders, and boxes. The Fitzgerald scrapbooks were digitized as part of this project. In 2013, the holograph of *The Great Gatsby* was digitized in the Library's Digital Studio, along with the *Trimalchio* galleys, the two ur-text leaves, and the manuscript of *This Side of Paradise*.

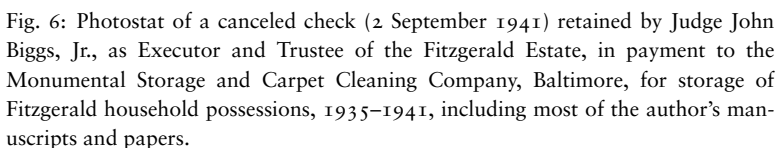
### 3. SURVIVAL AND ACQUISITION OF THE HOLOGRAPH AND OTHER PAPERS

During the 1920s and 1930s, Fitzgerald made a conscious effort to preserve his manuscripts and other papers, despite a peripatetic life that exposed them to risk and led to significant losses. Aside from materials that he might have entrusted to friends or his agent, Fitzgerald probably had most of his now-extant papers, including the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*, with him in August 1933 when he moved with Zelda and Scottie to a large townhouse at 1307 Park Avenue, in the Bolton Hill area of Baltimore. However, space would become a problem in time. On 18 May 1935, Fitzgerald began storing household possessions at the Monumental Storage and Carpet Cleaning Company, located at 1001–1006 Park Avenue, a five-minute walk from the townhouse.<sup>31</sup> There was less space from fall 1935, after moving within Baltimore to the Cambridge Arms Apartments at 1 East 34th Street and briefly to an apartment at 3300 St. Paul Avenue, and then relocating to North Carolina. On 1 June and 7 July 1936, Fitzgerald had most household possessions deposited at Monumental Storage, including “31 cartons books” and “1 box sp[ecial] books for shipment.” His manuscripts and files were very likely among them. He later had certain files removed from the Baltimore warehouse and shipped to him in Hollywood. But the

<sup>31</sup> Monumental Storage was established in 1880. A March 1947 advertisement boasts that it is “a reinforced concrete, sprinkler-protected warehouse [that] contains vaults for household effects ... storage and burglar-proof vaults for art objects and silver.” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 42 (1947): [v].

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When Judge John Biggs, Jr. (1895-1979), Princeton Class of 1918, became Executor and Trustee of the Fitzgerald Estate, in accordance with the author's will, he needed to find funds to cover Fitzgerald's outstanding debts and to meet the continuing costs of Zelda's intermittent hospitalization and Scottie's education at

<sup>32</sup> Monumental Storage warehouse receipts from 1936 give Fitzgerald's local address as "c/o Allien Owens, 5101 Roland Avenue, Baltimore, Md." This refers to the husband of Fitzgerald's Baltimore secretary, Isabel Owens. Fitzgerald Papers, box 55, folder 12. On 8 October 1937, Fitzgerald sent a letter from Hollywood to Isabel Owens: "Go to the storage and find the box which contains my files and abstract file or files which probably contain important receipts, old income statements, etc.—not the correspondence file....Also I want my Scrapbooks—the big ones including Zelda's and the photograph books. This should make quite a sizable assortment and I'd like the whole thing sent to me here collect." The letter is included in Matthew J. Brucoli, Scottie Fitzgerald Smith, Joan Paterson Kerr, *The Romantic Egotists: A Pictorial Autobiography from the Scrapbooks and Albums of F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald* (New York: Scribner, 1974): 218. The scrapbooks and photographs remained in Hollywood at the time of the author's death. Frances Kroll to Biggs, 31 December 1940. John Biggs Collection of F. Scott Fitzgerald's Estate Papers, box 2, folder 11. Hereinafter "Biggs Collection."

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-42680-0 — The Great Gatsby

F. Scott Fitzgerald, Edited by James L. W. West, III, Edited with Introduction and Notes

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Fig. 7: F. Scott Fitzgerald's black leather purse of keys, with him in Hollywood, including one with a tag on which Fitzgerald has written "New Suitcase" and "Black Suitcase."

Vassar College. On 31 December 1940, ten days after Fitzgerald's death, his Hollywood secretary Frances Kroll wrote to Biggs, giving Fitzgerald's bank balance and listing his unpaid bills. She described his material possessions to the best of her knowledge. Kroll's letter mentions the author's books, photographs, and scrapbooks, which she moved to the Hollywood Transfer and Storage Company in order to empty his residence. Among Fitzgerald's many unpaid bills was an invoice from Monumental Storage for \$202.42. On 2 September 1941, when Biggs finally settled accounts with the Baltimore warehouse, the bill had grown to \$396.92, perhaps because of shipping charges.<sup>33</sup> This was a sizable sum at the time—the equivalent today of more than \$6,500.

<sup>33</sup> Ring, *Against the Current*, 115–18. Kroll to Biggs, 31 December 1940. Biggs Collection, box 2, folder 11; box 9, folder 9. Cancelled checks filed with Check Ledger.

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Sale of the Fitzgerald Papers, including the holograph of *The Great Gatsby* and other manuscripts, were for Biggs a potential revenue source. To this end, Biggs played a central role in gathering the papers, though he was always modest about his rescue efforts. On 14 July 1941, he reported to Zelda that he had moved “the library stuff, books, manuscripts” from Baltimore to the third floor of his mother’s house in Wilmington, Delaware. In this letter Biggs mentions a filing cabinet, most likely the same one that later housed a portion of the manuscripts at Princeton.<sup>34</sup> Papers at the Baltimore warehouse were kept in cartons and bundles, and perhaps even in suitcases.<sup>35</sup> The remainder of Fitzgerald’s papers and other possessions were at the Hollywood Transfer and Storage Company, except for working manuscripts of his unfinished novel, *The Last Tycoon*, the publication of which Biggs hoped would generate royalty income for the cash-poor estate. On 24 June 1941, Biggs paid the Gramercy Storage Warehouse, New York City, to ship these working manuscripts from Hollywood to Wilmington.<sup>36</sup>

On 2 March 1941, Maxwell Perkins explained to Judge Biggs that he was trying to determine the monetary value of Fitzgerald’s manuscripts and had turned for guidance to David A. Randall (1905–1975), who from 1935 to 1955 headed the Charles Scribner’s

<sup>34</sup> Biggs to Zelda Fitzgerald, 14 July 1942. Biggs Collection, box 2, folder 12. Seymour I. Toll, *A Judge Uncommon: A Life of John Biggs, Jr.* (Philadelphia: Legal Communications, Ltd., 1993): 195. Among the first papers received, according to a 1947 letter of Lawrence Heyl, were “the steel filing case of papers, the folders and envelopes also containing papers, and hundreds of volumes of printed books.” Heyl to Biggs, 2 July 1947. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18.

<sup>35</sup> On 6 February 1941, Frances Kroll wrote to Biggs and included a list of Fitzgerald’s financial assets and personal artifacts that she was turning over to the estate. Among them were “Various keys, 13 in number.” Biggs Collection, box 3, folder 11. Kroll is probably referring to a black leather purse containing a dozen keys of various sorts, today kept in the Fitzgerald Papers, box 57, folder 1. Included are several house or apartment keys and other small keys appropriate for trunks, filing cabinets, suitcases, and furnishings. One of the small keys is attached to a tag on which Fitzgerald has written “New Suitcase” and “Black Suitcase.” Alexander P. Clark, Curator of Manuscripts, added a note dated 2 September 1970: “This purse and these keys were Scott Fitzgerald’s. They were in the Library on my arrival for work, June, 1949.”

<sup>36</sup> Check Ledger. Biggs Collection, box 9, folder 9.

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Sons rare book department, in the Scribner Building.<sup>37</sup> Princeton was quick to express its interest in acquiring the manuscripts, initially in the form of a March query from the American poet Allen Tate (1899–1979), who was then serving as Poet in Residence at the university, 1939–1942. Maxwell Perkins responded to Tate’s query about Fitzgerald’s manuscripts but could offer no information other than about the unfinished novel.<sup>38</sup> On 1 May 1941, Julian P. Boyd (1903–1980), the University Librarian at Princeton, wrote to Judge Biggs to express the Library’s interest in the Fitzgerald Papers. Biggs responded on 4 May 1941: “There is a great deal of his stuff already in my possession but there is some more in Baltimore and some is being sent from the West Coast.”<sup>39</sup>

Julian Boyd’s letter to Biggs (1 May 1941) mentions the Archives of American Letters, an ambitious Library initiative focused on modern literature. It had an impressive advisory committee of authors, editors, critics, and scholars, including Princeton faculty and alumni, whose papers are now preserved in the Manuscripts Division.<sup>40</sup> The Archives were to be the first step in a broader effort known as The Archives of American Civilization, which aimed to acquire “the records that serve to illuminate and document the

<sup>37</sup> Matthew J. Bruccoli, “Where They Belong: The Acquisition of the F. Scott Fitzgerald Papers,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 50 (1988): 33.

<sup>38</sup> Perkins to Tate, 2 April 1941. Archives of Charles Scribner’s Sons, box 340, folder 2: “I have been in communication with John Biggs, Scott Fitzgerald’s executor, about the manuscripts. So far we don’t exactly know what there may be beyond the manuscript of the unfinished novel. But our own rare books and manuscript department believes that they might prevail upon some Princeton man to buy that, and any other manuscripts, for the sake of presenting them to the Princeton Library. I can’t go further into the matter though until I hear more definitely from John what other manuscripts exist.”

<sup>39</sup> Biggs to Boyd, 4 May 1941. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18.

<sup>40</sup> Julian P. Boyd, “The Princeton Archives of American Letters: A Program to Meet an Obligation to Future Historians,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 2 (June 1941): 133–36; also “Archives,” “Committee,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 42 (10 October 1941): 5. The advisory committee had twenty-two members and was chaired by author John Peale Bishop (Princeton Class of 1917), Fitzgerald’s friend and classmate. Among the other members were R. P. Blackmur, James Boyd (Class of 1910), Struthers Burt (Class of 1904), H. L. Mencken, Maxwell Perkins, Booth Tarkington (Class of 1893), Allen Tate, and Ridgeley Torrence (Class of 1897).

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contemporary American scene.”<sup>41</sup> The Archives of American Letters was related to the evolving research interests and instructional needs of the Department of English. Like other leading American departments in the 1930s and 1940s, the Department of English at Princeton showed a growing interest in American literature. This in turn gave impetus to the collection of authors’ papers and publishing archives. A key figure at Princeton was Willard Thorp (1899–1990), who since 1926 had taught English literature and in 1940 was co-creator of Princeton’s first American literature graduate course, in collaboration with Lawrance Thompson (1906–1973), the Library’s Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts, 1937–1942, and a professor of English, 1939–1968. In 1942, Thorp founded the Program in American Studies and was at work on the landmark *Literary History of the United States*.<sup>42</sup> Thorp advised Boyd on literary archives and from 1945 was involved in negotiations for the Fitzgerald Papers.<sup>43</sup> Thorp wanted them in the Archives of American Letters because they would support study of “the dominant literary movements of the 1920’s and 1930’s” and serve as a “magnet to draw files of correspondence which would otherwise be dispersed to collectors and eventually many other libraries.”<sup>44</sup> At the same time, Princeton’s interest in the papers had an element of local pride; Fitzgerald was one of the university’s best-known graduates. On 11 June 1945, Boyd reminded Biggs, “Princeton, so I think you and all others will agree, is the proper repository for Fitzgerald’s papers. It is the center for the study of his importance

<sup>41</sup> A typed card file for manuscript storage locations at Pyne Library, kept from around 1941 to 1948, described the Archives of American Letters as containing “correspondence, manuscripts or typescripts, galley and page proof of writings of recent American Authors in every field, including radio and movie scripts; any materials relating to Modern American authors.”

<sup>42</sup> Kermit Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy: The Roots, Growth, and Maturity of a Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986): 428, 430, 441–43. *Literary History of the United States*, ed. Robert E. Spiller, et al., 3 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1948). At Pyne Library, Lawrance Thompson had responsibility for the literary manuscripts and archives acquired through The Archives of American Letters.

<sup>43</sup> Brucoli, “Where They Belong,” 55–56.

<sup>44</sup> Thorp to Boyd, 24 August 1945. Princeton University Library Records, box 169, folder 2.



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in modern literary history. Most of the critics, notably [Edmund] Wilson, who have appreciated Fitzgerald's importance are Princeton men."<sup>45</sup> Biggs himself firmly believed that the papers belonged at the Library because "Fitzgerald was a Princeton man."<sup>46</sup>

On 27 March 1942, Biggs told Zelda and Scottie that David A. Randall had examined and appraised the Fitzgerald manuscripts and books that Biggs had moved to his mother's house in Wilmington.<sup>47</sup> This information was not immediately shared with Princeton. Boyd wrote to Biggs on 22 January 1943, reminding him that the Library still had not received an inventory of Fitzgerald's papers. Two days later, Biggs responded, saying that he would soon ship to Princeton "all the Fitzgerald manuscripts, books and library, except those papers which deal with Mrs. Fitzgerald's illness."<sup>48</sup> Biggs paid the Security Storage Company, of Wilmington, to move the Fitzgerald papers and books from the third floor and basement to the main floor of his mother's house in order to facilitate prepaid shipment to Princeton by the Railway Express Company. Sixteen cases and one crate of papers and books were delivered to Pyne Library in several lots, the final one arriving by truck on 14 February 1943.<sup>49</sup> Boyd wrote to Biggs on 1 March 1943: "We have unpacked the Fitzgerald books and manuscripts and have spent a good bit of time classifying and arranging them. The collection is certainly interesting and we should like to purchase it."

The Fitzgerald Papers came to the Princeton University Library in separate shipments, the first of which included the four-drawer

<sup>45</sup> Boyd to Biggs, 11 June 1945. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18.

<sup>46</sup> Biggs to Boyd, 30 April 1945. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18.

<sup>47</sup> Bruccoli, "Where They Belong," 33; David A. Randall, *Dukedom Large Enough* (New York: Random House, 1965): 254.

<sup>48</sup> Biggs to Boyd, 24 January 1943. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18.

<sup>49</sup> The payment to the Security Storage Company on 16 February 1943 is recorded in Judge Biggs's Check Ledger. Biggs Collection, box 9, folder 9. On 15 February 1943, Associate Librarian Lawrence Heyl complained to the Princeton office of the Railway Express Agency that on 14 February "three wooden boxes which had been ripped open in transit so that volumes which had come out of those boxes were turned over to us separately from the boxes themselves." Princeton University Library Records, box 169, folder 1.

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steel filing cabinet, along with assorted folders and packages of papers.<sup>50</sup> These were supplemented by the author’s library of first editions of his own works, as well as annotated and inscribed books. Papers not in the filing cabinet were put into thirteen blue boxes, the first ten of which were numbered.<sup>51</sup> Lawrence Heyl, who had joined the Library staff in 1920, rising to Associate University Librarian in 1940, confirmed their deposit status in a letter to Judge Biggs, dated 2 July 1947.<sup>52</sup> Heyl also mentioned having just received “three cartons which contain the Scott Fitzgerald papers examined some time ago by Mr. Arthur Mizener.” While on deposit at Pyne Library, no record was made for the Fitzgerald Papers in the handwritten register of deposits or typed locator card file for manuscript collections.<sup>53</sup>

The first overall inventory of the Fitzgerald Papers came in 1948 and complements the 1945 inventory of manuscripts. Lawrence Heyl offered a description of the papers in an interoffice memorandum of 19 November 1948. This inventory was based on a conversation with Arthur Mizener.<sup>54</sup> It lists the holograph of *The Great Gatsby* among the contents of blue boxes 1–10, and the corrected *Trimalchio* galleys in the filing cabinet’s third drawer. Manuscripts of *The Beautiful and Damned*, *Tender Is the Night*,

<sup>50</sup> Heyl to Biggs, 2 July 1947. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18. Kept with the Fitzgerald Papers, according to Heyl’s inventory, were “some of Arthur Mizener’s personal material,” a portion of which Henry Dan Piper had removed on Mizener’s behalf.

<sup>51</sup> These were probably the legal-size blue document boxes used in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections from the 1940s until the 1970s, when staff began replacing them with acid-free Hollinger-style archival boxes.

<sup>52</sup> Heyl to Biggs, 2 July 1947. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18.

<sup>53</sup> These internal records are currently housed within the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

<sup>54</sup> Heyl wrote, “Attached is a brief description of the F. Scott Fitzgerald Papers. I am also enclosing a typed statement I found in the filing cabinet. Mr. Mizener had it in a folder marked ‘Arrangement between Judge Biggs and Princeton.’” Fitzgerald Papers, Collection Files. Mizener offered a description in “The F. Scott Fitzgerald Papers,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 12 (1951): 190–95. A copy of this inventory had been filed by Alexander P. Clark, Curator of Manuscripts since June 1949, after the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections had moved to the new Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library.

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and *The Last Tycoon* are also in boxes 1–10. Heyl notes that the holograph and the *Trimalchio* galleys were part of the first batch of papers from Judge Biggs, which arrived in February 1943. The holograph, the corrected *Trimalchio* galleys, and most of the other surviving manuscripts were initially stored in the Treasure Room, on the second floor of Pyne Library, then Princeton’s main campus library. By 1947 they were in the Library’s Manuscripts Room.<sup>55</sup> At first, much of the Fitzgerald correspondence remained with Biggs, and by 1945 was in his Philadelphia office. The principal reason for hesitancy about moving the correspondence to Princeton was that Judge Biggs and Scottie were concerned about the sensitivity of letters relating to Zelda’s mental illness and hospitalization. This was an obstacle to negotiations for the papers.<sup>56</sup> But the correspondence was finally moved to the Library at the end of June 1947.<sup>57</sup>

From 1946, Arthur Mizener’s two Fitzgerald-related research projects gave impetus to the acquisition of the papers, including correspondence. Mizener was interested in preparing an edition of Fitzgerald’s short stories; more importantly he was beginning his research for the first full-length biography of the author, *The Far Side of Paradise*, which would be published by Houghton Mifflin in

<sup>55</sup> Pyne Library, which had opened in 1896, began running out of space in the 1920s. Plans had been underway from 1932 to replace Pyne Library with a new central campus library, which would have special facilities for growing collections of manuscripts and rare books. Construction plans were delayed by the Great Depression and the Second World War. For a brief overview of the history of the Princeton University Library in the twentieth century, see James Axtell, *The Making of Princeton University: From Woodrow Wilson to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006): 438–86 (esp. chap. 8: “The Bookish Heart”). Lawrance Thompson, then Curator of Special Collections, noted: “In early years the manuscripts had no special housing but they are now kept in the Treasure Room of the main library.” *Guide to the Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States: New Jersey* (Newark, N.J.: Historical Records Survey, 1941): 36.

<sup>56</sup> On 28 January 1945, Biggs wrote to Mizener, “I have in my office most of Fitzgerald’s correspondence. A very considerable portion of it deals with Mrs. Fitzgerald’s illness.” Biggs Collection, box 3, folder 18.

<sup>57</sup> Heyl to Biggs, 2 July 1947. Princeton University Library Records, box 169, folder 1.

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1951. Mizener's need for access to the Fitzgerald Papers reinforced the belief at Princeton that these original materials had immediate research value. Mizener received a Houghton Mifflin Fellowship, which gave him academic leave to conduct research with the Fitzgerald Papers at Princeton in the summer of 1947 and then during the spring semester and summer of 1948.<sup>58</sup> On 30 September 1947, Julian Boyd officially appointed Mizener "Curator of the Fitzgerald Manuscripts." Six months later, Julie Hudson, Curator of Special Collections, asked Mizener to work on an exhibition of the Fitzgerald Papers and an accompanying special issue of the *Princeton University Library Chronicle*.<sup>59</sup>

Matthew J. Bruccoli's account of the protracted efforts to negotiate a purchase agreement and price for the Fitzgerald Papers was much influenced by David A. Randall's self-serving narrative, in which he emphasized what he saw as Julian Boyd's lack of enthusiasm for the author's writing.<sup>60</sup> Archival documentation tells a different story. Julian Boyd worked tirelessly for a decade to acquire the Fitzgerald Papers, though he disagreed with Randall about the fair-market value of the papers and was disappointed by the initial exclusion of the author's correspondence.<sup>61</sup> Boyd's efforts to

<sup>58</sup> Mizener to Boyd, 13 February 1947; Boyd to Mizener, 12 May 1947: "Certainly this means that we must act immediately on the Fitzgerald manuscripts, for obviously your plans would be upset if the papers were not here when you arrived toward the end of June." Arthur Mizener Papers on F. Scott Fitzgerald (Co634), box 1, folder 4.

<sup>59</sup> Mizener to Biggs (carbon of typed letter), 5 March 1948. Arthur Mizener Papers, box 1, folder 4.

<sup>60</sup> Bruccoli, "Where They Belong," 33–37; Randall, *Dukedom Large Enough*, 253–59; especially p. 254. In addition to using Randall's published account, Bruccoli discussed the negotiations in person with Randall.

<sup>61</sup> Boyd to Biggs, 21 June 1945. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18. "As you know, I have always been interested in the permanent preservation of his correspondence files and memoranda. While his manuscripts will tell literary historians something about his techniques and methods of work, his correspondence with men of letters and others will be indispensable for future biographers and will be the most useful documentation for the literary history of Fitzgerald's era." Randall boasted about having tried to buy the Fitzgerald Papers for resale. Maxwell Perkins came to believe that Randall's involvement with the Fitzgerald Papers was a conflict of interest for Charles Scribner's Sons, as long as Randall was employed by the publishing house. Randall, *Dukedom Large Enough*, 244; Bruccoli, "Where They Belong," 32, n. 4.

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acquire the papers were also complicated by the Library's need to purchase the Kane Collection of rare books and manuscripts in 1946 from the heirs of Grenville Kane (1854–1943), of Tuxedo Park, New York, and then by Princeton University's fund-raising efforts, despite lean economic times, to build what would become the Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library and endow named spaces within it.

In the end, years of frustrating negotiations about a purchase price for the Fitzgerald Papers proved to be for naught. As a consequence of Zelda's tragic death in a fire on 10 March 1948, funds to pay for her hospitalization and treatment ceased to be an issue. Scottie became the sole owner of the papers, and Biggs's trusteeship ended. Meanwhile, Fitzgerald's posthumous literary revival and positive critical reassessment contributed to growing royalties, which made the valuation of the Fitzgerald Papers less critical. In 1949, Scottie agreed to a \$2,500 purchase price (approximately \$50,000 today). By January 1950, however, she had changed her mind and generously decided to donate the papers to the Library. The deed of gift was signed on 18 November 1950, and the gift was announced in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* (9 February 1951). The Fitzgerald Papers were moved in 1949 from Pyne Library to the Manuscripts Room and associated vault space in the new Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library, where they have directly or indirectly informed generations of Fitzgerald scholarship, and remain among the greatest treasures of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.<sup>62</sup>

John Biggs, Julian Boyd, Willard Thorp, Scottie Fitzgerald, and others played important roles in recognizing the importance of the Fitzgerald Papers and guiding them to the Princeton University Library, where they soon became the center of a much larger archival foundation for Fitzgerald studies. But this outcome would not have been possible without the author's own efforts to preserve and

<sup>62</sup> Julian P. Boyd, "The Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 47 (24 January 1947): 6. In this article Boyd describes the location and purpose of the Manuscripts Room.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-42680-0 — The Great Gatsby

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organize his manuscripts and other papers.<sup>63</sup> Fitzgerald's own life provided much of the raw material for his novels and short stories. His was a life self-chronicled in the *Ledger*, scrapbooks, and autobiographical writings. Evidence that Fitzgerald managed to preserve the holograph of *The Great Gatsby*, along with his most significant manuscripts and other papers, underscores Judge Biggs's hopeful assessment of the Fitzgerald Papers, five months after the author's death: "His almost complete literary life I think has been saved, collected by his own hands."<sup>64</sup>

D.C.S.

<sup>63</sup> Fitzgerald personally labeled several of the original legal-size file folders in which his papers arrived in the Library. These are in the F. Scott Fitzgerald Additional Papers (Co188), box 19.

<sup>64</sup> Biggs to Boyd, 4 May 1941. Biggs Collection, box 4, folder 18.

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### A NOTE ON THE TEXT

The text presented in this edition is a faithful transcription, with Fitzgerald's uncorrected spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and word division reproduced, and with a minimum of editorial commentary and apparatus. Fitzgerald's paragraphing and indentations have been followed. Directions to typists are followed but are not transcribed into the text. In this edition, line breaks are not identical to those in the holograph; hyphenated words at the end of lines are not the author's but are rather part of the typesetting process. The page numbers (all of them in Fitzgerald's hand) are given within square brackets. No *sic* references are employed; no attempt is made to supply missing words and letters; only final readings are given. Cancellations and substitutions, revised sentences, and added readings can be studied most successfully on the digital images of the original holograph leaves, available online from the Princeton University Library.