Dust jacket, front panel and spine, in situ in Fitzgerald’s scrapbook for *The Great Gatsby*. Princeton University Library.
THE GREAT GATSBY
A Variorum Edition
* * *
F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

Edited by
JAMES L. W. WEST III
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Many of the copies of *The Great Gatsby* used to reconstruct the history of the text are housed in the Fitzgerald Collection at the Eberly Family Special Collections Library at Pennsylvania State University. I thank Athena Jackson, former Head of Special Collections, and Sandra K. Stelts, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts Emeritus, for their support in assembling this collection; special thanks to Rachael Dreyer, Head of Research Services, for help with illustrations. Other copies of the novel examined for this edition are in the Matthew J. and Arlyn Brucoli Collection of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of South Carolina. I am indebted to the director, Elizabeth Sudduth, and to her staff for access.

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viii  Acknowledgments

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J.L.W.W. III
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(Beginning on p. 245)


1. Page 6, Fitzgerald’s marked copy, with revisions in his hand.
2. Page 70, Fitzgerald’s marked copy, with his revisions.
3. Page 218, Fitzgerald’s marked copy, with “orgastic” at line 12.
5. Page 60, first edition, second impression, with “echolalia” at line 16.
8. Page 217 of Scribner 1941, with “said” for “sid” at line 24.
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INTRODUCTION

This volume of The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald is the eighteenth and final volume in the series, bringing to a close an editorial project that began more than thirty years ago. This volume is a variorum edition of The Great Gatsby (1925), Fitzgerald’s masterpiece. The variorum text is based on multiple witnesses. These include the extant holograph of the novel and Fitzgerald’s revised galley proofs, both of which are housed among his papers at Princeton University Library. The text is based also on the first edition, and on collation and examination of multiple subsequent editions, sub-editions, and impressions of the novel issued by American, British, and Canadian publishers. A further source is Fitzgerald’s personal copy of the novel, a first impression of the first edition into which he has marked corrections and revisions. This copy is also among his papers at Princeton.

The aim of the variorum is twofold: to set forth the textual history of The Great Gatsby after its first publication, and to provide an authoritative text for teachers, scholars, critics, and readers. Since 1941 editors have attempted to improve the text of The Great Gatsby. The results have been mixed. It has been my intention to give control of the text back to Fitzgerald.

This investigation has uncovered no variants upon which the interpretation of the novel pivots. There are instances of over-correction to be found in some of the editions; there are many examples of textual deterioration from typesetting to typesetting. There are, however, no erroneous readings which, when emended, will bring about a reversal of previous interpretations of the text. Some emendation has been necessary to create the variorum text, but the changes that have been made should be likened to the stabilization, cleaning, and restoration of a work of art that has deteriorated over time, not to a full-scale intervention that alters that work in a significant way.
Introduction

Much attention has been devoted to the composition of *The Great Gatsby*. Scholars have traced the development of the novel from Fitzgerald’s initial handwritten drafts through typescript and proof versions and into print. Fitzgerald began work on the novel in the late spring of 1922. In a letter dated 20 June to Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Charles Scribner’s Sons, he envisioned a story with a “catholic element,” set in “the middle west and New York of 1885.” Fitzgerald set down a partial draft of this narrative in 1922 and 1923 but was not satisfied with what he had produced. He scrapped the material, salvaging only a short story called “Absolution,” which he published in *The American Mercury* in June 1924. Fitzgerald reconceived the novel in the spring of that year, setting it now in a fictional version of Great Neck, Long Island, where he and his wife and daughter were living. He continued to work on the novel in France during that summer and fall, composing the remainder of the narrative in holograph draft. Working with hired typists (he himself could not type), Fitzgerald put the text through two and perhaps three typescripts, each of which he revised. On 27 October he placed a final typescript of the novel in the transatlantic mail to Perkins.

The text was typeset at the Scribner Press on West 43rd Street. Galley proofs were pulled; two sets were mailed to Fitzgerald in late December 1924. Partly in reaction to suggestions from Perkins and partly on his own, Fitzgerald virtually rewrote the novel in these galleys. He moved material about, changed the order of chapters, cancelled passages, invented new dialogue, wrote additional paragraphs of description, and brought his prose to a high polish. In this revision Fitzgerald turned a sharp, well-written

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novel of manners (the version he had sent initially to Perkins) into a near-perfect work of art.

Perkins and his colleagues did a commendable job of producing the book. Fitzgerald was abroad; they were on their own. Page proofs were generated, but there was not enough time before publication to send them to Fitzgerald for a final check. Perkins was communicating with Fitzgerald via transatlantic mail and cable; Fitzgerald was sending additional revisions until shortly before the day of publication. The text of the finished book was not without typographical flaws, but there were no major errors.

The Great Gatsby was published by Scribner on 10 April 1925. Most of the reviews were positive. Sales, however, were disappointing. The novel sold through its first impression of 20,870 copies and was reprinted, in August 1925, in a small second impression of 3,000 copies. These sufficed at Scribner for the next sixteen years. The book was a backlist title with a small readership during the late 1920s and the 1930s. By the end of that decade its sales had all but ceased. Fitzgerald’s last royalty statement from Scribner during his lifetime, dated 1 August 1940, reports the sale of seven copies of The Great Gatsby during the preceding twelve months. Total royalties for all of his novels during that period amounted to $13.13.3

Fitzgerald died on 21 December 1940. Ten months later, in October 1941, Scribner published a new edition of The Great Gatsby in a volume that also included The Last Tycoon (the novel upon which Fitzgerald had been working at his death) and five of his best short stories. This 1941 edition was edited by Fitzgerald’s friend and fellow Princetonian Edmund Wilson, a prominent author and critic. Wilson altered the text significantly; the changes are detailed later in this introduction. New attention was brought to The Great Gatsby by Wilson’s edition, and the reputation of the novel grew over the years that followed. The Great Gatsby won a following among teachers and readers and, over time, became a classic work of American literature. It is probably the most widely

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read novel written by an American author in the twentieth century. The text of such a literary work deserves close study.

I. EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES

This is an intentionalist edition. Its text is eclectic, with readings drawn from several sources: the holograph, the working galley proofs, the second impression of the first edition, and Fitzgerald’s personal copy of the novel. The variorum text is a critical construction, meant to capture Fitzgerald’s intentions and expectations for the novel.

No copy-text has been declared. The base text is the first impression of the Scribner first edition. Besides regularizations, this base text has been emended ninety-eight times. Seventy-seven of these emendations have been made on Fitzgerald’s authority; the emendations have been taken from his holograph, or from his marked galleys, or from his personal copy of the novel. Twenty emendations have been made by the editor. Except for one emendation in wording (the addition of the word “at” at 26.13), these editorial emendations are corrections of misspellings or adjustments in capitalization and punctuation. One emendation, a correction in spelling, appeared first in the 1926 Chatto & Windus sub-edition of the novel. Each emendation to the base text has been recorded at the foot of the page on which the emendation occurs. Sources for emendations are given in italics. Regularizations are recorded in the apparatus.

Quasi-British house styling, employed in the Scribner first edition, has been altered or removed. Many American publishers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries imposed some version of the “Oxford Style” of spelling, punctuation, and word division on their texts. This style, a modified system of British orthography and pointing, made it possible for an American firm to ship flat sheets or duplicate plates to England, where British publishers would produce bound stock for the market there. One encounters the Oxford Style not only in texts published by Scribner
authors (Hemingway, for example) but in the American editions of many other writers of the period—Theodore Dreiser, Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, and Sherwood Anderson among them. The Oxford Style is alien to Fitzgerald’s prose. Such forms as “centre,” “to-day,” “up-stairs,” “week-end,” “defence,” and “criticising” have been replaced by the American forms found in his manuscripts: “center,” “today,” “upstairs,” “weekend,” “defense,” and “criticizing.” The word “theatre” is an exception: Fitzgerald always used the British spelling, which is accordingly employed in the variorum text. He favored the double-l forms (e.g., “marvelled” at 132.2); these have been carried over from the first edition. He sometimes wrote “grey” and at other times wrote “gray.” The variorum regularizes to “gray,” the spelling found in the first edition.

Some of the dialogue in the first edition has been mis-punctuated. For example, the text reads as follows at 13.9–10:

“I’m stiff,” she complained, “I’ve been lying on that sofa for as long as I can remember.”

For the variorum, the comma following the verb (“complained,” in this example) has been emended to a period. When necessary, the first word of the second clause has been capitalized. Emendations to similar constructions have been made throughout the variorum.

Fitzgerald reserved italics for dialogue; thus titles of books, magazines, newspapers, and popular songs have been rendered in the variorum as they were in the first edition, in roman type and, for books, songs, and musical compositions, within quotation marks. Dates, sums of money, and other numbers follow the styling of the first edition. The words “East,” “West,” and “Middle West,” which carry symbolic weight in the novel, were capitalized in the first edition and are likewise capitalized here. Cross-streets in New York City are spelled out if below 100 and given in numerals if

* Unless otherwise indicated, all page-line references are to the variorum text.
above 100. “Park” (Central Park), “Sound” (Long Island Sound), “North Shore” (of Lake Michigan), and “Lower East Side” (of Manhattan) are capitalized, as is the fictional “West Egg Village.” The words “armistice” and “negro,” not capitalized in the first edition, are given in lower case in the variorum text. Words that pertain to the telephone, e.g., “Long Distance,” “Central,” and “Information,” are capitalized. Exclamation marks and question marks that follow italicized words are italicized in the first edition, a practice followed in the variorum. Ellipsis points are identical to those found in Scribner 1925. Spellings of the names of Gatsby’s guests (e.g., “Claud” at 56.7 and “Russel” at 73.12) have not been altered. The misspelling “Vladmir” at 60.19 and 60.26 has been corrected to “Vladimir.” Tom Buchanan’s “God Damn” and “God Damned” from holograph and galleys are adopted for the variorum. The length of dashes (one-em or two-em) has been preserved from the first edition. End-of-line hyphenations are given in the apparatus.

2. CHRONOLOGY

The events of the novel occur between early June and early September of 1922. There are inconsistencies in the chronology, but they are not apparent to the reader. Time signals are general, and terms for the seasons and the passage of years are imprecise. There is fictional time in June and July of 1922 in which little seems to happen; perhaps as a result, much action is crowded into August. Other than the age of Tom and Daisy’s child, treated below in “Cruxes,” there are no readings involving chronology that might require emendation. Fitzgerald has provided a consistent chronological structure for readers: Tom and Daisy are married in June 1919; their child is born in April 1920; Nick’s railroad timetable is dated “July 5th, 1922”; Gatsby’s funeral takes place in early September 1922. It has not been necessary to emend the chronology of the novel for the variorum text.  

5 For remarks about chronology in other writings by Fitzgerald, see James L. W. West III, “The Internal Chronology of Tender Is the Night,” Papers of the
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3. FACTUAL ACCURACY

The Great Gatsby is a work of fiction. No attempt has been made to correct errors in fact or geography in the text. Fitzgerald was a romantic fabulist, not a realist; his writings do not need to be absolutely congruent with reality.

At least three readings that involve factual accuracy are present in the novel. At 27.19–20, in the passage describing the valley of ashes, Fitzgerald writes: “The eyes of Doctor T. J. Eckleburg are blue and gigantic—their retinas are one yard high.” The retina is at the back of the eyeball; it would not be visible in the painted rendering on the billboard. A possible emendation would be “irises” for “retinas,” made on the assumption that Fitzgerald did not know the meaning of “retina.” No emendation has been made for the variorum.

In Chapter II, in the scene in Tom and Myrtle’s apartment, Nick tells the reader: “I wanted to get out and walk eastward toward the Park through the soft twilight” (43.1–2). The apartment is on West 158th Street. The northern boundary of Central Park is at 110th Street. Anyone walking “toward” Central Park from the apartment would have to proceed, for quite a long distance, both eastward and southward. An emendation to “southward” or to “southeast” is possible here, or the word “eastward” might be deleted. The variorum text has not been altered.

At 82.2 and 150.4, Nick speaks of the neighborhood of Astoria during two automobile journeys, one from Long Island to Manhattan and one from Manhattan back to Long Island. The Queensboro Bridge, over which he travels both times, begins in


4 In the first sentence of “The Offshore Pirate,” a story that Fitzgerald published in the Saturday Evening Post in February 1920, he uses “irises” correctly: “This unlikely story begins on a sea that was a blue dream, as colorful as blue silk stockings, and beneath a sky as blue as the irises of children’s eyes”—quoted from the text of the story in Flappers and Philosophers, ed. James L. W. West III (Cambridge University Press, 2000): 5.
Long Island City, not Astoria. An emendation to “Long Island City” might be made in the two readings but does not seem imperative. Nick would pass through or near Astoria on the way to Manhattan and on a return journey back to Long Island. No emendation has been made in the variorum text.

The author Ring Lardner read *The Great Gatsby* in page proof and gave a list of “errata” to Perkins. The list survives in the Scribner archives at Princeton. Lardner also sent these suggested corrections to Fitzgerald in a letter dated 24 March 1925. Lardner pointed out to Perkins and Fitzgerald that there were no tides in Lake Superior, as Fitzgerald had suggested in Chapter VI. While the text was in proof, Perkins emended to “wind” at 118.10, and Fitzgerald made no objection. In the last paragraph of Chapter II, Fitzgerald had referred to “the cold lower level of the Pennsylvania Station” (46.1–2). Earlier in that chapter, on p. 31, he had mentioned a newsstand on the lower level of the station. Lardner maintained that there was no lower level in Penn Station, but there was in fact a waiting room and ticket office for the Long Island Railroad (which Nick and the other characters from East Egg and West Egg would be using) below the 33rd Street level of the terminal. Fitzgerald did not ask Perkins for an alteration, nor did he mark a change in his personal copy. No emendation has been made. In Chapter IX, Fitzgerald had trains on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul line running out of La Salle Street Station in Chicago. Lardner remembered that those trains ran from Union Station in the city. Perkins changed the text to “Union Street station” at 211.8–9 for the first impression; Fitzgerald had the reading altered to “Union Station” for the second impression. Lardner wrote to Fitzgerald about changing “Astoria” to “Long Island City,” but Fitzgerald took no action and marked no alterations into his personal copy. No changes in those readings were made for the second impression, and no emendations have been made for the variorum.

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8 Perkins and Fitzgerald corresponded about these readings; see Perkins to Fitzgerald, 19 March 1925, and Fitzgerald to Perkins, 10 April 1925, Dear Scott/Dear Max, 97, 99–100.
4. DUST JACKET

In a letter written to Perkins ca. 25 August 1924 from Saint-Raphaël, France, Fitzgerald asked that a drawing or painting he had seen in the Scribner offices before departing for Europe be reserved for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. “For Christs sake don’t give anyone that jacket you’re saving for me. I’ve written it into the book” (*Dear Scott/Dear Max*, 76). The painting that was eventually used was a gouache on paper by the artist Francis Cugat depicting a woman’s eyes hovering over an amusement-park scene. The painting is now at Princeton University Library. Fitzgerald’s remark that he has “written it into the book” has puzzled critics and biographers. Possibly he took the inspiration for the eyes of Doctor T. J. Eckleburg and the “disembodied face” of the girl at IV. 97.4–5 from the painting or drawing.9 The dust jacket for *The Great Gatsby* has become one of the best-known book jackets in twentieth-century American literature. Images of the jacket, in color, are widely available on the internet. The front panel and spine of the jacket can be viewed—in situ, on p. 4 of Fitzgerald’s scrapbook for *The Great Gatsby*—on the website of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

5. WITNESSES

The surviving holograph of *The Great Gatsby* has enabled scholars and critics to trace the compositional history of the novel and to study the development of Fitzgerald’s characters and plot.10

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9 Trial drawings and one painting for the jacket are in the Bruccoli Collection at the University of South Carolina. It is possible that Fitzgerald is referring to a trial drawing in his letter to Perkins and not to the finished painting that Scribner finally used for the jacket. See Charles Scribner III, “Celestial Eyes: From Metamorphosis to Masterpiece,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 53 (Winter 1992): 140–55.

The holograph, however, is not a fair copy. It does not represent Fitzgerald's final or even intermediate intentions. The holograph is a conflation of at least two handwritten versions; many of the pages are first drafts, inscribed rapidly. The entire holograph is filled with errors in spelling and punctuation. Fitzgerald's typist(s) produced an initial typescript from the holograph; as mentioned above, Fitzgerald revised this first typescript and put the novel through a second typescript and perhaps a third before arriving at a version that he was satisfied to send to Perkins. The version represented by this final typescript would be quite valuable to an editor, but it is not extant. The missing typescript must of necessity have served as setting copy for the Scribner compositors; it was probably discarded once the novel was in print. The surviving holograph is useful in resolving certain readings and cruxes, but its authority is limited.

Likewise with the revised galleys proofs. Fitzgerald saved these galleys and kept them among his literary papers until his death. They are, however, his working galleys. The final galleys, on which Fitzgerald made additional revisions, and on which he might have omitted revisions marked on the working galleys, were sent to Perkins and used at Scribner to correct the standing type. The final galleys, like the setting-copy typescript, do not survive. Likely they were discarded after the novel was published. Fitzgerald's working galleys are helpful for reference, but these galleys have limited textual authority.12


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Fitzgerald’s personal copy of the novel, a first impression of Scribner 1925, bears his handwritten revisions but has been marked also in other hands. The revisions by Fitzgerald (all in black pencil, now faded) do not appear to have been made at one time. Rather, they were likely made over a period of years during several readings of the text, perhaps in anticipation of a second edition of the novel—but this cannot be known. Certain of the alterations are trial markings; Fitzgerald seems to have been testing revisions against his ear. Some of the markings indicate repetition or near-repetition of words, but unless Fitzgerald supplied a revision no emendation has been made. Fitzgerald’s revisions are recorded below, with the reading from the first impression given before the bracket and the revised reading after the bracket.13

6.6 wonder [ confusion
6.7 interesting [ arresting
18.21 I began [ I said
27.9 ash-gray men [ men
28.4 days, [ days
28.15 cafés [ restaurant
30.10 her flesh [ her surplus flesh
33.14 Avenue, warm [ Avenue, so warm
33.15 afternoon. I [ afternoon that I
35.8 both disappeared [ disappeared
42.12 expected no affection [ had played no part in her past
42.17 out: ‘Oh [ out: She looked around to see who was listening ‘Oh
43.8 saw him [ was him
48.21 bobbed [ shorn
50.1–2 an amusement park [ amusement parks
57.18 First [ 3d
57.19 Twenty-eighth Infantry [ 9th Machine Gun Battallion
57.21 Sixteenth [ 7th Infantry
58.22 eternal [ external
70.2 lined five [ five
70.6 cigarettes made [ cigarettes outlined

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70.7 circles [gestures
76.25 work in [work or rigid sitting in
79.17 the remains of my machine-gun battalion [two machine-gun detachments
84.16 Metropole.” [Metropole. See “Cruxes,” p. xxiv.
91.28 Muhlbach [Sealbach See “Cruxes,” p. xxiv.
95.21 he’s regular [he’s a regular
99.17 looked down [looked
107.9 while willing, even eager, [while occasionally willing
107.17 the large [a large
116.13 can store [will store
153.14 added. [added, as if she might have sounded irreverently
165.12 Mavromichaelis [michaelis See “Cruxes,” p. xxiv.
165.25 ripped a little [ripped
166.18 metal [wire
198.17 though [as
198.19 shocked [unmoved

Other markings in Fitzgerald’s copy include the following:

44.17 spot [remains of The hand is not Fitzgerald’s.
62.17 The word “again” is underlined (not struck out) and circled, with a question-mark in the margin. These markings cannot be identified as Fitzgerald’s.
94.24 children [little girls The hand is not Fitzgerald’s.
120.11 property of the turgid journalism [knowledge to the turgid sub or suppressed journalism Fitzgerald appears to be trying out alternate wordings.
121.8 Boston] Boston to do her stuff (?) The question-mark, in Fitzgerald’s hand, indicates doubt.
130.25 they are [they’re (note on back cover) m.c. The emendation, in blue ball-point pen, is in the hand of the editor Malcolm Cowley, who identifies himself by placing his initials on this page. Cowley also notes the change on the rear paste-down endpaper. Daisy speaks her sentence here “with an effort”—hence the stiffness of “they are.” Cowley emends to “they’re” in his 1953 text of the novel. No emendation has been made for the variorum.
218.12 orgastic A vertical bar (not the letter “i”) has been inserted in black pencil between the “g” and the “a” of this word. The hand cannot be identified. See the comment below in “Cruxes”; see also Illustration 3.

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6. CRUXES

Title: Fitzgerald was never entirely satisfied with the title of his novel. He considered several possibilities during composition: “Among the Ash Heaps and Millionaires,” “Gold-Hatted Gatsby,” “Trimalchio,” “Trimalchio in West Egg,” “The High-Bouncing Lover,” and “On the Road to West Egg.” On 19 March 1925, three weeks before publication, he sent this cable to Perkins: “CRAZY ABOUT TITLE UNDER THE RED WHITE AND BLUE STOP WHART WOULD DELAY BE.” Perkins cabled back on 20 March: “Advertised and sold for April tenth publication. Change suggested would mean some weeks delay, very great psychological damage. Think irony is far more effective under less leading title. Everyone likes present title. Urge we keep it.” Fitzgerald conceded in a cable dated 22 March: “YOURE RIGHT.” Fitzgerald’s 19 March cable is not a direct order to Perkins to change the title. There is no reason to contemplate a change in the title of the novel for the variorum.

12.13 She’s three years old. This scene occurs in June 1922. Tom and Daisy were married in June 1919. According to Jordan their child was born ten months later, in April 1920. Daisy’s daughter must therefore be only two years old. A possible explanation: in the holograph, Fitzgerald set the action of the novel later, and “three” was correct in that time scheme. It is also possible that the mistake was a deliberate error by Fitzgerald to show confusion by Daisy. See the discussion below of “Biloxi, Tennessee” at 153.8–9 of the text. No emendation has been made for the variorum.

20.2–3 this fifth guest’s shrill metallic urgency Strictly speaking, only two guests are present at table—Jordan and Nick. The intrusive caller would be the third guest, not the fifth. No change has been

Fitzgerald’s first cable is facsimiled in Correspondence of F. Scott Fitzgerald, 153. Perkins’s response (a typed draft) and Fitzgerald’s second cable are preserved in the Scribner archives at Princeton and were first published in the 1991 Cambridge edition of The Great Gatsby, pp. 207–208.
made for the variorum text. Possible emendations are “this third guest’s,” “this extra guest’s,” “this fifth person’s,” or “this caller’s.”

84.15 “What place is that?” I asked Gatsby. Nick speaks this line. In the holograph Gatsby’s name appears after “asked,” but in the first edition Gatsby’s name is missing. The line ends with “asked.” This creates confusion over who speaks the words in the next line, which is indented to indicate a different speaker. In its entirety this line reads: “The old Metropole.” Is the speaker Gatsby or Wolfshiem? It is Wolfshiem who speaks the line after that and the rest of the paragraph that follows. Fitzgerald noticed the difficulty in the first-edition text and deleted the quotation marks after the first “Metropole” in his personal copy, giving the line to Wolfshiem, but this is incorrect. The solution is to restore Gatsby’s name from the holograph to line 15. Gatsby seems to have heard this story before. His answer (“The old Metropole.”) prompts Wolfshiem to repeat those words and to begin telling his story in the paragraph that follows. The restoration of Gatsby’s name from the holograph clears up this confusion; the emendation has been made for the variorum text.

91.28 Seelbach The reading in all impressions of the first edition is “Muhlbach Hotel.” Fitzgerald was probably confusing the Muehlebach Hotel in Kansas City with the Seelbach Hotel in Louisville, which would have been a proper venue for Daisy and Tom’s wedding. He marked the correction in his personal copy of The Great Gatsby but spelled the hotel name “Sealbach.” The variorum emends to “Seelbach.” Fitzgerald was stationed briefly at Fort Zachary Taylor in Louisville during the First World War and would have been familiar with the Seelbach Hotel. Camp Taylor is mentioned elsewhere in the novel (177.25) as the training camp at which Gatsby was stationed when he courted Daisy.

152.28–29 the portentous chords of Mendelssohn’s Wedding March The question here is whether the wedding ceremony in the

Plaza ballroom is beginning or ending. On the following page, at 153.21–25, Nick tells the reader: “The music had died down as the ceremony began and now a long cheer floated in at the window, followed by intermittent cries of ‘Yea—ea—ea!’ and finally by a burst of jazz as the dancing began.” If the wedding ceremony is beginning, the proper music would not be Mendelssohn’s “Wedding March” but the “Bridal Chorus” from Wagner’s Lohengrin, a piece of processional music which most readers think of as “Here comes the bride.” Mendelssohn’s “Wedding March” is from the composer’s incidental music for A Midsummer Night’s Dream and is usually played as a recessional, at the end of a wedding.

The reference is important. Tom and Daisy, whose marriage is broken, are reminded by Mendelssohn’s “portentous” music of their own elaborate wedding in her home town of Louisville three years before. They reminisce about some of the wedding guests, including the freeloader “Blocks” Biloxi, and later talk about their honeymoon. Jordan, who was a bridesmaid in the wedding, joins in the conversation. Gatsby is excluded and becomes impatient. He wants Daisy to renounce her marriage to Tom, to pretend that the wedding never occurred, to divorce Tom, and to marry him in her family’s house in Louisville—to “repeat the past” and have it come out as he desires.

Does Nick have the wrong composer and the wrong piece of music? Is he (and, by implication, Fitzgerald) thinking of Wagner? Should “Mendelssohn’s Wedding March” on p. 152 be emended to “Wagner’s Bridal Chorus”? Probably not. It is the pacing of the scene that is at issue. The musicians cannot start playing jazz shortly after the ceremony has begun. There must be time for the processional, the vows, and the recessional. But if the ceremony is ending, then Mendelssohn is appropriate, and the jazz can begin shortly after that. No emendation has been made in the variorum, but a possible action is to emend “began” to “ended” at 153.21. Mendelssohn would then be the correct composer on the previous page.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^\text{16}\) In the holograph, on folio 134 of Chapter VI, the typist has placed an X-mark in the left margin beside the composer’s name. The typist is probably calling attention to a misspelling, “Mendelsohn” instead of “Mendelssohn.”
he was from Biloxi, Tennessee The city of Biloxi is in Mississippi, not Tennessee. Some editions emend to “Mississippi” here, but no emendation has been made in the variorum text. Daisy is upset, her mind is elsewhere. She is attempting to steer the conversation away from her affair with Gatsby and to avoid a confrontation between her husband and her lover. As with “three years old” at 12.13, this might be a deliberate error by Fitzgerald.

“In the holograph, the “young Greek” who operates the diner near Wilson’s garage is named “Mavromichaelis.” Fitzgerald changed the name to “Michaelis” in a missing stage of typescript, but one instance of “Mavromichaelis” survived into the first edition, at 165.12. For the variorum text “Mavromichaelis” has been emended to “Michaelis.” (Fitzgerald marked this emendation into his copy.) There is a further problem, however, at 167.22–27. In this passage the policeman investigating the accident is attempting to write down the name “Mavromichaelis.” The owner of the diner, now named “Michaelis,” corrects the policeman’s mistakes in spelling, but the name being spelled is “Mavromichaelis,” a survival from the holograph. No emendation has been made for the variorum. The text of Scribner 1925 could be emended as follows in order to have the policeman write down the letters for “Michaelis”:

“M-i-k—” the policeman was saying, “—a——”
“No, c—” corrected the man, “M-i-c-h-a——”
“Listen to me!” muttered Tom fiercely.
“c—” said the policeman, “h——”
“a——”
“a—” He looked up as Tom’s broad hand fell sharply on his shoulder. “What you want, fella?”
“What happened?—that’s what I want to know.”

The holograph and galleys read “the leg of transept.” The word is incorrect: “transept” is an architectural term referring to either of the horizontal arms of the cross in a cruciform structure, commonly a church. Perkins emended to
“transit” (without adding the article “a”) for the first edition. A “transit” is a surveyor’s tool, mounted on a tripod, used to measure angles. Perkins explained his emendation to Fitzgerald in a letter dated 19 March 1925 (Dear Scott/Dear Max, 97). Fitzgerald answered on publication day, 10 April: “Transit will do fine though of course I really meant compass” (Dear Scott/Dear Max, 100). No change was made in the plates for the second impression. The article “a” has been added for the variorum text, which has been emended to “the leg of a compass” on the authority of Fitzgerald’s letter.

218.12 orgastic Edmund Wilson, the editor of the Scribner 1941 edition, emended this word to “orgastic.” Perkins, or perhaps another editor at Scribner, had questioned the reading in 1925, while the novel was in galley proofs. Fitzgerald responded in a letter to Perkins dated 24 January 1925: “‘Orgastic’ is the adjective from ‘orgasm’ and it expresses exactly the intended ecstasy. It’s not a bit dirty” (Dear Scott/Dear Max, 93). Wilson later admitted his mistake; in a letter dated 26 February 1965 he wrote to George M. Schieffelin at Scribner: “I ought to report to you an error I made in editing The Great Gatsby…. The word orgastic on the last page I took to be Scott’s mistake for orgiastic—he was very unreliable about words. But it appears from a letter to Max Perkins that he actually meant orgastic.”

7. SPACE BREAKS

The variorum text includes only the space breaks that are present in the Scribner 1925 first edition. Fitzgerald altered the position of space breaks between stages of composition. Some space breaks present in the holograph are not present in the working galleys; some space breaks present in those galleys are not carried over into the first edition. It is possible that Fitzgerald’s typists did not include space breaks where he called for them in the holograph. It is possible that the Scribner proofreaders did not

17 Quoted first in the introduction to the 1991 Cambridge edition of the novel, p. liv. The letter is at Yale University Library.
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insert space breaks where Fitzgerald asked for them in galleys. The holograph, however, is not a fair copy, and the surviving galleys are the working set, not the final set. Fitzgerald might have decided in the final typescript or the master galleys (neither of which survives) to do away with one or more space breaks. Given the limited authority of both the holograph and the working galleys, the decision has been made to include only the space breaks present in Scribner 1925. One space break in that edition, which falls at the bottom of p. 183, is not apparent to the reader. In the variorum this space break has been indicated by three centered bold-face dots.

8. SYSTEM OF REFERENCE

The Cambridge variorum text is a near type facsimile of the 1925 Scribner first edition. Page and line numbers are almost always the same. Chapter headings and running heads are not counted as lines. Space breaks are counted as one line. An established system of reference to the text (by chapter, page, and line) is thus provided for scholars and critics. The notation “Gatsby II.27.16–23,” or simply “II.27.16–23,” refers to the description of the eyes of Doctor T. J. Eckleburg at the beginning of Chapter II. “Stonewell Jackson Abrams,” one of the names on the guest list, appears at IV.74.12. Gatsby’s “beautiful shirts” are at V.112.12. The reference “VII.144.9” takes the reader to “Her voice is full of money.” And “IX.216.6–7” refers to “They were careless people, Tom and Daisy.” Page-line references in this volume are to the variorum text; these references nearly always coincide with the pagination and lineation of the first-edition text.

9. TERMINOLOGY

In order to follow the accounts in this introduction, the reader must be familiar with certain bibliographical terms. The most important of these is the term edition, which can be defined as all copies of a text published from a single typesetting. Any new typesetting
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allows an author, or an editor or proofreader, to change any feature of the text—wording, spelling, spacing, or punctuation. A text can be improved for a new edition; a text can also, and simultaneously, deteriorate.

For our purposes in this variorum, a sub-edition will be defined as all copies of a book printed from a duplicate set of letterpress plates or from offset plates that reproduce the image of an earlier typesetting. There are two important sub-editions in the publication history of The Great Gatsby. The first is the Chatto & Windus sub-edition of 1926, printed from a set of duplicate electrotype plates of the 1925 edition. These plates were manufactured at the Scribner printing plant in New York City and shipped to Chatto & Windus in London. The second is the Scribner sub-edition of 1953, printed from offset plates that reproduce the image of the Scribner 1941 text. Into this sub-edition have been introduced numerous revisions, the majority of them taken by the editor, Malcolm Cowley, from Fitzgerald’s marked copy of the novel.

An impression or printing of an edition can be defined as all copies of that edition produced by a single run of the presses.\(^{18}\) For most of the editions examined in this study, the text was cast into letterpress plates. These plates were stored between impressions. When stock in the publisher’s warehouse ran low and more copies of the book were needed, the plates were brought out and mounted on the presses for a new run—or the edition was allowed to go out of print. The first impression of the first edition of The Great Gatsby (the initial run of the presses) produced almost 21,000 copies. The second impression of August 1925, requiring a fresh run of the presses, produced approximately 3,000 copies. Both of these impressions are considered to be parts of the first edition, as are later impressions from the same plates.\(^ {19}\)

\(^{18}\) In the discussions that follow, the term impression is used to avoid confusion of the term printing with the more general term reprint.

\(^{19}\) Some books are reprinted again and again by the originating publisher. Fitzgerald’s first novel, This Side of Paradise, was reprinted fourteen times between 1920 and 1922, during its initial trade run, and several times after that by Scribner and by the reprint publishers A. L. Burt and Grosset & Dunlap. All of these impressions belong to the first edition of the novel.
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Changes can be made in the text of a book between impressions. The process is fussy and time-consuming, especially with letterpress plates. Old readings must be removed; new readings must be typeset in the same font and introduced into the plate. The old readings are chiseled from the plates; the new readings are mortised in. Sometimes lines that contain the old readings are sawed out; revised readings are substituted in freshly set lines of standing type, provided that the type shoulder is the same height as the plate. Single-word changes are relatively simple to execute; more lengthy revisions can require the resetting of several lines, or of a paragraph or a page. Plate changes are relatively infrequent in twentieth-century American publishing, but one does find them. Among Fitzgerald’s first editions there are, for example, alterations in the plates of This Side of Paradise (1920), Flappers and Philosophers (1920), Tales of the Jazz Age (1922), and Tender Is the Night (1934).

In editorial parlance substantives, or substantive readings, are the words themselves—though there are features of a text other than its words that can have “substantive” import. Accidentals, a term used also in musical notation, are the elements of a text other than substantives: spelling, punctuation, capitalization, word division, spacing, use of italics, and so forth. Together such elements form the accidental texture of a work, and influence its rhythms and its effect on the reader’s eye.

A collation is a comparison of one text to another, word by word and comma by comma. For this variorum all collations between two editions (i.e., between two typesettings) have been hand collations, performed by the “head-wagging” method. The two texts have been set alongside one another; the collator has compared the words and punctuation marks (the substantives and accidentals); the variants have been recorded. Collations within editions or sub-editions are performed with an optical device. The aim here is to compare impressions within the same edition in search of alterations to the plates. The typical procedure is to collate the first impression with the latest identifiable impression, to note the variants, and to trace those variants back through a complete run of
impressions. In this fashion the editor can identify the impression in which an alteration first appears. For the variorum, all collations within editions were executed with a Lindstrand Comparator, a lightweight optical device that allows the operator visually to superimpose the image of a page from one impression upon the image of the same page from another impression. Under casual inspection the two pages nearly always look identical; viewed through the Lindstrand eyepiece, variants (or other differences, such as type batter) appear to float above the page.

10. History of the text

The account that follows is based on hand and machine collations of trade and scholarly editions of *The Great Gatsby* published since 1925. All hand collations were performed with the Scribner 1925 first edition, first impression, as the control text. These collations were performed over a ten-year period beginning in 2007. The findings demonstrate a central axiom of textual scholarship: that texts change when they are reset for new editions. Texts can also change within editions, from impression to impression. Texts can be improved whenever the type is reset; they can also deteriorate, from inattention, carelessness, or simple error. Once variants are set

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20 In the textual work for the Cambridge edition of *This Side of Paradise*, for example, the first impression of the first edition was collated against the fourteenth impression. Forty-two plate variants were discovered. These were traced back to the fourth and seventh impressions. Thirty-three of the variants appeared for the first time in the fourth impression; the others appeared initially in the seventh impression. See the Cambridge edition, pp. 311–12.

21 Gordon Lindstrand, “Mechanized Textual Collation and Recent Designs,” *Studies in Bibliography* 24 (1971): 204–14. David Lee Miller of the University of South Carolina, who is one of the general editors of the forthcoming Oxford University Press edition of *The Collected Works of Edmund Spenser*, is developing a computerized method of collation within a single edition. Professor Miller kindly performed a test collation within the first edition of *The Great Gatsby*—the first trade impression against the second—and reported the results to me. (I had already run this collation on the Lindstrand Comparator.) Work on his software system, PARAGON, continues at the Center for Digital Humanities at the University of South Carolina Library.
afloat they are often repeated in subsequent typesettings. Texts are also altered when they cross the Atlantic and are reset by a British publisher, and vice versa. All of these phenomena are observable in the textual history of The Great Gatsby.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{Scribner 1925}

The first impression of the first edition of The Great Gatsby was published by Charles Scribner's Sons on 10 April 1925. A second impression was produced in August 1925. Before this second impression was executed, Scribner had six alterations made in the plates.\textsuperscript{23} The plate changes are as follows, keyed by page-line numbers to the Cambridge variorum, and therefore to the first edition. The initial reading is from the first impression; the reading following the bracket is from the second impression:

\begin{align*}
60.16 & \text{ chatter } [ \text{ echolalia} ] \\
119.22 & \text{ northern } [ \text{ southern} ] \\
165.16 & \text{ it's } [ \text{ its} ] \\
165.30 & \text{ away } [ \text{ away}.] \\
205.9-10 & \text{ sick in tired } [ \text{ sickantired} ] \\
211.8-9 & \text{ Union Street station } [ \text{ Union Station} ]
\end{align*}

The alterations at $60.16$, $119.22$, $205.9-10$, and $211.8-9$ were requested or approved by Fitzgerald. Those at $165.16$ and $165.30$ are corrections of typographical errors. These plate changes were carried forward into all subsequent impressions and sub-editions printed from the original Scribner plates or from duplicates: Chatto & Windus 1926, Modern Library 1934; Scribner 1942; New Directions [1946]; and Grosset & Dunlap [1949].


\textsuperscript{23} Shadow imprints of spacing slugs and justification wedges on the surviving galley proofs indicate that the first edition of The Great Gatsby was set in monotype. It is possible that the first impression was printed from standing type and that electrotypes were cast after the six alterations had been made in monotype.
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CHATTO & WINDUS 1926

The Chatto & Windus first impression was printed from a set of duplicate electrotype plates, cast from the Scribner 1925 plates and shipped to London. Chatto & Windus 1926 is therefore a sub-edition deriving from the Scribner 1925 typesetting. International copyright law of the period permitted a book typeset and printed in the US to be registered for copyright protection in Great Britain. As a consequence, many British “editions” of American titles were composed of overrun or remaindered sheets that were printed in the US and shipped to England, where they were bound and jacketed, often with a cancel title page. Chatto & Windus, however, opted to order a duplicate set of electrotype plates from Scribner and to have their copies printed and bound in England, with an integral title page.

The Chatto & Windus electros of The Great Gatsby were cast from the emended American plates; all six variants found in the second Scribner impression are therefore present in the Chatto & Windus text. Chatto & Windus exhibits a seventh plate variant as well. At 119.5–6, the misspelling “self-absorb-|tion” has been corrected to “self-absorp-|tion.” This correction appears in all subsequent American impressions, indicating that the change was made in the originating Scribner plates after the second trade impression had been printed but before the Chatto & Windus duplicates had been cast.

24 A letter dated 29 September 1925 from Curtis Brown, of the Laurence Pollinger literary agency, to Chatto & Windus specifies that Scribner is sending over “electros” of The Great Gatsby. Chatto & Windus is to pay £50 to Scribner for plates and shipping. Chatto & Windus had asked initially for flat sheets (that is to say, unfolded sheets printed from the Scribner plates) which would then have been folded, stitched, bound (cased), and jacketed in England, probably with a cancel title page. The price quoted by Scribner for flat sheets was too high; Chatto & Windus opted for electrotype plates. The letter from Brown is in the Chatto & Windus archives, Record 75, at Reading University Library.

25 Books typeset in Great Britain could not be copyrighted in the US during this period. The Chace Act (1891) contained a “manufacturing clause”—a protectionist measure that required a book to be printed from type composed in the US before it could be granted domestic copyright.
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By June 1933, sales of the Chatto & Windus edition had ceased. Chatto & Windus offered Scribner the remaining stock—82 bound copies and 150 sets of quires, or unbound gatherings. Scribner declined the offer. Chatto & Windus decided to remainder the bound copies and to have the quires bound in paper-covered boards. Both issues were marketed at a reduced price.26

MODERN LIBRARY 1934

The Modern Library, a reprint house, published the third American impression of *The Great Gatsby* on 13 September 1934 in a print run of approximately 5,000 copies. Fitzgerald supplied an introduction that appears on pp. vii–xi of the impression.27 Sales for this Modern Library impression were slow. Some remaindered copies had the words “DISCONTINUED TITLE” stamped on the dust jacket. The Modern Library text includes all seven plate variants.

SCRIBNER 1942

The fourth impression from the American plates was issued by Scribner in August 1942 in a print run of some 260 copies. Scribner likely manufactured this small impression in order to keep *The Great Gatsby* on its list as a separate title. No alterations were made to the plates; textually the 1942 impression is identical to the Modern Library impression, with the six plate variants from the second impression and with “self-absorption” at 119.5–6.

26 Letter dated 14 June 1933, Chatto & Windus to the literary agency Curtis Brown Ltd, Record 71, Reading University Library.  
27 The introduction is reprinted in the Appendix of this volume. For the correspondence between Fitzgerald and Random House relating to the Modern Library reprint, see Andrew B. Myers, “‘I Am Used to Being Dunned,’” *Columbia Library Columns* 25 (February 1976): 28–39.
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NEW DIRECTIONS [1946]

Correspondence in Box 75 of the Scribner archive at Princeton University Library reveals that James Laughlin, founder of New Directions, was keen to add The Great Gatsby to his list. In August 1945 New Directions had published The Crack-Up, a collection of Fitzgerald’s nonfiction from the 1930s, together with several letters, a section of notebook entries, and other materials. Interest in Fitzgerald was stimulated by this collection, which was assembled and edited by Edmund Wilson. In January 1946 Scribner allowed New Directions to issue 3,000 copies of The Great Gatsby, printed from the original plates. A laudatory introduction by the critic Lionel Trilling was included. No new alterations were made to the plates for this impression.

GROSSET & DUNLAP [1949]

The final impression from the Scribner 1925 plates was published by the reprint house Grosset & Dunlap in August 1949. The stimulus was the first sound or “talkie” movie of The Great Gatsby, starring Alan Ladd, released in July 1949. Grosset & Dunlap manufactured 10,000 copies, its standard press run. Again no further alterations were made in the plates, though the epigraph was omitted from the title page.

SCRIBNER 1941

The most important edition of The Great Gatsby to be issued after Fitzgerald’s death, and the text from which most editions subsequent to it are descended, is the Scribner 1941 typesetting, edited by Edmund Wilson. This text appeared in a volume with The Last Tycoon and five short stories—“May Day,” “The Diamond as Big as the Ritz,” “The Rich Boy,” “Absolution,” and “Crazy Sunday.” The title of the volume was The Last Tycoon, An Unfinished Novel … Together with The Great Gatsby and Selected Stories. The setting copy for this 1941 edition would of necessity have been
an impression of the text incorporating the seven plate variants—the six that appear initially in the second Scribner impression plus “self-absorption.”

A great many new changes, either initiated or approved by Wilson, were introduced into the text.\textsuperscript{28} A list of alterations is included in the apparatus at the rear of this volume. The most significant of these are the omissions of the epigraph and the dedication to Zelda Fitzgerald. Also important are the alteration throughout of the name “Wolfshiem” (Fitzgerald’s spelling) to “Wolfsheim,” and the emendation of the word “orgastic” in the final paragraph to “orgiastic.” In Chapter VII the words “with peculiar intensity from” are missing in the clause “other eyes were regarding us with peculiar intensity from less than twenty feet away” (149.10–12). Nick’s one-sentence response to Gatsby’s father at 209.7 of Chapter IX (“It just shows you.”) has dropped out. Scribner 1941 omits four space breaks from the 1925 text.\textsuperscript{29}

Why Scribner dropped the epigraph and the dedication is not known. The text of \textit{The Great Gatsby} in this 1941 volume is preceded by an internal half-title on pp. 165–66 which would have accommodated the epigraph on the recto and the dedication on the verso. The omissions are regrettable. The epigraph, four lines of exuberant poetry credited to Thomas Parke D’Invilliers, sets the tone for the narrative that will follow. These lines were in fact composed by Fitzgerald; “Thomas Parke D’Invilliers” is

\textsuperscript{28} Wilson’s personal copy of \textit{The Great Gatsby} is among the holdings at the Department of Special Collections, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa. The copy was part of a collection of Wilson’s books and papers purchased by the library in December 1987 from Brick Row Bookshop. Wilson’s copy is a first impression of the Scribner 1925 first edition. He has marked the text on twenty-one pages. He has not altered “sid” to “said” or “orgastic” to “orgiastic.” He has changed “Wolfshiem” to “Wolfsheim” throughout and has italicized (by underlining) the titles of books, songs, and newspapers. He has twice changed “Vladmir” to “Vladimir” on p. 60. I thank Amanda Vestal of the Department of Special Collections for providing scans of the pages bearing Wilson’s markings.

\textsuperscript{29} The first textual scholar to call attention to the significance of space breaks in \textit{The Great Gatsby} was Bruce Harkness in “Bibliography and the Novelistic Fallacy,” \textit{Studies in Bibliography} 12 (1959): 59–73. In this article Harkness identifies most of the significant variants in editions subsequent to Scribner 1925.
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a character in This Side of Paradise—a literary young man with whom Amory Blaine, the protagonist, has bookish conversations. (D’Invilliers was based on Fitzgerald’s Princeton friend John Peale Bishop.) The dedication—“ONCE AGAIN | TO | ZELDA”—reverberates throughout the novel, acknowledging the author’s wife, Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald, as his muse and inspiration. Seven subsequent editions of The Great Gatsby, all of which derive from the 1941 Scribner edition, omit the epigraph. These seven editions, and two more that derive from the 1941 text, omit the dedication.¹⁰

Other changes in Scribner 1941 are corrections or intended improvements. The word “startingly” is corrected to “startlingly” (19.21), and the misspelling “gyped” is corrected to “gypped” (41.6). Both occurrences of “Vladimir” on p. 60 of Scribner 1925 have been corrected to “Vladimir.” The reading “so far as” becomes “as far as” (58.25), and “who” is altered to “that” (130.10). A few new typos are introduced: “uninected” is “uninfected” (22.8–9); “hour” becomes “four” (115.23); “inexplicable” is “enexplicable” (176.22); “answer” appears as “aswer” (188.22). There are instances of over-correction: Wolfshiem’s “sid”—an attempt to capture his Yiddish accent, as with “gonnegtion” and “Oggsford” elsewhere, is typeset as “said” (83.29 and 205.28). Fitzgerald had written to Perkins on 24 January 1925, while the novel was in galleys: “When Wolfshiem says ‘sid’ for ‘said’, it’s deliberate” (Dear Scott/Dear Max, 93).

THREE NOVELS 1953

In this volume, the full title of which is Modern Standard Authors: Three Novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Scribner published three texts: an emended photo-offset sub-edition of The Great Gatsby edited by the critic Malcolm Cowley; the author’s “final version” of

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Tender Is the Night as edited by Cowley; and The Last Tycoon in the text edited by Edmund Wilson. The text of The Great Gatsby, which concerns us here, is an offset replating of the 1941 Scribner typesetting and is therefore a sub-edition of Scribner 1941. Hence its placement at this point in the history of the text.

For this 1953 sub-edition, Cowley has introduced into the Edmund Wilson text many (but not all) of the revisions marked by Fitzgerald into his personal copy of the novel. That copy, by 1953, was among Fitzgerald's papers at Princeton. The epigraph and dedication, as in the 1941 parent edition, have been omitted. Other changes are independent alterations by Cowley. A full list of the variants, revealed by collation on the Lindstrand Comparator, is included on pp. 227–28 of this volume. The appearance of the authorial emendations from the marked copy is not mentioned on the title page, nor is their presence commented upon by Cowley in his introduction.31

The alterations were made by a process known as “stripping in.” Shooting copy for the 1953 sub-edition was likely assembled from dismembered copies of an impression of the Scribner 1941 edition, with the new readings, set in the same type face, pasted over the old readings on the shooting copy. (Some dislocation in horizontal alignment, often visible to the naked eye, is inevitable in this process.) To accommodate a few of the longer emendations, text was shifted about on a single page or transferred from one page to another.

31 In November 1951 Cowley had published, with Scribner, an edition of Tender Is the Night with Fitzgerald's “final revisions.” This text is reprinted in the Three Novels volume. Cowley had used the author's marked and disbound copy of Tender Is the Night as a guide. Fitzgerald had reordered the novel, changing its structure, but had revised the text only through p. 160. Cowley had been compelled to amend the remainder of the text and, on his own, had introduced more than 800 new alterations to the text. Reviews of the edition were mixed. Possibly this reaction made Cowley and Scribner wary of revealing the revisions, from Fitzgerald's marked copy, in this new sub-edition of The Great Gatsby. See the introduction to the Cambridge edition of Tender Is the Night, ed. James L. W. West III (2012): xxxiv–xxxvi.
Three new typesettings of The Great Gatsby appeared in 1945: an Armed Services Edition, published by the Council on Books in Wartime for distribution to US troops during the final year of the Second World War; a Viking Portable edition, with the contents selected by Dorothy Parker and including, in addition to The Great Gatsby and Tender Is the Night, nine of the author’s stories; and a Bantam Books edition, the first appearance of the novel as a trade paperback.

The Armed Services Edition, number 862 in the series, was typeset from a copy of Scribner 1941. The text includes the seven plate changes from the 1925 text, which were carried over into the 1941 edition. It also exhibits the alterations in Edmund Wilson’s text—e.g., the missing sentence at 209.7, “Wolfsheim” throughout, and “orgiastic” on the final page. The epigraph and dedication are omitted; both occurrences of “sid” are “said.” Corrections include “startlingly” for “startingly,” “gypped” for “gyped.” The print run for this wartime edition was 154,663 copies. Armed Services Editions, printed in double columns, were designed to fit into the shirt pocket of a military fatigue jacket. These editions had a strong influence on the postwar book trade, demonstrating that paperbacks had wide appeal and could be commercially viable.

The text of The Great Gatsby in The Viking Portable F. Scott Fitzgerald was also set from Scribner 1941. The epigraph and dedication are not included. One finds “startlingly” for “startingly,” “said” for “sid,” and the omission of “It just shows you.”—along with “Wolfsheim” and “orgiastic.” This Viking Portable edition, one of the early titles in that series, performed well in the marketplace. It was reprinted once in 1945 and again in 1949, and was distributed under the title The Indispensable F. Scott Fitzgerald by The Book Society, a mail-order book club.

The third of the editions to appear in 1945 was published by Bantam Books as one of the titles on its initial list. The source text for this edition, however, was the first impression of Scribner 1925, not a second or subsequent impression and not Scribner 1941. As a
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consequence, the Bantam text does not include the alterations made by Scribner in the first-edition plates. The epigraph and dedication are present. Bantam 1945 prints “chatter” instead of “echolalia,” “northern” not “southern,” and “sick in tired” instead of “sick-antired.” On the final page one finds “orgastic,” not “orgiastic.” A copy-editor at Bantam appears to have blue-pencilled the text with vigor: much punctuation has been added and deleted, spellings have been altered, and various corrections, real and imagined, have been made—though “sid” has survived in both occurrences. A few typos are in evidence: a “bass drum” at 60.14, for example, has become a “brass drum.” Old Mr. Gatz’s grammar has been corrected: “If he’d of lived” at 202.20 of the 1925 text is altered to “If he’d lived,” and “He come out to see me” at 208.2 now reads “He came out to see me.” An amusing alteration, surely inadvertent, occurs in the scene in the Plaza hotel room in Chapter VII. Daisy’s remark, “Well, we’d better telephone for an axe——” at 151.29 becomes “Hell, we’d better telephone for an axe——”

It is rare to find instances of bowdlerization in Fitzgerald’s writings. An example does occur, however, within this Bantam edition. In Chapter II of the Scribner 1925 first edition, in the party scene at the apartment on 158th Street, Nick has a conversation with Myrtle’s sister Catherine, she of the “blurred” eyebrows and “sticky bob of red hair.” At 40.5–6 of the Bantam text, Catherine brings up the affair between Tom and Myrtle. “Neither of them can stand the person they’re married to,” she says. Mrs. McKee, a woman who lives elsewhere in the building, overhears Catherine’s remark and reveals that she also might have fallen into a bad marriage:

“I almost made a mistake, too,” she declared vigorously. “I almost married a little kyke who’d been after me for years. I knew he was below me. Everybody kept saying to me: ‘Lucille, that man’s ’way below you!’ But if I hadn’t met Chester, he’d of got me sure.”

(41.14–19)
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Most editions of the novel subsequent to Scribner 1925 print “kyke,” the spelling used by Fitzgerald in the holograph, or the more commonly found “kike.” The Bantam 1945 edition has “kyke” in its first three impressions (November 1945, January 1946, and March 1946); but for the fourth impression of March 1951, the word “kyke” has been altered in the plates to “guy.” The reading remains “guy” for the final two impressions from the Bantam plates, in March 1952 and March 1954.32 The Bantam edition went through six impressions in ten years. Early paperbacks in the American book trade filled a commercial need and enjoyed wide circulation. They were inexpensive and could be purchased in non-traditional outlets such as drug stores, supermarkets, and tobacco shops. These paperbacks reached audiences at many levels of American society.33

Dial Press 1946

The Great Gatsby was one of the eight titles included in Great American Short Novels, edited by William Phillips and published by Dial Press in 1946. Among the other works in the volume were Herman Melville’s Benito Cereno, Henry James’s Washington Square, Stephen Crane’s Maggie, Gertrude Stein’s Melanctha, and Katherine Anne Porter’s Pale Horse, Pale Rider. The text published in this volume is again that of the Scribner 1941 edition, with no epigraph or dedication, “said” for “sid,” “Wolfshiem” for “Wolfsheim,” and “orgiastic” for “orgastic.”

32 The alteration of “kyke” to “guy” was made as part of a general refurbishment of the Bantam plates. Machine collation reveals that numerous lines of text were reset without change for the fourth impression (on Bantam pp. 42, 72, 77, 101, 166, 180, and 191), probably owing to type wear and batter on these plates.

The Grey Walls 1948 edition of *The Great Gatsby* was the first typesetting of the novel to be executed in England. (Chatto & Windus 1926, it will be remembered, is a sub-edition of Scribner 1925, printed from duplicate electrotype plates.) The text of this Grey Walls edition is taken from Scribner 1941, but the texture of accidentals has been anglicized. Double quotation marks, in dialogue and elsewhere, have become single quotation marks. British orthography has been imposed: “neighborhood” is “neighbourhood”; “judgments” becomes “judgements”; “p-paralyzed” is now “p-paralysed.” The word “learned” in Scribner 1941 is “learnt” in the Grey Walls edition; a “tire” is a “tyre”; a “mustache” is a “moustache”; “pajamas” are “pyjamas”; “aluminum” is “aluminium”; and “jail” is “gaol.” The “Queensboro Bridge” has been rechristened the “Queensborough Bridge.” Proofreading appears to have been indifferent. The paragraph beginning “Terrible place, isn’t it,” at 31.11–12 has been relocated two lines below in the Grey Walls text. Old Mr. Gatz’s grammar has again received attention: “It just shows you, don’t it?” now reads “It just shows you, doesn’t it?” Because Grey Walls 1948 derives from Scribner 1941, both the epigraph and the dedication are missing. Also “sid” is “said,” “Wolfsheim” replaces “Wolfshiem,” and “orgiastic” appears instead of “orgastic.” Four space breaks were omitted from Scribner 1941; Grey Walls 1948 omits those four plus five others.

The edition sold through its initial impression and was reprinted in 1949. So far as the editor can determine, no subsequent edition was set from Grey Walls 1948.

The 1950 Penguin edition, the first British paperback edition of *The Great Gatsby*, most likely derives from the Chatto & Windus sub-edition of 1926. On 3 March 1937 Allen Lane, the founder and director of Penguin Books, wrote to Harold Raymond at Chatto & Windus to request a copy of *The
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Windus duplicate electros are present in the Penguin typesetting—“echolalia” for “chatter,” “sickantired” for “sick in tired,” and the others. The epigraph has been relocated to the copyright page; the dedication to Zelda Fitzgerald occupies its own page. An editor or proofreader has altered the first “sid” to “said” but has left the second “sid” alone. “Wolfshiem” and “orgastic” are present. Spelling and punctuation have been lightly anglicized. In Penguin 1950 one finds “colour,” “grey,” and “tyre.” Periods are omitted after abbreviations; commas, but not periods, fall outside quotation marks. Double quotation marks, however, are employed—not singles. This Penguin edition had a long and successful run in the bookshops; after 1950 it was reprinted at least thirty-nine times, often twice in a single year.35

Scribner Student’s Edition 1957

This edition was typeset from an exemplar of the Three Novels 1953 sub-edition—the text in which the revisions from Fitzgerald’s personal copy of The Great Gatsby first appeared. As with Three Novels, no mention is made on the title page or the copyright page of Fitzgerald’s revisions. The Scribner Student’s Edition does restore the epigraph and dedication. It reproduces the variants from Edmund Wilson’s 1941 edition (“Wolfshiem,” “orgastic,” et al.); it also inherits Malcolm Cowley’s editorial work from the Three Novels volume. Nick’s sentence (“It just shows you.”) has been restored. A further round of copy-editing has been applied. Some apparent errors have been corrected, but new omissions and fresh typos have been introduced. Gatsby’s “corps of caterers” at

Great Gatsby. Raymond had the office copy of the novel sent to Lane on the following day. If Lane meant to “Penguinise” the novel, said Raymond in his return letter, he should make the necessary arrangements through Chatto & Windus, the holders of the British rights. This correspondence is found in folder CW 73/16 of the Chatto & Windus archives at the University of Reading. I am grateful to Lise Jaillant for calling these letters to my attention.

48.1 has become a “crop of caterers.” The nineteen-word sentence “I used to laugh . . . you didn’t know.” at 157.21–23, spoken by Gatsby to Tom, has been omitted, probably owing to compositor eyeskip. Seven of the space breaks are missing. Some of the hyphenated compounds (“up-stairs,” “to-day,” “to-morrow”) have been rendered as single words; others retain their hyphens. In dialogue, “police dog” has been changed to “police dog,” and “you’re” to “you’re.” Both occurrences of “sid” have been altered to “said.”

After three impressions, the 1957 Student’s Edition was incorporated into the multi-volume Scribner Library, a series that began in 1960. This text of The Great Gatsby was available in the US throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s—usually in paperback but with some impressions (or sheets from print runs) bound in cloth. The dimensions of the text block were reduced in 1979, via photo-offset, for a rack-sized paperback. All forms of this edition went through multiple impressions. This was the standard text of The Great Gatsby during the long revival of interest in Fitzgerald’s work; the edition was taught in high school and college classrooms, and was the text upon which many published interpretations of the novel were based.

BODLEY HEAD 1958

This edition of the novel is one of the texts included in the first volume of the six-volume Bodley Head Scott Fitzgerald edition. Bodley Head 1958 is the third typesetting of the novel to be executed in England. The Bodley Head series, with six volumes issued between 1958 and 1963, was for many years the only multi-volume edition of Fitzgerald’s writings in print.

Bodley Head 1958 descends from Scribner 1941. The Bodley Head text omits the epigraph and dedication. It includes the seven plate alterations but does not include the revisions from Fitzgerald’s personal copy. From Scribner 1941 the Bodley Head text inherits “Wolfsheim,” both occurrences of “said” for “sid,” and “orgiastic.” A light overlay of British punctuation and spelling has been applied, with single quotation marks in dialogue, for example, and “tyre” for “tire.”
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scribner 1961

This edition, published as a high school textbook, was edited by Albert K. Ridout, who supplied a foreword and study guide. The text descends from Three Novels 1953, a sub-edition of Scribner 1941. The epigraph has been restored to this 1961 edition, but the dedication is missing. Marks of Scribner 1941 are in evidence: “Wolfsheim,” “said” for “sid,” and “orgiastic,” along with Nick’s missing sentence “It just shows you.” The revisions from Fitzgerald’s marked copy that were introduced by Malcolm Cowley are present: “cafés” for “restaurants,” for example, and the deleted quotation marks after “Metropole.” “Tennessee” is “Mississippi,” and “strata” is “stratum.” The edition was in print as late as 1968; in that year it was reprinted as a Scribner School Paperback.

FITZGERALD READER 1963

A new typesetting of The Great Gatsby was among the texts in The Fitzgerald Reader, edited by Arthur Mizener and published by Scribner in 1963. This collection includes the entire text of The Great Gatsby, chapters I–VI of Tender Is the Night, chapters I and IV of The Last Tycoon, and a selection of short fiction and essays. In the front matter Mizener remarks on the plate changes for the second impression of Scribner 1925 and mentions the authorial revisions in Fitzgerald’s marked copy. The source text for the Fitzgerald Reader is the Three Novels 1953 sub-edition. The epigraph is included, but the dedication to Zelda Fitzgerald is missing. One finds “Wolfsheim” throughout and “orgiastic” on the final page. Some restorations have been made. Both occurrences of “sid” are present, as is the phrase “with peculiar intensity,” omitted from the 1941 text. The missing sentence in Chapter IX (“It just shows you.”) has been reinstated. The corrected readings “startlingly” and “gypped,” are in the text. The styling of the accidentals has been updated. One finds “tomorrow” instead of “to-morrow,” “center” and not “centre,” and “criticizing” instead of “criticising.” Revisions from Fitzgerald’s
personal copy (those that appeared in Three Novels 1953) are included.

This edition, edited by Henry Dan Piper, was included in a Scribner Research Anthology entitled Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby: The Novel, the Critics, the Background. This Scribner series was aimed at the college market. Each volume included materials useful to an undergraduate preparing a term paper—texts, biographical information, letters, reviews, and criticism. The text of the novel in this volume is that of the Scribner Student’s Edition of 1957, which was adopted into the Scribner Library in 1960. Page numbers from that edition are inserted into the anthology text, within brackets and in bold face. The text is set in double columns. The epigraph and the dedication to Zelda Fitzgerald are omitted; the volume as a whole is dedicated to the memory of Maxwell Perkins. The anthology text includes the seven plate variants from Scribner 1925 and the readings from Fitzgerald’s marked copy that were first published in Three Novels 1953. Both occurrences of “sid” have been restored, along with the phrase “with peculiar intensity” and Nick’s “It just shows you.” The “crop of caterers” is now properly a “corps of caterers.” One finds “Wolfsheim” and “orgiastic,” both originating in Scribner 1941.

In 1974 Matthew J. Bruccoli published Apparatus for F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby (Under the Red, White, and Blue) with the University of South Carolina Press. The volume includes not the text of The Great Gatsby but an apparatus for emending that text. The apparatus, keyed to the Scribner 1925 first-edition text and to the then-current Scribner paperback, was meant to be an emendation kit that would enable readers to alter copies of The Great Gatsby by hand, this in order to create an established text. The volume was to be the first in a series of such volumes; the series was entitled South Carolina Apparatus for Definitive Editions.
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(SCADE). The apparatus for *The Great Gatsby*, however, was the only title to appear.

This SCADE volume includes collation tables and other information about the text of Fitzgerald’s novel. For the emendations list, the editor accepts most of the house styling of Scribner 1925, adds the plate changes from the second impression, and incorporates emendations from Fitzgerald’s personal copy. Among the independent editorial emendations are “irises” for “retinas” (27.20), “southward” for “eastward” (43.1–2), and “Long Island City” for “Astoria” (82.2, 150.4). The title of the SCADE volume alludes to the change in title suggested by Fitzgerald in his 19 March 1925 cable to Perkins, but the editor stops short of recommending a title change for the novel.

**Collectors Reprints 1991**

A photo-offset facsimile of the first impression of Scribner 1925 was published in 1991 by Collectors Reprints, a firm that specialized in issuing facsimiles of first editions by authors of Fitzgerald’s generation and the generation that followed. This particular Collectors Reprints volume, a sub-edition of Scribner 1925, is an offset replating that reproduces exactly the text of *The Great Gatsby*, in the original typography, before any alterations were made by Scribner to the plates. This facsimile also mimics the wove paper, green linen casing, gold and blind stamping, plain endpapers, and dust jacket of the Scribner first edition. Book historians and critics interested in reading the novel in the approximate form in which it first reached the public can acquire a copy of this sub-edition.

**Cambridge 1991**

This edition of *The Great Gatsby* was edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli, with Fredson Bowers serving as Textual Consultant. The edition, published by Cambridge University Press in 1991, was the first volume to appear in The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald. It is an edition for scholars, with introduction, apparatus, and historical annotations. Editorial principles for the
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1991 edition have been derived, with some modifications, from W. W. Greg’s influential essay, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950–51): 19–36. Greg gives great weight, especially in the matter of accidentals, to the earliest extant forms of a text. As a consequence, Cambridge 1991 imposes much of the accidental texture of the holograph (the earliest form to survive) upon the 1925 first edition and takes other emendations from the working galleys. The base text is the first impression of Scribner 1925, but in effect there is a floating copy-text: alternately the holograph, the galleys, and the first impression.

The editorial principles for Cambridge 1991 are set forth in the introduction (pp. xli–liv). A record of variants and emendations is included in the back matter. Not counting regularizations, the base text has been emended more than 1,600 times. The text of Cambridge 1991 was published in a clothbound edition, issued in 1991 by Scribner in London. The text was also published in paperback by the London imprint Abacus in 1992. The Cambridge 1991 edition was used as the American trade paperback from 1995 until 2000, with at least eighteen impressions during that period. Cambridge 1991 was later replaced by a new setting of the 1957 Scribner Student’s Edition.

Cambridge 1991 devotes much attention to readings that involve external fact. The readings from Scribner 1925 that receive particular attention are “retinas” (27.20), “eastward” (43.1–2), and “Astoria” (82.2, 150.4). None of these readings, however, is emended in the text of the first six impressions of Cambridge 1991. The seventh and eighth impressions, both published in 1998, contain silent emendations. The word “retinas” at 21.16 of the Cambridge text has been altered to “irises.” Both appearances of “Astoria,” at 54.24 and 97.29 of Cambridge 1991, have been emended to “Long Island City.” (No change has been made

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to “eastward” at 30.28.) The apparatus entries on pp. 144 and 148 have been adjusted to accommodate the new emendations. These alterations to text and apparatus were later removed and are no longer present in the text. Cambridge 1991 is in its sixteenth impression (February 2017) and is currently available from Cambridge University Press.

**DENT 1993**

This edition, prepared for the Everyman series by Jeffrey Meyers, was published in London in 1993. A “Note on the Text” on p. xxvi states that the edition was based on Scribner 1925. The epigraph and the dedication are both present. Meyers has examined editions other than Scribner 1925, including Scribner 1941 and the Three Novels 1953 sub-edition. Dent 1993 has “Wolfsheim” and “orgiastic” from Scribner 1941; it has the revisions from Fitzgerald’s marked copy that first appear in Three Novels 1953, but not all of the independent revisions by Malcolm Cowley. Annotations on textual matters reflect a reading of the Cambridge 1991 edition.

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1998**

This edition of the novel, edited by Ruth Prigozy for the Oxford World’s Classics series, includes a “Note on the Text” on p. xxxvi. The base text for the Oxford typesetting is the second impression of Scribner 1925, with the six altered readings from the plates, including “echolalia” and “sickintired.” The epigraph and dedication are included. The emendation policy is conservative. The editor has emended “saw” to “was” (43.8), corrected the spelling.

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37 See the 18 August 1998 letter from Harold Ober Associates to members of the Fitzgerald Trust. The letter is in the Bruccoli Collection at the University of South Carolina.

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of “Vladim” to “Vladimir” (60.19, 60.26), and corrected the spelling of “rythmic” to “rhythmic” (131.4). The revised readings from Fitzgerald’s marked copy are not included in this text. Both appearances of “sid” are preserved, and “orgastic” appears on the final page of the novel. Most of the quasi-British styling from Scribner 1925 has been retained (e.g., “criticising,” “up-stairs,” and “to-day”). A few accidentals have been further anglicized: periods after abbreviations, for example, have been omitted (“Mr Carraway,” “Mr Gatz”).

Scribner 2000

This edition of The Great Gatsby was the standard text of the novel in the US from 2000 until 2018—in paperback, clothbound, and ebook editions. The seven alterations in the 1925 plates are present, as are the revisions from Fitzgerald’s personal copy that were present in the 1953 Three Novels sub-edition. The epigraph and dedication are included, as is “orgastic.” Nick’s sentence—“It just shows you.”—is in its proper place. Some errors have made their way into the text: in the reading “a single green light, minute and far away” (26.12), the final two words are “far way” in the Scribner edition. Myrtle’s pronunciation “appendicitus,” from the holograph, the galleys, and the first edition, in “you’d of thought she had my appendicitus out” (37.4) has been given the standard spelling, “appendicitis.” Wolfshiem’s first “sid” is preserved, but the second “sid” has become “said.” Five space breaks are missing. Traces of the quasi-British house styling of Scribner 1925 remain: one sometimes finds “to-morrow,” “week-end,” and “up-stairs,” but other occurrences of these words have become “tomorrow,” “weekend,” and “upstairs.”

Broadview Press 2007

This Canadian edition of the novel, edited by Michael Nowlin, includes a textual note on pp. 41–43. The source for this typesetting is the first impression of Scribner 1925, into which the editor has emended the plate changes from the second impression. Epigraph
and dedication are present. Two space breaks have been adopted from the galley proofs, and two others have been expanded into double space breaks. Most of the revised readings from Fitzgerald’s marked copy have been incorporated into the text. Much of the quasi-British house styling from the first edition has been preserved.

**Scribner 2018**

In April 2018, Scribner published a restored version of its 2000 edition, with the text established by the editor of this variorum. The restored edition includes a preface by Eleanor Lanahan, the author’s granddaughter, and an introduction by the novelist Jesmyn Ward. The 2018 text is not a fresh typesetting; in bibliographical terms it is a sub-edition of the 2000 edition. The editor introduced corrections into the digital files maintained by Scribner for its print and ebook editions. The 2018 text is derived from the text of the Cambridge variorum. Work on the variorum text and apparatus commenced in 2007 and was completed by 2017. Thus the variorum text could be consulted for the Scribner restoration in 2018.

*The Great Gatsby* will enter the public domain in the United States on 1 January 2021. From that date forward, any American publisher will be free to issue an edition of the novel; any editor will be free to examine the extant evidence and construct a text. The evidence is ready to hand: print, digital, and facsimile editions of the holograph; digital and facsimile editions of the galley proofs; an offset reproduction of the first impression of the first edition; lists of plate alterations; lists of revisions in Fitzgerald’s marked copy; and lists of variants from later editions.

Texts are vulnerable to well-meaning emendation; texts are also vulnerable, inevitably, to deterioration. For the present moment, this variorum stands as a work of summation, an account of the textual history of *The Great Gatsby* since its first publication in 1925. This edition presents a text that carries Fitzgerald’s authority, together with a record of emendation, made available now to readers, teachers, critics, and scholars.

*Sat celeriter fieri, quidquid fiat satis bene.*
THE GREAT GATSBY

BY

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

Then wear the gold hat, if that will move her;
If you can bounce high, bounce for her too,
Till she cry “Lover, gold-hatted, high-bouncing lover,
I must have you!”

—THOMAS PARKE D'INVILLIERS.
ONCE AGAIN

TO

ZELDA