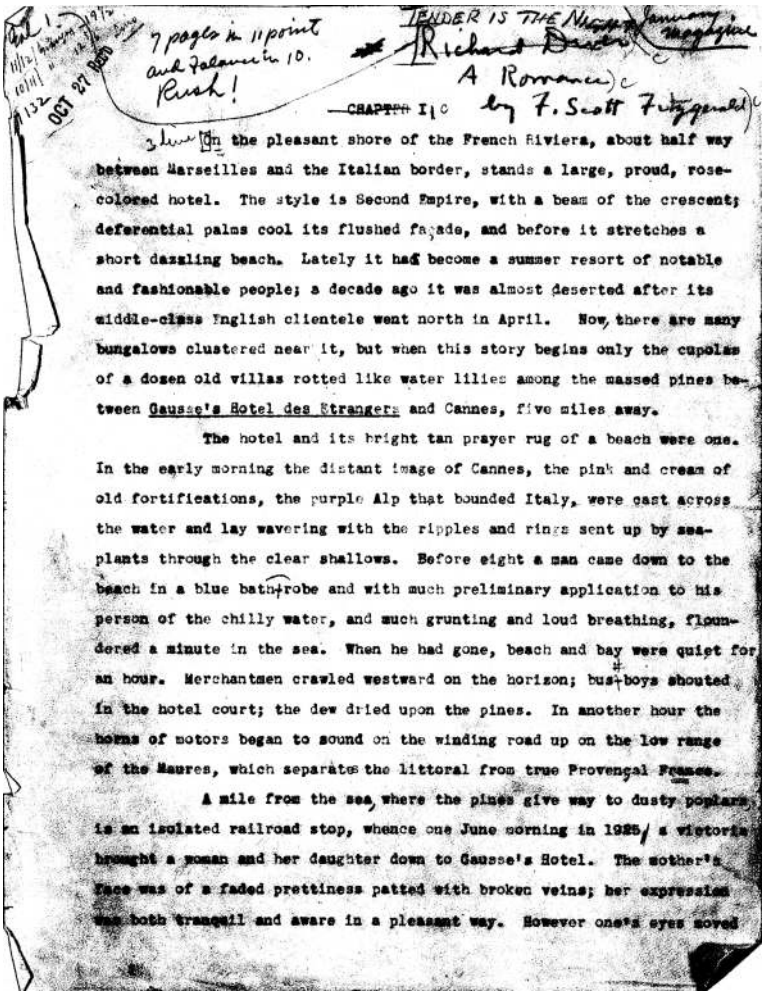
THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF
F. SCOTT FITZGERALD



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TENDER IS THE NIGHT January magazine
Richard Diver
A Romance
by F. Scott Fitzgerald

CHAPTER I

On the pleasant shore of the French Riviera, about half way between Marseilles and the Italian border, stands a large, proud, rose-colored hotel. The style is Second Empire, with a beam of the crescent; deferential palms cool its flushed façade, and before it stretches a short dazzling beach. Lately it had become a summer resort of notable and fashionable people; a decade ago it was almost deserted after its middle-class English clientele went north in April. Now, there are many bungalows clustered near it, but when this story begins only the cupolas of a dozen old villas rotted like water lilies among the massed pines between Gausse's Hotel des Etrangers and Cannes, five miles away.

The hotel and its bright tan prayer rug of a beach were one. In the early morning the distant image of Cannes, the pink and cream of old fortifications, the purple Alp that bounded Italy, were cast across the water and lay wavering with the ripples and rings sent up by sea-plants through the clear shallows. Before eight a man came down to the beach in a blue bath-robe and with much preliminary application to his person of the chilly water, and much grunting and loud breathing, floundered a minute in the sea. When he had gone, beach and bay were quiet for an hour. Merchantmen crawled westward on the horizon; bus-boys shouted in the hotel court; the dew dried upon the pines. In another hour the horns of motors began to sound on the winding road up on the low range of the Maures, which separates the littoral from true Provençal France.

A mile from the sea, where the pines give way to dusty poplars, is an isolated railroad stop, whence one June morning in 1925 a victoria brought a woman and her daughter down to Gausse's Hotel. The mother's face was of a faded prettiness patted with broken veins; her expression was both tranquil and aware in a pleasant way. However one's eyes moved

Page 1, setting copy for the serial text of the novel.
F. Scott Fitzgerald Papers, Princeton University Libraries.

TENDER IS THE NIGHT

A Romance

* * *

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

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J.L.W.W. III

ILLUSTRATIONS

(*Beginning on p. 395.*)

CHRONOLOGY OF COMPOSITION

JANUARY 1925 While revising the galley proofs of *The Great Gatsby*, Fitzgerald learns of the Ellingson Matricide, probably from accounts published in the *New York Herald*. He conceives a plot for a new novel based on the Ellingson murder.

APRIL 1926 Fitzgerald writes to his literary agent, Harold Ober, that the novel is "about one fourth done" but stalls on the manuscript and is unable to push forward, despite a $35,000 offer for serial rights from *Liberty* magazine.

JUNE 1926–MAY 1929 Fitzgerald works intermittently on the novel under various titles, including *Our Type* and *The Boy Who Killed His Mother*. He devotes most of his energy to writing short stories for high-paying American magazines, especially for the *Saturday Evening Post*.

JUNE 1929 Fitzgerald publishes "The Rough Crossing," a story set primarily on a transatlantic ocean liner, in the *Post*. He makes a fresh start on his novel, setting the new beginning on a liner, but abandons the effort after two chapters.

APRIL 1930–SEPTEMBER 1931 Zelda Fitzgerald suffers a nervous collapse and is institutionalized, first in Paris and later in Switzerland. Fitzgerald writes short stories during this period in order to pay for her treatments and cover his own expenses.

SEPTEMBER 1931 Fitzgerald, Zelda, and their daughter, Scottie, return to the United States. He travels to Hollywood in November to work on a screenplay. Zelda suffers a second breakdown in February 1932 and is hospitalized at the

Phipps Clinic in Baltimore. While there she completes an autobiographical novel, *Save Me the Waltz*.

MARCH–APRIL 1932 Fitzgerald and Zelda quarrel over *Save Me the Waltz*. He sees the novel as an attack on him personally and an attempt to destroy their marriage. They compromise, and a revised version is published by Scribners in October 1932.

MAY 1932 Fitzgerald rents a house called "La Paix" near the Phipps Clinic. He reconceives his novel and begins work on a version about a psychiatrist named Dick Diver. Fitzgerald salvages 35,000 words of the matricide version, in the process converting its protagonist, a cinema technician named Francis Melarky, into a movie actress called Rosemary Hoyt. Over the following eighteen months, working within a three-part structure for the novel, he adds some 115,000 new words and completes a version of the narrative.

OCTOBER 1933 Fitzgerald accepts a serialization offer of $10,000 from *Scribner's Magazine*, the house magazine of his publisher. The title of the novel at this point is *Doctor Diver's Holiday*. Fitzgerald continues to revise the text for its appearance as a serial and changes the title to *Richard Diver*, then to *Tender Is the Night*.

JANUARY 1934 The first of four monthly installments appears in *Scribner's Magazine*, with decorations by Edward Shenton. Fitzgerald works simultaneously on the serial proofs and the book text in the months that follow.

12 APRIL 1934 Scribners publishes *Tender Is the Night* in book form. Reviews are lukewarm; the novel sells approximately 14,600 copies. Fitzgerald's royalties come to $5,000, which does little more than balance his account with the publisher.

MAY 1936 Fitzgerald attempts to publish a revised version of *Tender Is the Night* with the Modern Library, a reprint line, but is unable to persuade this publisher to accept his plan.

MARCH–MAY 1938 Fitzgerald and his editor, Maxwell Perkins, correspond about reprinting *Tender Is the Night* in an omnibus volume, but Perkins postpones the discussion until Fitzgerald has completed a new novel. Stimulated by the idea, Fitzgerald works on a chronologically reordered version of *Tender Is the Night*, marking revisions into a disbound copy of the first edition.

21 DECEMBER 1940 Fitzgerald dies in Hollywood, with a novel in progress that is published as *The Last Tycoon* in 1941.

NOVEMBER 1951 The critic and editor Malcolm Cowley publishes Fitzgerald's "final version" of *Tender Is the Night*, using the disbound copy as a guide. Reviews are mixed. Scribners attempts to make both versions available, but the reordered text does not gain acceptance and falls out of print during the 1960s. The 1934 text becomes the established version for teachers and critics.

INTRODUCTION

F. Scott Fitzgerald began composing the novel that would become *Tender Is the Night* in the summer of 1925, several months after the publication of *The Great Gatsby*. His aims and energy were high: in May he had written to Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Charles Scribner's Sons, that he wanted the book to be "something really NEW in form, idea, structure—the model for the age that Joyce and Stien are searching for, that Conrad didn't find."[1] Fitzgerald, however, struggled with this novel and was not able to publish it until almost nine years later, in the spring of 1934. The story of its composition is one of the most complex in American literary history. Fortunately Fitzgerald saved a great many of his working materials—notes, diagrams, holographs, typescripts, proofs, and correspondence—making it possible for scholars and biographers to reconstruct the passage of *Tender Is the Night* from manuscript to print. Numerous versions and drafts survive, all of them interrelated and all with bearing on the text finally published in book form by Scribners on 12 April 1934.[2]

[1] Fitzgerald to Perkins, 1 May 1925, in *Dear Scott/Dear Max: The Fitzgerald–Perkins Correspondence*, ed. John Kuehl and Jackson R. Bryer (New York: Scribners, 1971): 104. Fitzgerald's errors (as in the spelling of Gertrude Stein's name) are not corrected.

[2] The best chapter-length account of the making of the novel is Scott Donaldson's "A Short History of *Tender Is the Night*," in his collection *Fitzgerald and Hemingway: Works and Days* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009): 119–46. An earlier version of this piece appeared in *Writing the American Classics*, ed. James Barbour and Tom Quirk (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990): 177–208. For a catalogue of the surviving evidence and an early composition narrative, see Matthew J. Bruccoli, *The Composition of* Tender Is the Night: *A Study of the Manuscripts* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963). See also Bruccoli, with Judith S. Baughman, *Reader's Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald's* Tender Is the Night (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996): 1–48. Surviving holographs and typescripts

1. SOURCES

Fitzgerald based his initial conception of *Tender Is the Night* on the Ellingson Matricide, a sensational murder that occurred on Tuesday, 13 January 1925, in San Francisco. On the morning of that day, a sixteen-year-old girl named Dorothy Ellingson shot and killed her mother, Anna, after the two women had argued about Dorothy's behavior with a group of jazz musicians who played in the waterfront bars and clubs of the city. Dorothy had gone to all-night parties with these men and had come home inebriated. On Monday night, 12 January, Anna Ellingson refused to allow Dorothy to go to another jazz party. The dispute continued into Tuesday morning. Dorothy became enraged and, using her brother's Colt service revolver, shot her mother once from behind, killing her. Dorothy then took $45 from a bureau drawer and left the flat in which she and her mother were living. That night she attended a party where, according to later reports, she was loud and vivacious, staying until the early hours of Wednesday morning. She rented a room in a boarding house under an assumed name. Her mother's body was discovered, and a search was mounted for Dorothy. An informer revealed her whereabouts; she was arrested on Thursday, 15 January; she immediately confessed to the murder.[3]

The press coverage for the Ellingson Matricide was lurid and sensational. Various sobriquets were affixed to Dorothy: she was called the "Jazz Girl," the "Child of Crime," the "Tiger Child," and the "Jazz Maiden." She displayed no remorse for the murder, chewing gum and wisecracking with reporters. She claimed not to care what happened to her. Journalists made it a game: would she drop this façade and show regret for killing her mother, or would she remain blasé and unconcerned?

for the novel are facsimiled in *F. Scott Fitzgerald Manuscripts*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990), vols. I–IV.

[3] Material about the matricide in the paragraphs that follow has been taken from James L. W. West III, "*Tender Is the Night*, 'Jazzmania', and the Ellingson Matricide," in *Twenty-First-Century Readings of* Tender Is the Night, ed. William Blazek and Laura Rattray (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007): 34–49.

Dorothy was presented to the public as a victim of "Jazzmania," a demented state said to result from drinking, dancing, smoking, listening to loud jazz, petting, and riding in vibrating automobiles. Dorothy was "a victim of jazz music and the dance craze," wrote one reporter. "She liked lively parties, late hours, and the company of older men. She sometimes partook too freely from their hip-flasks." Another newsman speculated that Dorothy had been brought to an "unnatural mental state by the strains of saxophones and the tattoo of a trap-drummer." Dorothy's personal diary was discovered and remarked upon. It was a record of "liquor parties, love parties, late hours." Her father and brother were quoted in the press. "Dorothy wanted powder and rouge and lipstick," said her brother. "She wanted bobbed hair and flashy clothes." Dorothy's sexual development was made public. "Physicians say she is a case for surgeons," reads one account. "She is what in medical terms is sometimes described as super-sexed." Her story was presented as a cautionary tale, an example of how a naïve and prematurely libidinous young woman might be led astray by jazz music and bad companions.[4]

Once the case came to trial, Dorothy's lawyers entered a plea of innocent by reason of insanity, the strategy used the previous year by Clarence Darrow in his defense of Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb. This tactic did not work: Dorothy was examined by psychologists (then known as "alienists") and was judged mentally fit. The trial, which began in May, was long and dramatic, with frequent outbursts and collapses in the courtroom by Dorothy. Eventually she was found guilty and sentenced to between one and ten years in prison. Toward the end of the proceedings, Dorothy showed regret for the murder. To exhibit contrition, she insisted on serving

[4] Quotations in this paragraph are from these newspaper articles: "Girl Who Killed Mother Alleged 'Jazzmania' Victim," *New York Herald* (International Edition), 24 March 1925, 1; "May Ease Case of Girl Slayer," *Herald*, 28 March 1925, 1; "Girl Slayer Suspect Captured," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 January 1925, 1, 4; "Girl Missing as Mother Is Shot in Home," *Chronicle*, 14 January 1925, 3; and "San Francisco 'Tiger Child' Has Life Sentence as Only Prospect," *Herald*, 1 February 1925, 6.

her term in the penitentiary at San Quentin, not in a reformatory for minors.[5]

When Dorothy Ellingson shot her mother on 13 January, Fitzgerald was living at the Hôtel des Princes in Rome, revising the galleys of *The Great Gatsby*. He almost certainly learned about the Ellingson Matricide from news accounts in the *New York Herald*, the international edition of the *New York Herald-Tribune* that was read by most Americans living in Europe. The *Herald* made much of the case, running it as the lead story on Saturday, 17 January 1925, four days after the murder, and continuing to publish updates in the months that followed. The *Herald* presented the Ellingson case as a curiosity, an example of the excesses and corruptions of Jazz Age culture and of the bizarre crimes caused by a repressive American society. The first of the *Herald* articles, headlined "Girl, Sixteen, Slays Mother to Attend Forbidden Dance," set the tone for the coverage that would follow:

> Life was a bore to Dorothy Ellingson, sixteen-year-old high-school girl of San Francisco, unless she could dance every night. But her mother, who did not understand the ways of "flappers" and who believed that the old school's lessons should be handed down to her children, refused to let pretty Dorothy sally out at night unescorted. She did not approve of exotic poetry, which her daughter read, nor of weird Hindu beliefs.
>
> (17 January 1925)

These reports in the *Herald* seem to have caught Fitzgerald's eye. He might have read additional accounts in the *New York Times* and in the other American newspapers that were brought over regularly on transoceanic liners and sold at newsstands and hotels in Paris, Rome, and other cities. He might also have used his contacts in Hollywood to secure newspaper clippings from the West Coast newspapers, which gave extensive coverage to the murder.

[5] Citations to the newspaper stories are found in West, "*Tender Is the Night*, 'Jazzmania', and the Ellingson Matricide," 47–49. Two articles about the crime are reprinted in the sourcebook *F. Scott Fitzgerald's* Tender Is the Night: *A Documentary Volume*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and George Parker Anderson, Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 273 (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2003): 18–23. This publication, which includes many other relevant materials, is cited hereafter as DLB.

The Ellingson Matricide gave Fitzgerald a beginning point for his new novel. In the early months of 1925, before *The Great Gatsby* had been published, he was still known as the Prophet of the Jazz Age, a chronicler of wild parties and rebellious behavior, the author of the semi-scandalous novels *This Side of Paradise* and *The Beautiful and Damned* and of short-story collections entitled *Flappers and Philosophers* and *Tales of the Jazz Age*. Had "Jazzmania" been caused in part by his celebration of flaming youth? Writing about the Ellingson Matricide might have been seen by Fitzgerald as a challenge. Could he move beyond the newspaper sensationalism and depict, convincingly, the motivations that might lie behind such a murder? The material for this new novel was not all that different from what he had dealt with in *The Great Gatsby*, a quintessential Jazz Age story about drinking, loud parties, bootlegging, and expensive cars, and with a plot built around adultery, murder, and a suicide. Fitzgerald suggested such a connection in a late April 1926 letter written to his literary agent, Harold Ober, from Juan-les-Pins on the French Riviera:

> The novel is about one fourth done and will be delivered for possible serialization about January 1st. It will be about 75,000 words long, divided into 12 chapters, concerning tho this is absolutely confidential such a case as that girl who shot her mother on the Pacific coast last year. In other words, like Gatsby it is highly sensational.[6]

Fitzgerald also had the example of Theodore Dreiser, who on 17 December 1925 had published his great novel *An American Tragedy*, based on a murder case similar to the Ellingson Matricide. Dreiser had patterned *An American Tragedy* after the notorious 1906 Grace Brown–Chester Gillette murder in Herkimer County, a remote region in upstate New York. Gillette had impregnated his girlfriend, Grace "Billy" Brown, but had been unwilling to marry her. She had drowned while boating with him on Big Moose Lake; whether she had died accidentally or Gillette had drowned her was

[6] *As Ever, Scott Fitz—Letters between F. Scott Fitzgerald and His Literary Agent Harold Ober, 1919–1940*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Jennifer McCabe Atkinson (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972): 89–90.

unclear. He showed no remorse over her death and eventually was convicted in a trial covered widely by the press. After failed appeals, he was put to death in the electric chair in March 1908.

From these materials Dreiser fashioned the *Tragedy*, borrowing long sections from newspaper accounts and trial transcripts. The novel was enormously successful, with positive reviews, high sales, and an arrangement for film rights that brought Dreiser some $80,000. Dreiser's influence on Fitzgerald has long been recognized—particularly in *The Beautiful and Damned*, *The Great Gatsby*, and some of the early short stories. It would not have been surprising for Fitzgerald to look again to Dreiser's writing as a model for how to proceed with this new book.

The facts of the Ellingson Matricide, if followed closely, would have yielded a novel similar to *An American Tragedy*. This was Dreiser's kind of material: a young woman who yearns for material possessions and sexual pleasure; dissolute men who take advantage of her; a traditional parent who seeks to confine her; a murder committed in anger; a courtroom trial with heavy coverage from the press; and an eventual admission by the young woman of remorse and guilt. Fitzgerald had drawn on such material for *The Great Gatsby*, basing his protagonist in part on Max Gerlach, a bootlegger and car salesman on Long Island, and using the gambler Arnold Rothstein, who was believed to have fixed the 1919 World's Series, as a model for Wolfsheim, Gatsby's "sponsor." Fitzgerald might have wanted to test himself against Dreiser—to prove that he could write a naturalistic novel but with a Jazz Age background that the older writer could not evoke.

2. EARLY VERSIONS

Fitzgerald decided to set his story on the French Riviera, which was then becoming a summer playground for the rich, and to people the narrative with sophisticated American expatriates. For his protagonist he created a young man named Francis Melarky, a talented but hot-tempered American film technician with a history of violence and recklessness. Francis was traveling in the south of France with his mother, a fortyish matron who was attempting to reform him

and keep him away from bad influences, including drink, which had triggered previous episodes of misbehavior. Francis was to be taken up by a group of American expatriates based on Gerald and Sara Murphy and their circle—which included (among others) Pablo Picasso, Archibald MacLeish, Cole Porter, Philip Barry, Dorothy Parker, Jean Cocteau, Ernest Hemingway, Ring Lardner, and the Fitzgeralds. Francis was to become involved with these people; his mother was to disapprove; he was to murder her in a fit of temper brought on by her meddling in his affairs.[7]

Fitzgerald began setting down this story in the late summer of 1925 and pushed ahead with the writing during the winter and spring of 1926. In the surviving manuscripts he brings the Melarkys to the Riviera and has them meet Seth and Diana Rorebeck and Abe Herkimer—who will become Dick and Nicole Diver and Abe North in *Tender Is the Night*. Much of this early writing is stylistically brilliant. Fitzgerald evokes the magic created by the Rorebecks and their friends and captures the shimmering beauty of the Riviera summer. In later drafts, the Rorebecks and Herkimers travel to Paris for a round of shopping and other pleasures; Francis and his mother accompany them, and Francis finds himself falling in love with Diana. These drafts contain material that survives in the published novel: the party at the Rorebecks' villa; the beating by the Italian police (here endured by Francis); the duel between a writer named McKisco (as in the published novel) and a Frenchman named Brugerol (an early version of Tommy Barban); and the search in Paris for a man with repose. In these drafts Fitzgerald is attempting to establish some motivation in Francis that might cause him to murder his mother later on, but the effort is largely unsuccessful.

[7] On the Murphys, see Calvin Tomkins, *Living Well Is the Best Revenge* (New York: Viking, 1971); Honoria Murphy Donnelly, *Sara and Gerald: Villa America and After* (New York: New York Times Books, 1982); Amanda Vaill, *Everybody Was So Young: Gerald and Sara Murphy, A Lost Generation Love Story* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998); Linda Patterson Miller, ed., *Letters from the Lost Generation: Gerald and Sara Murphy and Friends*, expanded edition (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002); Deborah Rothschild, ed., *Making It New: The Art and Style of Sara and Gerald Murphy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

Mrs. Melarky nags Francis about his past and mentions embarrassing incidents in California and at the United States Military Academy at West Point, from which Francis was expelled after an episode of violence. These incidents, however, are not described, perhaps because Fitzgerald wanted to keep Francis' past a mystery until later in the novel, as he had done with Jimmy Gatz's early life in *The Great Gatsby*. Francis resents his mother's hovering and bridles at her comments about his past, but no convincing sparks of resentment or anger are generated.

Fitzgerald labored intermittently on this version of his novel until 1929. He used various working titles—among them *Our Type*, *The World's Fair*, *The Melarky Case*, and *The Boy Who Killed His Mother*. He invested much creative energy in these manuscripts but was unable to move his story beyond the scenes in Paris. Five drafts of the Melarky material survive, three narrated from the third-person point-of-view and two told in the first person by an unnamed character who resembles the narrator of Fitzgerald's 1926 story "The Rich Boy." Part of Fitzgerald's difficulty was the matricide plot itself: he had sometimes been embarrassed by his eccentric mother as a teenager, but he had no emotional experience on which to draw for matricidal impulses. The material was also alien to his temperament. He was a romantic fabulist, fascinated by wealth and ambition and beauty. Poor Dorothy Ellingson lacked the allure of a typical Fitzgerald heroine; her lamentable story had none of the elements of social status and power that fascinated him. Money, especially inherited money, did not figure in her case; and her tale was set among the lower classes, not the haute bourgeoisie Fitzgerald liked to observe and write about.

For Fitzgerald there were also distractions in his personal and professional life. *The Great Gatsby* had not done particularly well at the bookshops, selling only about 23,000 copies, but in the year after its publication Fitzgerald's literary agent, Harold Ober, disposed of both stage and movie rights for substantial sums. Stage rights went to William A. Brady, whose production of *Gatsby* opened on Broadway in February 1926. The play was a hit, running for four months and grossing as much as $15,000 per week. Famous Players, stimulated by the success of *Gatsby* on stage, acquired

the cinema rights through Ober and made a silent film of the novel. Fitzgerald's share of the stage and screen receipts, as negotiated by Ober, came to almost $26,000. He did not have to lift a finger to collect the money. The stage adaptation was done by Owen Davis, one of the most successful commercial playwrights of the time; the film treatment was prepared by the screenwriter Elizabeth Mechan.[8] Throughout his career, Fitzgerald came to the writing table most readily when he was under pressure from debt. The stage and screen money from *The Great Gatsby* had come too easily, removing the prod of indebtedness and encouraging Fitzgerald to experiment with the pleasures of expatriate living.[9]

Fitzgerald's success and visibility in the mid-1920s—for his novels and stories, and for adaptations of his work to stage and screen—made his proposed new novel a highly saleable literary commodity. On the strength only of promises in Fitzgerald's letters, Ober was able to generate interest in serial rights. *Liberty*, a leading national magazine, made an offer of $35,000 and was sufficiently confident of acquiring the rights to advertise the upcoming serial in its 11 December 1926 issue. Certainly Fitzgerald had a financial incentive to press ahead with the novel. He also, however, had other ways to bring in money. Fitzgerald had learned by now to generate ready income by producing high-quality short fiction for large-circulation magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Redbook*, and *Woman's Home Companion*. His price per story with the *Post* had reached $3,500 by 1929 and would advance to $4,000 in 1931, making him one of the most highly paid short-story writers in the world. The economics of writing for "the slicks," as these magazines were called, were attractive. Fitzgerald produced his stories in short bursts of literary energy, marketed them through Ober, and was

[8] James L. W. West III, *American Authors and the Literary Marketplace since 1900* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988): 130–32.

[9] Estimates across time are imprecise, but $26,000 in 1925 would have had buying power comparable to $338,000 in 2010. For much of the 1920s the Fitzgeralds lived in France, where the dollar was strong. A useful website for making these calculations is www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/ (accessed 2011).

paid almost immediately for the work. Novel-writing, by contrast, was executed at a slower pace, requiring advances from a publisher and not yielding financial returns until many months after publication. It must be remembered that Fitzgerald had no trust fund or inherited wealth to depend upon and did not marry into money. He supported himself entirely with his pen.[10] He liked to pretend that he tossed off his magazine work with ease and facility, but the surviving drafts tell a different tale. To perform successfully at this level, Fitzgerald had to invest time, thought, and energy in his stories. He always produced multiple drafts, recasting, revising, and polishing until his manuscripts were ready for sale. This labor left him creatively drained and unable to turn his attention to his novel.

Some of the stories, of course, are excellent—among the best short fiction in Fitzgerald's oeuvre. In the years preceding the publication of *Tender Is the Night*, he produced "Jacob's Ladder" (1927), "Magnetism" (1928), "The Last of the Belles" (1929), "The Swimmers" (1929), "Two Wrongs" (1930), "One Trip Abroad" (1930), "Babylon Revisited" (1931), "Crazy Sunday" (1932), and two groups of stories centering on single characters—the eight Basil Duke Lee stories (1928–29) and the five Josephine Perry stories (1930–31). Throughout his professional career, Fitzgerald used his short stories as trial exercises, experimenting with characters, settings, plots, language, and themes that would later be incorporated into his novels. This was true for *The Great Gatsby* and is even more the case with *Tender Is the Night*. Phrases, sentences, and extended passages from Fitzgerald's short fiction can be found in both novels, as can early versions of characters and tentative explorations of themes.[11]

[10] During his twenty-year career, Fitzgerald earned approximately $330,000 for his magazine work as opposed to only $66,000 in book royalties. See James L. W. West III, "F. Scott Fitzgerald, Professional Author," in *A Historical Guide to F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Kirk Curnutt (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004): 49–68.

[11] George Anderson, "F. Scott Fitzgerald's Use of Story Strippings in *Tender Is the Night*," in *Reader's Companion*, 213–61; also contributions by Anderson in DLB, 107–17, 122–30, 165–80.

One of the best stories published by Fitzgerald during the composition of *Tender Is the Night*—"The Rough Crossing," which appeared in the 8 June 1929 issue of the *Post*—is set on board a transatlantic ocean liner. Fitzgerald seems to have taken from this story the idea of beginning his novel in a new way. In the summer of 1929 he produced two chapters in holograph of a narrative that opens on board a luxury liner headed from the United States to France. For his central characters he used a young couple named Lew and Nicole Kelly. This version did not progress beyond the two holograph chapters, but it marks an important movement away from the single character Francis Melarky toward a couple resembling Dick and Nicole Diver.

3. HIATUS AND RECONCEPTION

The years of 1929 and 1930 were extraordinarily difficult for Fitzgerald. He completed no new work on his novel during this period, though he did spend some time revising the Melarky chapters. His personal life began to deteriorate: his wife, Zelda, had grown weary of her secondary role in their marriage and had thrown herself into ballet training with an obsessiveness that put great mental and physical strain on her. She succumbed to nervous collapse in April 1930 and was hospitalized, first in Paris, then in Switzerland. Fitzgerald did little work on his novel in 1930 and 1931, devoting his energies instead to short stories that would pay for Zelda's hospitalization and his own expenses.

By September 1931 Zelda was well enough to travel. She and Fitzgerald and their daughter, Scottie, returned to the United States and settled temporarily in Montgomery, Alabama. Fitzgerald traveled to Hollywood in early November and worked for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer on a rewrite of a screenplay for *Red-Headed Woman*, a movie being developed for the actress Jean Harlow. The death of Zelda's father on 17 November precipitated a second breakdown; she went for treatment in February 1932 to the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of the Johns Hopkins University Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland.

On 9 March, Zelda finished the composition of a novel called *Save Me the Waltz*. She had begun the book in Alabama and had completed it at the Phipps Clinic. She sent the typescript to Maxwell Perkins first; later she gave it to Fitzgerald. He read the narrative and was enormously upset, regarding it as an attack on him personally and an attempt by Zelda to destroy their marriage. This early version of *Save Me the Waltz* had a protagonist called Amory Blaine—after the hero of Fitzgerald's first novel, *This Side of Paradise*—and used subject matter and incidents that Fitzgerald had already incorporated into his novel-in-progress, drafts of which he had shown and read to Zelda. He was angered by her appropriation of what he believed to be his material and embarrassed that she had been able to finish her novel in so short a time. He also maintained that Zelda had done her work during time paid for by his magazine work. Zelda, for her part, maintained that the material she was drawing upon was as much hers as it was Fitzgerald's, that he had used much material from her life in his previous fictions, and that she was free, as an artist, to write as she pleased.

These charges and countercharges, much discussed in Fitzgerald biography, are difficult to disentangle and pass judgment upon, especially because Fitzgerald eventually made use of Zelda's mental illness in *Tender Is the Night*, even taking some of her letters to him, written while she was under psychiatric treatment, and transforming them into the letters that Nicole sends to Dick in Book Two of the novel. The original version of *Save Me the Waltz*, the version submitted initially to Perkins, no longer survives. Under pressure, Zelda revised this version, changing the protagonist's name to David Knight and removing passages that Fitzgerald felt were too close to their personal lives. She made heavy revisions in proof (the galleys of the novel are among her papers at Princeton), working now on style and vocabulary. *Save Me the Waltz* was published by Scribners on 7 October 1932 to mixed reviews, followed by a sale of some 1,400 copies. Today it is read and taught as an independent work of art; it is also of interest to critics of *Tender Is the Night* because of the similarities between the two novels.

In May 1932 Fitzgerald rented a rambling frame house called "La Paix" on the property of the Bayard Turnbull family, near Rodgers

Forge in Towson, Maryland. The house was within walking distance of Zelda's sanitarium. She was discharged from the Phipps Clinic on 26 June and moved into La Paix, where she and her husband and daughter established a semblance of family life.

By now Fitzgerald had decided to reconceive his novel. The matricide plot had not suited his temperament or talents, and the Jazz Age—with its parties, rebelliousness, and violence—was over. At some point in 1932, either in Montgomery or shortly after moving into La Paix, Fitzgerald wrote down a "General Plan" for a new novel, recasting his narrative as the story of a talented young American psychiatrist who begins his career with ambition and self-discipline but disintegrates psychologically and fails to fulfill his promise. As before, the story is set among wealthy American expatriates living in Europe during the decade immediately following the First World War. The psychiatrist, Dick Diver, is destroyed partly by flaws in his own character, partly by his drinking, and partly by the idle and selfish rich who prey upon him. Fitzgerald was drawing here on his experiences in Europe and, for the character of Nicole, on what he had learned about mental illness from Zelda's difficulties.

In this reconception of the novel, Dick Diver was to marry Nicole Warren, a child of wealth who had succumbed to schizophrenia after incestuous relations with her father. Dick takes on Nicole as a patient and allows himself to fall in love with her; after they are married he functions as both husband and therapist. Over a period of years Dick monitors Nicole, seeing her through subsequent breakdowns, each time reassembling her personality while attempting to maintain his own objectivity and balance. In the plan for the novel, Nicole was to improve as Dick went into decline. Finally, drained by his efforts to cure Nicole, Dick was to sink into a state that Fitzgerald called "emotional bankruptcy." Fitzgerald was confident that this new conception would work. Beside the date August 1932 in his personal ledger, he wrote: "Novel now plotted + planned, never more to be permanently interrupted."[12]

[12] *F. Scott Fitzgerald's Ledger: A Facsimile*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Washington, DC: NCR/Microcard, 1972): 186.

4. COMPOSITION AND SERIALIZATION

Fitzgerald saved his notes for the reconceived novel; today they are preserved among his papers at Princeton University Library. The remarkable thing is how closely he adhered to his plan over the next two years. He salvaged nearly all of the best writing from the matricide version, some 35,000 words, and added another 115,000 words. In the process he changed Francis Melarky, a temperamental movie technician, into Rosemary Hoyt, a serene and starry-eyed ingénue. (Rosemary was based on Lois Moran, a beautiful young cinema star whom Fitzgerald had met in Hollywood in 1927.) Nothing remains of Francis in the published book; the surviving typescripts bear testimony to Fitzgerald's great skill in erasing one character and substituting a new one. Using Rosemary as his center of consciousness, Fitzgerald presents a glowing picture of the Divers and their friends in Book One. Only in Book Two, an extended flashback seen primarily through Dick's eyes, and in Book Three, told largely from Nicole's point-of-view, do the triviality and corruption of these people become apparent. Fitzgerald was now working with material that was emotionally close to him—Zelda's breakdown, his own deterioration, and his complex feelings about wealth and social status.

By the summer and early fall of 1933 Fitzgerald was pushing ahead with Book Three and beginning to think about publication. The offer from *Liberty* had lapsed, but Fitzgerald might easily have asked Ober to explore other possibilities for serialization. Fitzgerald suspected, however, that his novel, which treated mental illness and sexual deviation, would not be attractive to most of the high-paying magazines. And too, Fitzgerald had accepted numerous advances on his novel from Scribners, money he now needed to pay back. For these reasons he decided to accept a serialization offer from *Scribner's Magazine*, the house magazine of his publisher and a highly respected outlet for literary work. For serial rights to the novel, Scribners agreed to pay Fitzgerald $10,000, of which $6,000 would be applied to his outstanding debt to the firm.

Fitzgerald delivered a complete typescript of the novel to Perkins in late October 1933. Its title at that point was "Doctor Diver's

Holiday." Fitzgerald's work on the book, however, was by no means finished. He continued to revise and rewrite in the serial proofs as he made the text ready for its magazine appearance. He corresponded with Alfred Dashiell, the editor of *Scribner's Magazine*, about readings involving incest and homosexuality that Dashiell and his colleagues thought might be too sexually charged for magazine publication. Fitzgerald modified most of these passages; later he restored his original text for the book version.

In early November, Fitzgerald finally settled on a title. He chose "Tender Is the Night"—an example of Keats' famous synesthetic imagery, from the "Ode to a Nightingale" (1819). Fitzgerald was happy with the title: "PLEASE SPREAD THE WORD AROUND AS WIDELY AS SEEMS NECESSARY," he told Perkins in a cable.[13] *Scribner's Magazine* had already announced the serial under yet another title, "Richard Diver." Now Perkins conveyed Fitzgerald's final wishes to Dashiell and to the Scribners sales force. The serial text began to appear in the January 1934 issue of *Scribner's Magazine* under the title *Tender Is the Night*.[14]

Unfortunately *Tender Is the Night* was not especially well suited for serialization. The three major divisions of the narrative—Books One, Two, and Three—had to be spread over four monthly installments, from January to April 1934. The time scheme of the novel, with an extended flashback that takes up nearly all of Book Two, is difficult to follow in the book text and nearly impossible to keep straight in the serial, especially when one reads the installments at thirty-day intervals. The reader feels adrift, uncertain of how characters are developing and unsure of the progress of the plot.

[13] The cable is reproduced in *F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Life in Letters*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994): 242.

[14] At some point near the end of the compositional process, Fitzgerald thought about adding a preface to the novel. He produced a draft that begins seriously but, midway through, shifts into free-wheeling irony. A one-page typescript is extant among his papers at Princeton; it has been reproduced as the frontispiece for *Reader's Companion* and in DLB, 182. It is possible that Fitzgerald composed this preface for Perkins' amusement only, though there is no indication that Fitzgerald sent the document to his editor.