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“HOW ART THOU LOST”: RECONSIDERING THE FALL IN FITZGERALD’S TENDER IS THE NIGHT

by

MEREDITH A. ZARING

Under the Direction of Audrey Goodman

ABSTRACT

In *Tender Is the Night*, F. Scott Fitzgerald retells the story of the Fall from Genesis through psychologist Dick Diver and his wife and patient Nicole, drawing poetic and thematic inspiration from John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. This essay traces the progression of the Divers’ fall and ultimate separation through the novel’s three books and considers how the highly autobiographical foundation of the novel, which has drawn considerable critical attention, may in fact allow Fitzgerald to craft a work that aligns with and simultaneously expands upon Milton’s interpretation of the Fall.

INDEX WORDS: F. Scott Fitzgerald, Tender Is the Night, The Fall, John Milton, Paradise Lost

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MEREDITH A. ZARING

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May 2012

DEDICATION

For my parents and my grandmother, who loved books.

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INTRODUCTION

In *Tender Is the Night*, F. Scott Fitzgerald retells the story of the Fall from Genesis through psychologist Dick Diver and his wife and patient Nicole, drawing poetic and thematic inspiration from John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The reader first sees the Divers on the picturesque French Riviera shore through the awestruck eyes of American film ingénue and Dick's future lover, Rosemary Hoyt. As the Divers' façade of *nouveau riche* pleasure cracks, revealing Nicole's struggle with mental illness, Fitzgerald flashes back to the Divers' bizarre courtship in Zurich, where Dick is studying psychology and Nicole is being "treated" for a childhood trauma. Their decision to marry ignites a whirlwind montage of their deteriorating marriage, marred by Nicole's fluctuating health, Dick's developing alcoholism, and a string of infidelities. When their fallen state finally destroys this corrupted paradise, Fitzgerald deviates from both Genesis and *Paradise Lost* by restoring his Eve—Nicole.

Rather than having Dick and Nicole leave France together at the novel's end, as Adam and Eve leave Paradise hand in hand at the end of *Paradise Lost*, Fitzgerald separates the Divers indefinitely. While Nicole declares that she is cured and stays in France with their children and her lover, Dick returns to America, the corrupt and violent site of traumas past. The solitary sacrifice of Dick, Fitzgerald's Romantic hero, leaves critics and readers wondering how to interpret this tragic fall. In light of the novel's ambiguous conclusion, I will establish a narrative and poetic correspondence between *Tender Is the Night* and *Paradise Lost* before examining the severing of this influence in the Divers' separation. I will then consider, in the context of John Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale," which inspired the title *Tender Is the Night*, and T. S. Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent" and "Milton," how the highly autobiographical foundation

of the novel, which has drawn considerable critical attention, may in fact allow Fitzgerald to craft a work that aligns with and simultaneously expands upon Milton's interpretation of the Fall.

Much criticism of *Tender Is the Night* has focused on Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald's own tragedy, which undoubtedly inspired the novel.[1] Like Dick and Nicole, Scott and Zelda traveled along the Riviera as wealthy expatriates, spent several years nursing Zelda's mental health in Zurich, and ultimately separated in the midst of alcoholism, mental illness, and infidelity. Although many critics and readers have also assumed that Fitzgerald modeled the Divers upon his friends Gerald and Sarah Murphy, to whom he dedicated the novel, Matthew Bruccoli notes that "the Divers are invented—or synthesized—characters who are much closer to the Fitzgeralds than to the Murphys" (*Some Sort* 337).[2] While planning the novel, Fitzgerald described his "hero" as "a man like myself" and even plotted Zelda's "case history" against Nicole Diver's, calling her "a portrait of Zelda—that is, a part of Zelda" (qtd. in Bruccoli 330, 335, 336). Charles Scribner III even introduces the Scribner Edition by attesting to the work's autobiographical foundation: "The novel is as much a product of the author's own experience of struggle and heartbreak as it is his credo of fidelity, perseverance, and romantic love. It will always be one of his most beloved works because it rings absolutely true, because it *is* true" (ix). Although Scribner seems to applaud Fitzgerald, many early readers faulted him for indulging in his own dramatic life rather than writing pure fiction. His close friend, Ernest Hemingway, famously responded, "Forget your personal tragedy . . . ." (qtd. in Scribner xiv).

While this focus on the autobiographical aspects of the novel has prompted many scholars to think of both Scott Fitzgerald and Dick Diver as "fallen" figures, criticism regarding *Tender Is the Night* has yet to consider the particular influence of *Paradise Lost*, the definitive

[1] Prolific Fitzgerald critic, Matthew J. Bruccoli, notes, "Responsible and intelligent commentators are often lured into discussing Fitzgerald's work purely in terms of his personal history" (*Composition* xiii).

[2] For a consideration of the Murphy's particular influence, see Glenday.

literary depiction of the Fall from Genesis.[3] The first two chapters of my examination depend primarily upon establishing the novel as a reimagining of the Fall and comparing these two texts, *Tender Is the Night* and *Paradise Lost*. In *Paradise Lost*, I focus on the Fall and its surrounding circumstances in Book IX, in which Satan corrupts Eve and she eats from the Tree of Knowledge. Initially invading Eve's mind through a transcendent dreamscape in Book IV, Satan uses flattery, persuasive rhetoric, and illogic to tempt Eve to her fall. Although Adam knows that eating the fruit is wrong and that Eve has been tricked, he chooses to eat the fruit because he loves her. Upon eating, they experience a false sense of euphoria and elevation to Godhead, followed by lust and, ultimately, shame. In the final scene of *Paradise Lost*, Adam and Eve walk hand in hand out of Paradise, lamenting their loss but renewed in their faith.

Because the shifting setting and broken timeline are vital to Fitzgerald's particular rewriting, I will historically and geographically situate his depiction of the Fall and the postlapsarian world. For this discussion of Fitzgerald's portrayal of Europe and America as fallen worlds, I turn to established scholars, Donald Pizer and Milton Stern. In *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment: Modernism and Place*, Pizer considers the role of place in a number of expatriate novels. His chapter on *Tender Is the Night* traces the Divers' journey throughout Europe alongside the Fitzgeralds' own travels, considering how Dick's physical progress informs his deterioration. Pizer's concept of "negative epiphany" as a "sudden realization of Dick's tragic condition and impending fate" augments my understanding of how Fitzgerald reveals the Divers' fallen state throughout Book I (106). His argument that Europe ultimately ruins Dick's American idealism, however, does not address the portrayal of America as a corrupt and violent world. In order to reconcile these seemingly divergent depictions, I

[3] See Stern's *Critical Essays*. Fitzgerald himself may have initially suggested such a biblical reading by entitling his partially autobiographical debut novel *This Side of Paradise*.

reference Stern's Tender Is the Night*: The Broken Universe*, which addresses several themes from the novel including sexual and national identities. In his chapter on "American Identity," Stern distinguishes between the "idea of America" and the "historical United States emerging from the war." Although the "idea of America" "offers occasionally infinite prospects," the "historical United States" is "characterized by . . . commercialism and the superficial sentimentalizing of what once was deep feeling, sacrifice, and hope" (90). Therefore, I argue that while Dick may be imbued with an "idea" of American innocence, Fitzgerald simultaneously recognizes the reality of the United States as a fallen world and ties Dick's ultimate demise to his American heritage.

For my investigation into Nicole's psychiatric treatment, I consider Judith Fetterley's feminist essay, "Who Killed Dick Diver?: The Sexual Politics of *Tender Is the Night*," and William Blazek's "'Some Fault in the Plan': Fitzgerald's Critique of Psychiatry in *Tender Is the Night*." Fetterley's highly biographical reading is grounded in the Fitzgeralds' own experience with Zelda's mental health, particularly Scott's attempts to stifle a manuscript of Zelda's that bore significant resemblance to *Tender Is the Night*. Considering how psychiatry offers men the opportunity to "define both reality and sanity for women," Fetterley argues that Dick is uncomfortable in this powerful role, which suggests his ultimately ambiguous part in Nicole's treatment and recovery (114). While Blazek admits that he and Fetterley share the "view of psychiatry as a tool of patriarchal control," he aims to historicize Dick's troubled relationship with the profession (67n). I use these perspectives to establish the dominating nature of psychiatry and to situate the practices of Nicole's doctors within this context, ultimately considering how these doctors appropriate her voice and agency.

In my discussion of Dick's solitary fall, I employ Timothy P. Jackson's "Back to the Garden or into the Night: Hemingway and Fitzgerald on Fall and Redemption," which compares Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden* to *Tender Is the Night*, particularly examining the fall and redemption of the protagonists, David and Dick. Jackson uses Søren Kierkegaard's concept of "repetition," or "self-realization brought about by ethical choice," to consider Dick's ambiguous fate: "In the aftermath of a fall one may flee from time in search of one's lost repose, or one may accept temporal affliction (if not guilt) for the sake of others' redemption (if not one's own)" (436). Although Dick confuses these seemingly divergent paths, Jackson's exploration plays an important role in my consideration of Dick's sacrifice and ultimately leads me back to several primary sources, particularly Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" and Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent."

As a sort of epilogue to Dick's journey, Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" suggests that Dick does in fact sacrifice himself to save Nicole. While the intoxicated speaker of the poem mourns the passing of time, he bids adieu to the "immortal" nightingale, which "no hungry generations tread down" (61, 62). At the end of the novel, Dick likewise liberates Nicole from their deteriorating marriage, releasing her from Eve's fate and forever changing the literary tradition itself. High modernist and American expatriate T. S. Eliot envisions this concept of the evolving tradition in his revelatory essay, "Tradition and the Individual Talent." Eliot argues that the existing literary canon is complete and that in order to join it, the artist's work must slightly alter the entire tradition in "conformity between the old and new" (538). As the artist develops his "consciousness of the past," his career progresses through the "continual surrender of himself," or "continual self-sacrifice" (539). From this critical perspective, I propose that we may read Fitzgerald's solitary sacrifice of Dick as his attempt to join the canonical tradition by

slightly altering its evolving literary context. Finally, I return to Milton's influence by considering Eliot's two-part essay "Milton," in which he considers Milton's literary legacy and elucidates his own idea of the tradition.

My first chapter examines Book I and the end of Book II in the novel, particularly as they correspond to the postlapsarian false euphoria of *Paradise Lost* and Fitzgerald's historically-situated concept of the postlapsarian world. I argue that Fitzgerald creates a seemingly transcendent setting surrounding Dick and Nicole in France, and later to a lesser extent in Switzerland, while simultaneously undercutting this portrayal to reveal their fallen state. Employing Pizer's concept of "negative epiphany," I consider how Fitzgerald uses shifting focalization to destabilize the Divers' position of influence and mystique.[4] In this context, I also examine the fallen state of sex, which becomes lustful and shameful under the influence of false intoxication in both *Paradise Lost* and *Tender Is the Night*. In stark contrast to the seeming paradise of France, the depiction of America as corrupt and violent emphasizes the Divers' fallen state. As Stern distinguishes between the "*idea of America*" and the "*historical United States* emerging from the war," Fitzgerald contrasts Dick's "American" romanticism with the harsh reality of modern America, to which he ultimately banishes Dick.

My second chapter considers the first half of Book II, a flashback to the Divers' fall that confirms my reading of Book I and creates a cyclical structure that mimics their continual collapse. By tracing this temptation and fall alongside that of Adam and Eve, I establish an intimate connection between the two works that includes not only narrative sequence, but also character motivation and emotion. The shifting manipulation and management of Nicole's mental and physical health from her sexually-abusive father to her psychologists in Zurich to

[4] I use Dorrit Cohn's narratological term "focalization" to indicate a more complex third-person perspective that shifts not only between characters but along a spectrum of distance or conflict between the narrator and the character. The complexity of this narrative voice reflects the psychological complexity of Fitzgerald's characters.

Dick and, ultimately, Tommy casts men as Satan figures in *Tender Is the Night*. While Milton's Satan uses persuasive rhetoric to corrupt Eve, Nicole's doctors and lovers adopt and attempt to re-educate her, using their positions of power to tempt and control her. When Nicole is "recovering" well, Dick returns, and their literal transcendence to a paradise at the "true centre of the Western World" foreshadows his fall, which occurs in the garden of Nicole's mountain-top hotel in Zurich (149). I argue that when Dick embraces Nicole, he metaphorically eats the forbidden fruit. Although the women seem to seduce or deceive the men into eating this forbidden fruit, both Adam and Dick in fact choose their fate for love. Both falls also bring a storm, which physically enacts the devastation of the innocent world. As the Divers' paradise disappears into chaos, Fitzgerald's narrative quickly revolves back to the end of Book I, the site of the Divers' crumbling faux paradise in France.

My third chapter considers the peculiar events of Book III culminating in Nicole's seeming recovery and Dick's solitary banishment back to America. As the individual characters fade away, Fitzgerald leaves the reader with only a sense of universal disillusionment, which raises a number of critical questions. Is Fitzgerald attempting to rewrite his own troubled marital history? Is he suggesting that psychology, as the ultimate forbidden knowledge, will cause, or has caused, the fall of modern society? Is Book III merely the lost book of a fallen author, a product of a postlapsarian world?[5] This exploration leads me to the text's ultimate question: Does Dick fall from his own tragic flaw or sacrifice himself to save Nicole? I consider several possible interpretations of Fitzgerald's divergent and ambiguous conclusion, including Jackson's investigation of the paths of flight and redemption, as well as the ways in which Dick's fall complicates these seemingly divergent paths. To expand upon Jackson's ideas and ground these

[5] A year after the novel's publication, Fitzgerald wrote to his editor, Maxwell Perkins, "I would give anything if I hadn't had to write Part III of Tender Is the Night entirely on stimulant" (qtd. in Scribner xv).

perspectives, I read Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" from Dick's perspective, which suggests that he has in fact sacrificed himself in order to restore Nicole in an alteration of the literary tradition and an elucidation of Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent." I conclude that Fitzgerald successfully transcends his own artistic and personal past in his "extinction" of Dick, who so famously represents Fitzgerald himself.

CHAPTER ONE: CRAFTING THE ILLUSION OF A POSTLAPSARIAN PARADISE

In Book I, Fitzgerald depicts the Riviera as Dick and Nicole's seeming paradise, but he concurrently belies this depiction by exposing their fallen state. Although the couple's gluttonous consumption of pleasure and money yields a temporary high, this charade inevitably collapses to reveal their true melancholy. In order to craft this careful collapse, Fitzgerald first establishes Dick and Nicole as the Adam and Eve of their garden, the seemingly inseparable founders of their illusory French paradise, which they and their friends struggle to maintain. On the beach, their umbrellas define their space, creating "the atmosphere of a community upon which it would be presumptuous to intrude" (5). Juxtaposed against the other Americans' white skin, Dick and Nicole's "ruddy, orange brown" likewise indicates their "indigenous" status (6, 5).[6] When Rosemary asks Dick and Nicole if they like "this place," their friend Abe North, looking with "tenderness and affection on the two Divers," responds, "They have to like it. . . . They invented it" (17). Seeing the Divers surrounded by their clan, Rosemary feels "a purpose, a working over something, a direction, an act of creation different from any she had known" (19). In fact, she senses the great effort that the Divers and their friends exert to protect "this place" and its image. Calling Tommy a "watch-dog about the Divers," the narrator explains through Abe's focalization, "the fact of the The Divers together is more important to their friends than many of them realize" (43). When Nicole gestures towards the pebble pile that Dick has been raking and calls it "*Our* beach," she gives the impression that the entire beach, and indeed the entire Riviera rather than just this spot, belongs to the Divers (20).

Fitzgerald calls into question the seeming solidity of the Divers' status, however, by dramatizing their relative instability. The image of their picturesque mountain-top home and

[6] See Keller for an examination of tanned skin as an "emblem of modernity" (130).

terraced garden perched on the edge of a cliff portrays this precarious state: "The garden was bounded on one side by the house, from which it flowed and into which it ran, on two sides by the old village, and on the last by the cliff falling by ledges to the sea" (25). In this description, the cliff literally destabilizes their paradise by both physically exposing them to danger and metaphorically exposing their fallen state. As the garden is seamlessly bound by the house and the village, so Dick and Nicole seem bound to each other in their fate. Nicole (re)traces their jagged path as she walks along the terraced wall of her meticulously-maintained garden: "Following a walk marked by an intangible mist of bloom," Nicole pauses by "an enormous pine, the biggest tree in the garden" before continuing on "between kaleidoscopic peonies massed in pink clouds, black and brown tulips and fragile mauve-stemmed roses, transparent like sugar flowers in a confectioner's window—until, as if the scherzo of color could reach no further intensity, it broke off suddenly in mid-air, and went down to a level five feet below" (25, 26). The dash here dramatizes the garden's "intangible," "fragile," and "transparent" beauty by literally severing the image in an abrupt anticlimax. Nicole continues: "Descending to another ledge she reached a low, curved wall and looked down seven hundred feet to the Mediterranean Sea. . . . For a moment Nicole stood looking down at the Mediterranean but there was nothing to do with that, even with her tireless hands" (26-27). Nicole's inability to tame the sea as she tends her garden reflects the ultimate futility of their charade. When Dick remarks of "Nicole's garden," "She won't let it alone—she nags it all the time, worries about its diseases," he unconsciously alludes to Nicole's mental illness, which subsequently recurs (28).[7]

Having established this image of the Divers' precarious position, Fitzgerald begins to break down the illusion of their paradise. Using Pizer's concept of "negative epiphany," we can

[7] The depiction of Nicole's solitary tending of the garden recalls Eve's argument in *Paradise Lost* that she and Adam could work more efficiently if they separated: "Let us divide our labors, thou where choice / Leads thee" (IX.214-15). Their separation, of course, gives Satan the opportunity to trick Eve.

trace how Fitzgerald crafts this devolution through a series of revelations for the reader (106). The model scene of such a "negative epiphany" begins in Dick and Nicole's garden, where their dinner party appears literally to transcend the earth:

> The table seemed to have risen a little toward the sky like a mechanical dancing platform, giving the people around it a sense of being alone with each other in the dark universe, nourished by its only food, warmed by its only lights. And, as if a curious hushed laugh . . . were a signal that such a detachment from the world had been attained, the two Divers began suddenly to warm and glow and expand . . . . And for a moment the faces turned up toward them were like the faces of poor children at a Christmas tree. (34)

Fitzgerald crafts a seeming paradise in this image, in which Dick and Nicole are beacons of beauty and joy. As their guests become intoxicated by the scene, they begin to see the Divers as gods. This false euphoria, however, fades quickly: "Then abruptly the table broke up—the moment when the guests had been daringly lifted above conviviality into the rarer atmosphere of sentiment, was over before it could be irreverently breathed, before they had half realized it was there" (34). This metaphorical fall back to the ground foreshadows the "negative epiphany" that occurs when Nicole's mysterious breakdown ends the party. By repeatedly depicting this rise and fall throughout Book I, Fitzgerald dramatizes the vulnerability of the Divers' transcendence.

The predominant use of Rosemary's focalization further emphasizes the transcendence of the Divers' world, while the temporary shifts away from it remind the reader of its unreliability. Through Rosemary's innocent eyes, Dick and Nicole seem perfect. She even confesses to Dick, "I'm in love with you and Nicole" (63). Pizer agrees, "Rosemary's youthful impressionability lends an aura of the magical to the Divers" (107). This "aura," however, fluctuates with the

convoluted narrative voice, sometimes shifting imperceptibly with a glance and sometimes abruptly with an announcement. The perspective seems to switch to Nicole's focalization in the following passage, which unemotionally describes the very effect that Dick has had upon Rosemary: "Save among a few of the tough-minded and perennially suspicious, he had the power of arousing a fascinated and uncritical love. The reaction came when he realized the waste and extravagance involved" (27). On the one hand, this type of temporary shift allows Fitzgerald to undercut Rosemary's limited understanding of the Divers, further divulging their fallen state. On the other hand, Rosemary's point of view also helps Fitzgerald to veil these revelations, as he obscures the "negative epiphany" at the party. As Pizer explains, "because we have been experiencing the Divers almost entirely through Rosemary's glowing and breathless reaction, because the scene . . . is not described and its implications not made clear, we are not yet aware of the full import of what has been revealed" (109). Fitzgerald even includes such proclamations as "To resume Rosemary's point of view . . ." (28). This blunt transition playfully dramatizes Fitzgerald's narrative method and highlights Rosemary's significant role in both creating and exposing the Divers' faux paradise. In another moment of dramatic irony, the narrator explains,

> Her naïveté responded whole-heartedly to the expensive simplicity of the Divers, unaware of its complexity and its lack of innocence, unaware . . . that the simplicity of behavior also, the nursery-like peace and good will, that emphasis on the simpler virtues, was part of a desperate bargain with the gods and had been attained through struggles she could not have guessed at. (21)

We get a none-too-subtle allusion to the Divers' fall in this metafictional diatribe that juxtaposes their seeming "simplicity" against their true "lack of innocence."

The state of the Divers in France resembles the false sense of euphoria and transcendence that Adam and Eve experience upon eating the forbidden fruit in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Before returning to Adam, Eve feasts on the fruit by herself: "Greedily she engorged without restraint, / And knew not eating death: satiate at length, / And heightened as with wine, jocund and boon" (IX.791-93). Eve's voracious appetite here recalls Dick and Nicole's hedonistic consumption of pleasure and money, which yields only a temporary sense of joy. When Eve eats with Adam, they experience a similar effect:

> As with new wine intoxicated both
> They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
> Divinity within them breeding wings
> Wherewith to scorn the earth (IX.1008-11)

As the image of "swimming in mirth" brings to mind Rosemary's first impression of the Divers on the beach, the feeling of "intoxication" unavoidably reminds the reader of Dick's alcoholism. The sensation of "Divinity" here likewise recalls the depiction of Dick and Nicole's party guests looking up at them in reverence. As the Divers seem to literally rise up at their dinner table, Adam and Eve seem to "breed wings" that will allow them to transcend the earth. For both couples, however, these sensations only beget further deterioration.

Under the influence of this false intoxication, sex in both Milton's and Fitzgerald's works becomes a lustful and shameful act, rather than a natural and beautiful expression of wedded love.[8] When Rosemary overhears Dick and Nicole desperately planning a clandestine tryst, she becomes both aroused and repulsed by their fervor: "Now a strong current of emotion flowed through her, profound and unidentified. She did not know whether she was attracted or repelled, but only that she was deeply moved. It made her feel very alone . . . ." (54). Rosemary's

[8] The reader will remember that Milton boldly depicts prelapsarian sex between Adam and Eve.

perspective, however, veils this brief indication of Dick and Nicole's fallen state, preventing the reader from seeing the encounter itself. Just as readers can only glimpse Nicole's breakdown through Rosemary's eyes, we can only experience a hint of Dick and Nicole's passion through Rosemary's emotions. Adam and Eve undergo a similarly overwhelming sensation of lust in their intoxicated state: "he on Eve / Began to cast lascivious eyes, she him / As wantonly repaid; in lust they burn" (IX.1013-15). Adam leads Eve to a "shady bank," where

> they their fill of love and love's disport
> Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
> The solace of their sin, till dewy sleep
> Oppressed them, wearied with their amorous play. (IX.1042-45)

This fallen sexual act, rather than "sealing" Adam and Eve's marriage, "seals" the pair in their "mutual guilt." Upon conceding to their intoxicated lust, Adam and Eve feel shameful for the first time, clothe their naked bodies, and attempt to hide from God. These failed efforts to conceal their fallen state recall Dick and Nicole's own attempts to disguise their unhappiness from their friends and themselves.

Fitzgerald reinforces the now fallen state of sex through Dick's and Nicole's affairs, which end in the acknowledgment of their true melancholy. In the second half of Book II, Dick and Nicole return to Zurich, where Dick opens a clinic with one of Nicole's former physicians. When Nicole receives a letter from a recently discharged woman accusing Dick "in no uncertain terms of having seduced her daughter," Dick rebuffs the accusation, blaming the mother's mental illness for the confusion. The reader, however, is privy to Dick's memory of the "flirtatious little brunette": "In an idle, almost indulgent way, he kissed her" (187). This incident prompts Nicole's next breakdown and Dick's subsequent solitary leave of absence, which begins in

Munich, detours to America for his father's funeral, and ends in Rome, where he reunites with Rosemary four years after their initial flirtation. Naturally, they stop for a few drinks before finally having sex:

> Dick and Rosemary had luncheon at the Castelli dei Caesari, a splendid restaurant in a high-terraced villa overlooking the ruined forum of an undetermined period of the decadence. Rosemary took a cocktail and a little wine, and Dick took enough so that his feeling of dissatisfaction left him. Afterward they drove back to the hotel, all flushed and happy, in a sort of exalted quiet. She wanted to be taken and she was, and what had begun with a childish infatuation on a beach was accomplished at last. (213)

Their temporary height above the "ruins" of "decadence" parallels, with little subtlety, Dick's brief dissociation from his own ruined life. As the fleeting intoxication of their flirtation fades away like the flush from their afternoon drinks, Dick and Rosemary's affair ends in an almost dutiful anticlimax mimicked by this elliptical syntax and impersonal tone. Their subsequent realizations further elucidate the distinction between prelapsarian love and postlapsarian lust: "Dick's discovery that he was not in love with her, nor she with him, had added to rather than diminished his passion for her. Now that he knew he would not enter further into her life, she became the strange woman for him" (216). By acknowledging that their seeming love in fact began as "childish infatuation" and ended in "strange" dissociation, Dick finally admits the pretense of his affair: "Rome was the end of his dream of Rosemary" (220).

Rosemary's return to the Riviera in Book III prompts Nicole's long-awaited affair with Tommy. In her desire to have an "affair," rather than a "romance," Nicole echoes Dick's previous distinction between prelapsarian love and postlapsarian lust: "Nicole did not want any

vague spiritual romance—she wanted an 'affair'; she wanted change. . . . All summer she had been stimulated by watching people do exactly what they were tempted to do and pay no penalty for it—" (291). Nicole, of course, knows the "penalty" for giving in to temptation all too well. In fact, "she realized, thinking with Dick's thoughts, that from a superficial view it was a vulgar business to enter, without emotion, into an indulgence that menaced all of them" (291). Despite this knowledge, she "preferred" to imagine "that at any moment she could withdraw" while she actually proceeds (291). Feeling a "jealousy of youth," she "made her person into the trimmest of gardens," literally tending her own precarious beauty for the act (291). After she and Tommy have sex for the first time, Nicole experiences a sense of disillusionment similar to Dick's: "almost in the second of his flesh breaking away from hers she had a foretaste that things were going to be different than she had expected. She felt the nameless fear which precedes all emotions, joyous or sorrowful, inevitable as a hum of thunder precedes a storm" (294). Nicole's emotional "foretaste" in this moment recalls the storm that occurs after the Divers' fall in the Book II flashback and once again reveals their tainted state.[9]

Even in their postlapsarian shame, however, Dick and Nicole struggle to maintain their charade of contentment. For Dick, returning to the seeming safe haven of Switzerland is a final desperate effort to prolong his and Nicole's illusory stability: "We're beginning to turn in a circle. . . . Living on this scale, there's an unavoidable series of strains, and Nicole doesn't survive them" (179). Within the confines of the clinic, however, Dick can be the productive doctor, and Nicole can play the devoted wife. Linda De Roche explains, "Within a Swiss sanatorium, the beautiful and damned keep at bay the ominous forces of alienation and annihilation that threaten their existence" (50). The narrator describes the clinic, which includes

[9] The affair likewise marks another transference of Nicole's body and mind, which I will discuss further in my examination of men as Satan figures in Chapter Two.

a main building, a caddy house, individual houses, and a truck farm with workshops for "ergo-therapy": "Like Dohmler's it was of the modern type—no longer a single dark and sinister building but a small, scattered, yet deceitfully integrated village—Dick and Nicole had added much in the domain of taste, so that the plant was a thing of beauty, visited by every psychologist passing through Zurich" (181). The true "beauty" of this design, however, is its "deceit." De Roche observes this "fabrication" of Swiss sanatorium society, calling the clinic a "socially constructed illusion" (50).[10] Attempting to stave off her own mental illness, Nicole enacts the "construction" of this "illusion" by remodeling the clinic houses:

> Exteriorly these houses were as cheerful as the others; Nicole had designed the decoration and the furniture on a necessary base of concealed grills and bars and immovable furniture. She had worked with so much imagination . . . that no instructed visitor would have dreamed that the light, graceful filigree work at a window was a strong, unyielding end of a tether . . . . Her tireless eyes had made each room yield up its greatest usefulness. (183)

This effort to disguise reality mimics Dick and Nicole's attempts to gild the ruins of their fallen state. As the reference to Nicole's "tireless eyes" likewise recalls the image of her "tireless hands" tending her precariously-situated garden in France (27), the "usefulness" of these rooms only highlights Dick and Nicole's inability to rebuild so convincingly the crumbling façade of their marriage. As Fitzgerald's "instructed visitor" into the Divers' postlapsarian world, the reader now suspects the Divers' ultimate fate of rejection rather than confinement, no matter how well "concealed."

Juxtaposed against the faux paradise of Europe, America is a fallen place to which no one wants to return. Although Dick leaves America with the "illusions of eternal strength and health,

[10] For more on the role of Switzerland in Fitzgerald's fiction, see Bouzonviller.

and of essential goodness of people," Fitzgerald calls these "illusions of a nation" the "lies of generations of frontier mothers who had to croon falsely" (117). Fitzgerald's concept of the American dream here seems as tarnished as Dick and Nicole's marriage. Although Dick appears to embody Stern's "idea of America," marked by "deep feeling" and "hope," his experience aligns more closely with Stern's description of the "historical United States," marred by "commercialism" and "superficial sentimentalizing" (90). As the site of Nicole's sexual abuse, Abe North's murder, and Dick's father's death, Dick's America comes to represent brutal aggression and corrupt wealth. Fitzgerald emphasizes this portrayal with both repeated acts of American violence and allusions to a cartoon that "showed a stream of Americans pouring from the gangplank of a liner freighted with gold" (93). The cartoon comes to life in the train station, where an American women commits murder as "well-to-do Americans poured through . . . onto the platforms with frank new faces, intelligent, considerate, thoughtless, thought-for" (83). Later in Book II, Dick discovers that Abe North has been "beaten to death in a speakeasy in New York." The informants explain that Abe "just managed to crawl home to the Racquet Club to die—" before they begin to debate whether Abe belonged to the Racquet or Harvard Club (199). In the Book II flashback, the reader nearly recoils when Nicole's sexually abusive father reminds her first doctors in Zurich that "money is no object" in her treatment (128). With this simple phrase, Fitzgerald condemns these corrupted Americans, who futilely try to purchase their redemption in Europe.

Dick's journey to America in Book II for his father's funeral emphasizes the eerie portrayal in Book I of his homeland. As Dick stands over his father's grave, the narrator describes, "Dick had no more ties here now and did not believe he would come back. He knelt on the hard soil. These dead, he knew them all, their weather-beaten faces with blue flashing eyes,

the spare violent bodies, the souls made of new earth in the forest-heavy darkness of the seventeenth century" (205). In this scene, Dick bows down to a foreboding sense of history, paying his final homage to his forefathers. Of course, he cannot know when he bids farewell to "all" his "fathers" that he will return to their soil soon enough (205). In a similarly unsettling scene, Dick describes the view from his steamship as it departs: "The pier and its faces slide by and for a moment the boat is a piece accidentally split off from them; the faces become remote, voiceless, the pier is one of many blurs along the water front" (205). Dick himself almost becomes a specter in this peculiar depiction of his departure, reminiscent of crossing the River Styx. The uncanny image of blurred faces both concludes Dick's voyage and foreshadows his ultimate exile back to America.

After accepting the disappointment of his affair with Rosemary and the rapid deterioration of his marriage to Nicole, Dick goes off the metaphorical deep end in Rome, fulfilling his tragic, American potential. Intoxicated and frustrated by an unsatisfactory flirtation, Dick gets into an altercation with a cab driver: "The passionate impatience of the week leaped up in Dick and clothed itself like a flash of violence, the honorable, the traditional resource of his land; he stepped forward and slapped the man's face" (224). Dick is no longer merely a witness to but an enactor of a specifically American violence, the true inheritance of the fathers he thought he left behind. Although he briefly revels in this legacy, he cannot control it: "For a moment he stood over him in savage triumph—but even as a first pang of doubt shot through him the world reeled; he was clubbed down, and fists and boots beat on him in a savage tattoo" (226). As the fight literally inscribes him, Dick becomes the victim of his own violence. When Nicole's sister, Baby, who happens to be in Rome as well, comes to Dick's rescue in jail, she literally assumes the narrative (voice), suggesting Nicole's ultimate solitary redemption: "It had

been a hard night but she had the satisfaction of feeling that, whatever Dick's previous record was, they [she and Nicole] now possessed a moral superiority over him for as long as he proved of any use" (235). Dick's victimization or sacrifice becomes an important question of agency in both his fall and his exile.

CHAPTER TWO: REIMAGINING THE FALL

Before ultimately separating the Divers in Book III, Fitzgerald restages their fall as a flashback in Book II, confirming that Dick and Nicole have already fallen before the events in Book I and creating a cyclical structure that mimics their continual collapse. Set in the Zurich sanatorium during Nicole's treatment, this flashback frames Dick and Nicole's courtship within the context of psychiatry and the complicated relationship between doctor and patient. Blazek aptly notes that "psychiatry's aim to reconstruct mental health (or even the very framework of society) is misleading, to doctors and patients alike" (74). In Book II, Fitzgerald conducts a similarly partial reconstruction of Dick and Nicole's past through various perspectives and media, including direct quotations from Nicole's early letters to Dick, a nested narrative relaying her rape and subsequent treatment, and a passage of her interior monologue. In attempting to manage Nicole's mental health, her father, her doctors, and Dick arrest her agency and appropriate her narrative voice, inviting a feminist critique of the psychiatric power structure. Fetterley explains, "Under the guise of helping . . . psychiatry affords such men large areas of dominance over women, a dominance more insidious and far-reaching because so thoroughly disguised. Through psychiatry, men can define both reality and sanity for women" (114). This transgressive practice of psychiatry suggests Satan's invasion of Eve's dream in Book IV and his influential rhetoric in Book IX. The men in *Tender Is the Night* thus become Satan figures as they attempt to "define" Nicole's "reality and sanity."

The complexity of Fitzgerald's shifting narrative voice emphasizes the significance of who is, or seems to be, telling the story.[11] After Dick and Nicole meet at the clinic during the

[11] Milton similarly underscores narrative subjectivity by having Adam and Eve relay differing accounts of Eve's creation (IV.449-91, VIII.460-510) and having Eve pick up where the narrator leaves off in recounting Satan's

war, Nicole begins writing letters to Dick. Although we hear Nicole's direct voice in her letters, these letters have been reviewed by her doctors, diagnosed by Dick, and re-presented by the narrator through Dick's focalization. Blazek explains, "This professional presumption, that the interpretation of personal thoughts is warranted because the patient forgoes the right of privacy within the confines of clinical care, is one assumed by Dick . . . ." (75). As Dick enacts his "professional" role, the reader also "assumes" the position of psychiatrist. Initially, Dick diagnoses Nicole's letters using clinical and impersonal language: "The letters were divided into two classes, of which the first class, up to about the time of the armistice, was of marked pathological turn, and of which the second class, running from thence up the present, was entirely normal, and displayed a richly maturing nature" (121). In time, he begins to use the language of a psychoanalytic critic, reading her letter's poetic elements as symptoms of her psychosis: "There were other letters among them whose helpless caesuras lurked darker rhythms" (123). Where Nicole's narrative breaks off, however, Dick continues with his diagnosis, rewriting her experience in his medical discourse.

Dick's clinical analysis almost mocks the intimacy of Nicole's letters, in which she reveals intensely personal accounts of her hospitalization and treatment. She describes her commitment: "So there was one day that I went walking on Michigan Boulevard on and on for miles and finally they followed me in an automobile, but I wouldn't get in. Finally they pulled me in and there were the nurses. After that time I began to realize it all, because I could feel what was happening in others" (122). Nicole's vicarious feeling of "realization" parallels the reader's vicarious reception of her narrative. In a later letter that Dick still classifies as "pathological" (121), she writes, "The mental trouble is all over and besides that I am completely broken and

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invasion of her dream (IV.799-809, V.30-93). Interestingly, Eve also dismisses herself from Raphael's discussion of the universe, saying that she would prefer to hear the story later from Adam (VIII.48-57).

humiliated, if that was what they wanted" (123). In the physicality of this pathetic description, Nicole casts herself as the victim of her own treatment. She seems, however, to have achieved, or at least to have recognized, her ultimate desire for self-knowledge:

> Here I am in what appears to be a semi-insane-asylum, all because nobody saw fit to tell me the truth about anything. If I had only known what was going on like I know now I could have stood it I guess for I am pretty strong, but those who should have, did not see fit to enlighten me. / And now, when I know and have paid such a price for knowing, they sit there . . . and say that I should believe what I did believe. Especially one does but I know now. (123)

This passage reflects the fundamental imbalance in the psychiatric power structure: the doctors have knowledge of the patient that the patient herself does not have.[12] This knowledge becomes not merely a temptation but a commodity and a cure-all. Nicole pays the price of her seeming innocence because she believes that through her "enlightenment," she has gained power that she can use to tempt and control men, but this transitory power is ultimately belied in her marriage to Dick.

Although Nicole's letters supposedly communicate her psychiatric progress, her doctors relay her narrative to Dick (and the reader). Franz Gregorovius, the clinic pathologist, begins by telling Dick that Nicole's correspondence to him "was the best thing that could have happened to her . . . a transference of the most fortuitous kind" (120).[13] This partial "transference" of Nicole's "case" to Dick recalls her transference from her father to her doctors and raises the pivotal issue

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[12] I am considering the type of "discourse of power" that Foucault examined throughout his career. For his history of Western perspectives on madness and initial theoretical analysis of this "discourse" or "power-knowledge," see *Madness and Civilization*. Blazek briefly addresses Foucault's "argument about the negotiation between medical research and legal or social restraint" (82).

[13] While Franz refers to Freud's concept of unconscious emotional redirection, I am also suggesting the physical transference of Nicole's keeping. For more on Fitzgerald's engagement with Freudian "transference-love," see J. Berman.

of who stands to gain from Nicole's treatment. Franz, "tense with enthusiasm," continues, "In fact, I sent her [into Zurich] without a nurse, with a less stable patient. I'm intensely proud of this case, which I handled, with your accidental assistance" (120). Franz's smug satisfaction here suggests the personal stake that each man has in managing Nicole, which becomes apparent when Franz goes back to the beginning of the story: Nicole's arrival at the clinic with her father. In a private meeting with the doctors, Nicole's father finally confesses to her rape: "After her mother died when she was little she used to come into my bed every morning, sometimes she'd sleep in my bed. . . . We were just like lovers—and then all at once we were lovers (129). Dr. Dohmler, both enraged and depressed by this admission, alludes to Nicole: "That was a tragedy out there, in the February day, the young bird with wings crushed somehow and inside here it was all too thin, thin and wrong" (128). By referring to Nicole as "that" "out there," the doctor only emphasizes her position as an outsider, a receiver of both her own narrative and treatment. As Nicole progresses at the clinic, however, Dr. Dohmler experiments with new forms of therapy. Franz explains, "She really has an excellent mind, so he gave her a little Freud to read, not too much, and she was very interested. In fact, we've made rather a pet of her around here. But she is reticent" (131).[14] Calling Nicole their "pet" likewise dehumanizes her and emphasizes the doctors' control. Blazek agrees, arguing that the doctors are "taming and training" Nicole: "assigning selected literature by Freud is employed as a tool for her inculcation . . . ." (75). In her impending "transfer" to Dick, language becomes the doctors' most important "tool."

Nicole's "inculcation" recalls Satan's invasion of Eve's dream in *Paradise Lost*, in which Eve seems to transcend to Godhead after being tempted with the forbidden fruit. Having learned that Satan has escaped Hell, Gabriel sends Ithuriel and Zephron to search for him in the Garden:

him there they found

[14] For more on the role of Freudian psychology in Fitzgerald's (particularly short) fiction, see R. Berman.

> Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve;
> Assaying by his devilish art to reach
> The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
> Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams,
> Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
> Th' animal spirits that from pure blood arise
> Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
> At least distempered, discontented thoughts,
> Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires
> Blown up with high conceits engend'ring pride. (IV.799-809)

Satan perching at Eve's ear to invade her mind certainly evokes, in this context, the image of a psychiatrist sitting at a patient's head. The successive hard enjambments of "reach" and "forge" dramatize Satan's deep journey into Eve's imagination to conjure the dreamscape, a journey reminiscent of the psychiatrist's into the unconscious. Kerrigan, Rumrich, and Fallon note that the poet emphasizes Satan's method of "playing upon Eve's mental apparatus" (410n), as Nicole's doctors seem to toy with her. While Nicole is a passive recipient of her treatment, Eve is likewise helpless to resist Satan's mental invasion and must be rescued by the angels. While Satan fills Eve's mind with visions of "Vain hopes, vain aims," so Nicole initially feels that the doctors are trying to instill in her false hope: "I have had enough and it is simply ruining my health and wasting my time pretending that what is the matter with my / head is curable" (123). Even this "helpless caesura" in Nicole's letter reflects the poet's depiction of Eve's defenseless state. Adam, however, is quick to remind Eve that although Satan temporarily controlled her dreamscape, she has free will and as such can only fall by her own choice.

When Satan returns to the Garden to complete his corruption, Eve falls prey to his illogic: "his words replete with guile / Into her heart too easy entrance won," while "in her ears the sound / Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregnated / With reason, to her seeming, and with truth" (IX.733-43, 736-38). Although Eve is tricked by Satan's rhetoric, she chooses to disobey God. She speaks these final thoughts before eating the forbidden fruit:

> "What fear I then, rather what know to fear
> Under this ignorance of good and evil,
> Of God or death, of law or penalty?
> Here grow the cure of all, this fruit divine,
> Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,
> Of virtue to make wise: what hinders then
> To reach, and feed at once both body and mind?" (IX.773-79)

Just as Nicole desires above all self-knowledge to repair her mental health, Eve recognizes her own "ignorance" and believes that the fruit, as "the cure of all," can bring only enlightenment. With this "cure" within Eve's grasp, the striking enjambment of "then" "reaches" to the next line, lengthening ever so slightly this last moment of her deliberation. By accepting the price for knowledge, Eve asserts her agency. This issue of free will, an important one for Milton, becomes equally complicated in *Tender Is the Night*. Although Nicole is forcefully raped and committed, she eventually becomes complicit in her own "re-education" by reading the Freud that the doctors give her, taking on the role of a nurse, and marrying Dick (154).

Although Eve and Nicole thus fall under false influences, both Dick and Adam feel vulnerable to their wives' female beauty and charm. Adam describes his attraction to Eve:

> here passion first I felt,

Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else

Superior and unmoved, here only weak

Against the charm of beauty's powerful glance. (VIII.530-33)

Although Adam believes that he is "Superior" to Eve, the enjambment of "weak" dramatizes his "only" flaw. In a reversal of the male gaze, Adam depicts "beauty's powerful glance" as arresting *his* will. Adam continues,

when I approach

Her loveliness, so absolute she seems

And in herself complete, so well to know

Her own, that what she wills to do or say,

Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best; (VIII.546-50)

The repetition of "seems" emphasizes that Eve's beauty falsely undermines Adam's own virtue and voice. Dick is likewise threatened by Nicole's beauty and seeming control, initially not even realizing that she is a patient. He describes their first meeting: "—I caught up with a nurse and a young girl. I didn't think the girl was a patient; I asked the nurse about the tram times and we walked along. The girl was about the prettiest thing I ever saw" (120). Dick immediately identifies Nicole by her youth and beauty, which seem almost to disguise her subordinate status as a patient. The narrator later describes one of their early meetings: "Her cream-colored dress, alternately blue or gray as they walked, and her very blonde hair, dazzled Dick—whenever he turned toward her she was smiling a little, her face lighting up like an angel's . . . . as Dick became less and less certain of his relationship to her, her confidence increased—there was that excitement about her that seemed to reflect all the excitement of the world" (135). Dick's

uncertainty in his own position as the doctor reverses the psychiatric power dynamic, affording Nicole a temporary sense of authority.

In light of such pronounced weakness to feminine beauty, both Adam and Dick are warned not to succumb to the women they love. Just as Dick's fellow doctors (Nicole's psychiatrists) advise him to resist Nicole's charm, Raphael warns Adam not to be ruled by Eve's beauty. When Adam tells Raphael how enamored he is with Eve, Raphael cautions: "Fair no doubt, and worthy well / Thy cherishing, thy honoring, and thy love, / Not thy subjection" (VIII.568-70). Raphael, and indeed Milton, draw a fine line between marriage and subjugation, for even the relative equality of prelapsarian marriage must not infringe upon good judgment and free will: "true love," Raphael counsels, "consists not" in "passion," but in "reason" (VIII.590, 549, 591). Finally, Raphael repeats his admonishment distinguishing lust from reasonable love: "take heed lest passion sway / Thy judgment to do aught, which else free will / Would not admit" (VIII.635-37). Fitzgerald considers a similarly difficult distinction between marital devotion and subjugation through Dick and Nicole's doctor/patient relationship. When Dick admits to Dr. Dohmler and Franz, "I'm half in love with her—the question of marrying her has passed through my mind" (140), Franz cannot help but interject, "What! And devote half your life to being doctor and nurse and all—never! I know what these cases are. One time in twenty it's finished in the first push—better never see her again!" (140). The sense of certain impending disaster in Franz's warning highlights the dramatic irony created by Fitzgerald's broken timeline. As the reader of *Paradise Lost* knows from Genesis that Adam and Eve will fall, the reader of *Tender Is the Night* has begun through Book I to reconstruct Dick and Nicole's downfall. The group of doctors finally concludes: "It was late afternoon when they wound up the discussion as to what

Dick should do, he must be most kind and yet eliminate himself" (141). Of course, they intend that he should "eliminate himself" *from* her life, rather than *within* her life.

After initially parting ways as doctor and patient, Dick and Nicole meet again in a mountain-climbing car in Zurich: "When the funicular came to rest those new to it stirred in suspension between the blues of two heavens. . . . Then up and up over a forest path and a gorge—then again up a hill that became solid with narcissus, from passengers to sky" (149). This literal transcendence to a paradise at the "true centre of the Western World" foreshadows Dick and Nicole's fall, which naturally occurs in the garden of Nicole's mountain-top hotel.[15] In this garden, Dick chooses Nicole, disregarding the warnings of her doctors in a moment of seeming weakness that recalls Raphael's admonishment to Adam: "He was in for it now, possessed by a vast irrationality" (154). When Dick embraces Nicole, he metaphorically eats the forbidden fruit: "As he held her and tasted her, and as she curved in further and further toward him, with her own lips, new to herself, drowned and engulfed in love, yet solaced and triumphant, he was thankful to have an existence at all, if only as a reflection in her wet eyes" (155). In this description, Nicole plays the role of both tempter and temptation. Like Eve, she offers Dick the forbidden fruit, but the fruit she offers is in fact her own mind and body. Fitzgerald's peculiar description of Nicole's lips as "new to herself" seems to correspond to Eve's own inexperience with sin. As Nicole is newly aware of her sexual influence, Eve has only just experienced the false power of the fruit, and she too is "drowned and engulfed" in seeming Godhead. In this moment, the "further and further" Dick commits, the farther and farther they fall.

Although Nicole seems to seduce Dick into his fall, he arguably chooses his fate for love, as does Adam in *Paradise Lost*. In the scene where Eve returns from the Tree of Knowledge to

[15] De Roche considers how the funicular infringes upon and undermines the "Edenic landscape": "In this scene . . . human intervention and manipulation of the natural landscape have about them, however unwittingly, something sinister, something of the snake in the garden compromising paradise" (62).

offer Adam the forbidden fruit, Milton emphasizes the fact that Adam is not deceived by Eve and decides to disobey God out of love. Although he recognizes that she has been tricked, he chooses to share in her fate:

> O fairest of creation, last and best
> Of all God's works, creature in whom excelled
> Whatever can to sight or thought be formed,
> Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
> How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost,
> Defaced, deflow'red, and now to death devote?
> Rather how hast thou yielded to transgress
> The strict forbiddance, how to violate
> The sacred fruit forbidd'n! Some curséd fraud
> Of enemy hath beguiled thee, yet unknown,
> And me with thee hath ruined, for with thee
> Certain my resolution is to die. (IX.896-907)

Even in lamenting Eve's corruption, Adam reaffirms his love and adoration for her. As his alliterative description of her "defaced" state echoes his catalogue of praise, the successive enjambment of "transgress" and "violate" dramatizes both the severity of her decision to eat the fruit and his decision "to die" with her. The repetition and enjambment of "with thee" in the penultimate line reinforce the breadth and certainty of Adam's commitment to Eve.

In like manner, Dick knows that Nicole has been abused by her father and trained by her doctors, yet still decides to marry her. In committing himself to her, he commits not only his life but his voice: "It occurred to Dick suddenly, as it might occur to a dying man that he had

forgotten to tell where his will was, that Nicole had been ‘re-educated’ by Dohmler and the ghostly generations behind him; it occurred to him also that there would be so much she would have to be told. But having recorded this wisdom within himself, he yielded to the insistent face-value of the situation . . . .” (154). The “face-value” here seems to be his sincere love for Nicole. Just as their initial separation “make[s] him realize once more how far his emotions were involved,” their reunion inspires him to accept their seemingly inevitable commitment (146). This decision to marry Nicole effectively ends Dick’s previous life, and simultaneously initiates his next journey. The narrator describes,

> A ride in a train can be a terrible, heavy-hearted or comic thing; it can be a trial flight; it can be a prefiguration of another journey just as a given day with a friend can be long, from the taste of hurry in the morning up to the realization of both being hungry and taking food together. Then comes the afternoon with the journey fading and dying, but quickening again at the end. Dick was sad to see Nicole’s meagre joy; yet it was a relief for her, going back to the only home she knew. They made no love that day, but when he left her outside the sad door on the Zurichsee and she turned and looked at him he knew her problem was one they had together for good now. (157)

The ride described here seems to represent Dick and Nicole’s circuitous path to their fall. As Fitzgerald’s portrayal of the couple builds slowly through Book I, his narrative speeds back toward the “sudden” moment of loss in Book II. This cycle of realization, fading, and falling “prefigures” every repetition of their spiraling demise, which is reflected in the repetitive structure of multi-clause sentences. While Adam mourns Eve’s naïve delight at her own corruption, Dick likewise laments Nicole’s “meager joy” at returning to the sanitarium. Dick’s

final statement here becomes his marriage vow to Nicole, recalling Adam's final resolution to fall, "from thy state / Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe." (IX.915-15).

Both couples' falls bring a storm, which physically enacts the devastation of the innocent world. Milton describes the storm after Adam and Eve's fall:

> Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
> In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan;
> Sky loured, and muttering Thunder, some sad drops
> Wept at completing of the mortal sin
> Original; (IX.1000-04)

The personification of nature as a mother contracting with pain elicits a sense of pity from the reader, heightening the pathetic fallacy. As the sky weeps for humankind's loss, the reader remembers that Adam and Eve's decision has affected not only themselves, but all future generations. Fitzgerald's storm creates a much more frightening than pitiful scene:

> Then the storm came swiftly, first falling from the heavens, then doubly falling in torrents from the mountains and washing loud down the roads and stone ditches; with it came a dark, frightening sky and savage filaments of lightning and world-splitting thunder, while ragged, destroying clouds fled along past the hotel. Mountains and lake disappeared—the hotel crouched amid tumult, chaos, and darkness. (156)

Dick and Nicole have set into motion a destructive flood that builds upon itself as it travels down the mountain, physically reenacting their impending ruin. The violent diction in this single, prolific sentence threatens to demolish the postlapsarian world rather than mourn its loss of innocence. As the Divers' paradise disappears into "tumult, chaos, and darkness," Fitzgerald

reconstructs their narrative by revolving back to the end of Book I, the site of the Divers' collapsing faux paradise in France.

Book II returns to this site through a brief and fragmented passage from Nicole's perspective that seems to shift between interior monologue and memories of dialogue with various characters, including Dick, her sister Baby, and Tommy. Skipping through time with ellipses over a span of only four pages, Fitzgerald alludes to Dick and Nicole's early years together, the births of their children, their disagreements over Nicole's inheritance, and Nicole's bouts of mental illness, which seem to drift in and out of their lives as her thoughts drift through time. Just as the doctors appropriate and pathologize Nicole's letters, however, this interior monologue subverts Nicole's voice, calling attention to Fitzgerald's own crafting of this metafictional passage: "Tommy says I am silent. . . . Talk is men. When I talk I say to myself that I am probably Dick. Already I have been my son, remembering how wise and slow he is. Sometimes I am Doctor Dohmler and one time I may even be an aspect of you, Tommy Barban" (162). In periods of wellness, Nicole seems to regain her voice and assert her independence, only then to surrender this autonomy to another Satan figure who invades her mind and body. Fetterley explains, "Nicole is well when she is able to fall in love and thus to complete the process of 'transferring' her 'blocked' love for her father to another man" (115). This, of course, first occurs when she falls in love with Dick. Her next transference takes place in Book III, when she consummates her affair with Tommy: "For the first time in ten years, she was under the sway of a personality other than her husband's. Everything Tommy said to her became part of her forever" (293). Nicole has now "become" Tommy and his "talk," just as she herself predicted. In the enactment of this "nascent transference to another man," Tommy then becomes Nicole's newest embodiment of Satan (301): "Tommy ordered two cognacs, and when the door closed

behind the waiter, he sat in the only chair, dark, scarred and handsome, his eyebrows arched and upcurling, a fighting Puck, an earnest Satan" (294). This mischievous image certainly recalls Milton's "Arch-Fiend" disguised as a "lovely" serpent who intoxicates with his words (I.209, IX.504). When Nicole laments in her interior monologue, "I'm afraid of falling, I'm so heavy and clumsy" (150), she conflates falling down, falling from grace, and falling in love through her continual transference, recalling Eve's punishment of subjugation in *Paradise Lost*: "to thy husband's will / Thine shall submit, he over thee shall rule" (X.193-95). If Dick and Nicole straddle this line between submission and devotion in choosing each other, then Book II poses the question that will pervade Book III: Is Dick Nicole's Satan or savior?

CHAPTER THREE: RECONSIDERING THE TRADITION

In Book III, Fitzgerald diverges from both Genesis and *Paradise Lost* by separating Dick and Nicole indefinitely, leaving critics and readers wondering what to make of Fitzgerald's conclusion. The book chronicles a bizarre series of brief events juxtaposing Dick's decline into alcoholism against Nicole's improving health and results in the anticlimactic dissolution of their marriage matter-of-factly declared by Tommy Barban. These strange events include the death of one of Dick's patients, the appearance in Lausanne and subsequent disappearance back to America of Nicole's dying father, Dick's resignation from the clinic amidst accusations of alcoholism, the Divers' return to the Riviera in all their pomp and circumstance, a contentious visit to Mary North's new home that ends with a dispute over dirty bathwater, an altercation with their cook, an altercation at a boat party, Rosemary's return, Nicole's affair with Tommy, and Dick's bailout of Mary North from the French police after she is arrested for pretending to be a French sailor on leave. Amidst these peculiar proceedings, Dick and Nicole begin to acknowledge their corruption and loss. When Nicole confesses to Dick, "Some of the time I think it's my fault—I've ruined you," Dick replies, "So I'm ruined, am I?" and later repeats "You ruined me, did you? . . . Then we're both ruined" (267, 273). By finally accepting and voicing their fallen state, Dick and Nicole seem to free themselves from the charade of their happy marriage. This sort of freedom could presumably afford them the opportunity to begin a new life together, as Adam and Eve do at the end of *Paradise Lost*.

In Milton's final book, Adam and Eve are reunited in the acceptance of their loss and God's punishment. Although they are banished from Paradise as mortals, they take comfort in the happy days they will spend together and the knowledge of their eternal salvation in the Son's

sacrifice, which Michael reveals to them. In a renewal of her marriage vows, Eve resolves to follow Adam wherever he may go:

lead on;

In me is no delay; with thee to go,

Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,

Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me

Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,

Who for my willful crime art banished hence. (XII.614-19)

Eve's circumlocution here in fact expresses a simple sentiment: *her* paradise is with Adam. As Nicole accepts her role in Dick's demise, Eve too acknowledges her part in the Fall. The restoration of the regular meter in the final line seems to settle any hesitation in her rambling resolution. After a moment of lament, Adam and Eve walk out of Paradise together:

They looking back, all th' eastern side beheld

Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,

. . . . . .

Some natural tears they dropped, but wiped them soon;

The world was all before them, where to choose

Their place of rest, and providence their guide:

They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,

Through Eden took their solitary way. (XII.641-49)

As Adam and Eve turn their glance from Paradise to the outside world, the corresponding enjambments of "beheld" and "choose" dramatize the scope of both their past and their future. The penultimate line's repeated alliteration likewise enhances the rhythm, mimicking their

"slow" and steady walk. As Kerrigan, Rumrich, and Fallon note, "The end-words of the last two lines quietly, satisfyingly rhyme with *go* and *stay*" from Eve's earlier resolution (630n). In this poignant departure, their "solitary way" marks their singular burden of losing an innocence that future generations can only imagine.

Adam and Eve's satisfying solidarity in the final book of *Paradise Lost* stands in stark contrast to Dick and Nicole's unsettling collapse in the final book of *Tender Is the Night*. After another altercation at their home in France, Nicole returns to her garden feeling newly liberated: "In the fine spring morning the inhibitions of the male world disappeared and she reasoned as gaily as a flower, while the wind blew her hair until her head moved with it" (276). In the context of Nicole's continuing re-education, the word "reasoned" becomes singularly significant. By employing her own logic, she breaks the binds of her treatment. As tensions rise with Dick, Nicole begins to settle into her blossoming health: "Nicole relaxed and felt new and happy; her thoughts were clear as good bells—she had a sense of being cured in a new way" (289). While the repetition of "new" seems to emphasize that Nicole is breaking free of her old pattern of transference, her sudden inspiration to write Tommy a "provocative letter" belies this feeling of "completion" (289). By recognizing how her doctors have appropriated her voice, however, Nicole makes the strongest case yet for her recovery: "It had been a long lesson but she had learned it. Either you think—or else others have to think for you and take power from you, pervert and discipline your natural tastes, civilize and sterilize you" (290). In this powerful assertion, Nicole uses the doctors' own clinical language to declare her independence, turning the "lesson" of their inculcation against them. She even voices her burgeoning recovery to Tommy. When he accuses her of beginning to develop "white crook's eyes," she responds, "I have no mirror here . . . but if my eyes have changed it's because I'm well again. And being well

perhaps I've gone back to my true self—" (292). Although the dash destabilizes Nicole's assertion, the repetition of her claim indicates her growing certitude. In this idea of the "true self," Fitzgerald seems to suggest that some kind of return to innocence is possible for Nicole: "Moment by moment all that Dick had taught her fell away and she was ever nearer to what she had been in the beginning . . . ." (298).

Rather than inspiring a revival in Dick, Nicole's recovery seems to necessitate or at least correlate with his demise. After her affair with Tommy, Nicole reaches out to Dick in a moment of remorse, but he lashes back, "I can't do anything for you any more. I'm trying to save myself" (301). Hurt by the accusation of her corruption, Nicole begins "to feel the old hypnotism of his intelligence," but recovers her independent resolve in an "inner battle": "And suddenly, in the space of two minutes she achieved her victory and justified herself to herself without lie or subterfuge, cut the cord forever" (302). This somewhat anticlimactic confrontation finally terminates their lingering love and incites the process of their legal and physical separation. The narrator concludes the chapter through Dick's focalization: "The case was finished. Doctor Diver was at liberty" (302). Dick's "liberty" of course comes at the price of his exile, a price he accepted in dedicating his life to Nicole. The narrator reflects, "back in Dohmler's clinic on the Zürichsee, . . . he had made his choice, chosen Ophelia, chosen the sweet poison and drunk it. Wanting above all to be brave and kind, he had wanted, even more than that, to be loved. So it had been" (302). When Dick "embrace[s] the old gardener who had made the first garden at Villa Diana six years ago," he recalls Adam and Eve's last look back at Paradise (311). His solitary farewell before returning to America gives new meaning to Milton's depiction of Adam and Eve's "solitary way" out of the Garden of Eden. The book's final sentence relays Nicole's sketchy knowledge of Dick's circumstances in America: "Perhaps, so she liked to think, his

career was biding its time . . . . his latest note was post-marked from Hornell, New York, which is some distance from Geneva and a very small town; in any case he is almost certainly in that section of the country, in one town or another" (313). The distanced authorial voice here creates a sense of timeless obscurity emphasized by the shift from past to present tense. As the individual characters fade away, Fitzgerald leaves the reader with only quiet disillusionment.

Critics have approached this ambiguous conclusion from various perspectives, or perhaps more accurately, appropriated it for their many purposes. Fetterley returns to Fitzgerald's biography in her feminist reading: "Profoundly autobiographical in its central impulses, *Tender Is the Night* has buried at its heart Scott's awareness that his sanity and his career were purchased at the price of Zelda's and purchased by his manipulation of the power accorded men over women. For such knowledge, what forgiveness? From such guilt, what else but flight?" (117). Fetterley's idea of "flight" finds multiple meanings in the novel's conclusion. As tensions rise with Nicole, Dick begins to flee the scene of his deteriorating marriage more frequently, making his return to America his final flight. Flight is likewise a fitting juxtaposition to descent, which more aptly describes Dick's departure. Blazek considers the novel's conclusion in the context of psychiatry: "Critical interpretation of why he forces himself out of the marriage . . . might include the possibility that he is fulfilling his last professional obligation to her, or that he recognizes the futility of holding on to the object of his investigative gaze, or that his disillusionment with the psychiatric profession leaves him with no other alternative than to set her and himself free" (82). Blazek's catalogue represents the scope of valid, critical interpretations: his possibilities include Dick sacrificing himself for Nicole, Dick failing to repress Nicole, and Dick liberating them both. What unites these possibilities, and even

Fetterley's reading, is the assumption of a certain amount of agency in Dick's flight to America, which serves as his solitary banishment.

If we accept that Dick chooses his ultimate exile on some level, then the meaning of Fitzgerald's uncertain conclusion seems to lie in the crucial question of whether Dick falls because of his own tragic flaw or sacrifices himself to restore Nicole. Jackson considers these two possible interpretations: "In the aftermath of a fall one may flee from time in search of one's lost repose, or one may accept temporal affliction (if not guilt) for the sake of others' redemption (if not one's own)" (436). Dick seems to waver between these responses throughout the novel, often fleeing to escape his chosen fate temporarily but always returning to honor his commitment to Nicole. Jackson continues,

> The first path deemphasizes individual identity and the decisiveness of moral choice, the key to tranquility being (in the extreme) the acceptance of one's own nothingness and the utter ineffability of its origin and end. The second path accents personal identity and moral choice as crucial—as irreducible parts of lived reality and of whatever reality by which one's life may be judged—and thus sees the flight to nonentity as a temptation and an avoidance of responsibility. (436)

Dick's fall could arguably be described as a failure to maintain the second path, to accept his "temporal affliction" and believe in the "decisiveness of moral choice." These paths, however, become confused in his exile. Although he fades away into "nothingness," he appears to do so for the sake of Nicole's "redemption." Jackson, for one, argues that although Dick's "finish remains one of moral bankruptcy," his "final act of kindness is to not take Nicole with him into this dark night . . . ." (429).

Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale," a portion of which serves as the novel's epigraph, casts a telling light upon Fitzgerald's conclusion and serves as a kind of epilogue to Dick's journey. This poetic allusion recalls an early meeting in the Zurich sanatorium in which Dr. Dohmler refers to Nicole as "the young bird with wings crushed somehow" (128), fittingly casting her as the nightingale to whom Keats's poem is addressed.[16] In the first stanza, the speaker seems to embody Dick's faded presence at the end of the novel:

> My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains
>
> My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk,
>
> Or emptied some dull opiate to the drains
>
> One minute past, and Lethe-wards had sunk. (1-4)

As the lonely lament of a man fallen into obscurity, these lines evoke a sense of pity and allow readers to envision Dick in the tradition of the tragic, Romantic hero. If we apply the penultimate stanza to Fitzgerald's narrative, however, Dick seems to be speaking and rejoicing in Nicole's rebirth:

> Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird!
>
> No hungry generations tread thee down;
>
> The voice I hear this passing night was heard
>
> In ancient days by emperor and clown:
>
> Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
>
> Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
>
> She stood in tears amid the alien corn;
>
> The same that ofttimes hath
>
> Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam

[16] For more on Nicole as the nightingale, see Doherty.

Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn. (61-70)

This stanza suggests that Dick has sacrificed himself in order to restore Nicole. Keats's "hungry generations" recall the "ghostly generations" of men and doctors who have burdened Nicole as well as the "souls" of all Dick's "fathers" who stare up at him from their graves in America (153, 205). Although these figures have suppressed Dick, they cannot defeat Nicole, whose immortal voice concludes the novel.[17] This stanza also acts as a poignant metaphor for the burden of literary tradition that Fitzgerald bears in retelling the story of the Fall from Genesis. Like the "voice" that "was heard / In ancient days," this "self-same song" has become a canonical standard. By releasing Nicole from Eve's fate at the end of *Paradise Lost*, he frees her from this burden, and in doing so forever changes the literary tradition itself. Fitzgerald's separation of Dick and Nicole allows for the realization of the ode's "simultaneous wish for solace and self-destruction" (McGowan 205). Just as Adam and Eve ultimately find "solace" through their "self-destruction" in eternal afterlife, the Divers can find some relief from Dick's "self-destruction" in Nicole's recovery. Fitzgerald can likewise find comfort through his own self-sacrifice in the immortality of his art.

T. S. Eliot envisioned a concept of authorial self-sacrifice to the ever-evolving literary tradition in his eminent essay, "Tradition and the Individual Talent." The process begins in the comparison of the existing and the new: "No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead" (538). In comparing *Tender Is the Night* and *Paradise Lost*, we retroactively reenact this process that Eliot imagines being conducted by an author's contemporaries. He continues, "The necessity that he [the

[17] Keats's allusion to the Book of Ruth is also intriguing in this context. While the nightingale's song in the poem bolsters Ruth's loyal resolve to follow her mother-in-law, Dick's latent loyalty to Nicole in the novel may in fact require him to leave her.

author] shall conform, that he shall cohere, is not one-sided; what happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art which preceded it" (538). In this stage of the process, Eliot describes a sort of physical manifestation of the literary tradition that molds and is molded by the new work. We can understand more clearly that "something happens" not to the works themselves but to the way that we read them within their canonical context. Eliot elaborates, "The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the whole existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted; and this is conformity between the old and the new" (538). In the case of *Tender Is the Night*, Dick's solitary exile becomes Fitzgerald's sacrifice to the Miltonic tradition that he has inherited. By making this sacrifice, Fitzgerald simultaneously joins the "existing order" and "slightly alters" it to include his "novel" work, enlightening Eliot's abstruse ideas.

Fitzgerald's sacrifice, however, is neither singular nor temporary, but constantly evolving in his own body of work. Eliot describes,

> What is to be insisted upon is that the poet must develop or procure the consciousness of the past and that he should continue to develop this consciousness throughout his career. What happens is a continual surrender of himself as he is at the moment to something which is more valuable. The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality. (539)

The distinction between "surrender" and "sacrifice" becomes important in light of Fitzgerald's relation to Dick and the recurring question of Dick's agency. While "self-sacrifice" implies that Fitzgerald actively removes himself for the sake of the art, "surrender" suggests that he is yielding to the greater power of the tradition. The tension between these two connotations

parallels the productive ambiguity of Dick's return to America and embodies Eliot's intricacy. To the extent that *Tender Is the Night* builds particularly upon *The Great Gatsby*, Fitzgerald actively progresses as Eliot describes here, and perhaps reaches an artistic pinnacle in his "extinction" of Dick, whom many critics and readers have traditionally interpreted as a surrogate for the novelist. Stern explains the progression of the two novels, "*The Great Gatsby* traces the evolution of the dream, and the disillusion occupies only a fragmentary moment at the end of the story. *Tender Is the Night* traces the evolution of the disillusion, and the narrative unfolding of the dream occupies only a small part at the beginning of the story" (*Broken* 85).[18] This fulfillment of disillusion finds its only solace in Dick's exile and Nicole's resulting restoration, and seems to parallel Fitzgerald's own evolving consciousness.

Eliot's preoccupation with the influence of tradition is evident in his own critiques of many writers, including Milton.[19] First published in 1936, two years after *Tender Is the Night*, Eliot's "Milton I" considers not only Milton's character and poetry, but his influence on other writers.[20] Charging Milton with a "peculiar kind of deterioration" of the English language, Eliot asserts that Milton's literal and figurative blindness resulted in an overly-heightened poetic aurality at the expense of "particular" and "perpetual novelty" of language, which Shakespeare championed (156). Even more significant, and more scathing, than Eliot's charge against Milton's language is the indictment of his influence: "There is a good deal more to the charge against Milton than this; and it appears a good deal more serious if we affirm that Milton's poetry

[18] McGowan goes further and considers how the "concealed conversation between Keats's ode and Fitzgerald's fiction" begins in *The Great Gatsby* and "is continued and expanded in *Tender*" (210).

[19] Eliot, in contrast, adored *The Great Gatsby*, and in a letter to Fitzgerald dated December 31, 1925, he wrote, "it has interested and excited me more than any new novel I have seen, either English or American, for a number of years. [. . .] In fact it seems to me to be the first step that American fiction has taken since Henry James…" (*Crack-Up* 310). Interestingly, Eliot compares James to Milton in his essay "Milton I."

[20] Eliot contends, "Either from the moralist's point of view, or from the theologian's point of view, or from the psychologist's point of view, or from that of the political philosopher, or judging by the ordinary standards of likeableness in human beings, Milton is unsatisfactory" (156).

could only be an influence for the worse, upon any poet whatever. It is more serious, also . . . if we say that it was an influence against which we still have to struggle" (157).[21] Despite the questionable validity of this assertion, we see Eliot engaging here with his own process of evaluating the evolving canon. In fact, Eliot recalls "Tradition and the Individual Talent" when he clarifies the "two attitudes both of which are necessary and right to adopt in considering the work of any poet": "One is when we isolate him, when we try to understand the rules of his own game, adopt his own point of view: the other, perhaps less usual, is when we measure him by outside standards, most pertinently by the standards of language and of something called Poetry, in our own language and in the whole history of European literature" (164). To "measure" or be measured by these daunting "standards" becomes the critic's goal and the author's burden in Eliot's conception of the ever-evolving tradition.

First delivered to the British Academy in 1947, Eliot's subsequent essay, "Milton II," attempts to build upon and clarify the assertions he made in "Milton I." He initially cites Keats scholar Middleton Murry's critique of Milton: "To pass under the spell of Milton is to be condemned to imitate him" (qtd. in Eliot 169). Although Eliot ultimately concludes that authors now "are sufficiently liberated from Milton's reputation" (183), I am more interested in how Eliot defines the goals of the practitioner (or writer) in criticism: "The practitioner is concerned less with the author than with the poem; and with the poem in relation to his own age. . . . the practitioner should be able . . . to make an old master-piece actual, give it contemporary importance, and persuade his audience that it is interesting, exciting, enjoyable, and active" (166). Eliot alludes here to the difficult relationship between art, authors, and temporality, but in far more concrete language than that of "Traditional and the Individual Talent." Although I am

[21] This charge is perhaps rivaled by the following review of *Paradise Lost*: "So far as I perceive anything, it is a glimpse of a theology that I find in large part repellent, expressed through a mythology which would have better been left in the Book of Genesis, upon which Milton has not improved" (163).

certainly not suggesting that we read *Tender Is the Night* as Fitzgerald's critique of *Paradise Lost*, I do propose that the novel fulfills this goal of resituating and thereby reviving Milton's masterpiece, in much the same way that it may be thought of as joining and altering the Miltonic tradition.

Despite the disparagement of many early critics, the autobiographical foundation of Fitzgerald's novel seems to allow him both to reflect and reimagine the past. By astutely observing how modernity both repeats and expands upon the cycle of history, he skillfully enacts this process on the page, creating a literary homage to his unique time. As he attempts to restore a troubled past by looking toward an indeterminate future, Fitzgerald circles back to the present, where he ultimately sacrifices his own life story to earn a place in both history and the ever-evolving canonical tradition.

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