

11-1998

Bibliography, Cultural Studies, and Rare Book Librarianship: Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" and the Cultural Significance of Unauthoritative Texts

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Publication Info

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SAMLA Textual & Bibliographical Studies Section, 1998: “Who needs textual studies?”

**BIBLIOGRAPHY, CULTURAL STUDIES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARIANSHIP:
TENNYSON’S “CROSSING THE BAR”
AND THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF UNAUTHORITATIVE TEXTS**

Patrick Scott, University of South Carolina-Columbia

I have been haunted this past week, as we must all have been, by a brief news item about a Dr. Piers Brendon, a Tractarian scholar who serves as archivist at Churchill College, Cambridge. The College recently acquired the political papers of Lady Thatcher, and as is so often the case with extensive collections, the Thatcher Collection brought with it items Dr. Brendon had not initially foreseen, not just papers but personal realia. Dr. Brendon’s response was uncompromising, worthy of the Iron Lady herself, or of her evident stage original Lady Bracknell, the crisp and simple statement: “We don’t want any handbags.”¹

One knows how he feels. Over the past decades, while textual critics have been worrying about declining federal funds or setting up national committees to explore a common standard on the recording of hyphenated line-breaks, book-collectors and consequently rare book librarians have vastly expanded the kinds of material they hunt down for their collections. For basic textual scholarship, what is needed is remarkably pure—first and other authorially significant editions, manuscripts, proofs, publishing correspondence. But no serious collector would stop there, can be stopped there. The University of South Carolina library’s, my own department’s, recent acquisitions have included major collections of, among others, Robert Burns, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. We may not have a handbag, but we do have

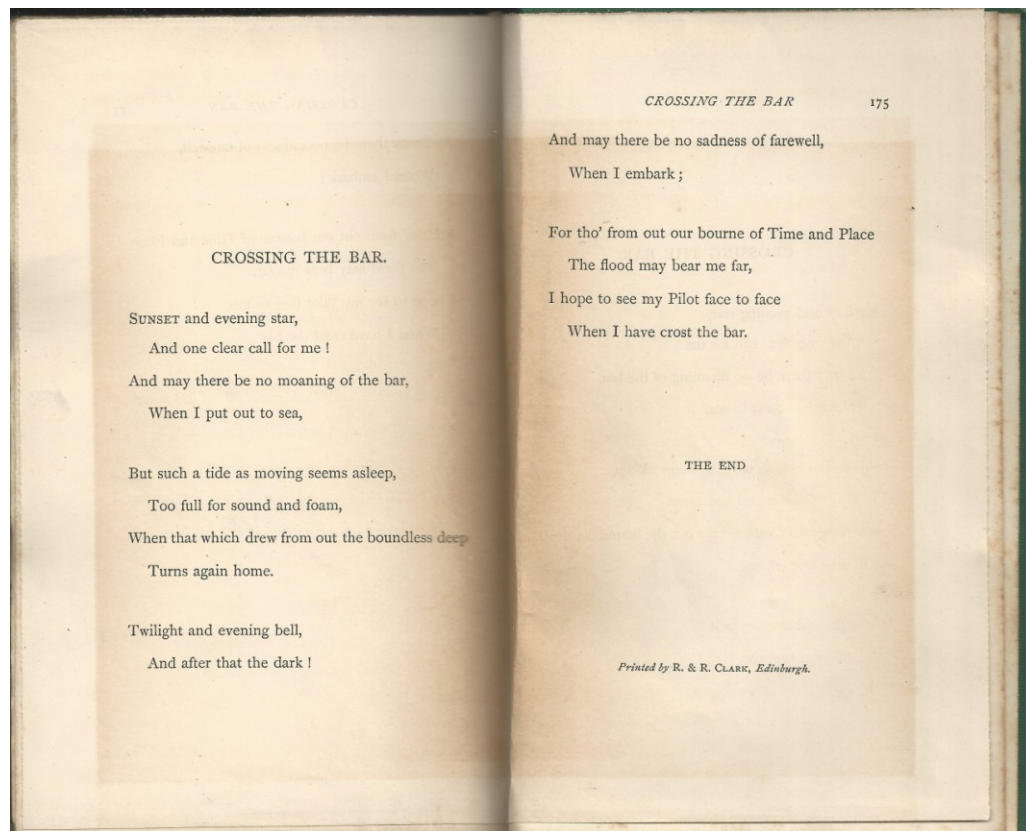
Fitzgerald's battered brief-case, gold-stamped with his publisher's address because Fitzgerald himself hardly had one. Over the past three years alone [1995-1998], the cataloguers have coped with Burns's porridge bowl, Garibaldi's sword (and a lock of his hair and three-hundred-plus medals of various dates bearing his image), 100 glass stereoscopic slides of Great War battlefields that Fitzgerald bought in Paris, and several items from Fitzgerald's mother's trousseau, including her white silk slippers and her wedding corset. My exhibits have included handpainted lanternslides of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, children's wooden blocks alphabetizing the armaments and generals of the Great War, one of James Dickey's hunting bows (to illustrate *Deliverance*) and one of William Faulkner's hunting rifles (to illustrate *The Bear*).²

These might be thought extreme examples, but even a fairly focused collection of a popular author necessarily preserves much popular ephemera and many post-authorial editions that even the most assiduous of textual scholars would never consult. A hundred years ago, the librarian Melvil Dewey proclaimed the modern library could no longer to be likened to a museum, nor the modern librarian to a mouser.³ Increasingly, he turns out to be wrong. As G. Thomas Tanselle volunteered with characteristic élan, in his 1990 Sol Malkin Lecture, even when they focus solely on books, in a sense libraries *are* museums, because only libraries can preserve the material objects in which, historically, readers have encountered the linguistic text.⁴

I take seriously the topic Professor Coles has set us—"Who needs textual studies?"—but I am going to approach it somewhat obliquely. I take it that problem is not so much who needs textual studies, but how they can first be brought to realize their need.⁵ The classic defenses of textual bibliography from Bowers onward assume a New Critical need for the perfect errorless text, but no, Virginia, there are no New Critics any more. To interest our current students and

colleagues, we need to bring forward, not textual purity or textual authority, but textual plasticity, not the text alone but the material forms, the wildly variable bibliographic packaging, in which readers have encountered it. As Jerome McGann memorably argued, we have very sophisticated ways of interpreting the linguistic codes of a text, but we have only the sketchiest and most impressionistic ways to explore its bibliographical encodings.⁶ In this paper, based on a few examples from Tennyson's late poem "Crossing the Bar," I want to try out with a sympathetic and bibliographically-informed audience the kind of biblio-cultural reading, admittedly sketchy and impressionistic, that I think might now be most persuasive with non-textualists.

From a traditional textual-bibliographical perspective, Tennyson is a particularly hard sell. Modern scholarly editors, all three of them, dutifully accept the authority of Tennyson's final revised text, even if they differ slightly in taking it from 1889 or 1894 or the once-standard Eversley edition of 1907-1908, "the poet's last wishes." Tennyson's multiple manuscript drafts show the genesis or pre-history of his poems, but seldom point to radically different conceptions what the poem might become. Even the physical format of his first editions is boring: paradoxically, the most successful poet of an age that saw the most dramatic developments in book production since the fifteenth-century managed over a period of more than sixty years to produce book after book after book that was virtually identical in size, format and appearance to the very first of his publications, printed in a provincial market-town when he was but seventeen.⁷ "Crossing the Bar" is typically uninteresting to the textual editor, because Tennyson wrote it very late in life, after his serious illness in 1889, added it at proof-stage to his *Demeter and other Poems* published late that same year, and never altered even a comma before his death in 1892. All he asked was that the poem be placed last in any future edition of his poetry, and it



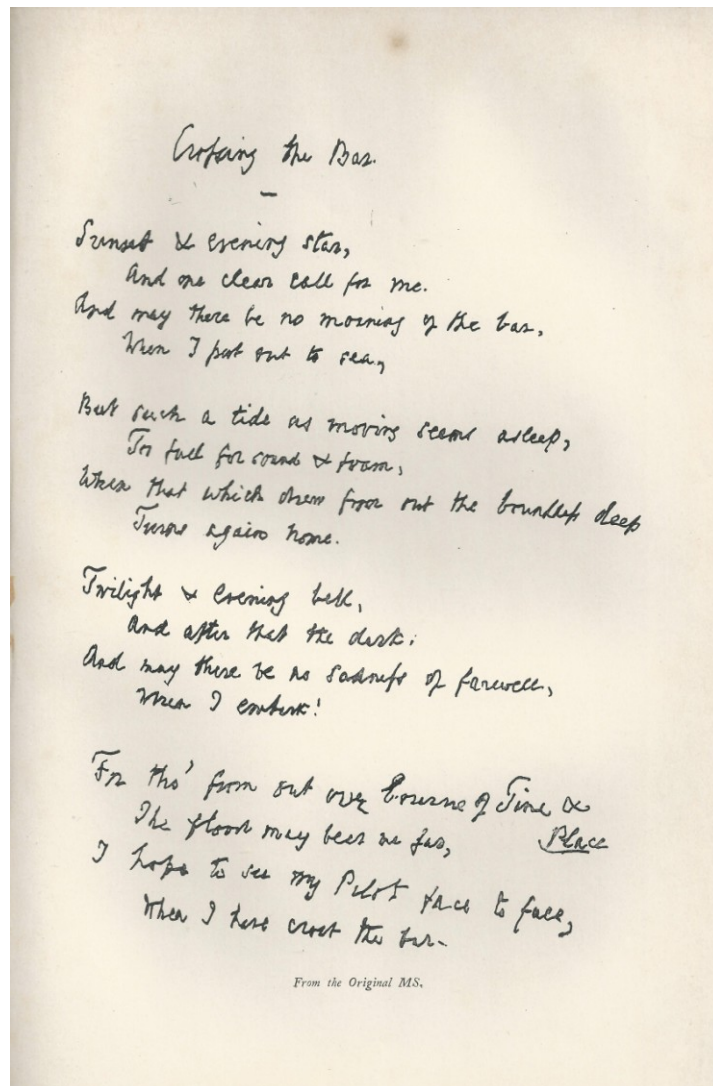
1. From *Demeter and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1889).

often has been, misleadingly occurring in the standard Eversley or deathbed edition, for instance, as the last poem of his next, posthumous volume, *The Death of Oenone* (1892), though the 1892 volume is to be found in the middle of the seventh out of nine volumes, because his plays were printed as a separate sequence beginning after the poetry.⁸ But *that* displacement is between him and his editors when he meets them face to face. What has come to fascinate me is the poem's multiple textual embodiments after 1892, from which I want to select for examination just three case-studies.

Case 1: "From the Original Manuscript"

Considered simply as a textual artefact, one of the most puzzling versions of "Crossing the Bar"

is also one of the most visually and emotionally powerful. This is the photographic facsimile, captioned "From the Original Manuscript," that is included in volume II of Hallam Tennyson's *Memoir of his father*.⁹



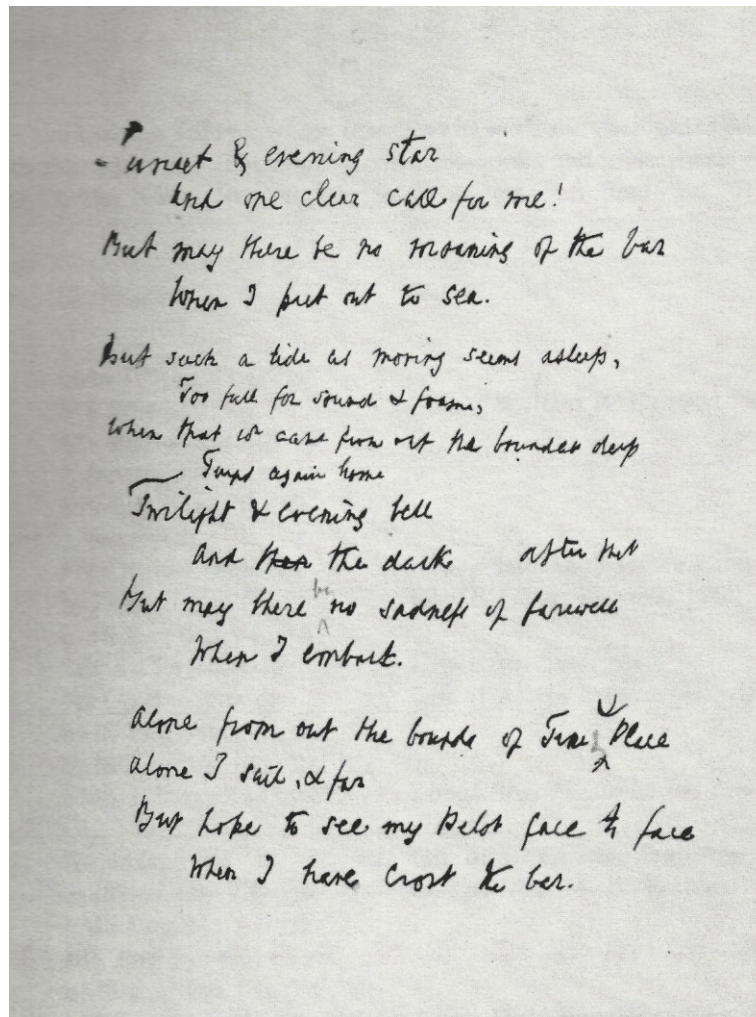
2. From Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *A Memoir by His Son* (London: Macmillan, 1897), II: facing p. 432.

It follows only a page after the long accounts of the deathbed and the funeral: the sun shone through in the Abbey as Tennyson was buried, unlike the circumambient fog that had enshrouded the interment of Browning, or the sleet that swept across Carlyle's burial in Ecclefechan

kirkyard. Among the anthems that day had been, inevitably, “Crossing the Bar,” and the sense of loss is made the more palpable when Hallam turns aside to note parenthetically that, just as the book we are reading is past proof and readying for press, in the summer of 1896, his mother has also died. Then comes the page “From the Original Manuscript,” which consequently one can hardly help rereading as the female voice, the widow’s voice, asking if she will again see face-to-face the male Pilot. Given the gender complexities caused by the imagery of widowhood and bereavement in *In Memoriam*, one looks back again with new ambivalence on Hallam Tennyson’s deletion from the prepublication text of the *Memoir* of a conversation Tennyson had with T. H. Warren, shortly before his death in 1892, laughing off as absurd the suggestion that the Pilot in the poem was not Christ, but Arthur Hallam.¹⁰ The sequencing of the facsimile in the *Memoir* narrative encourages a reading even the denial of which the memoirist had censored.

More puzzling textually is that the simplest of preliminary checks against Christopher Ricks’s magisterial Longmans edition shows, quite clearly, that Hallam’s facsimile is not from the “Original Manuscript” at all, but from a subsequent fair copy very close to the text as published.¹¹ Ricks provides a full collation against an earlier manuscript, *Harvard Notebook 54*, and he doesn’t even bother to mention the text facsimiled by Hallam. The Harvard text itself has been conveniently reproduced both in the Garland Tennyson Archive, and in Ricks’s sumptuous catalogue to the Houghton Library’s Tennyson centenary exhibit.¹² From the very first substantive variant, in line 3, the facsimile Hallam prints agrees, not with the notebook, but with the published text. In line 10, it lacks the manuscript deletion and revision that Ricks records, and in the final stanza it completely misses the notebook’s repeated assertion of solitariness, not used in the final text, as the voyager goes “Alone from out the bourne,” “Alone I sail, & far” (lines

13,15).



3. Harvard Notebook 54, from Christopher Ricks, with Elizabeth Falsey, *Tennyson and His Friends: Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Houghton Library, Harvard University* (Cambridge: Houghton Library, 1992), p. 63.

Of course, the manuscript Hallam Tennyson facsimiled **is** authorial. It is, in one sense, therefore, “original,” but it is clearly not “*the* original.” Did Hallam chose it because he hadn’t yet got Tennyson’s manuscripts properly sorted? Did he chose it because it was nicely reproducible, legibly written out in Tennyson’s rather quavery late hand, and written on one side of a single sheet of paper? Or did he chose it because the relative paucity of variants reinforced

the authority of the too-familiar published text and reinforced also his narrative's claim for the poem's rapid composition and immediate perfection?¹³ Certainly Hallam's facsimile would reappear as the original manuscript in the years to come; it was reprinted, for instance, in G. K. Chesterton and Richard Garnett's *Tennyson* in 1903 and in Hallam's own Eversley edition in 1908.¹⁴ Of course, also, for the purposes of textual scholarship, a facsimile is not the manuscript itself. It is an unauthoritative text. And a poet's actual manuscripts, as Ricks's British Academy lecture on Tennyson's composition method brilliantly displayed, typically reveal fragmentariness, false starts, change, instability, far more than they document perfection.¹⁵ The very inauthenticity of Hallam's facsimile, of one of the most universal of Tennyson's poems, speaks powerfully to a widespread cultural yearning that such a poem should be personal, immediate, pure, invariant, unblotted, writ down perfectly in an inspirational instant. The cultural significance of the facsimile depends precisely on it not being what it purports to be, a preliminary draft, the original manuscript.

Case 2: the post-religious hymn or the moralistic bon-bon

My second example could be drawn from an embarrassingly wide array of possible artefacts. I first thought of dealing with the way Tennyson's poem had rapidly been appropriated from poem to religious text, by looking at its use as anthem or congregational hymn. Tennyson himself once commented that "A good hymn is the most difficult thing in the world to write," because "you have to be" both "commonplace and poetical."¹⁶ "Crossing the Bar" was written just a few months too late for inclusion in Francis Turner Palgrave's *Treasury of Sacred Song* (Oxford, 1889), though Palgrave happily borrowed other poems by Tennyson, Tennyson's wife, even

Tennyson's brother. The words were included in the order of service at the Abbey, and simultaneously reprinted (with music) in a pirated edition sold to the waiting crowds on the street outside.¹⁷ Joan Hoiness Bouchelle's fascinating collection, *With Tennyson at the Keyboard, A Victorian Songbook* (Garland, 1985), reprints no less than four musical settings of "Crossing the Bar"—the one done by Sir Frederick Bridge for the funeral, and settings by Joseph Barnby, Marietta Piccolomini, and Sir Charles Villiers Stanford. In the very first issue of the *Tennyson Research Bulletin*, the book collector Peter Hall identified printings of the poem in the Church of Scotland's *Church Hymnary* (to the Barnby setting), the *Methodist Hymn Book* (to Bridge), and the OUP school hymnal *Songs of Praise* (to yet a fifth setting by Geoffrey Shaw), and further such instances could be added.¹⁸

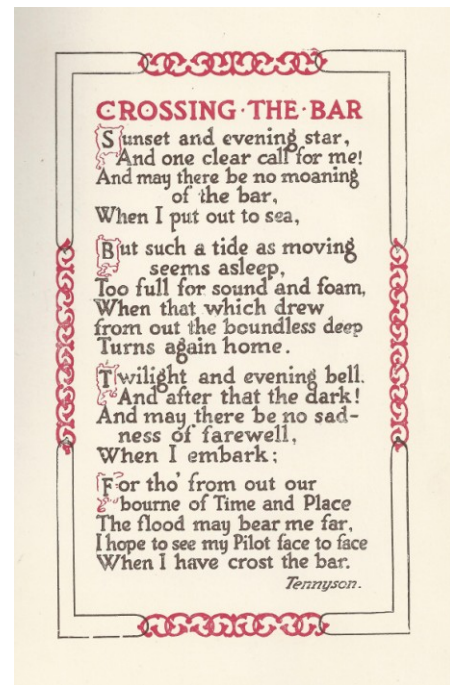
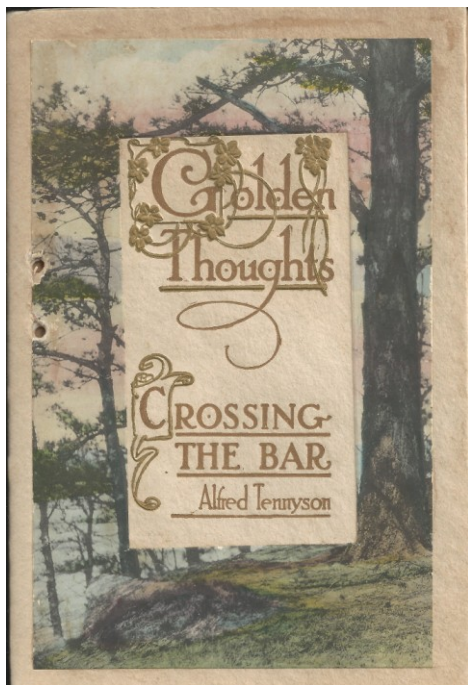
Perhaps "Crossing the Bar"'s ultimate apparition as religious text ought to have been its reprinting in *Ethical Songs*, published in 1898 for the Union of Ethical Societies by the progressive London house of Swann Sonnenschein. This is a drab thin tuneless dark-colored cloth-bound small-print octavo, suitable alike for discounted congregational purchase and for slipping in the pocket as one made one's way each Sunday to South Place for ethical preaching by the Rev. Moncure Conway and some heartwarming hymn-singing to words by, *inter alia*, Arnold, Carlyle, George Eliot and Cardinal Newman, Goethe, Felicia Hemans and Louise Guggenberger.

The two compilers of *Ethical Songs*, Stanton Coit and Gustav Spiller, set as their main criterion doctrinal inoffensiveness. "Many fine poems," their preface explains, with proleptic sensitivity, "have been omitted solely because they involved conceptions . . . to the truth of which not all persons could give their assent," but on the other hand they also admitted bulking out the

volume with a few ethically-acceptable texts that were unsingable “on account of their irregular or complex metre.” Tennyson’s “Crossing the Bar,” one would have thought, could pass both these hurdles with flying colors. After all, eight of his other poems were judged sufficiently inoffensive or unsingable to meet the refined sensitivities of South Place. Indeed the only poets less offensive, that is with more poems in *Ethical Songs*, were Conway’s fellow-Americans (Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier), the Tractarian Keble, the radical atheist Swinburne, and the inevitable Anonymous. But “Crossing the Bar” wasn’t one of the eight Tennyson poems in *Ethical Songs*, and its very absence from the text is culturally significant. Unless he wrote about landscape or abstraction, Tennysonian verse was tarred with theism. Late Victorian ethicists were deeply suspicious of even a hidden Pilot figure.

So I took up instead an absolutely ghastly little book, New York, Barse and Hopkins, no visible date, but about 1910. The cover is parchment-colored wrappers on which is mounted (stuck) an unidentified view recognizably derivative from Helen Allingham’s paintings of Tennyson’s garden at Farringford, itself cut out to frame the embossed legend *Golden Thoughts / Crossing the Bar / Alfred Tennyson*. It’s a publication that could pretty much be judged, or at least sold, by its cover.

But the cover hardly prepares you for the contents. Inside, the text is printed in chunky red-and-black pseudo-Gothic script, with irregular line-breaks to squash the verse within a heavy decorative frame. This makes 4 5-line stanzas of “Crossing the Bar” instead of Tennyson’s 4-line ones. But most of the text isn’t by Tennyson at all. Of the sixteen leaves, the Tennyson text takes up a single recto. The rest provide Golden Thoughts, not poems, on such topics “The Goal,” “Humanity,” and “The True Self,” from Byron, Milton, Browning, Seneca, Longfellow, Henry



**4. *Golden Thoughts Crossing the Bar* Alfred Tennyson (New York: Barse and Hopkins, [1910]).
Second issue, with variant cover illustration, and silk tie missing or removed.**

Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks. Remaining rectos are filled with portraits of a middle-aged Tennyson, a young Lord Byron, and an elderly Browning. Facing the title page is a murky tipped-in photographic illustration of what is clearly a river scene, with a sandbar. If Tennyson crossed this bar, he didn't need a pilot and wasn't putting out to sea.

What is the cultural meaning of this production? It's not in any existing Tennyson bibliography, even the enumerative listing from the Tennyson Research Centre.¹⁹ Before we added one to the South Carolina collection, there was only one copy in the national database OCLC, which misdated it and also misrecorded the number of leaves. The text itself certainly has no authority. The series against which Tennyson's poem is placed to be read, placed first to be overlaid in sequential reading by other blander pages, is not a series of Tennyson's choosing.

But this little booklet represents an uncounted number of very similar gift-publications, where the poem slides towards apothegm, the inspirational wall-calendar, the motto on chocolate box. Maybe Wyndham Lewis in *Blast* and Edith Sitwell in *Facade* were on to something, when they excoriated Tennyson's sick-making poetic bon-bons. Or perhaps well-intentioned purchasers felt their near-and-dear needed a poetic sugar-jag. Who are we to mock such comfort, in the era of Hallmark Cards, Charlie Brown, *Life's Little Instruction Book*, or (one sees it coming) *Chicken Soup for Textual Bibliographers*?

But, paradoxically, the cultural significance of this awful little artefact does not rest on the psychological function of its content. The method of binding means it is virtually impossible to open. Its sixteen leaves of stiff shiny heavily-loaded photographic paper have first been stabbed, cross-stapled internally, and then the staples have been supplemented by a tightly-drawn pseudo-silken tassel about a quarter inch in from the gutter. Its binding predicates it being bought, given, so to speak exchanged, without ever being opened, being read. *Golden Thoughts* may stand as the material synecdoche of a broader cultural phenomenon in the early twentieth century--the continuing social valorization of poetry as a source of life meaning, while simultaneously readers increasingly withdrew from any personal engagement with what the poem might seem to say.

Case 3: Parodic immunity, or Tennyson in the world of *Catch-22*

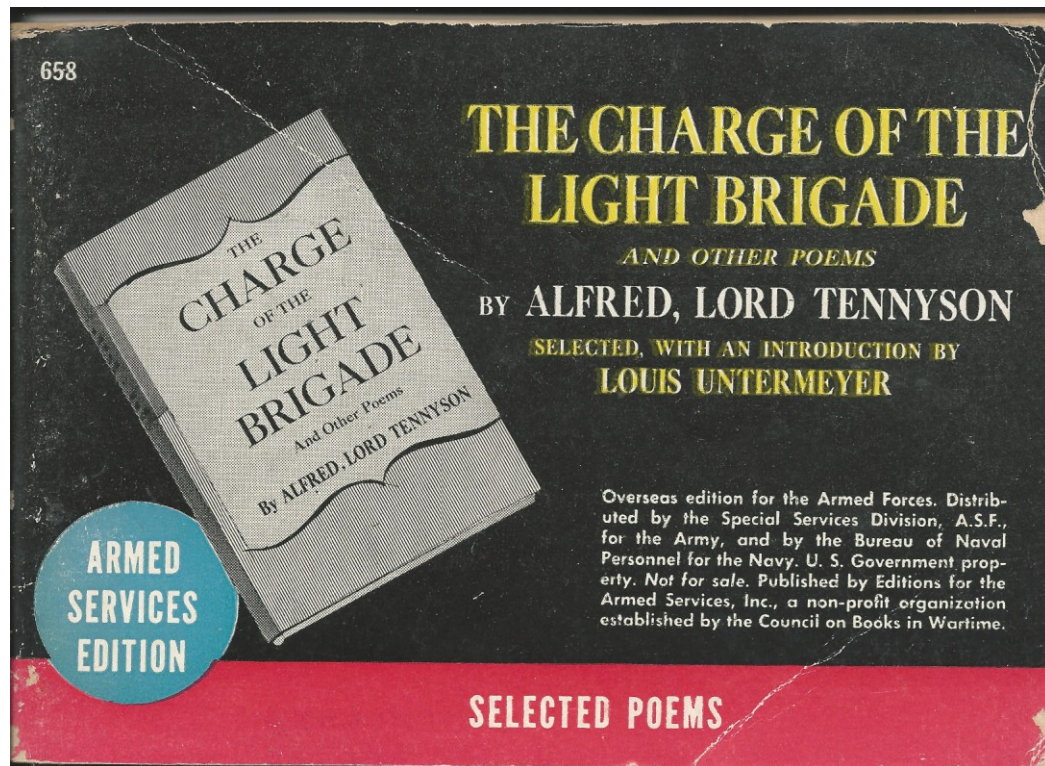
My third version of "Crossing the Bar" was, for me, the most unexpected. Soon after Pearl Harbor, a group of New York-based trade publishers established a non-profit Council on Books in Wartime, which in due course began sponsoring the Armed Services Editions, distinctive little

oblong paperbacks for free distribution to the troops.²⁰ There is a strictly-bibliographical wrinkle to this strange format, convenient in size for a battledress pocket, but difficult to hold in one's hand for reading: the books were produced, using highly-acidic wartime economy standard newsprint, with brightly-colored covers of stiff paper, in batches of fifty or a hundred thousand at a time, on machines designed to print and bind story-magazines twice their height, and then simply cut in half, leaving the metal-stabbed spine on the short side.

By 1946, the Council had issued 1322 titles, of which the University of South Carolina library now holds well over 1300 [1998]. The combined print-run was over 123 million copies. My late colleague Matthew J. Bruccoli, who built our ASE collection, called this program "the biggest book giveaway in history."²¹ There was little choice: boxes of mixed titles were shipped monthly to units, and you read what you could get. Along with westerns, mysteries, sci-fi, and historical romance, current affairs and humor, GIs got Fitzgerald and Hemingway and Faulkner and a fat, flat-spined reprint of Thomas Wolfe's *Look, Homeward Angel*. The program was of lasting cultural influence. My late colleague Jim Dickey, for instance (whose 18,000-volume library we have just acquired), who was navigator for a bomb-crew in the Philippines, remembered reading ASE N-6, *Selected Poems of Carl Sandburg* and other titles.²² The novelist Joseph Heller (whose literary archives we acquired last year), recalls in his recent autobiography *Now and Again* the impact of first reading a Stephen Crane short story in the Armed Services Edition.²³

Among the ASEs, almost as a sop to cultural traditionalists, were a few thin spineless little reprints of older, out-of-copyright poetry--Browning, Shelley, Whitman and the like. Some time in 1944, the monthly batch took to units around the world, as ASE 658, Louis Untermeyer's

160-page selection *The Charge of the Light Brigade and other poems*, by Alfred, Lord Tennyson.



5. Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *The Charge of the Light Brigade and Other Poems*, ASE 658 (New York: Editions for the Armed Services, 1945).

It's not, of course, in any of the Tennyson bibliographies, and nor is Untermeyer's brief introduction, but Wise provides a nice authorial precedent for the volume's wartime use of the title-poem, for in 1855, with Tennyson's blessing, the title-poem had been cheaply reprinted for free distribution to British troops in the Crimea.²⁴ Strangely, despite the belligerent title-poem, Untermeyer's introduction assured readers that "serenity is the keynote of Tennyson." Indeed, one wonders if Untermeyer, though he is named as editor, had done any editing at all: most of the inclusions read like a straight reprint from an early twentieth-century schooltext--"Mariana," "Break, break, break," "Morte D'Arthur," "Songs from *The Princess*," bits of *In Memoriam*, and the whole of the by-then-long-unfashionable *Enoch Arden*. And what would his presumably-

young and recurrently-endangered readers, Heller, Yossarian and company, have made of Untermeyer's recommendation of Tennyson as "a craftsman of sensuous syllables" and his approving statement that the poet "grew old placidly"?

So it is with a sense of Titanic inevitability that one contemplates servicemen around the world coming upon the final poem in Untermeyer's selection, which is just the poem Tennyson himself wished to terminate his works, even if Tennyson wouldn't have liked the normalization of his spelling. Surely, one feels, drunken swabbies on final shore leave in San Francisco before they left for the Pacific must have mocked the pious hope that there "be no moaning at the bar" when they "set out to sea." Surely, among Heller's bomber crews over North Italy, rattled rear-gunners and boisterous bombardiers must have known just what they would do when they finally got an inept "Pilot face to face." In earlier years, almost uniquely among Tennyson's better-known poems, "Crossing the Bar" seems have led a charmed life, immune to the attention of his many eager parodists, as they exploited and inscribed the tensions within late-Victorian elite culture.²⁵ Even *In Memoriam* was repeatedly parodied; not, apparently, "Crossing the Bar."

In 1945, absurdity and the parodic had become not just textual, but contextual.²⁶ The self-appointed, middle-aged, secure members of the grandiosely-titled Council on Books in Wartime hijacked a printing process from commercial pulp-fiction magazines and dispatched overseas by the hundreds of thousands on paper destined to self-destruct the culture of the recent past, to be decoded and thrown away by a random cross-section of uprooted and endangered young men in foreign settings that had no cultural precedent. Taken as a whole, the Council's crazy self-confidence was amazingly successful. In creating a new audience for their backlist of American novelists from the interWar period, it was of lasting importance. But the Tennyson

selection was revealingly absurd. Untermeyer's innocent, well-intentioned Armed Services reprinting of "Crossing the Bar" is, one might argue, a material embodiment of those larger cultural absurdities, discontinuities, disjunctions, in which are now traced the origins of American post-modernism. A sternly-worded copyright notice symbolically warns readers that the book must not be returned to its country, so its context, of origin.

Conclusion

I have traveled a long way from 1889 and Tennyson's authorized text of his poem. The three textual artefacts I have discussed are only a tiny fraction of those available for such examination. Obviously, if I had them, I ought to examine the funeral service sheet and that pirated broadsheet text that was hawked outside. I regret skipping over the Latin version in "*Crossing the Bar*" and *a few other translations*, by H. M. Butler, Master of Trinity and ex-headmaster of Harrow (Cambridge: privately printed, 1890), because it was Butler's struggle with his Latin translation that led him to question Tennyson on the grammatical ambiguity of the poem's second stanza.²⁷ I regret, too, having no time to explore just how the work is re-presented, is changed, when we encounter it in what is now its most authoritative form but a form that is far from authorial, surrounded by dense wedges of explanatory annotation on pages 253-254, right in the middle of volume III of Ricks's great second edition; Ricks moved it out of place to the end of his otherwise-chronological sequence, in deference to the wish of the poet (or perhaps to that of the poet's grandson Sir Charles), but he then undercut the effect by following it with the equivalent of a Tennysonian yellow-pages, a separate sequence for the *Idylls of the King*. Perhaps I should take counsel from Canon Ainger's comment or lack of comment on "Crossing the Bar," when he

included it in his anthology *Tennyson for the Young* (London: Macmillan, 1891), which he hoped “may become a favourite when school hours are over, on a bench in the summer garden, or on a sofa in winter evenings;”²⁸ Ainger knew Tennyson, and some of his annotations in this inviting little volume are Hallam Tennyson’s actual source for things he prints as his father’s direct oral commentary (as, for instance, on the symbolism of “The Lady of Shalott”).²⁹ Yet, on “Crossing the Bar,” Ainger states only that the poem is “too sacred for praise or comment” (p. 118).

My basic point should in any case be clear. The context for textual bibliography now is just the opposite of what it was when the discipline first rose to professional visibility, some forty odd years ago. Then, in the heyday of New Criticism, textual authority seemed central, and descriptive bibliography needed to be justified by reference to its textual usefulness. Now, as English departments colonize ever wider realms under the borrowed and refurbished banner of cultural studies, we may best interest people in the broad field by focusing first on texts as artefacts, on the mind-boggling variety of material forms in which any one literary work has been manufactured and repackaged and exchanged and hoarded. For almost any imaginable author, certainly any canonical author, far more people will have encountered the work in non-authorial than in authorially-sanctioned form, and even more certainly so if we extend our concept of authentic form and our interpretative effort from the linguistic text to bibliographic features also. It is, in fact, after one has confronted the cultural significance of unauthoritative texts that the cultural meanings, the bibliographic encodings, of the authoritative texts come more sharply into focus.

Who needs textual studies? —In some way, at sometime, almost any student of written literature or printed culture will need textual studies. But that isn’t the point. We don’t want

students to *need* textual studies: we *need* them to *want* them, to become hooked on the cultural possibilities of bibliographical interpretation so that a wide audience develops for more exact kinds of description and deeper kinds of research. It means setting aside a narrow textual or analytical purism and taking on the omnivorous eclecticism of the enthusiastic private collector.

Traditionally, textual bibliographers have theorized themselves as essentially preliminary, the narrow, unlovable but indispensable technical prerequisites for the high-profile work of interpretative criticism. That strategy of specialized withdrawal and gnostic commination is wrong. There's no need to cringe. We don't necessarily need to take in every proffered handbag, but if textual studies is to have a future, textual bibliographers must take to heart the words of Lady Bracknell herself, not about the handbag, but earlier in the play, when she discovered the suppliant Mr. Worthing on his knees, about to propose to her niece, "Pray, sir, rise from this semi-recumbent posture."

Endnotes

1. *Newsweek* (October 28, 1998), p. 27.

2. That these last four items were not from the library's own collections, but had to be borrowed for exhibit purposes, neatly illustrates the gap to be bridged between what rare book libraries traditionally collect and what first catches the interest or goodwill of non-bibliographers. Our experience will not be untypical: even if we leave aside our greatest collections, those of international importance, all built by private collectors, we would without the private collector have fewer highpoints, much less depth, and virtually nothing with the immediate visual impact to get outsiders interested.

3. Melvil Dewey, "The Profession," *American Library Journal* [first issue], September 30, 1876, pp. 5-6, quoted in Tanselle, below, p. 10 and n. 3.

4. G. Thomas Tanselle, *Libraries, Museums, and Reading, the Sixth Sol. M. Malkin Lecture in Bibliography given Monday, December 17th, 1990, at the Columbia University School of Library Service*, Book Arts Press Occasional Publication, no. 10 (New York: Book Arts Press, 1991), reprinted in *Raritan*, 12 (Summer 1992): 63-82.

5. Either textual bibliographers are, by comparison with other literary scholars, unusually concerned about issues of dissemination and pedagogy or they feel chronically marginalized, for there is a large literature on this issue; for a bibliography and my own previous contribution, see Patrick Scott, "How, practically, do Textual Studies fit into the Graduate Curriculum," *Literary Research Newsletter*, 9:4 (1984), 53-66.

6. Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 13-14.

7. I summarize here the argument of my 1994 Tennyson Lecture, "'The Market and the Muse:' Tennyson, Lincolnshire and the History of the Book," Tennyson Society Annual Meeting, Usher Gallery, Lincoln, May 20 1994 [updated version published as "The Market(place) and the Muse ...", *Victorian Newsletter*, 117 (Spring 2009), 5-37].

8. "Crossing the Bar," in *Demeter and Other Poems Annotated by Alfred, Lord Tennyson*, edited by Hallam, Lord Tennyson [spine: *The Works of Tennyson*; half-title *The Eversley Edition* (no volume number but with seven asterisks)] (London and New York: Macmillan, 1908), p. [191].

9. Hallam Lord Tennyson, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson, a memoir by his son*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1896), II, 432.

10. Philip L. Elliott, *The Making of the Memoir* (Greenville, SC: Furman University, 1978), p. 27 (since reprinted Lincoln: the Tennyson Society, 1993).

11. Christopher Ricks, ed., *The Poems of Tennyson in three volumes*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), III, 253-254.

12. [Christopher Ricks], *Tennyson and his Friends; Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Houghton Library, Harvard University* (Cambridge: Houghton Library, 1992), p. 63, item 103.

13. Hallam's account of the poem's rapid composition in perfect form, and his report of Tennyson's claim that "It came in a moment," is in *Memoir*, II, 366-367; independent accounts, agreeing on the rapidity, are reported by H. M. Butler, in Edgar F. Shannon and Cecil Y. Lang, eds., *The Letters of Alfred, Lord Tennyson*, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 414 ("That poem came to me in five minutes. Anyhow, under ten minutes"), and by Willingham F. Rawnsley, "Personal recollections of Tennyson," *Nineteenth Century and After*, 97 (February 1925), 195 ("twenty minutes").

14. G.K. Chesterton and Dr. Richard Garnett, C.B., *Tennyson* [cover: *Alfred Tennyson*], The

Bookman Biographies no. 6 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903), p. 28; Eversley edition, IX, 539.

15. Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson's methods of composition*, Chatterton Lecture on an English Poet, reprinted from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1966 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

16. *Memoir*, II, 401.

17. *The Tennyson Collection presented to the University of Virginia in honor of Edgar Finley Shannon, Jr.* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1961), p. 42.

18. Peter Hall, "Tennyson in Church," *Tennyson Research Bulletin*, no. 1 (October 1967), item A8; additions in P. G. Scott, "Tennyson and the hymnbooks again," *Tennyson Research Bulletin*, 1:5 (November 1971), 151.

19. Nancie Campbell, F.L.A., *Tennyson in Lincoln, A Catalogue of the Collections in the Tennyson Research Centre*, volume 2 (Lincoln: Tennyson Society, 1973), pp. 5-8 "Selections and Extracts" (which does, however, list the quite different *Golden Words from Tennyson*, London: Raphael Tuck, 1898).

20. Cf. Robert O. Ballou, *A History of the Council of Books in Wartime, 1942-1946* (New York: n.p., 1946); John Y. Cole, ed., *Books in Action: the Armed Services Editions* (Washington: Centre for the Book/Library of Congress, 1984).

21. Matthew J. Bruccoli, "Recollections of an ASE Collector," in Cole, pp. 23-28 (p. 26).

22. See Bruccoli, p. 26.

23. Joseph Heller, *Now and Again: from Coney Island to Here* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), p. 188.

24. Thomas J. Wise, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Alfred, Lord Tennyson*, 2 vols. (London: for private circulation, 1908; repr. in one vol., London: Dawsons, 1967), II, 172.

25. It is absent from, e.g., Walter Jerrold and R. M. Leonard, *A Century of parody and Imitation* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1913); Jelle Postma, *Tennyson as seen by his parodists* (Amsterdam, 1923); and George O. Marshall, Jr., *Tennyson in Parody and Jest* (Lincoln: the Tennyson Society, 1975). For a more general perspective on Victorian parody, cf. my "From Bon Gaultier to Fly Leaves: Context and Canon in Victorian Parody," *Victorian Poetry*, 26:3 (Autumn 1988), 249-266" and "A Few Still Later Words On Translating Homer (and Horace, and Tupper, and Tennyson, and St. Thomasius), or C. S. Calverley and the Victorian Parodic," *Postscript*, no. 4 (1987), 9-18.

26. On the twentieth-century parodic, cf. Margaret Rose, *Parody/Metafiction* (1979) and Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: the Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (London, 1985).

27. Campbell, II, 8, item 3825. For Butler's questioning of Tennyson, see Shannon and Lang, *Letters*, III, 414.

28. Alfred Ainger, ed., *Tennyson for the Young* (London: Macmillan, 1891), p. vi. The poem appears last, on p. 109. Cf. Edith Sichel, *The Life and Letters of Alfred Ainger* (London: Constable, 1906), pp. 23, 196.

29. On "The Lady of Shalott," see Ricks, I, 388, citing A. Dwight Culler, *The Poetry of Tennyson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 44.