

2003

Literature and Digital Technologies: W. B. Yeats, Virginia Woolf, Mary Shelley, and William Gass

Y. B. Yeats

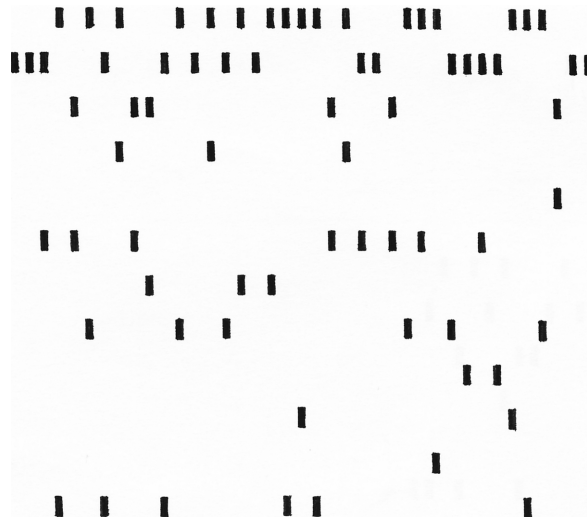
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Literature and Digital Technologies



[On the other side of this page, the title of this book is written twice: once in English and once in a digital punchcard code. This code was used by library systems to keep track of circulation in the time before laser beams could read zebra stripes. The editor created the words by cobbling together letters from selected punchcards. Hundreds of cards were gathered by two circulation workers at the Clemson University Library: former library technical assistant Jan Healy and night supervisor Audrey Scull. Many thanks to them for their patient and voluminous collecting activities. They found the cards during the checkout process, still lodged in their paper pockets in the backs of old books. The cards indicate data such as author, title, call number, and library acquisition number. Each letter or number in the “writing” has a two-hole code, and each blank space is indicated by a “digit” of one hole. The code proceeds from left to right.—KS]

Literature and Digital Technologies:

W. B. Yeats, Virginia Woolf,
Mary Shelley, and William Gass

Edited by Karen Schiff



A full-text digital version of this book is available on the Internet, in addition to other works of the press and the Center for Electronic and Digital Publishing, including *The South Carolina Review* and *The Upstart Crow: A Shakespeare Journal*. See our Web site at www.clemson.edu/caah/cedp, or call the director at 864-656-5399 for information.

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Foreword

Over the past fifteen years, digital technologies have become a palpable and ever-growing influence on the study and circulation of literature. While this shift is too extensive to ignore, it is also often tricky to think critically about it. How can we influence the ways that technologies affect our work with literature when we are already being influenced by them? This challenge is like becoming aware of the air we are breathing at every moment. How can we step back and define or shape a circumstance that is so intertwined with our daily work?

To add to the difficulty, critic Mark Hussey notes the investment of university administrations in the adopting of digital technologies as well as the attitudes and ideologies that surround computers themselves. In his essay “How Should You Read a Screen?” he registers concern about how electronic technologies transform “readers” into “users.” He observes that “resistance to the introduction of electronic information technology to ‘the classroom’ is often dismissed, without discussion, as ‘technophobia’ or Luddism.”¹ Further, electronic technologies used in humanistic applications trace subtle connections to “the military-entertainment complex”² and are now being implemented by universities without regard for long-term pedagogical effects of this association.

Given the immensity of the digital tides in literary studies and the inherent difficulties that come with them, I was happy to attend, in April 2002, two back-to-back conferences about technologies in English departments. On April 4, Clemson University held a “Colloquium on the Future of New Technology in the Arts and Humanities”—most of the program for this event is included in this volume, on page [2] and on the next two pages. On April 5-6, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro presented a conference on “Technology in the College English Classroom,” featuring Richard Lanham and Jerome McGann. The two events were close enough in time and geography that I arranged for the conferences to be linked online, and a few scholars attended both events.



Our theme, “**The Future of New Technology in the Arts and Humanities**,” extends from last year’s discussion of changes in academic publication in the humanities to research and teaching information accessed by computer. This program will consider how technology enables academic studies, promotes writing and communication, but demands investment to create and maintain the tools of literacy, intellectual property, and the high professional standards expected of a national university. Like academic publishing, scholarship and teaching are fundamentally changing. This year’s colloquium will examine the effect of information technology on research and teaching in the humanities and the arts by means of a dialogue between invited experts and discussants who are members of the academic community. The following notes on participants will give some idea of the range and significance of the project, which CEDP aims to publish on its website.

Program

- 9 a.m.** **Welcome and Introduction**
Keynote Address: “Writing Literature/Writing and Literature:
What We Publish and What We Teach”
Wayne Chapman: Director, CEDP
Clemson University
- 9:20-11** **Electronic Pedagogy for Teaching the Humanities and
Composition**
Moderator/Respondent
Kathleen Yancey: Director, Pearce Center for Professional
Communication
Clemson University

“Technologies, Identities and Agencies”
Pamela Takayoshi: Director, Computer-Assisted Instruction
University of Louisville

“A Methodology of Our Own”
Todd Taylor
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
- 11-1** **Lunch**
- 1-2:45** **Literary Studies and Digital Publishing**
Moderator
Catherine Paul: Associate Chair, English Department
Clemson University

“Descriptive Bibliography and the Structure of Digital
Editions: The Example of W. B. Yeats”
Warwick Gould: Director, Institute of English Studies and
the Research Center in the History of the Book
University of London

“Virginia Woolf’s Reading Notes for *Three Guineas*: An
Online Archive and Edition”

Merry Pawlowski

California State University at Bakersfield

“*Frankenstein*: The Pennsylvania Electronic Edition”

Jack Lynch

Rutgers University

2:45-3:15

Coffee

3:15-5

A Bread Loaf Rural Teachers Network Presentation

Moderator and Presenter

Dixie Goswami, Strom Thurmond Institute

Clemson University

Chris Benson and **Tom Rourke**, Strom Thurmond Institute

Clemson University

with two South Carolina Bread Loaf teachers & selected students



Book art slide presentation by Berwyn Hung, **CU Art Department, Room 100 Lee Hall, 11 a.m., April 12.**

Workshop, Lecture and Demonstration of Book Art in the Print Studio, CU Art Department, featuring **Berwyn Hung** of Nexus Press, **April 12 and 13.**

Coordinator (for events of April 12 and 13)

Karen Schiff: Assistant Professor, English Department

Clemson University

Hung has years of experience using and teaching letterpress technology, which he will demonstrate on the Print Studio’s Vandercook IV. His work is archived at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, and many other book arts collections.



Professor Schiff has assisted in many ways with this colloquium and is our official liaison with a sister conference—Technology in the English Classroom: Literature, Culture, Pedagogy—held at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro on April 5-6, 2002. Dr. Schiff will be presenting there an overview of our activities.



I went to these gatherings curious about how different scholars would address theoretical concerns underlying the situations we now face commonly. For instance, the question of how computers affect the interaction between text and reader is crucial in literary studies, because all of our work in teaching, research, and publishing is built on our assumptions about how people read. Other questions grew out of this one: are recent technologies being integrated into the activities of English departments, or are they being layered on top of existing practices? In other words, how do these new ways of interacting with literature acknowledge the older (or perhaps “other”) ways of reading? Do they build bridges from those ways or simply leap off into new territories?

In addition to questions about the effects of computer technologies on the reading process, I was interested in how this interaction would or could, in turn, affect the practices of researching literature, teaching literature, and conducting those practices within administrative or institutional contexts. How does the “digital imperative” compel adjustments in academic programs and budgets? In a similar vein, how do electronic technologies redefine our English departments? How are faculty members invited or forced to learn new technologies, and how do these situations affect workplace morale? Further, what are some effects of technology on our concepts of literature itself? Computers can transform what we think of as “literature” or a “book,” and they can also shift our ideas about how an author produces a text, or how a company produces a publication.

The papers included in this volume address these questions from various perspectives. They represent over half of the presentations from the Clemson colloquium, and they reflect on the issues that both Clemson and UNCG aimed to address in their discussions. In the first section, “Literary Study: Creating ‘Dignity’ in the Digital,” we first encounter Wayne Chapman’s opening remarks at Clemson. Chapman gives an overview of the scope and activities of the Clemson University Digital Press as well as its administrative office, the Center for Electronic and Digital Publishing (which co-sponsored the event). He outlines several issues in the brave new world of literary production, pedagogy, and research that stem from the increased reliance on digital technologies.

The next three papers in this section formed the afternoon panel at the Clemson colloquium, and they all deal with how digital technologies can improve the organization of scholarly information about literary works. The authors examine three rich case studies: bibliographies for William Butler Yeats, reading notebooks for Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas*, and an electronic compilation of resources for the study of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.

Warwick Gould compares an electronic Yeats bibliography to the codices of bibliographic records that have so far sufficed, and to similar bibliographic volumes for the work of Blake, Wilde, Milton, and Pound's *Cantos*. He contrasts the shortcomings of Richard Finneran's electronic Yeats bibliography with the advantages of an electronic bibliography for John Masefield whose highly usable "architecture" holds out hope for "the shape of things to come." He articulates a vision for electronic descriptive bibliographies that amass information, take into account the history of paper editions of the author's writings, and organize all of this information with strategic sophistication. According to Gould, electronic bibliographies should reflect the wisdom and "rigor" developed through decades of print-based bibliographic record-keeping. They should not be "shoddily conceived, quick-fix solutions" nor should they be unstructured conglomerations of interconnected information.

The other two papers on the panel discussed database projects composed for the elucidation of literary texts. Merry Pawlowski showcases her online archive of the scrapbooks Virginia Woolf kept while she was writing her anti-war treatise, *Three Guineas*. Pawlowski considers how Woolf's selection of articles and images, and their juxtapositions, expose Woolf's sense of how gender, empirical power, and visual "spectacle" can affect the impulse towards war. At the colloquium, these considerations were accompanied by Pawlowski's navigations through the web-based Virginia Woolf archive she has been compiling with Vara Neverow from Southern Connecticut State University. She demonstrated the utility of electronic databases in making archival materials available to readers, especially when the visual organization of this material is significant (as Pawlowski shows in Woolf's scrapbooks).

Next, Jack Lynch reflects on the history of the electronic edi-

tion of *Frankenstein* at the University of Pennsylvania. He describes a comprehensive database of hyperlinked texts, criticism, and materials to which the novel relates or refers. After recounting the rationales behind various editorial and design decisions, Lynch suggests that the advances of this electronic edition function within the paradigm established by the seventeenth-century variorum edition. In the variorum, a literary text is “dignified” by a collation of diverse critical commentaries, printed within the same volume and formatted for convenient reference. Researchers and common readers can engage easily with “questions that remain unanswered” about the text. Lynch offers “hopes for a new golden age of variorum scholarship in the electronic age,” and his article answers Warwick Gould’s call for a carefully crafted approach to the structure of a digital literary resource.

The last two entries in this section make it into a sort of variorum edition of its own: two scholars comment upon the proceedings of the conferences and open up broad questions for reflection. Jackie Grutsch McKinney and Karen Schiff participated in both gatherings by attending all the events at Clemson, and we selected different panels from among the twelve offerings (and two keynote addresses) during the UNCG conference. Our reflections were composed to introduce a final roundtable discussion in Greensboro. The articles printed here both recreate these remarks and incorporate the conversation that followed.

The second section of the volume, “Digital Publishing: ‘From Paper to Pixels,’” consists of an essay by Melvin Sterne, presented in April 2003, as part of Clemson’s final Tech Colloquium, “The Media of Publication: Reading, Writing, and Editing.” Sterne, like Chapman, is the editor of a small magazine published both online and in print. Sterne extends Chapman’s discussion of the history and economics of publishing today, based on his experience with *Carve*. He also gives historical context to debates about “the book” and explores the “intermediate” ground we inhabit between our habitual reliance on paper-based printing and the ever-growing economic necessity of digital publishing. Sterne organizes his ideas in response to William Gass’s essay, “In Defense of the Book,” in which Gass decries how digital technologies affect the physical act of reading. In “An Offense for the Book,” Sterne details how Gass fails to consider readers’ *access* to liter-

ary texts in the first place, and Sterne suggests that digital technologies will increase readership and support the practices of writing and publishing.

The publication of Sterne's 2003 article, in both electronic and paper-based formats by the Clemson University Digital Press, would seem to bring this volume full circle, as it represents two years of presentations at Clemson about digital technologies.³ But in an age in which the future of these technologies remains to be created, it does not seem fitting to close the circle so neatly. Instead, let us open it up again, or perhaps simply widen it, by reconsidering the definition of a "digital technology" based on other activities at Clemson that coincide with these events. (One is the inscription of the title of this volume, on the half-title page, in the digital computer punch-card code that our library used before zebra stripe codes and laser-beam code readers were introduced.)

In both 2002 and 2003, Clemson's "Tech Colloquium" has included workshops with the University's "new" Vandercook IV letterpress. The letterpress represents literature's oldest digital production technology, as texts are produced letter by letter, with lead "digits" called "sorts." In 2002, Atlanta-based book artist Berwyn Hung was sponsored to teach letterpress operation and to give a slide lecture on his work. Hung showed his audience how electronic technologies can contribute to artistic reinterpretations of familiar bibliographic forms. For instance, he noted that plates for letterpress printing can be manufactured from computer files that include images as well as unusual typographic effects; Hung himself used a Quark program to create a paper chess board that is assembled through cutting and folding.

Later this year, we plan to bring book artist Matthew Liddle to campus. Liddle is Acting Head of the Art Department at Western North Carolina University in Cullowhee. He plans to involve students in a collaborative letterpress project in which the printed page will be folded to create a multi-dimensional final product. Both Liddle and Hung point toward new paradigms for literary production in the digital age: their work reminds us that new and old technologies alike can be bent to creative purposes, to ensure the continual metamorphosis of our familiar literary formats.

A more prosaic use of the letterpress is no less significant for

its contribution to literary production: Clemson also plans to produce broadsides of poems written by people associated with the university. First on the list is Ron Moran, Professor Emeritus of English and former Associate and Acting Dean of the College of Architecture, Arts and Humanities. Moran enthusiastically endorsed the Center for Electronic and Digital Publishing when it began and for many years served as poetry advisor to *The South Carolina Review*, the literary crux of Clemson's publication program; hence, now that the Tech series is ending, it seems appropriate to begin our letterpress productions with a tribute to him. Our renewed focus on literature can be seen on our website's "Writers' Nook" page, which gives details about our reading series and publishes work by our visiting writers. For instance, the site features two poems by Vivian Shipley, a poet from Southern Connecticut State University and editor of the *Connecticut Review*, along with with reviews of her work. Shipley's reading at Clemson in October 2002 was sponsored by the CEDP and the Friends of *The South Carolina Review*.

In widening the scope of "digital technologies" so far as to include the production of literary texts through different kinds of digital machines, we have arrived at the heart of the enterprise that has driven this entire endeavor: the use of technologies to promote the circulation and reading of works of literature. The ways that the technologies inflect the reading experience depend on a confluence of innumerable factors; the papers in this volume focus specifically on issues that grow out of the intersection of electronic technologies and literary study. So let us open up the forum.

—Karen Schiff

NOTES

1. Mark Hussey, "How Should you Read a Screen?" *Virginia Woolf in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Garland, 2000) 249-65; see p. 261.
2. Stuart Moulthrop, "No War Machine," *Reading Matters: Narrative in the New Media Ecology*, ed. Joseph Tabbi and Michael Wutz (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997) 262-92. See p. 278, qtd. in Hussey 262.
3. The inaugural colloquium, entitled "New Technology and the Future of Publishing," was preserved in an elegant hypermedia anthology edited by Catherine Paul and. This anthology is available at the CUDP website, also created in 2001.

WRITING LITERATURE/WRITING AND LITERATURE: WHAT WE PUBLISH AND WHAT WE TEACH

by *Wayne K. Chapman*
Clemson University

I

On April 5th, 2001, I had the pleasure of introducing President Jim Barker and speaking about our journey toward the “Brave New World of Academic Publishing” on which Clemson embarked with creation of the Center for Electronic and Digital Publishing (CEDP). The banner-hoisting event was A Colloquium on New Technology and the Future of Publishing; and, within two weeks, Clemson’s Board of Trustees bravely approved our trademark Clemson University Digital Press (or CUDP) and braced courageously for a tempest of state cuts to the university’s operating budget. Today, on our first anniversary as a press, economic soothsayers and political observers have been *reasonably* pessimistic—that is, they have been right to forecast grim times. But who can say for how long? (See Klinkenborg on “foolish cynicism.”) In such a climate, the CEDP has been holding its own on grants, gifts, subscriptions, and sales. As Director and Executive Editor, I am pleased to report here the major accomplishments of the past year, including (I hope you will allow) this important conversation today on the Future of New Technology in the Arts and Humanities. Last year, I boasted that we were prepared to follow the example of the smart mouse that survived the dinosaurs because it was small and adaptive. Considering the colloquium theme this year, “Writing Literature/Writing and Literature: What We Publish and What We Teach,” it goes without saying that smallness and adaptability are a devil of a lot of work.

Let me explain why—though very briefly—and then let me probe, as quickly as I can and in all candor, a key issue that technology is posing for Clemson as a publishing house.

First, it is *work* to set high editorial standards commensurate with that of the Association of American University Presses, and we are committed to a strategic plan that would obtain affiliate membership in that organization in three years, after publishing three monographs in each of

those years. I refer you to the back of the program for our list so far, which announces a forthcoming book, Arthur V. Williams's, *Tales of Clemson 1936-1940* (June 2002), and the following "NEW TITLES BY CLEMSON UNIVERSITY DIGITAL PRESS":

Donald D. Clayton, *A Walking Tour of Residential Seneca* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2001), ii + 26 pp. [Illustrated.] \$5. [Online edition available on our Web site].

Donna H. Winchell and William A. Maker, eds., *The Idea of the University: the Presidential Colloquium 2000-2001* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2001), ii + 22 pages. [Illustrated.] Free; used in CU Development mailing. [Full-text proceedings, illustrated and with links, designed by Kimberly Grissop, is available on the CEDP/CUDP Web site.]

Catherine Paul, ed. *New Technology and the Future of Publishing*, designed by Heather Cox (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2002), based on the 2001 Colloquium on New Technology and the Future of Publishing, April 5, 2001, Clemson University. <www.clemson.edu/caah/cedp/cudp/htm>.

Second, besides the foundational principles on which a university press must stand and about which I have more to say later, we have a fine reputation to maintain at Clemson University. The two shoulders of our publishing house are *The South Carolina Review* and *The Upstart Crow: A Shakespeare Journal*. The former, edited by yours truly, enjoys "Top 20" distinction as one of twenty best "College, Literary, and 'Little' Magazines" in the United States, according to the *New York Quarterly*. As such, we are running in company with the *Georgia Review* (our competitor in Athens, GA), *Hudson Review*, *Massachusetts Review*, *Paris Review*, *Partisan Review*, *Poetry* (Chicago), *Prairie Schooner*, *Sewanee Review*, and *Virginia Quarterly Review*. Just as the editor of *Michigan Quarterly Review* sees a major responsibility in preserving the "Romance" of the literary journals of our nation (Goldstein B14), so I believe a literary magazine of consequence can bring soul to the persons who collaborate to make it. With two 200-page issues of the

best poetry, fiction, and criticism to publish each year, *The South Carolina Review* enlists more than half the English faculty and one emeritus dean to keep up with the thousands of manuscripts that creative and scholarly writers send us annually. Then consider our other shoulder, *The Upstart Crow*, which is the reason Clemson University is associated world-wide with the good name of William Shakespeare, warrant enough to push higher standards in a new series, transfigured and re-designed to mark the journal's twenty-first birthday, to acknowledge the new millennium, and to honor the life's work of the late Jim Andreas, founding director of Clemson's Shakespeare Festival and editor emeritus of "*The Crow*." In the six weeks since Jim's death to our second colloquium, the editorial staff and advisory board of the journal have been recast by editor Juana Green, under the supervision of CEDP and after a year-long assessment. (The assessment was part of a 10-year reaccreditation review of the entire university.) Work?—yes!

Third, with suspension of the AAH College newsletter *Mirare: In Search of Ideas* after Volume 6, Number 1 (fall 2000), CEDP became the caretaker of *Mirare*'s inventory, annexing the half dozen electronically posted issues into our Web site, adding five more out-of-print issues, and publishing online Volume 6, Number 2 (spring 2001). Once Dean Schach had decided to commission *Voices*, a faculty/staff monthly, with CEDP as her advisory board, we ran cost estimates for a modest public relations magazine—call it *Mirare Redux*—which was not funded due to anticipated cut-backs in the college budget.

Fourth, CEDP established a working relationship with the Clemson University Foundation and has engaged in CU development activities both in its quest for an endowment and in disseminating the good word about our seedling program and about Clemson University. The full-text, online edition of *The Idea of the University: the Presidential Colloquium 2000-2001*, edited by Donna Winchell (English) and Bill Maker (Philosophy and Religion), was preceded by a 24-page publicity magazine that the Foundation and the Office of Public Affairs used in their January mailings to top donors and presidents, provosts, vice-presidents and deans at Top 20 institutions nationwide. The Foundation has not only taken over a solicitation drive for us—our annual Friends of *The South Carolina Review* campaign—but has also, with the consent of the Andreas family, established a memorial fund to help meet publica-

tion costs of *The Upstart Crow*. We have also worked together to secure a corporate gift to publish a book for the class reunions this summer—advertised in the program in bold typeface: “**Arthur V. Williams, M.D., *Tales of Clemson 1936-1940* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2002), forthcoming. [Illustrated.] / . . . / Publication Date: June 2002 / Paperbound Price: \$15” (a 150-word abstract occurring in place of the ellipsis, in much the same state as that which appears on the back cover of the book). All work to *sustain* work.**

Moreover, fifth, major grant initiatives are pending, most notably an NEH Collaborative Research Grant which, if awarded, will measurably shift the weight of our young press toward serious interdisciplinary work in twentieth-century literature, history, peace, and women’s studies. The evidence is already available on personal Web sites if you know where to look for it. So Clemson’s reputation as a hotbed of Woolf and Bloomsbury scholarship will be secured. Just ask Merry Pawlowski, one of our guests today, who will show us how it’s done. (Indeed, she shows us abridged examples in the paper she’s given to this anthology.)

Finally—and this is not at all the last point, but one eventually has to say *finally*—it is necessary for perspective to quote our university president. He said:

I have been giving considerable thought to the power of ideas and how ideas are developed, how they are nurtured, how they are formed, and particularly how they develop momentum on a university campus. . . . This colloquium began with an idea, and it developed in the way all . . . meaningful ideas develop. . . . We have been having discussions on this campus for about two decades about a university press. After those discussions, when we took stock of where we were, we really were not making very much progress. So this idea [of creating a press for the twenty-first century] seemed to be very much liberating because it allowed us to consider a university press in a completely new context. The Center for Electronic and Digital Publishing is a result of this liberated thinking and planning. . . .

The full text of President Barker’s remarks may be read in a hypermedia proceedings edited by Professor Catherine Paul and demonstrated in

the auditorium during the afternoon break between sessions. Let me paraphrase: **CEDP STARTED WITH AN IDEA**. As the Little Mouse That Could, it “thinks it can” without asking the state for new public money. Nevertheless, it would sure help if someone came forward with an endowment to cover day-to-day overhead. Then we could go faster. Meanwhile, our bottom line is defined by journal subscriptions, sales, and Friends—a human quotient worth about \$400,000 if it were sitting in a bank and earning today’s 2.5% interest.

II

Now that you’ve shaken hands with CEDP and the digital press, consider some of the shock-waves that information technology has been making in Academia these days. I give you a sampling of headlines, mostly from *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, since our last colloquium:

- * “Professors Should Embrace Technology in Courses” (D. Lynch). Sometimes professors don’t; this is an article about intellectual property;
- * “Does Technology Fit in the Tenure File?” (J. Young). On whether creation of scholarly Web sites and electronic teaching tools should be counted in evaluation of faculty;
- * “The Deserted Library” (Carlson). On students abandoning reading rooms to research online or study at Starbucks;
- * “Judge Approves Sale of netLibrary’s E-Books to Nonprofit Library Group” (J. Young). On the Chapter 11 bankruptcy of the Enron of all e-book providers and its acquisition by the OCLC to protect the subscriptions of client libraries;
- * “Chameleon of the Computer Age” (Hodgkin). On internet reference editions by *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *American Heritage Dictionary*, and the *OED*;
- * “Are University Presses Producing Too Many Series for Their Own Good?” (Waters). That is, niches are nice but narrower can be a nuisance;
- * “Academic Press Gives Away Its Secret of Success” (Jensen). Or the logic of free online access to books to reduce the cost of marketing them);

- * “Great University Presses Make Greater Presidents” (Regier). According to the director of the University of Illinois Press (and who are we to question so worthy a maxim); and
- * (not least) “Thinking Like a Book Editor: Audience, Audience, Audience” (Rabiner and Fortunato). Or electronic publishing observes the fundamentals of already established reader-oriented protocols.

That’s a lot to think about. And there’s more, of course—a whole special issue of *Poets and Writers Magazine* (see Montfort), for instance, and an on-going discussion of E-zines versus print publications in the *Small Magazine Review* (McLaughlin) and of copyright issues as reviewed in the *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* (Spoo). Moreover, we can be assured that other issues will emerge in the future (e.g., Litchfield, Carlson, Leveen, Pfund, Foster, and Smallwood). I’ve given the headlines in no particular order except a roughly chronological one. Business and finance issues are there—and let me say no more about them, having said enough already. Teaching and research issues are there for the faculty as well as for students. And service is there for the institution and for the editor who thinks “Audience, Audience, Audience”! For a university press, like a faculty, the challenge that technology offers is both demanding and essential, galvanizing and liberating, as Jim Barker affirmed when he said: “We realize that we are in some new territory here and we like it. We like being in the new territory even though its confusing and we don’t have all the answers yet.”

So here’s my one Idea to lay beside the others today, the promised observation about an issue key to Clemson as a publishing house and to integrating technology in our strategic mission: *It’s all about writing when you get down to it*, writing literature as a pure or applied art or science, depending on one’s disposition, discipline, or audience. New technology offers additional options and means of reaching people with information (or literature, as I prefer), and it is the responsibility of an editor and editorial board to negotiate between writers and readers on principles and themes the press declares in its charter and comes to stand for in practice. An instance of such negotiation is the A. V. Williams book, *Tales of Clemson 1936-1940* (Clemson University Digital Press, 2002), which is a memoir by a former cadet and scientist at The Medical University. The manuscript passed muster when refereed by

the CEDP Advisory Board and won sponsorship from Dialysis Clinics, Incorporated, to support a student designer under the direction of an editorial staff including myself and Professors Frank Day (English) and Stephanie Adams (Library Special Collections). Both desktop and online platforms are being used to propagate editions of this 100-page book to its audience, with links to the Jewish Heritage Collection at the College of Charleston Library, and a foreword by President Emeritus Walter T. Cox, Class of '39. The sale of this book will support another book and another student. And so on and so forth.

The point of the example is not the business and marketing side of the venture, but the serendipitous and synergetic agency of individuals who collectively negotiated and, consequently, *made* the book. Technology is serving, not driving it. The medium is *not* the message, primarily. (See Epstein, "The Coming Revolution"; and McGann, "Literary Scholarship in the Digital Future.") Teaching is as consequential as learning is to the process. Certainly, the students who worked on this project learned the drill and discipline that texts and editors demand because an audience expects it; they also learned to apply computer skills in the lab that they learned in the classroom, either in the Master of Arts in Professional Communications program or elsewhere, especially "on the job." As a member of the literature faculty and a hands-on editor, I teach modern literature as well as writing in the core curriculum and then give this kind of instruction in the direction of our publication program. I work with four part-time editorial assistants on our journals (two from the literature and two from the professional communication graduate programs in the English Department at Clemson University), and I direct two MAPC graduate assistants and one undergraduate literature major at the Center for Electronic and Digital Publishing. In English, the "tech line" is not the Maginot line. The CEDP and digital press are on it, the "new territory" of which Barker spoke. It is becoming more and more imperative, to be sure, for faculty to get on that line and to work both sides of it. In English, a territory where the arts and humanities regularly coalesce and synthesize, it's not about writing (or communication) *and* literature, but about *writing literature*. And I dare say the work of each of our presenters today embodies that premise, working as they do on the cutting edge of their respective fields.

III

So it is my pleasure, *finally* (I say it again), to introduce you to a day's agenda that should be informative, interesting, engaging, possibly exciting, and occasionally demanding. I thank my friends Kathleen Yancey, Dixie Goswami, and Art Young for encouraging me to bring about an encore and sequel to last year's program. I thank Bob Becker for once again contributing the staff, facilities, and technical resources of the Strom Thurmond Institute. I thank my colleagues Karen Schiff, Catherine Paul, and Syd Cross for their part in today's events and/or in the parallel print studio workshops and slide presentations by Berwyn Hung, cited on page 3 of the program. Our sponsors have been quite generous this year, and I think it best to credit them as I go once through our line-up (for otherwise the attribution is collectively administered on p. 1 of the program). The Roy and Marnie Pearce Center for Professional Communication hosts our first session on Electronic Pedagogy for Teaching the Humanities and Composition, featuring Pamela Takayoshi on "Technologies, Identities and Agencies" and Todd Taylor on "A Methodology of Our Own." Professor Yancey, the Director of the Pearce Center, is the session's moderator. Professor Taylor is supported by the Platform for Collaboration Fund in the College of Architecture, Arts, and Humanities (hereafter referred to as "the College of AAH"), and the Pearce Center is standing lunch for all of the speakers.

In the afternoon, the University Vending Fund, the South Carolina Humanities Council, and the College of AAH will present, respectively, Professor Warwick Gould, Merry Pawlowski, and Jack Lynch in the session called Literary Studies and Digital Publishing. My friend, idol, and recent collaborator on *Yeats's Collaborations: Yeats Annual No. 15: A Special Number* (Palgrave, 2002) will keep you on the edge of your folding seats listening intently to his "Descriptive Bibliography and the Structure of Digital Editions: The Example of W. B. Yeats." And when Warwick is finished, Merry will dazzle you with "Virginia Woolf's Reading Notes for *Three Guineas*: An Online Archive and Edition." Having seen a version of this talk in Wales last summer, I had no idea at the time how relevantly it would play here after the September 11th terrorist attacks suddenly shifted the theme of our Presidential Colloquium from science and ethics to issues of war and peace. Nonetheless, Jack Lynch's talk on "Frankenstein: The Pennsylvania Electronic Edi-

tion” has been so eagerly anticipated that our endowed Campbell Chair (Professor Art Young) has also invested in him and is urging his entire Romantic literature class to attend, after introducing them to Jack once already—which is exactly the spirit and sort of audience that we want!

In the last two hours, our finale is brought to you by Clemson’s revered and beloved Professor Emeritus Dixie Goswami and Strom Thurmond Institute’s Research Associates Chris Benson and Tom Rourke. A Bread Loaf Rural Teacher’s Network Presentation is a treat and a surprise package replete with participating South Carolina Bread Loaf teachers and selected students. Last year’s Bread Loaf speaker so impressed my undergraduates that their effusive comments in Dr. Paul’s book mark it as a star attraction. I recommend them as reading, with, of course, the suggestion that the free hypermedia publication might be examined and studied for a wealth of information on libraries and digital publishing (at Winthrop University and the University of Michigan), on service and outreach teaching via the exemplary Romantic Circles Web site, on the James Joyce’s *Ulysses* and Emily Dickinson’s on-line library projects in progress, on a trilingual e-journal in architectural studies, on sources in humanities education on the Internet, and on on-going initiatives in communications and film studies. This year, Dixie’s teachers and students address the way student writing of all sorts—dialogues, letters, poems—may be stimulated and influenced by methods of composition by e-mail and publication in middle school class projects.

Taking notes on the entire colloquium, Jackie Grutsch McKinney, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro, has received sponsorship from the College of AAH, and she serves as an official liaison to our sister conference in Greensboro, on April 5-6, Technology in the College English Classroom: Literature, Culture, Pedagogy. UNCG has a reciprocal arrangement with our workshop coordinator and proceedings editor, Karen Schiff, so that we will have two capable agents participating in Saturday’s closing roundtable in Greensboro.

Therefore, Audience—Friends—you are cordially invited to participate in discussions with our speakers. As the program advertises (see p. [2], above), we wish to “engage the university and community in a discussion on the *actual* revolution taking place in ‘virtual reality,’ in classrooms, and in the dissemination of new knowledge that universities

dispense via electronic and digital media.” If you send me written responses to the presentations, I might just publish them, selectively and with the correspondents’ permission. My address is at the foot of the last page, and you’ll find my e-mail and personal web site linked to the CEDP site. The URL is printed in the program.

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A DIET OF WORMS: DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY
AND THE STRUCTURE OF DIGITAL EDITIONS:
THE EXAMPLE OF W. B. YEATS

by Warwick Gould
Institute of English Studies, University of London

*Antithesis is the narrow gateway through which error most
prefers to worm its way towards truth. —Nietzsche*

When Wayne Chapman asked me what I wanted to talk about today I said “Descriptive Bibliography and the Shape of Things to Come,” but as is usually the case with these things, that was before I had written my paper. Coming down over the Atlantic yesterday I brought myself to read it again and decided that it needed a new title. The subject is a can of worms, and since you are about to ingest it, let’s euphemize it a bit, and call it “A Diet of Worms.”

PRINT-BASED DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND LIFE RECORDS

I begin by paying tribute to three or four famous books from overlapping categories of scholarly enterprise even as I safely forecast the certain disappearance of the genres they represent as print-based publications. *A Bibliography of the Writings of W. B. Yeats*, edited by Allan Wade, is ninety-five years old. Of its four incarnations, the most recent is Russell Alspach’s updating of 1968, now 34 years old. It is a scarce book, particularly in the USA. I frequently find leading research libraries do not own it—the Woodruff in Atlanta being a case in point. So I bring it with me to save time as I search their treasures. My copy was deaccessioned by a Cambridge college (a disturbing harbinger) and I snapped it up for 20 pounds sterling.

Wade first appeared in 1908, *within* Yeats’s *Collected Works in Verse and Prose* (1908), as the last item in the eighth volume (there was also a 58-copy separate issue). Reviewing the *Collected Works*, Yeats’s friend Edith Lister remarked that in it we could

read the story of his life and of his work; read it by the light of

the bibliography over which he has written in humorous protest

*Accursed who brings to light of day
The writings I have cast away!
But blessed he that stirs them not
And lets the kind worm take the lot!*¹

Behind this worm squirms Shakespeare's epitaph in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford upon Avon, which Yeats indubitably saw on one or other of his visits to his publisher, A. H. Bullen, who printed his *Collected Works* there. Yeats's transumption of Shakespeare's epitaph

Good frend for Iesvs sake forbear,
To digg the dvst enclosed heare:
Blese be ye man that spares thes stones,
And cvrst be he th[at] moves my bones.²

is daring and powerful: Yeats's dead textual selves (as it were) are entombed within the bibliography and so within the *Collected Works* which contains the bibliography. Edith Lister continues:

When we compare the writings kept with the writings rejected, we find that the kind worm has not gone hungry . . . Mr. Yeats has shown his strength fully as much by what is cast away as by what is left; and though bibliophiles will prize to the end their 'first editions,' the lettered reader will doubtless prefer the author's ripened judgment.³

At least one reader was grateful: Yeats himself. He wrote to Wade: "I am amazed at your bibliography. You have old letters to the papers there, the date of which must have cost you endless trouble. The thing is of great value to myself and now you have made it possible I shall re-read endless old things I had thought never to see again."⁴ Bibliographies testify to absent texts. They keep the worm at bay in another sense, too: their correctness and completeness—always relative—forestalls "error, the worm," to use Shelley's phrase.⁵

The inclusion of Wade's bibliography within a *Collected Works* is a remarkable example of a writerly self inwardly embracing the dead selves

which externally it professes to repudiate. In its later incarnations, Wade's *Bibliography* established the standard format of Rupert Hart-Davis's "Soho" bibliographies, of which it was the first (1951—its publisher was also editor of its 1958 version, just three years after Wade died). Various classified sections are devoted to the author's books, books and periodicals edited by the author, books with a preface or introduction by the author, books containing contributions by the author including letters from him, contributions to periodicals, translations into other languages, separate publications in periodicals etc, with various appendices including one on broadcasting. The arrangement within each section is broadly chronological using the date of publication, though there are complications to which I will return.

Writers since Galen (or, in modern times, Erasmus) have been fascinated by their own bibliographies.⁶ Unlike Erasmus, Yeats lived with his printer only on odd weekends, but his interest in Wade's work has lessons for his readers. As time passes, serious readers must simultaneously be Edith Lister's "bibliophiles" and "lettered readers" because *their* "ripened judgement" of the textual continuum requires knowledge of "first editions," as well as of revised texts. In this they are very like the revising authors themselves, for whom self-reading is the key to revision. The record of revisions is the means whereby we read such restless writers: what they reject is part of the meaning of their new texts. For such authors, a new *Collected Works* can be seen as a climacteric, an attempt at self-definition, a new passport photograph. For such a self-arraignment, volumetrics and implicit hierarchies are as important as textual revision itself. Revision and self-reading offer the "inner" and "outer" histories of text, showing how a multiple sense of self (and some genuine uncertainty) attends each bibliographical occasion.

In Yeats's case such issues go back at least to 1894. If Yeats's 1908 curse embraces that which it would seem to disavow,⁷ Allan Wade's original headnote is a positive incitement to defy the curse. Recognising that many letters to the press had been omitted as dealing "merely with small points of fact in this or that controversy of the moment," Wade defends his thoroughness in terms as akin to Yeats's own as he could manage. The "many details," he writes,

serve as guides to those who would study the path along which beauty has come into the world. I have watched the roses blos-

soming in the garden, though I may not know the secret of their growth. (*Collected Works* VIII, p. [198])

Such records as the Allan Wades of this world assemble are precious for all who would study that path.

Yet there are other ways of organising these materials. J. Milton French's noble five volumes of *The Life Records of John Milton* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1949-58) does roughly the same thing but with a passion for strict chronology: the entries range from "Writes to ask brother Christopher's advice about business" to "has portrait painted," "wife dies," "signs contract with Samuel Symmons for publication of *Paradise Lost*" (famously for "five pounds of lawfull english money"; see Figure 1), *Paradise Lost* licensed for printing, entered in Stationers' Register, published (with a full bibliographic description), "Poet Waller scoffs at Milton and *Paradise Lost*," "receives five pounds for *Paradise Lost* and gives receipt to Samuel Symmons." Every detail is there—when Milton buys or reads a book, pays a bill, buries a relative, writes a poem—and we may note how the publication of the poem is set out indistinguishably from the layout of a descriptive bibliography.

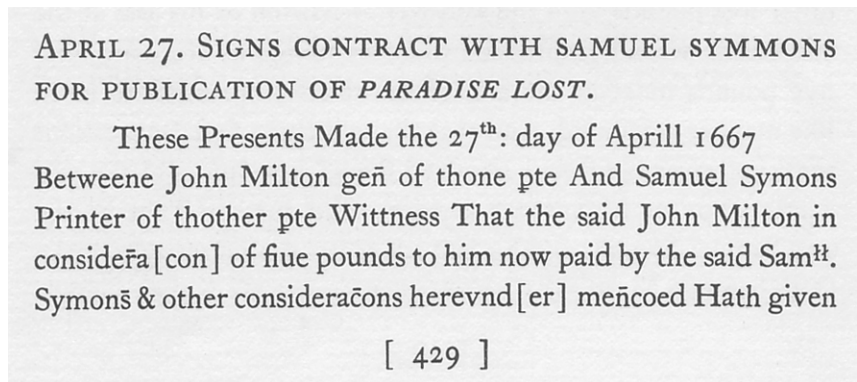


Figure 1: J. Milton French, *The Life Records of John Milton*, vol. IV: 1655-1669, p. 429.

APRIL 1667 • *Life Records of*

granted and assigned, and by these p̄nt̄p̄ doth giue grant & assigne vnto the said Samth Symoñs his executors and assignes All that Booke Copy or Manuscript of a Poem intituled Paradise lost, or by whatsoever other title or name the same is or shalbe called or distinguished now lately Licensed to be printed Together wth the full benefitt proffitt & advantage thereof or w^{ch} shall or may arise thereby And the said John Milton for him his ex^{rs} & ad̄s doth Coven̄t wth the said Samth Symoñs his ex^{rs} and as̄s That hee and they shall at all tymes hereafter haue hold and enioy the same and all Jmpressions thereof accordingly wthout the lett or hinderance of him the said John Milton his ex^{rs} or as̄s or any p̄son or p̄sons by his or their consent or privitie, And that he the said Jo: Milton his ex^{rs} or ad̄s or any other by his or their meanes or consent shall not print or cause to be printed or sell dispose or publish the said Booke or Manuscript or any other Booke or Manuscript of the same teno^r or subiect wthout the consent of the said Samth Symoñs his ex^{rs} or as̄s Jn consideraçon whereof the said Samth. Symoñs for him his ex^{rs}. and ad̄s doth Coven̄t wth the said John Milton his ex^{rs} and as̄s well and truly to pay vnto the said John Milton his ex^{rs} & ad̄s the sūm of five pounds of lawfull english money at the end of the first Jmpression which the said Samth Symoñs his ex^{rs} or as̄s shall make and publish of the said Copy or Manuscript, Which Jmpression shalbe accounted to be ended When thirteene hundred Book̄p̄ of the said whole Copy or Manuscript imprinted shalbe sold and retaild off to p̄ticular reading Customers, And shall also pay other five pounds vnto the said M[^r.] Milton or his as̄s at the end of the second Jmpression to be accounted as aforesaid And five pounds more at the end of the third Jmpression to be in like manner accounted, And that the said three first Jmpressions shall not excede fiteene hundred Book̄p̄ or volumes of the said whole Copy or Manuscript a peice; And further That he the said Samuel Symoñs and his ex^{rs} ad̄s & as̄s shalbe ready to make Oath before a Master in Chancery concerning his or their knowl-

[430]

Figure 1: continued, p. 430

John Milton • APRIL 1667

edge and beleife of or concerning the truth of the Disposing & selling the said Books by Retail as aforesaid whereby the said M^r Milton is to be intituled to his said money, from time to time vpon every reasonable request in that behalfe or in default thereof shall pay the said five pounds agreed to be paid vpon each Jmpression as aforesaid as if the same were due, & for & in leiu thereof Jnwittness whereof the said pties haue to this writing Jndented Jnterchangeably sett their hands & seales the day & yeare first above written

John Milton [seal]

Sealed and Delivered in the p^rsence of vs.

John Fisher./

Beniamin Greene serv^t to M^r. Milton

British Museum, Add. MS. 18,861; Masson, vi, 509-511; Sotheby, *Ramblings*, facing p. 136; French, "The Autographs of John Milton," No. 127; CM, xviii, 422, 618. The document is reproduced in facsimile in several places, including the *Milton Tercentenary*, between pp. 96 and 97. Two words near the beginning are partially obliterated by the rubbing away of the edge of the sheet. None of the handwriting is Milton's. Among previous owners of the record were the publisher William Pickering, who sold it for 100 guineas, and the poet Samuel Rogers, who presented it to the British Museum. See Milton's *Works*, ed. Mitford, 1 (1851), facing clxxxviii (facsimile), and vi; and the *Catalogue of Additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1868, p. 162.

Figure 1: continued, p. 431.

Gerry Bentley's *Blake Records* (Clarendon, 1969) offer a slightly more "narrativized" way of providing the same information, and with less bibliographical detail.⁸ (See Figure 2.) In modern times, of course, the tradition of the bibliography enclosed within the works has been a comic one. Introducing the "Bibliography by John Lane" appended to *The Works of Max Beerbohm* (1896), Lane remarked that "It is impossible for one to compile a bibliography of a great man's works without making it in some sense a biography—and indeed in the minds of not a few people I have found a delusion that the one is identical with the other."⁹

From Artisan to Artist

59

EDWARDS'S
MAGNIFICENT EDITION
OF
YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS.

EARLY IN JUNE will be published, by subscription, part of the first of a splendid edition of this favorite work, elegantly printed, and illustrated with forty [eventually forty-three] very spirited engravings from original drawings by BLAKE.

These engravings are in a perfectly new style of decoration, [Spring 1797] surrounding the text which they are designed to elucidate.

The work is printed in atlas-sized quarto, and the subscription for the whole, making four parts, with one hundred and fifty engravings, is five guineas;—one to be paid at the time of subscribing, and one on the delivery of each part.—The price will be considerably advanced to non-subscribers.

Specimens may be seen at EDWARDS'S, No 142, *New Bond-Street*; at Mr. EDWARDS'S, *Pall-Mall*; and at the HISTORIC GALLERY, *Pall-Mall*; where subscriptions are received.¹

The *Night Thoughts* appeared at a most unfortunate juncture, because of the banking crash of the time and 'the abject and almost expiring state to which the fine arts had been reduced'.² Only four of the nine Nights were published, and most readers were not as enthusiastic as Bulwer Lytton, who many years later called them 'at once so grotesque, so sublime—now [illustrated] by so literal an interpretation, now by so vague and disconnected a train of invention, that the whole makes one of the most astonishing and curious productions which ever balanced between the conception of genius and the raving of insanity'.³

In the Royal Academy exhibition of May 1799 '*W. Blake*' May, 1799 exhibited no. '154 The last supper[:]' "Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me."—Matt. chap. 26. ver. 21'.⁴

¹ The only copy I know of this very small flier (14.4×11.1 cm.) is in the John Johnson Collection in the Bodleian Library. Richard Edwards, who published the *Night Thoughts*, had a shop at 142 New Bond Street, and his brother James had one in Pall Mall.

² *Memoirs and Recollections of the Late Abraham Raimbach, Esq. Engraver*, ed. M. T. S. Raimbach, London, 1843, p. 22. About 1796 'Everything connected with them [the arts], was, of course, at the lowest ebb'.

³ See Dec. 1830 and Plates VII, IX, X.

⁴ In the index of *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, M, DCC, XCIX, The Thirty-First*, London [1799], is 'W. Blake, 13, Hercules Buildings, Walworth—154'.

Figure 2: G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records*, p. 59.

Stuart Mason's *Bibliography of Oscar Wilde*, in its later editions—it began life as 11 copies privately printed for the author in 1908¹⁰—is literally a bio/bibliography.¹¹ It acts as a “Life Record” because it captures material never seen again, such as letters subsequently lost. One glance at Mason's *Bibliography* and one senses the wisdom of Yeats's remark to Florence Farr that “when one begins to write[,] one's books are a sufficient history.”¹¹

All of these books are used to study other books and are those tools ‘of great power and complexity’ which Jerome McGann sees as one of the great triumphs of the print era. If I demur from his judgment that scholarly editions, descriptive bibliographies, calculi of variants, etc., are “infamously difficult to read and use,” it is because their alleged difficulty is routinely overstated—not by McGann, I hasten to add—but by lesser minds and by trigger-happy enthusiasts for electronic products. That said, no one who uses modern tools can deny that electronic “meta-books” offer “greater powers of consciousness” which break free of the limitations of the codex.¹² Says McGann of codex-based meta-books:

Their problems arise because they deploy a book form to study another book form. This symmetry between the tool and its subject forces the scholar to invent analytic mechanisms that must be displayed and engaged at the primary reading level. . . Editing in codex forms generates an archive of books and related materials. This archive then develops its own meta-structures—indexing and other study mechanisms—to facilitate navigation and analysis of the archive. Because the entire system develops through the codex form, however, duplicate, near-duplicate, or differential archives appear in different places. The crucial problem here is simple: the logical structures of the “critical edition” function at the same level as the material being analyzed. As a result, the full power of the logical structures is checked and constrained by being compelled to operate in a bookish format. If the coming of the book vastly increased the spread of knowledge and information, history has slowly revealed the formal limits of all hardcopy's informational and critical powers. The archives are sinking in a white sea of paper. (McGann)

In short, if as McGann says, “whatever happens in the future, whatever new electronic poetry or fiction gets produced, the literature we inherit (to this date) is and will always be bookish” we still “no longer have to use books to analyze and study other books or texts. That simple fact carries immense, even catastrophic, significance.”

YEATS ENTERS THE DIGITAL AGE

As we declare ourselves free from the analytic limits of the codex we ought not to lose sight of the poverty of ambition with which we have created some of our (admittedly rudimentary) electronic tools. Our failure to imagine how they might draw upon what has gone before is regrettable. Let me illustrate with just one example. W. B. Yeats entered the digital age because his Estate was stamped by the threat of electronic piracy and digital error. The Estate therefore commissioned the *W. B. Yeats Collection*, which costs £750 for a single CD-ROM (single user only) and up to £1,500 (for ten users and more). Said to be the first of a low-cost range of single author CD-ROM products, it is also available by subscription to the publisher, and was supposed to become part of Chadwyck-Healey’s LION (*Literature Online*) project.¹³ Its editor, Richard Finneran, claims rather melodramatically that we live in “the twilight of the Age of the Book,”¹⁴ but his electronic product rather hurries us towards chaos and old night, if not ancestral darkness.

Elsewhere I have described *The W. B. Yeats Collection* as a “product worthy in principle and in purpose which proves functionally ill-attuned to its content, ill-conceived in canon and text, and inaccurate,” and pointed out that it appears “to violate the rights of third parties.”¹⁵ Errors of textual transmission, proof-reading, *mise-en-page* and expressive typography are confounded with limited searchability, bibliographical inaccuracy, eccentricities of canon, numerous items missing and items offered twice, and a disturbing amount of material by other authors which is searchable as if by Yeats himself. Hastily assembled, unchecked and uncriticized, this project represents a poor match between editorial ambition and fitness for purpose. “Yeats has not been so much digitally remastered as digitally dismayed”: so I wrote a couple of years ago, arguing for the recall of this “hypermarket edition” a product which had foundered “on the most basic of issues: sound editing” (Gould 349).

The other day I searched the Yeats database for a humble word: “worm.” Remarkably, I found a usage not in my recall. In Yeats’s poem “Into the Twilight,” I found the following lines, which are properly set in italics.

And God stands winding His lonely horn,
And time and the worm are ever in flight; [*sic*]

My students love this worm better than any of the worms—humble, weak, dull, limp, and blind—which spire their way legitimately through Yeats’s poems.¹⁶ They even *preferred* it to Yeats’s correct text “*Time and the world are ever in flight*” because they think that it echoes the “invisible worm / That flies in the night” in Blake’s “The Sick Rose.”¹⁷ Was not Yeats a Blake scholar? Could I not, as it were, legitimize their preference for complexity over correctness?

This offered me the chance to dilate to them on the endless history of error and its errancy. Luciano Canfora has a beautiful passage in *The Vanished Library* in which he reconstructs the dialogue of John Philoponus with the Emir Amrou Ibn el-Ass in Alexandria in AD late 640, while Amrou awaits the terrible order to burn the Library from the Caliph Omar in Constantinople.¹⁸ John rehearses for Amrou much of the history of the various Alexandrian collections, dating back a thousand years to Ptolemaic times when Demetrius Phalereus had sought to collect all the books of the world. Canfora at this point offers an accelerated history of more recent Alexandrian misfortunes and conflicts, commenting almost as an aside:

Naturally, the city’s books had changed, too; and not only in their content. The delicate scrolls of old had gone. Their last remnants had been cast out as refuse or buried in the sand, and they had been replaced by more substantial parchment, elegantly made and bound into thick codices—and crawling with errors, for Greek was increasingly a forgotten language.¹⁹

The lesson here is timeless: translating textual artefacts into new media is inevitable and necessary, but the process is fraught with error because of human intervention.²⁰ Error, as Dante, Milton, Pope—above all, Shelley—tell us, is the worm, and it worms its way only slowly towards

correctness as Nietzsche indicates. We all know those uses of error, and participate in the academic business generated and sustained by what we might term error's errancy, which feeds our natural and perpetual need *and* desire to correct it.

SELF-CONCEPTUALIZING DIGITAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fulminating against this “palimpsest of conflicting views on editing in the digital age,”²¹ I did not fully see the larger problem behind its editorial failure: the failure to self-conceptualize a digital edition. A database pretends to be impersonal, objective, neutral, but, behind its apparent editorial “impersonality” or “neutrality,” there is, of course, editorial input. Every tag, every hyperlink, is an editorial decision. Even a decision to have a default setting which denies access to a contents page is an editorial decision. What seems magically free-form and unstructured is in fact the product of massive editorial intervention.

What I would want to stress today is that this particular product's self-conception is poor. As I have said, it has much to be modest about. But its real trouble is that it chooses that we think of it as a database and not as a meta-book. What difference would it make for a database to be, and be thought of, as a meta-book? It would mean that its organising principle was not merely the tagged and searchable string or record or even the hyperlink, but that its editor had thought of it as a library, the oldest form of organisation which allows both its “contents and its webwork of relations (both internal and external)” to be “indefinitely expanded and developed.” McGann tells us, in “The Rationale of Hypertext,” that

the separate parts of the ensemble (nodes on the Net, files in a hypertext) are independently structured units. That kind of organization ensures that relationships and connections can be established and developed in arbitrary and stochastic patterns.

This kind of organizational form resembles our oldest extant hypertextual structure, the library, which is also an archive (or in many cases an archive of archives). As with the Internet and hypertext, a library is organized for indefinite expansion. Its logical organization (e.g., the LC system) can be accommodated to any kind of physical environment, and it is neutral with respect

to user demands and navigation. Moreover, the library is logically “complete” no matter how many volumes it contains — no matter how many are lost or added.

The noncentralized character of such an ordering scheme is very clear if one reflects even briefly on the experience of library browsing. You are interested in, say, Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s writings. So you move to that LC location in the library (any library). You stand before a set of books and other documents, which may be more or less extensive. Nothing in that body of materials tells you where to begin or what volume to pull down. It is up to you to make such a decision.

But these books are rare and valuable relics of the print era. They are locked away in environmentally controlled conditions. Therefore, the library has catalogued them to a depth of description whereby the cards, or MARC records, are detailed beyond the dreams even of (say) Nicholson Baker.²² The catalogue offers not merely a finding-aid or shelf-mark, with author, title, publisher, date, but also physical description, collation, details of limitation, edition, provenance, etc., etc.

Such a catalogue would of course be a descriptive bibliography, because by definition descriptive bibliographies account for all (or nearly all) that which one cannot read, and against them one is supposed to be able to verify rare examples. Yet what if such a descriptive bibliography were not the catalogue of a library policed by librarians but of one which you could browse at will, roaming the shelves, following your nose as you do in the stacks of a university library? Imagine, in short, that a database came equipped with an descriptive bibliography as an outer shell, standing in relation to an author’s entire *oeuvre* as metadata, as a catalogue does to a library? Now re-envisage that library as a *book* which is itself a collection of books within a book, like a Bible. To do so you must re-envisage the catalogue as a contents page, or as an index. (Remember, too, that, as Shakespeare reminds us, an index is not necessarily an epilogue or appendix. In his day, the word meant “prologue,” or table of contents which was synonymous with “index,” except that in the English language tradition we place the one at the front and the other at the back).²³

Well now, such a conception is possible, it is here, and its existence goes to the heart of a debate about electronic products. A couple of

years ago, Professor McGann and I examined a PhD thesis in London. Its author, Dr Philip Errington, who now catalogues and sells modern firsts for Sotheby's in Bond Street, is also a Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Manuscript and Print Studies in my Institute. His thesis is a *Descriptive Bibliography of the Works of John Masefield*, in which it is possible to move with a click from the bibliographical description of items and volumes, to experience the works themselves, their variant texts, their illustrations, their manuscripts, and even the digitized recordings of Masefield reading his poems.

I stress that Philip Errington did not set out to create a full-text edition of the Masefield corpus. There are enormous stretches of Masefield's *oeuvre*, particularly of his prose and drama, which are not available in the manner which I have described. The examples I have cited are the exception rather than the rule. He himself was rather surprised when I suggested that his architecture might be used for full-text editions rather than merely for on-line descriptive bibliography: it had, he said, never occurred to him that such might be felt suitable. His thesis lacks its own search engine and was designed for CD-ROM rather than web-based delivery. As the first—and, thus far, the only—thesis to be approved in London in CD-ROM format, it poses a number of problems of preservation and access, but also some glimpses of the shape of things to come in a University Library overburdened with 2,500 new PhDs in codex form every year.

THE ANNALS APPROACH

Why stop here? One problem which Wade imprinted on the Soho Bibliography format is that chronology is violated when reprints (e.g., of various states of *Poems*) are bunched together. Wade's latest editor, Colin Smythe (also a Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Manuscript and Print Studies), plans to abolish that anomaly, but there is a larger conflict between pure chronology and grouping according to generic hierarchies in Soho bibliographies (books and pamphlets by, books edited by, contributions to periodicals, and so on). The other model, that of the *Life Records*, has only one hierarchy: chronology.

Of course, a good meta-book could offer a life records too, with access to the full-text hot-buttoned off every detail. This, I believe, a one of the organising principle in Richard Taylor's *Variorum Cantos* project, of which the Annals of Ezra Pound's life is a key document. If

information were suitably tagged, we could have at will a descriptive bibliography, a collected letters, and chronologies of composition, revision and publication at our fingertips. Editors of letters know that nothing “propinks like propinquity,” and that dating problems gradually solve themselves with the accumulation of dated information. Imagine how the history or continuum of consciousness might slowly be recovered, the histories of reading and self-revision, of self-reading and new writing.

By way of example, in 1924, when correcting proof of *Early Poems and Stories*, Yeats saw that “The Lamentation of the Old Pensioner” had to be rewritten because for the first time in his career it was to appear within the same covers as the prose account of its source, “A Visionary,” from *The Celtic Twilight*. New pressures (the Irish Civil War) brought themselves to bear on what was being revised (“Now lads are making pikes again”) in this poem as in the “Dedication to a Book of Stories from the Irish Novelists” and other early poems which had outlived their occasion and demanded renewal. But re-reading the Old Pensioner, Yeats saw a way forward for new work, and the “Old Countryman” poems tumbled out in a manuscript headed “More Songs of the Old Pensioner,” before being combined as “A Man Young and Old.”

THE DEFINITIVE TEXT

Behind the modest *W. B. Yeats Collection* were the more vaunting and still unrealized plans of Professor Finneran to provide a full-scale electronic edition with variant texts keyed to the 1989 text of *The Poems Revised*. Reviewing a number of Yeats editions in the *TLS* in 1990,²⁴ McGann proposed that a “definitive” text was no longer necessary. He was unworried by the idea that every hyper-reader would need to become his or her own editor.²⁵ When McGann had proposed a Yeats hypermedia edition, Finneran responded furiously—in remarks apparently addressed to McGann’s university at large:

In a future electronic edition . . . no doubt . . . the reader [will] . . . toggle between . . . competing formats. But even then, one version will presumably have to be the default arrangement. . . . yes, Virginia, short of the discovery of a lost codicil to Yeats’s will or the reappearance of his supernatural Instructors, read-

ers—and editors—must make such a choice . . . our choice of formats has significant consequence for interpretation.²⁶

I thought at the time that, despite this tone and my own long-argued and unanswered view that Finneran’s editions are simply wrong about the arrangement of Yeats’s poems, that he was nevertheless right about the problem of presenting the works of Yeats in hypermedia. If for McGann “HyperEditing” does not require “(even if it be at some deep and invisible level) a central ‘text’ for organizing the hypertext of documents” (McGann, *ibid*) it is hard to agree that an editor is solely a librarian, even if he or she is an accurate one. A “virtual library” of Yeats, including bitmapped images of manuscript pages, books, paratexts, and penumbral papers requires an editor to be other than neutral, in the same way that cataloguing does. If a meta-book is a library, it must contain for comparison and collational purposes the best posthumous edited text, much as ordinary libraries contain the best modern texts as well as the original artefacts. Our duty to the historicity of text and to the perpetuation of textual accuracy in electronic form requires no less.

Finneran however, aimed to drive out Mrs Yeats’s 1949 “definitive edition,” to omit it and to replace it with his own. My preference involves a refusal to evanish the history of the books. Editors of meta-books cannot, in short, simply function as librarians, helping neophytes to negotiate “the logical structures” in which texts are housed. Neophytes are intimidated not merely because they can’t immediately understand the organizing principles of a library; they need to understand the logical structures in which texts have been made and evaluated. In short, e-editors are librarians *and* bibliographers too, but they must not hide in those duties and abnegate the task of making editorial choices. Their choices do not have to “shut the structure down . . . close its covers as it were” (McGann, *ibid.*), which is what Finneran seemed to want.

THE INHERENT DIFFICULTIES OF ELECTRONIC PRODUCTS

John Unsworth, Director of the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia, describes *The Complete Writing and Pictures of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Hypermedia Research Archive* as follows:

a comprehensive electronic edition produced and updated continually since 1993 by Jerome McGann and more than 30 others working under his direction. The current version, published by the University of Virginia's Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities (IATH) using Enigma's Dynaweb software, is the first of four projected installments. It includes 10,388 SGML and JPEG files, presenting the material that centers on the 1870 volume of Rossetti's *Poems* and outlining the structure that the completed archive will require. This material is marked up in a Document Type Definition (DTD) developed for the project at IATH—the Rossetti Archive Master Document Type Definition (RAM DTD). In addition, there are about 5,000 (offline) TIFF images, from which the JPEGs are derived; some HTML pages with introductory, summary, and navigational materials; and perhaps two dozen style sheets. The publication also includes 18 essays about the archive, by McGann and others, marked up in HTML and available from the 'resources' area of the archive. The completed Rossetti Archive is likely to contain 25,000 files and to take another 10 to 12 years (and another 30 to 40 people) to finish. The University of Virginia, private foundations, and corporations have already invested hundreds of thousands of dollars in developing this resource; perhaps as much as a million dollars will be invested by the time the project ends.²⁷

Eighteen months ago, in Austin, Texas, I heard it confidently predicted that the Library of Congress will have been digitized within fifteen years. Contrast such technological dreaming with the fact that it costs \$10 to bind or box a 300 page book, and \$1,600 for base-level digitization, \$2,500 for enhanced digitization.²⁸ We have, surely, hardly begun to take stock of the difficulties and costs of electronic projects, which is not to offer an excuse for shoddily-conceived quick-fix solutions such as the Yeats edition. The logic, however, of McGann's argument about the magnificent array of scholarly tools of the print era is that electronic tools require a like sophistication.

When I asked McGann in London some months ago what he thought of the idea that a descriptive bibliography or life-records or both might provide an outer shell—as it were—or way in, to a full-text data-base, he said: "It sounds austere to me." I'm not ashamed of that. Indeed, the

rigor which the sophisticated print-based tools already impart to scholarship seems to me to be an essential discipline if we are successfully to move to a hybrid electronic/codical culture. Certainly at the Centre for Manuscript and Print Studies, we hope that Descriptive Bibliography will guide our modest way into that alluring future.

Notes

1. *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Peter Allt and Russell K. Alsopach (New York and London: Macmillan, 1957) 779.
2. Yeats inscribed Quinn's copy of *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems* (1889): "My first book of poems & full of mixed influences / Cursed be he who moves the bones of these verses to reprint them. W B Yeats. March, 1904." (Berg Collection, New York Public Library; cf. the *Complete Catalogue of the Library of John Quinn sold by auction in five parts [with printed prices]* (New York: The Anderson Galleries, 1924), lot 11344, p. 1130. Yeats shared doubts as to the epitaph's authenticity: "[t]he people of Stratford-on-Avon have remembered little about him, and invented no legend to his glory. They have remembered a drinking-bout of his, and invented some bad verses for him, and that is about all" ("At Stratford-on-Avon," *Essays and Introductions* [London and New York: Macmillan, 1961] 110).
3. E. M. D. [ie., Edith Lister] "The Writings of Mr. W. B. Yeats," *Fortnightly Review*, os 91 / ns 85.506 (Feb. 1909) 253-54.
4. *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954; New York: Macmillan, 1955) 523.
5. True Love in this differs from gold and clay,
That to divide is not to take away.
Love is like understanding, that grows bright,
Gazing on many truths; 'tis like thy light.
Imagination! which from earth and sky,
And from the depths of human fantasy,
As from a thousand prisms and mirrors, fills
The Universe with glorious beams, and kills
Error, the worm, with many a sun-like arrow
Of its reverberated lightning. (*Epipsychidion*)
6. Galen of Pergamon (AD 129-99) is certainly the first recorded writer to be thus obsessed; see Bernard H. Breslauer and Roland Folter, *Bibliography, Its History and Development, Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Grolier Club, April 21 to June 6, 1981, to Mark the Completion of the National Union Catalog, pre-1956 Imprints* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1984) 22, 35.
7. Was the curse then a Cerberus or a Siren? No considered awareness of Yeats's work can endure without engagement of the writings that he "cast away." Though "*The friends that have it I do wrong*" and the curse stand volumes apart in the edition, they are nevertheless a doublet, enclosing the larger and

- less stable area of Yeats's writing. The antinomous principle cannot be dispensed with, though Yeats himself abandoned both curse and verse after 1908.
8. *Blake Books* (1977) and *Blake Books Supplement: A Bibliography of Publications and Discoveries about William Blake 1971-1992, being a continuation of Blake Books* (1977) came out in 1995 and is a cognate compilation.
 9. *The Works of Max Beerbohm* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896) 163.
 10. The British Library copy of the first edition (C.58 i. 22) is copy no 5. See also the 1914 edition (London: The Bodley Head, T. Werner Laurie) and the New Edition, introduced by Timothy d' Arch Smith (London: Bertram Rota, 1967).
 11. W. B. Yeats to Florence Emery, 4 October [1914].
 12. "So far as editing and textual studies are concerned, codex tools present serious difficulties. To make a new edition one has to duplicate the entire productive process, and then add to or modify the work as necessary. Furthermore, the historical process of documentary descent generates an increasingly complex textual network (the word 'text' derives from a word that means 'weaving'). Critical editions were developed to deal with exactly these situations. A magnificent array of textual machinery evolved over many centuries. Brilliantly conceived, these works are nonetheless infamously difficult to read and use (McGann, "The Rationale of Hypertext," found on-line at <http://www.jefferson.village.virginia.edu/public/jjm2f/rationale.htm>).
 13. Linda Bramwell of ProQuest Information and Learning informs me, on 6-02-03, that they now have "no plans" to incorporate *The W. B. Yeats Collection* (which has not been corrected or updated since its launch) into *Literature Online*.
 14. George P. Landow, *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) 19, quoted in *The Literary Text in the Digital Age*, ed. Richard J. Finneran (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) ix.
 15. See Warwick Gould, "Yeats Digitally Remastered: *The W. B. Yeats Collection*," in *Yeats and the Nineties: Yeats Annual No. 14: A Special Number*, ed Warwick Gould (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2001) 335.
 16. See *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats* 128-29, 409, 574-75.
 17. *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats* 148. (In the Finneran passage, the text is further incorrectly rendered in roman rather than italic type.) For "The Sick Rose," see *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970) 23.
 18. *The Vanished Library, a Wonder of the Ancient World*, trans. Martin Ryle (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989; Vintage edition, 1991) 83-99. Canfora takes his story from Ibn al-Kifti's *History of Wise Men*.
 19. *The Vanished Library* 87.
 20. G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Latest Forms of Book Burning (1993)," in his *Literature and Artifacts* (Charlottesville; Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1998) 89-95. See also Nicholson Baker's famous essay on the jettisoning of library card-catalogues following retrospective conversion to electronic

- catalogues, “Discords” (which first appeared in *The New Yorker* in 1994), in *The Size of Thoughts: Essays and Other Lumber* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1996) 125-81, especially 161.
21. “Yeats Digitally Remastered” 349.
 22. See Nicholson Baker’s “Discards,” *The Size of Thoughts: Essays and Other Lumber* 125-81. Although Harvard University took the precaution of microfilming card records before destroying them, it did not photograph information held on the backs of such cards (p. 129). See also 140-42, 155-56.
 23. “Ay me! what act, / That roars so loud and thunders in the index?” (*Hamlet*, III.iv); “The presentation of but what I was; / The flattering index of a direful pageant” (*Richard the Third*, II.ii.); “Lechery, by this hand! an index and obscure prologue to the history of lust and foul thoughts” (*Othello*, II.i.).
 24. “Which Yeats edition?” *TLS*, 11-17 May 1990: 493-94.
 25. George Bornstein admits that “we need to know enough textual scholarship to be our own editors, rather than to have our critical field irrevocably defined by an editor’s prior judgments” in an otherwise readerly if superficial glance at the problem of Yeats in “Remaking Himself: Yeats’s Revisions of His Early Canon,” *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 5 (1991): 356. “[W]hat Yeats finally created was a process rather than a product” (356), observes Bornstein, but while the emphasis upon textual “process” is welcome, he ignores textual biography in the 1930s, and thus dismisses Yeats’s own obsessive concern for final intention in the preparation of canonical editions, the relationship between canonical and popular arrangements, and the acts of delegates.
 26. Richard J. Finneran, “Text and Interpretation in the Poems of W. B. Yeats,” in *Representing Modernist Texts: Editing as Interpretation*, ed. George Bornstein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991) 28-29.
 27. Stephen G. Nichols and Abby Smith, *The Evidence in Hand: Report of the Task Force on the Artifact in Library Collections* (Washington, DC: Council on Library and Information Resources, 2001) 66-67.
 21. Nichols and Smith 101.

EXPOSING MASCULINE SPECTACLE: VIRGINIA WOOLF'S
NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS FOR *THREE GUINEAS* AS CONTEMPORARY
CULTURAL HISTORY

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In 1938, Virginia Woolf wrote in *Three Guineas*, constructing a verbal icon of increasingly powerful dictators in Europe: “It is the figure of a man; some say, others deny that he is Man himself, the quintessence of virility.”² The man pictured here with ties to both Mussolini and Hitler perhaps best exemplifies how the image of Man himself appeared to

Woolf's own imagination. His face appears on a page in her *Reading Notes* scrapbooks clipped from a newspaper with no identifying information other than what is apparent—that it is a photograph from a newspaper clipping and that the caption identifies him as “Count Ciano in flying kit.” What history tells us about him, though, is that he is Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law, married to his 19-year-old daughter, Edda, in 1930. Ciano, the son of an admiral, became a journalist and diplomat as well as an airman, serving as a bomber pilot in the Abyssinian war. Politically, he was connected with Mussolini's offices for propaganda and became Foreign Minister in 1936. In this capacity, he negotiated the Axis agreements with Germany and favored Italian expansion into the Balkans. After Italian defeats in North Africa, however, he was dismissed from the Foreign Ministry and sent to the Vatican as ambassador. In July, 1943, he voted for the overthrow of Mussolini and left Italy for Germany, where he was blamed by Hitler for Mussolini's downfall and sent back to Verona to face execution on January 11, 1944. Indeed, Woolf, dying in 1941, could not have known Ciano's ultimate fate; but at the moment when he's pictured in the newspaper, “flying high,” his image is in her scrapbooks because it serves, in my view, as an emblem of Woolf's “quintessence of virility.”

Which brings me to the point of this talk—to explore the “quintessence of virility” with all its ramifications for the exclusion of women from public space and for its display of Empire as masculine spectacle in the newspaper and journal clippings which form a substantial part of Woolf's *Reading Notes* for *Three Guineas*, the three volume scrapbooks housed in the University of Sussex library and entitled B16.f, vols 1, 2, and 3.

The clippings grow in importance and number against Woolf's own handwritten notes and other documents contained in the scrapbooks through the course of the three volumes, from 25 in the 67 pages of Volume 1, to 48 in the 59 pages of Volume 2, to 54 in 65 pages of Volume 3. The clippings interest me for what they can tell us about Woolf working as a historian of contemporary culture, for they are the primary documents of her culture; and I mean to explore a selection of them here from two perspectives, structural and thematic. My emphasis in what follows will be on three elements of structure—a conjunction between image and text, a conscious arrangement by juxtaposition of

materials, and a selection of materials which exposes and works against the paper's own bias—and on two themes—women's uneasy inhabitation of public space coupled with a deconstruction of public spectacle to expose masculine vanity and ego as essential ingredients for war

Woolf read no less than 4 - 6 newspapers a day, among them, mainstream, conservative newspapers, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*; leftist, labor-leaning papers like the *Manchester Guardian*; and more glitzy tabloids like the *Evening Standard*. For the purposes of her work, she tended to ignore headlines and major news stories, choosing instead letters to the editor, and back page or offbeat articles. These consciously selected fragments, when put together, could expose her society for what she believed it to be—as sexist, imperialist, and fascist as Germany or Italy. While amply provided with the discourse of patriarchal ideology in the major papers, Woolf could find means to resist the standard versions of contemporary history, by constructing contextual messages in the contiguous placement of articles and by clipping tiny articles that most other readers might have missed to demonstrate a point. To enhance her points, she focused on the visual image, the news photograph collected alone or as part of accompanying text, as an icon of the spectacle of masculine social organization of the public sphere, a sphere in which women were largely absent and the gendering of social space quite apparent.

While consciously clipping articles which take up the issue of women's place (or lack thereof) in public space, Woolf was encountering evidence of masculine society as “spectacle,” suggesting what Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* would later explore. Debord does not gender the spectacle as does Woolf, but his pronouncements on the spectacle replicate in large part what Woolf observes and tracks in her scrapbooks. Debord's tenth thesis characterizes Woolf's assumptions about British empire and spectacle and describes a situation which Woolf predicts in her use of the photograph as icon in *Three Guineas*:

Understood on its own terms, the spectacle proclaims the predominance of appearances and asserts that all human life, which is to say all social life, is mere appearance. But any critique capable of apprehending the spectacle's essential character must expose it as a visible negation of life—and as a negation of life

that has invented a visual form for itself" (Thesis 10).³

For Woolf, too, the spectacle negates, specifically the masculine spectacle of empire to which she is witness has a direct link to war: "Obviously the connection between dress and war is not far to seek; your finest clothes are those you wear as soldiers" (*Three Guineas* 39).

In Volume I of her *Reading Notes* scrapbooks, Woolf's attention rests primarily on her investigation of the presence of women in public space, and she chooses articles which examine variations of this major theme.



"Whitehall Storm Over a Woman," from the *Evening Standard*, April 8, 1932, records a mounting protest to the appointment of a woman, K. M. Walls, to the management of the Shoreditch Labour Exchange.

R. D. Cook, secretary to the Ministry of Labour Staff Association, told the *Evening Standard*, "We believe that she [Miss Walls] is fully competent, but we do not think it desirable that a woman should be appointed to the charge of a Labour Exchange which deals with a bigger percentage of men than women" (I : 15; LVIII, B.22).⁴ On the same page with this clipping Woolf pasted another in a related vein but from a paper dated two months earlier, on February 12, 1932. "Woman Appointed Librarian: Eleven Committee Members Resign." Claiming that, despite the full qualification and experience of a woman appointed as branch librarian, "they wished a male librarian to occupy the office," eleven members of the Wolverhampton Art Gallery and Public Library Committee resigned in protest. Juxtaposition is not only a signal here to Woolf's insights about the relationship between the messages of each article and their social commentary but also a window into Woolf's practice of saving clippings until she had found the right space for them in her scrapbook.

"Equality of the Sexes Only a Myth" as a banner headline suggests a number of possibilities to the reader's mind until she reads the subheading: "Wives the Law's Favorites." Authored by Judge McCleary, the article appeared in the February 17, 1932, issue of *The Daily Telegraph* (I: 30; LVVIII, B.37).

The article purports that not only is there no equality between the sexes, but that, in fact, women, especially wives, fare better under

FEBRUARY 17, 1932

EQUALITY OF THE SEXES ONLY A MYTH

Wives The Law's Favourites

By His Honour JUDGE McCLEARY

THE physical difference between a man and a woman and the essential variance in their objects and ambitions in life render it impossible to compare the one with the other without qualifications. A man, whether married or single, in the front which he presents to the outside world is the same man. He fights the battle of life, and she may lawfully claim equal rights with those possessed by a member of the other sex.

As a married woman she is in a somewhat anomalous position. She may elect to pursue her career, if she has one, just as if she had not married; or she may prefer to reticent marriage at her choice.

The man is always fighting against the world, or himself, or himself and his wife and children.

The woman, if single, may be fighting to maintain herself. If married, she may be fighting to maintain herself, with or without the help of her husband, or she may be relying upon her husband to fight for her.

If she is a mother she may have abandoned the fight of life and devoted herself to the care of her husband and children. In balancing the equality of the sexes it is impossible to weigh them in the same scales.

How, therefore, can the rights of a woman in her own capacities be compared with those of a man? As a woman she now suffers from little, if any, legal disadvantage.

The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, purported to remove her disadvantage. By virtue of its provisions she is no longer disqualified by sex or marriage from the exercise of any public function, or from following any vocation or calling.

HUSBAND'S LIABILITY

As a married woman she is not deprived of any of her legal rights so far as the outside world is concerned. She may still pursue her career in life, if she so wishes, or she may elect to reticent before her marriage.

If she is an employed person her employer may object to employ her on the ground that she is a married woman just as he may object to employ a married man. He may consider that her earning capacity is not equal to that of a man. But there are not considerations which have remained in legal rights.

When a woman marries she adds materially to her rights. Her husband, who the other hand, materially increases her obligations. Whatever may be said of the rights and obligations of a single woman compared with those of a single man, the position of a married woman is immeasurably superior to that of a married man.

In law she has forfeited little, if any, of her freedom. Her husband in law has little, if any, control over her. And yet his obligations to her and his responsibilities for her are enormous.

He is bound to maintain her according to his estate or condition in life. Even if she shows him he may in certain circumstances be compelled to contribute to her support. She has no duty to support him even if the necessity should arise and she is well able to do so.

It is true that if he becomes chargeable to a poor law authority and she has means to make a maintenance for him against her separate property, but unless he divorces himself on the point, she is under no obligation.

As against her husband an implied authority to pledge her husband's credit for her necessities suitable to his station in life. It is a right which is freely exercised, and, as may be well imagined, her husband will dispute their obligations in this respect, though their wives, in a way, have greatly exceeded their authority.

A husband may be sued jointly with his wife in an action for damages for any wrong committed by her. If she inflicts liability for any damages, though she is nothing of the wrong which she has committed and strongly disapproved of her conduct in that respect. And he has no right of indemnity against her or separate property, if she has any, in respect of damages against her or her husband, which may be incurred.

OBLIGATIONS

It is a wife's duty to live with her husband. If she refuses his only remedy is to petition for restitution of conjugal rights. He is not entitled to restrain her by force or to keep her in confinement. He may obtain a decree in his favour, but a poor wife will be his consolation if she has to leave.

It is a fundamental principle in jurisprudence that equal rights are equal obligations. On a consideration of the rights which women now possess, as compared with those of a man, someone may perhaps be hardly surprised that he called upon in life to shoulder equal obligations.

Perhaps it is right that their obligations should not be as great as those of a man. Possibly "equality" is, in fact, a myth and can never, the conditions of life being what are, become a reality.

We have to face the hard facts.

A Lead to South Africa.
Remitted Peesage

the law. McCleary seems bothered by this fact, arguing that equal rights should entail equal obligations, but the situation he paints describes women now fully invested with the rights of men but not an equal share in the obligations. The central blurb indicates further that this article is, in part, a response to an earlier piece by H. G. Wells on women's achievements since their recent emancipation. Although Woolf does not quote from or clip the earlier article by Wells, she does use Wells's opinion of women as a prominent part of her argument in *Three Guineas*. Citing Wells's *Experiment in Autobiography*, Woolf quotes: "Mr Wells says, 'There has been no perceptible woman's movement to resist the practical obliteration of their freedom by Fascists or Nazis'" (*Three Guineas* 43). It would appear, then, that, from Woolf's point of view, Wells had little regard for women's attentions to the responsibility to save the world that should go along with their newfound freedoms and equal rights, and the *Telegraph* by linking both male "authorities" and printing McCleary's legal opinion as established, validated fact, makes its position on the issue obvious.

Linking image to text, "Does University Education Fit Modern Women for Life?" (see opposite page) raises the insidious issue of wasting higher education on women. Published on July 26, 1932, in the *Daily Telegraph*, Stanley Leathes comments upon women in education on the occasion of a conference for women university graduates from all over the world. The image displays women graduates in a proud procession on degree day at the University of Edinburgh, but the text suggests that women's lives have been impoverished by the decline in marriages, thus access to university should be more restricted. Oddly enough, Leathes concludes that women students who do reach the university are, in general, superior to the average of men students. Is this Leathes' nod to women, implying that, as always, they are superior to men and therefore don't need a university education anyway?

In Volume 2 of the scrapbooks, we find that Woolf takes up once more the issue of women in public space. Many of the articles Woolf collected in this volume form the data and evidence for *Three Guineas*. Interestingly, a significant number of the clippings found here are letters to the editor, most frequently penned by men reacting against women's apparent freedom, status, or presence in the workforce; hence, Woolf appears to be taking the pulse of a masculine backlash. The clincher of

TELEGRAPH, TUESDAY, JULY 26, 1932

DOES UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FIT MODERN WOMEN FOR LIFE?

By SIR STANLEY LEATHES

I HAVE posed a few conundrums in my academic and professional life, but never, I believe, a conundrum so perplexing as that with which I am here confronted.

What is education, what is the modern woman? Above all, what is life?

Women were called upon during the war to do the work of men. Women have received the franchise. They are admitted to most, if not all, of the professions. In the Universities they are much more numerous than they were twenty years ago. There is an International Federation of University Women which rings the world.

Behind the "power" lurks the assumption that University education fits men for life. I challenge that general assumption. University education is a great boon to those who are fit for it, and for those who determine to make the best use of it. But it is not a charm that sets infallibly. It is a matter of common knowledge that a large proportion of the men who go through the courses are not fit to profit by them, and that a few of those who might gain benefit waste their time.

The University is an opportunity of sharpening the wits by the play and fence of a great mind, of storing the mind with wealth for use, not only in the work of life, but in the golden hours of leisure and reflection; perhaps by the rarest fortune, of reaching the confines of wisdom.

In study, in learning, in education, the motive force must come from the student. If he does not pull his own full weight the teacher teaches him in vain, the lecturer lectures to empty air. The museums, the libraries, the laboratories, the stimulating company of his fellows, are for him as if they did not exist. The same is true of the women; some are stony ground, some bring forth fruit scantily, some abundantly. Many are called, few are chosen.

A LARGER VISION

But, if women do not get all that the University sets out to provide, they may nevertheless get what is well worth the expenditure of their own time and of other people's money. They should win a far wider range of experience, acquaintance with many women and men whom they could not otherwise have met, a larger vision of the world than their own "home town" could have afforded. But will all this help them to live?

I do not take it as certain that University education helps men to live wisely and well.

The alternative is to put the young man to work at 18, or even at 16, and let him learn to live by living. There is perhaps a better practical chance for the early starter, especially if there is an opening waiting for him. But, apart from those rare creatures who seem born to shape their own fortunes, the late starters have the advantage of a free and normal development in early manhood, a wider

Women Graduates from Universities all over the world meet in Conference at Edinburgh to-morrow.

circle of friends, a more extended outlook upon the world, both past and present, not to mention the specific knowledge they may have won, which may probably help them to win their livelihood in some profession, and may even help them to live well.

SOME FALSE LURES

But University life has its own false lures and its specific infections. The pursuit and easy acquisition of a cheap popularity has damaged at the outset many a gifted youth.

On the other hand, aloyness, reserve, timidity, which might have worn off in a familiar circle, often have been driven

surely must know, and they are too frank for a charge of deceit to lie. On the other hand, they are too knowing and too self-satisfied—these authors—to get much benefit from a University course, if indeed they are not already graduates.

The life of a woman has never been the same as the life of a man, and the epithet "modern," as supplied in my title, though it may point to changes in the frame of their life and in the current code of society, cannot alter the essential attributes of femininity.

Women are not one whit more like men than they were fifty years ago, and it is safe to prophesy that fifty more fifty years will elapse before any approximation will be perceptible, and by that time the men will have changed also. And perhaps one may say, "Thank God for that."

The personal life of woman has been impoverished—as I venture to assert—by the decline of marriage and of procreation, with the apparent breakdown of family life. The social life, the social life, which women used to rule as of right, has been disintegrated. The life of business and administration has only been opened to them on unequal terms; inequality which we may expect them to overcome by patient and progressive penetration. I do not doubt that women will ultimately have—in their due proportion and by virtue of the gifts that are given to them and access to men—an equal



EDINBURGH DEGREE DAY—A procession of newly-graduated women at Edinburgh.

inward, and by their paralyzing tyranny have transformed a lad of hopeful gifts into that morbid and unhappy type, the academic recluse.

Naturally, I have seen these processes at work more frequently in men than in women; but I have seen enough to know that women are liable to similar soul-trouble—perhaps even more liable than men. The bookish attitude which brings every question to the test of the printed page and the established authority, and finds its relief and recreation in books and again in more books, is a mild form of the same morbus. These are the besetting dangers of academic life.

We may take it then that University education does not by its own virtue fit either men or women for life. It is the men and the women who must use University education, if they are fortunate enough to get it, first for its own sake, and incidentally to help them to become more fit for life.

Why this injudicious epithet, modern women? I am, of course, aware that not only some modern young women, but also some modern young men, have pastimes and habits, which Cato the Censor would not approve, and which would tend to interrupt—if not to confuse—the smooth course of their studies. How could I fail to be aware of it, since some of the most gifted of these modern young men and women tell me all about it in their books, and in their stories, and in their plays? They

share in the conduct of the outer world in sympathetic co-operation with men. But that consummation will not be immediate; the kingdom of Heaven cannot be taken by storm.

WOMEN ARE SUPERIOR

Meanwhile there can be no man of understanding who would deny to women access to the open fountain of wisdom and knowledge, and for the propagation of further wisdom and knowledge, which exists in the Universities. There is hardly any defect in the Universities of this country of which I am not fully aware, and I dread that the Universities of foreign countries have their own defects, not less grave.

Our great mistake is that we use the Universities as a kind of high-school for the imperfectly educated, as a nursery for athletes, and as a source of livelihood for second-rate scholars who believe that they are first-rate scholars. I should like to see access to the Universities judiciously restricted and more practical institutions set up for their useful functions. In the latter there would be room also for women, as teachers and as taught.

But my own belief is that the average quality of the women who reach our Universities at the present moment is superior to the average of the men; and that the women are accordingly at least as likely as the men to make good use of their opportunities and turn them to the advantage of their own life, and the life of all around them.

such sentiment is a letter Woolf found in *The Daily Telegraph*, January 22, 1936⁵: “I am certain I voice the opinion of thousands of young men when I say that if men were doing the work that thousands of young women are now doing the men would be able to keep those same women in decent homes. Homes are the real places of the women who are now compelling men to be idle. It is time the Government insisted upon employers giving work to more men, thus enabling them to marry the women they cannot now approach” (II : 5, *Three Guineas* 51).⁶ Woolf uses this capstone quote in *Three Guineas* to underscore misogyny and adds: “There! There can be no doubt of the odour now. The cat is out of the bag; and it is a Tom” (*Three Guineas* 52). Indeed, “Tom” is another of Woolf’s images of male ego as the perpetrator of the spectacle which keeps women enslaved in private space while men bask in the glory of public recognition.

How much difference is there, Woolf seems to ask herself, between the opinions of these authors of letters to the editor and those more easily recognizable fascist views of Hitler? “Praise for Women: Their Part in the ‘Nazi Triumph,’” a clipping from the September 13, 1936, issue of the *Sunday Times*, (II : 22; LIX, B.31), records a speech by Hitler to Nazi women instructing them about their proper place in the Nazi “nation of men”: “we will have no female hand-grenade-throwing squads in our country.” Hitler’s famous statement regarding women’s sphere, one Woolf herself cites in *Three Guineas* (53), emerges in this report: “There are two worlds in the life of the nation, the world of men and the world of women.” Hitler told the women, “Nature has done well to entrust the man with the care of his family and the nation. The woman’s world is, if she is happy in her family, her husband, her children, and her home.” Hitler’s closing comments were sure to inflame Woolf’s sense of the complexity of women’s complicity in their own oppression: “While our enemies assert that women are tyrannically oppressed in Germany, I may reveal that without the devoted and steady collaboration of German women the Nazi movement would never have triumphed.”

Five pages before the report of Hitler’s speech to Nazi women, Woolf pasted in “Women of To-Day and To-Morrow” by C. E. M. Joad” (see opposite page), which appeared in the January 12, 1934, issue of *Everyman* (II : 17; LIX, B.22). Aligning himself with fascist ideology, Joad keynotes his article with three citations from Nazis on

WOMEN OF TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By a Man—C. E. M. Joad

"The woman's task is to be beautiful and to bring children into the world."—**HEINRICH GOMMEL** (Minister of National Enlightenment and Propaganda in the Third Reich).

"Women—her place is in the home; her duty the recreation of the tired warrior."—**GENERAL GOMMEL**.

"Women's duty is limited to the three K's—Kinder, Küche, und Kirche (children, church and kitchen). . . . Motherhood is undeniably the aim of feminine education."—**HITLER**.

THREE glorious utterances from the three leaders of the Nazi movement strike curiously upon English ears. At a first reading they sound like an echo from the past, when women were regarded as a definitely inferior sex, existing not for themselves but for men, to serve men, to amuse them, to reflect and endorse the high estimation in which men held themselves. They were the dots on the P's and the crosses on the F's of male complacency.

To compare these Nazi utterances with Lenin's famous remark that "until every cook is capable at need of assuming the duties of the head of the State" complete Socialism remains still unrealized, is, it would seem, to compare the spirit of the Middle and the Victorian ages with the hopes of the present and the enlightenment of the future. Yet the Nazi movement is a young movement and a modern, the most modern in the contemporary world. It is, moreover, at the moment of writing, extremely successful, and its success, so many have argued, is due to the fact that it reflects something in the temper of the age.

So much so, indeed, that some hold that the movements of Nazism or Fascism are likely to spread over the Western world, imposing their ideas of government, of society, and, presumably, of women, upon such comparatively enlightened democracies as our own. I sincerely trust that they are wrong in their estimate. But whether they are right or wrong, the questions which the utterances I have quoted raise require, it is obvious, some sort of answer.

THIS Nazi movement, promoting upon the status of women, simply punning the clock back, or is it a straw to show which way the wind is blowing, and is likely to blow more strongly in the future?

With the end of the Victorian age and the coming of the twentieth century, women, it is a commonplace, have become emancipated. England has led the movement for emancipation. To begin with, women won the vote, that is, the right to share in the government of the country, to elect the appointed representatives of the people, to be themselves representatives of the people.

But the cessation of complete adult suffrage at the end of the War was only a symbol of a wider emancipation. Down came the barriers that guarded the professions; women could and did become solicitors; barristers, doctors, dentists, managers, accountants, directors; they preached from pulpits, stood for Parliament, served on municipal bodies, ran businesses. No profession was in theory

closed to them—I notice that a woman's name was recently included among the applicants for the post of public executioner in Hungary!

The change in status was accompanied by a change in manners. Women not only went about alone, they went about alone at night and nobody thought the worse of them; they smoked cigarettes in public, and only the old-fashioned objected; they altered the colours of their faces plain for all to see; and disdained to conceal the fact that they possessed ankles and even knees; ceased to expect men to offer them seats in trains and buses.

THE outward change admittedly was great, yet it was always less real than apparent. For when women sought the position in the world to which they now considered themselves entitled, they found that the positions



were not there. The doors of the offices and even of the professions were open, but there was no welcome for women inside; or there was a welcome only for those who were prepared to do dull and drudging work, and to put up with pitiful wages for the doing of it.

How often have I seen women of first-rate intelligence and some culture, replace with all the accomplishments which a University education can bestow, glad to take down the letters of illiterate hooers, who cheerfully pay them three or four pounds a week for the privilege of ordering them about, peering their way through their situations, and picking their brains.

With the coming of the slump the position has changed for the worse. When stalls are reduced, women are the first to be dismissed; if a woman employed by a public authority is imprudent enough to marry, she is incontinently sacked whatever her qualifications. When women are engaged it is only too often at wages which the employer would be ashamed to offer to a man.

Let me take a couple of examples that have recently come under my notice. Two young women recently attended a lecture of mine,

of whom one had been educated at Bedale's and the other at Rodean. Both were clever. The first obtained a scholarship to a Cambridge college, the second passed the entrance examination of the same college, which is in itself no small achievement. The first achieved First-Class Honours in both parts of the tripos; she was, in fact, one of the outstanding young women of her year. The second obtained Second-Class Honours.

Three years ago they went down. The first is now a shop assistant in a big London store; the second, her father having lost his money in the slump, is just undertaking a course of lessons in shorthand and typing in despair of finding work through any other channel.

The cases are extreme, but typical. Most of my readers will be able to parallel them from their own experience. And the conclusion seems to be that the higher education of women is from the utilitarian point of view a monster of false promise, giving women tastes and equipping them with capacities which there is no reasonable prospect that the world will permit them to use.

IN public affairs the disillusion has been hardly less. Great expectations were based upon the admission of women to Parliament. They would finally put an end to that supreme folly of man, war, for which in pain and travail they supplied the raw material of cannon food, abolish the slums in which they drugged and slaved away their beauty, their hopes and their happiness, reduce the appallingly high maternity death rate, see to it that new-born babies were ensured an adequate supply of pure milk, place birth-control within the reach of all.

Most of these expectations have been falsified; few have been realized in full. The world goes on much as before, and in some ways notably worse than before women took a share in its management.

There is, it is no use blinking the fact, a certain recession of enthusiasm for public life on the part of women. Ten years ago it was the ambition of every young girl to go out into the world, to be free and independent, to earn her own living. To-day she still wants to be free and independent, to earn her own living; but I am not so sure she wants to do it in the world. It may be better to be boss of one's own home, however small, than to be everybody's drudge in office or factory, better to look after a man's comforts than to look after his correspondence, better to attend to children than to a card-index.

AND so women are returning, or so we are led to believe, in increasing numbers to the home. Women cannot, I believe, go back. Yet equally they seem unable to maintain the positions they have gained. What then?

Readers who can see into the future will answer this question better than I can.

women—Goebbels on women’s task of bearing children, Goering on women’s place in the home, and Hitler on women’s duty to children, church, and kitchen. Joad begins by questioning the seemingly reactionary postures of these three pronouncements but quickly moves to counter that position by reflecting upon the “modernity” and success of the young Nazi movement, commending it as the “most modern in the contemporary world.” Joad comments upon the apparent lowering of all the barriers to women’s equality but recognizes the reality of lack of access to the professions for women. It is a shame, Joad opines, that well-educated and intelligent women are reduced to accepting unfulfilling jobs at low wages. Joad insists that higher education for women “is from the utilitarian point of view a monster of false promise, giving women tastes and equipping them with capacities which there is no reasonable prospect that the world will permit them to use.” Joad is careful not to make a claim about women’s innate inferiority but rather about the world’s unwillingness to allow women to advance. In the face of such overwhelming obstacles, Joad concludes with his Nazi counterparts, “It may be better to be boss of one’s own home, however small, than to be everybody’s drudge in office or factory, better to look after a man’s comforts than to look after his correspondence, better to attend to children than to a card-index.” As a fitting accompaniment to the message, the article bears in its center a photograph as an illustration of an aproned woman stirring her pot, yet another example of Woolf’s interest in an ironic interplay between image and text.

Three pages beyond Joad’s article, we find, not surprisingly, two articles (see opposite page) pasted in conjunction with Count Ciano’s photograph. Ciano provides the image to accompany two intriguing articles. The one on the right, “A Nation of Men,” states clearly Hitler’s thirst for war: ““ He who wishes to disturb our peace will no longer fight a nation of pacifists but a nation of men.”” On the left, “The Thorn of Hatred,” counters Hitler’s speech with a report about a woman arrested for having said: “I and my husband are and remain German Nationalists; but as long as one does not cohabit with a Jew one can safely buy from him. The thorn of hatred has been driven deep enough into the people by the religious conflicts and it is high time that the men of to-day disappeared.”” By “men of to-day,” Frau Pommer clearly meant the Nazis, and it was enough for her to make even such a rather vague reference as

reference. 12th Aug. 1935 - 1142

"THE THORN OF HATRED"

**OUTSPOKEN ESSEN WOMAN
ARRESTED**

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT
BERLIN, AUG. 11

Frau Pommer, the wife of a Prussian mines official at Essen, has been arrested and is to be tried on a charge of insulting and slandering the State and the Nazi movement.

Frau Pommer told the girl behind the counter of a confectioner's shop that if her favourite brand of chocolate was not in stock she would have to go to another shop which she mentioned. The girl replied, with some pertness, it may be imagined, that the other shop was "pure Jewish." Frau Pommer is then alleged to have said:—

I and my husband are and remain German Nationalists: but as long as one does not cohabit with a Jew one can safely buy from him. The thorn of hatred has been driven deep enough into the people by the religious conflicts and it is high time that the men of to-day disappeared.



Count Ciano in flying kit.

12th Aug
1935

THE TIME

**"A NATION OF
MEN"**

THE FÜHRER'S BOAST

**SPEECH TO NAZI OLD
GUARD**

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT
BERLIN, AUG. 11

Herr Hitler made an unexpected appearance and speech to-day at the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Rosenheim branch of the National-Socialist Party, the second oldest in Germany. Addressing the assembled "old guard," Herr Hitler recalled his first speech in the town 15 years ago—15 years "filled with a wonderful struggle, such as had never before been waged for the heart and the soul of the German nation." In apparent reference to opponents at home, Herr Hitler said:—

In battle we have won the German Reich, and in battle we shall maintain and guard it. Those who are against us need not deceive themselves. We have never shrunk from the combat. If they want it they can have it. We shall crush them in such a way that they will abandon for the next 14 years all idea of continuing the struggle.

Recalling "the heavy trials of the movement in the last 15 years," Herr Hitler said:—

If fate is to put it to the test again, we should be really hardened by the hammer-blows of Providence. The years since 1918 have taught us: "Woe to the people which is unprepared to take its liberty and independence under its own protection." Nobody will deny that in the last two and a half years Germany has attained a different position in the world. I am convinced that nobody in the world can attack our Reich again. We want peace and reconstruction, but just as we want peace so the other nations ought to want peace. He who wishes to disturb our peace will no longer fight against a nation of pacifists but against a nation of men. This fact alone will contribute more to peace than all the speeches.

HEROIC



this to be thrown in jail.

Masculine spectacle continues to be for Woolf a very suggestive theme in the third volume of the scrapbooks, but seems to serve here as backdrop to her foregrounded concern with women in public space. For example, in “Mr. Baldwin’s Last Speech as Prime Minister,” Woolf read from *The Daily Telegraph* of May 25, 1937, that Baldwin made his last speech “[b]efore one of the most brilliant and distinguished gatherings of Empire representatives ever assembled” (III : 7; LX, B.14). So her attention would have been captured by the

imaginary image of that spectacle, but she could not have failed to notice the last section, subtitled “Never Guided by Logic,” where Baldwin claims, “One reason why our people are flourishing and alive is because we have never been guided by logic in anything we have done.” Surely Woolf’s funny bone must have been struck by such a ridiculous conclusion to a speech which upholds the splendor of the Commonwealth as “the greatest political experiment yet tried in the world—an experiment which may mean much to mankind, the failure of which may mean disaster.”

But Woolf was not interested in the photo of Baldwin at No. 10 Downing Street which accompanied the article about his last speech, tearing through its middle, while another article, “The Lord Mayor’s Show” from *The Times*, annotated November 10, 1937, may have

interested Woolf most for its photograph.

The photo depicts an aerial shot of the Lord Mayor's coach passing through Moorgate and certainly suggests a connection to Woolf's photos of the heavily adorned general and heralds included in *Three Guineas*. The text of the article, too, supports the pageantry, what it calls the "tableaux" of empire to welcome in the new Lord Mayor of London with "all the pomp, humour, and honest commercial symbolism of the Lord Mayor's Show" (III : 61; LX, B.80). The procession described seems to have included representatives from cavalry, infantry, and artillery, as well as exhibits of trade and produce and representatives from the dominions, so the article clearly supports a conclusion later argued by Debord about social spectacle:

The growth of the dictatorship of modern economic production is both extensive and intensive in character. In the least industrialized regions its presence is already felt in the form of imperialist domination by those areas that lead the world in productivity (Thesis 42).

Indeed, a section of the article entitled "Empire Exhibits" reports that the African possessions provided the most impressive exhibits for the festivities and offers a view of British Empire that shocks us today with its callousness: "Southern Rhodesia provided a miniature field dotted symbolically with tobacco plants and worked by cheerful natives under a white overseer."

War, in its connection to masculine spectacle, is a focus of the clippings in the third volume; indeed, in *Three Guineas*, Woolf invites women to gaze upon a masculine spectacle inextricably linked to militarism. "Smarter walking dress" for soldiers is the theme of one article, dated December 14, 1937, from the *Daily Telegraph*, which underscores the supreme importance of dress for ceremonial duty and "walking out" (III : 47). "The problem of finding a suitable working dress has engaged the attention of experts for the past 10 years," the article reports, alluding to the years of study and experiment that were spent on delivering a "more distinctive, better fitting and smarter uniform." It's curious that the *Telegraph* seems to have no problem with such misplaced attention and expenditure. Placed in juxtaposition with "New Uniforms" is "Life in Modern Germany," an article for the December 16, 1937, issue of the *Times*, which naively recounts a talk given by E. Woermann, Counsellor

of the German Embassy, on the state of present-day Germany. In his remarks, Woermann upheld Germany's nationalism while denying its lack of international cooperation and its status as a dictatorship, arguing that instead of re-arming, Germany was putting its people back to work. Clearly designed to quell concerns about growing militarism, Woermann's Hitlerian party line was fed to an audience at the Royal United Service Institution. What must have caught Woolf's eye, the subtitle "Status of Women," continues Woermann's disclaimers about the true status of women in Germany, an issue about which Woolf had read widely from accounts sharply different from that given by Woermann. In the final section of the article, Woermann denies women's inequality in Germany;

1937 D7.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14.

NEW UNIFORMS FOR ARMY

SMARTER "WALKING OUT" DRESS

EQUIPMENT TO BE LIGHTER

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Soldiers are to have smarter walking-out uniforms. The whole question of clothing and equipment is now being considered by a special War Office Committee, as it is hoped that before the next training season a decision will be reached.

The authorities have come to the conclusion that smartness in dress and bearing, which are bound up with tradition, influence greatly the potential recruit.

For ceremonial duty and "walking out" therefore, the soldier is promised a more distinctive, better fitting and smarter uniform.

For training and manoeuvre a more hygienic and loose-fitting dress has been designed, and a lighter and more comfortable equipment recommended by specialists after years of study and experiment.

It is not intended to return to the traditional full dress of scarlet and blue. The expense involved, it is said, would be prohibitive. In addition, the equipment of the modern soldier has undergone changes which, in a large measure, dictate the dress to be worn.

UNPOPULAR BLUE

The blue dress, issued only to troops taking part in the Coronation parade, has not been popular either with soldiers or the public. The main objections to it are that it is not sufficiently distinctive.

There are certain exceptions. In the Cavalry, Artillery and other Royal Regiments the cap-bands of the blue uniform are coloured and the trousers have coloured stripes.

Some rifle regiments wear green instead of blue, but the other infantry regiments of the line complain that practically all their distinctive emblems have been eliminated so that they "do not look like soldiers." There is little discrimination between the various regiments and corps.

Modifications are also recommended in the khaki service dress. This is now generally worn by all regiments except the Household Cavalry and the Brigade of Guards, who, with the Bandmen of other regiments, retain the colourful regimental full dress.

The problem of finding a suitable working dress has engaged the attention of experts for the past 10 years. Recent experiments have been carried out in the field with the object of returning to "light" infantry.

11 Dec 37. Times!

LIFE IN MODERN GERMANY

DR. WOERMANN ON THE STATE'S AIMS

STATUS OF WOMEN

Dr. E. Woermann, Counsellor of the German Embassy, gave a lecture on present-day Germany at the Royal United Service Institution yesterday. He described the chief National-Socialist institutions by following the life of a typical German, from birth to early manhood, under the continuous influence of those institutions.

The new German State, Dr. Woermann said, had taken its shape out of the two guiding principles of German Nationalism and German Socialism. Nationalism in Germany was not conceived in the same terms as Chauvinism. Since the War the implications of Nationalism had become much deeper for Germans, yet at the same time it implied respect for foreign countries. What it meant was that they should do their utmost to uphold their race, because they believed that whatever they could achieve had to grow out of their national qualities; it could not come out of an ill-conceived and ill-defined internationalism. But that did not mean they were not prepared for international cooperation. Socialism, as they saw it, had nothing to do with Marxism or Bolshevism, nor could their Socialist State be created just by abolishing capitalists.

CONFIDENCE IN THE LEADER

Germany, Dr. Woermann continued, was not, as was so often said in England, a dictatorship, for they had democratic control by means of frequent plebiscites, but it was certainly not a democracy in the old sense. Germany was a State directed by a Leader who enjoyed the full confidence of the entire nation.

After describing the restrictions imposed by the Versailles Treaty on Germany and the successive steps by which Herr Hitler, after unavailing attempts to secure equality of treaty rights, overrode those restrictions, Dr. Woermann expressed his belief that Germany in re-establishing her equality of rights had rendered a service to the peace of Europe. History had taught them that the cowards and the weak were the targets of aggression from other people. Only the brave and the strong could resist, and only strong nations could maintain the peace of the world.

The "Four Years' Plan" was conceived to some extent with defence, but its chief purpose was to give permanent work to German workers. He believed that by the completion of the plan the general standard of living in Germany would rise, and that a greater exchange of goods with foreign countries would result from the improved standard of living.

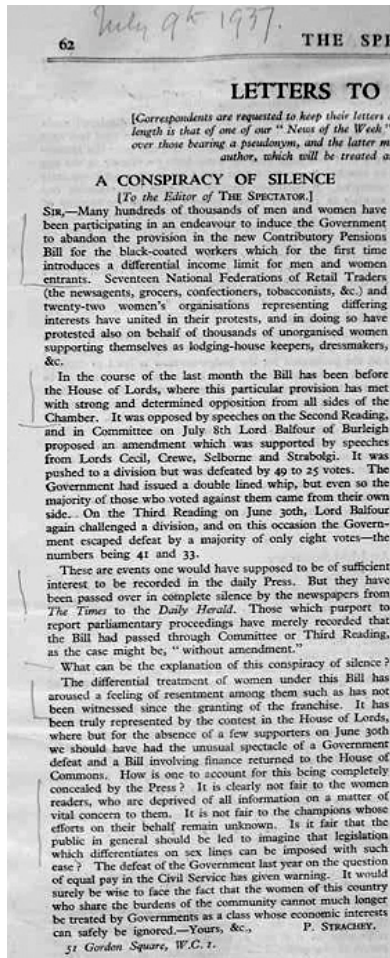
DUTY TO FAMILY

In some foreign countries fantastic ideas were current about the position of women in Germany to-day. Nothing could be more ridiculous and stupid than the assertion that National-Socialism looked on women only as breeding-machines. There were millions of German women who were as good as dead.

insisting instead:

In some foreign countries fantastic ideas were current about the position of women in Germany to-day. Nothing could be more ridiculous and stupid than the assertion that National Socialism looked on women only as breeding machines. There were millions of German women working in all kinds of professions. . . . To believe that a woman's principal work was family life and bringing up the young generation was simply to return to natural and eternal law.

Unfair treatment of women in the workplace, largely unreported by the press, is the subject of a lengthy letter to the editor of *The Spectator* with which I'll close. Entitling her letter "A Conspiracy of Silence,"



Philippa Strachey decries the fact that events which “one would have supposed to be of sufficient interest to be recorded in the daily Press” have not been. The issue before Strachey is that of differential income limits for men and women workers introduced in a new Contributory Pensions Bill, a bill that was before the House of Lords where, despite strong opposition, it was passing by a slim margin. Strachey is appalled that the events have been “passed over in complete silence from *The Times* to the *Daily Herald*.” “What,” Strachey asks, “could be the explanation of this conspiracy of silence?” “It is clearly not fair to the women readers, who are deprived of all information on a matter of vital concern to them.” “Is it fair,” Strachey continues, “that the public in general should be led to imagine that legislation which differentiates on sex lines can be imposed with such ease?” “It would surely be wise,” she concludes, “to face the fact that the women of this country who share the burden of the community cannot much longer be treated by Governments as a class whose economic interests can safely be ignored” (III, 14). Philippa Strachey is best known as a political activist who organized the first major march in London for Women’s Suffrage in 1907, the “Mud March.” For years she was Secretary of the London-National Society for Women’s Service and founded its library, now known as the Fawcett Library. It was Strachey who invited Woolf to give the address to the Society which would become the foundation for *Three Guineas*. Once *Three Guineas* was out and being reviewed in the press, Woolf recorded in her diary for June 11, 1938, her “prime relief” at Philippa’s (Pippa’s) approval.

The last clippings Woolf pasted in her scrapbooks are dated December 20, 1937; the scrapbooks were finished, their purpose complete. From late 1936 throughout 1937, Woolf was at work on *Three Guineas*, substantially finishing it in October of 1937, but continuing to revise it in late 1937 and early 1938 to substantiate her claims by adding citations from the clippings. By June, 1938, *Three Guineas* was in print; what it had to say was unpopular and largely unheeded. But Woolf never relinquished her hold on the discovery she had laid bare, writing in her diary of *Three Guineas* (and by extension the clippings scrapbooks which fed it) that: “the book which was like a spine to me all last summer . . . remains, morally, a spine: the thing I wished to say, though futile.”⁷

Notes

1. The man in the photograph is identified by the subtitle “Count Ciano in flying kit.” Woolf clipped only this photograph and left no identifying remarks, including it on page 20 of her scrapbooks, *Monks House Papers* B16.f, Vol. 2.
2. *Three Guineas* (1938 San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1966) 142. All future quotations from this work will be taken from this edition unless otherwise specified and will be identified by title and page number in parenthetical citation.
3. *The Society of the Spectacle*, 1967, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994), listed by thesis number.
4. All quotations from the Reading Notes, *Monks House Papers* B.16f, volumes 1, 2, and 3, will be cited by indicating the volume and page number in the scrapbooks as well as the volume and item number assigned to it in Brenda Silver’s invaluable guide *Virginia Woolf’s Reading Notebooks* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983).
5. See *Three Guineas*, note 13, 161, for Woolf’s identification of newspaper source and date.
6. This letter to the editor, signed “Out of Work,” appears at the bottom of Woolf’s clipping, including the lines in which the writer states that “thousands of young women are now doing” the work that thousands of young men should be doing to support them. Although Woolf cites the entire clipping in *Three Guineas* (p. 5), for some reason she did not include the entire clipping on her scrapbook page, cutting it off at the fifth of 12 lines.
7. *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, Vol. V, 1936-1941*, ed. Anne Olivier Bell (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984) 130.

UNEXPLORED REGIONS:
THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTRONIC *FRANKENSTEIN*
AS VARIORUM EDITION

by Jack Lynch
Rutgers University

At the beginning of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Robert Walton, the explorer whose letters to his sister in England make up the text of the novel, writes about his impending voyage to the North Pole: "It is impossible to communicate to you a conception of the trembling sensation, half pleasurable and half fearful, with which I am preparing to depart. I am going to unexplored regions" (15).¹ I have sometimes half-ironically thought of these lines as I prepared the novel for digital publication. For several years I have been Assistant Editor on a still-to-be-released electronic edition of *Frankenstein*, and though the team has hardly faced Walton's dangers of starvation or frostbite, the experience of venturing into unfamiliar scholarly regions has been "half pleasurable and half fearful." This essay offers a report on one of the unexpected discoveries of our voyage.

I

The Pennsylvania Electronic Edition may be the most extensive electronic version of any literary work ever attempted—perhaps the most extensive single edition of any work in any form. Stuart Curran is the editor of the project; he approached me and a colleague, Sam Choi, in 1994 about working together on a CD-ROM edition of the novel, in the hopes of finishing a small project in a year or two. It has now been much more than a year or two. Nearly every status report since 1996 or so includes a phrase like "due soon" or "now nearing completion," and yet it drags on. What would have been dazzlingly new in 1996 will now be familiar, at least in kind, to many readers. Some reasons for the delay are logistical, some are bureaucratic, and some are hardly reasons at all. But one good reason is the richness and unexpectedness of the result. Victor Frankenstein watched his creation grow into something he could hardly

have imagined at the beginning. In working on our electronic edition, we discovered the same thing.

Some technical notes. The Pennsylvania Electronic *Frankenstein* is a multimedia hypertext edition of Mary Shelley's novel, although the multimedia component is admittedly slim. In early discussions of the project I had to devote a few paragraphs to defining newfangled terms like multimedia and hypertext—now familiar to every high school student. But when we began work on this project in 1994, the World Wide Web was new and exotic. In fact, although the original plan was for a CD-ROM edition, we settled on HTML, the markup language of the Web—a risky choice but, as it turns out, the right one. We considered other options, but were determined to avoid proprietary formats owned by companies that might go bust, and we made a lucky guess that the Web just might catch on. Many of our early notes about the Web and HTML speak of it in the future tense—it promises to be a prominent player, for instance. It was necessary to be tentative: this was the age of Mosaic version 0.9 beta, running on Windows 3.1.

Many things have chanced since then, but there are still no comparable electronic editions available to the public, and there are still no models to follow. As Curran notes, “What is most stimulating about this venture is the extent to which we may ourselves do a large amount of the initial mapping of these waters” (12).

II

Why *Frankenstein*, and what might we do with it? The novel is a natural for hypertext: every page is filled with pointers to other texts, both within the novel itself and beyond Shelley's text to a world of contemporary contexts. The result is a rich intertextual web, including science, literature, philosophy, feminist thought, naval exploration, mythology, geography. *Frankenstein* comments upon, and even incorporates into itself, books from Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound* through Percy Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, with stops along the way at Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the works of Rousseau and Goethe, the political philosophy of Godwin, the feminist thought of Wollstonecraft, the late eighteenth-century Gothic novel, and so on. The circumstances of the novel's composition also make Shelley's message well suited to our medium. Mary Shelley

was at the center of one of the greatest literary circles in English history, numbering among her close associates Percy Shelley, Lord Byron, and William Godwin, and the relations between the members of a literary circle are a neat analogue for the hypertextual links between the fragments of text. The Shelley circle suggests an intriguingly rich network of links between *Frankenstein* and the cultural and intellectual world of the early nineteenth century. The novel begs to be put in historical context, and that sort of contextualizing begs to be done in hypertext.

III

My interest in this essay is the critical commentary that is included in the edition. I begin by relating some of the early history of the project, because it assumed its current shape largely through accident. We began assembling our materials in the spring of 1994. From the beginning, we wanted to have the full text of the novel in both its authorial versions, the first edition of 1818 and the revised third edition of 1831. We also wanted to have original editorial notes on difficult or interesting passages, brief essays on the major characters and themes in the book, as well as a series of short biographies, capsule histories of science, maps, diagrams, portraits, and so on to put *Frankenstein* in context.

Our first plans also included a history of the criticism of the novel: a brief overview of the more famous and influential statements on *Frankenstein*, from Mary Shelley's day to our own. But we soon lighted on the idea of including the criticism itself, instead of mere summaries of it. Rather than paraphrase, say, Anne Mellor or James Rieger, we resolved to let them speak for themselves by including the entire text of their essays and book chapters. As it happens, the scholarship on *Frankenstein* is copious enough to be interesting but not so voluminous as to be overwhelming. The novel was largely ignored by serious critics until the late 1960s, and even then only edged its way into the canon slowly. This meant we could aspire to be comprehensive rather than merely representative in our inclusion of scholarly writing—something that would have been impossible with, say, *King Lear* or *Paradise Lost*, for which there is no end to the criticism. It took many letters to publishers, but we eventually managed to secure reprint permission for most of what we wanted to include.²

By the time we finished our survey of the scholia, we had assembled a

substantial collection of *Frankenstein* criticism. In fact, with 209 essays or book chapters in its current form, it constitutes nearly everything important ever written about the novel, from the first scholarly commentary in the mid-sixties through the flowering of criticism in the late nineties. Nothing here is new except the scale: it is nothing more than an extensive electronic version of one of Harold Bloom's Chelsea House volumes. But the linking capabilities offered by hypertext let us do something more interesting. We went through all the articles, and linked the citations directly to the text of *Frankenstein*: in other words, when an author quotes page 37, we allowed the reader to jump directly into the text at that point. The curious reader can now see the quotation from the novel in its context.

Of course, in an electronic environment, the notion of "page" becomes hazy. We decided to slice the text into manageable pieces, always at least a paragraph, rarely more than a screen. Our text runs to about three hundred of these pieces. We often fretted over nomenclature as we began the project, and unhappily settled on the term "frame," which has since come to mean something else on the Web.³ But these were early days, and browsers with frames in the modern sense lay a year or two in the future. So we began linking the 209 essays back to the three hundred or so "frames" of text, which resulted in a total of 5,831 links from the critical essays to the text of the novel.

None of us had considered taking the next step, which is, I think, one of the most important and interesting aspects of the project. But the technology made the choice available to us, and as is often the case, we realized the need only after we saw the possibility. It grew out of a sense of curiosity: how many critics quote this page of the novel?—which chapter is the most widely discussed? Search utilities let us answer those questions: once the links from the essays to the text were coded into the essays, we could search for the links themselves, using a simple Unix command.⁴

Such queries initially served only to gratify our momentary curiosity, but it slowly dawned on us that others might be interested in these questions. A reader might want to know which critics have discussed a given passage. He or she could read systematically through all the commentary, but with the critical essays running to roughly 1.7 million words—more than four thousand printed pages—it is hardly the most efficient way to proceed. We therefore used hypertext to turn the articles into ad-hoc

footnotes. There are about six hundred pages of interpretive footnotes original to this edition, but there are also links from each frame of the text to all the articles that quote it—and not just to the articles, but to the paragraphs that contain the quotations. When it is complete, the reader will have at his or her fingertips a thorough critical anthology of almost everything that has been said about each page of Shelley's novel. *Frankenstein* has ceased to be a single book, and has become the center of a devoted reference library.

IV

All of this sounds very innovative, very *au courant*. But it turns out to be surprisingly old-fashioned. Captain Walton sailed to the top of the globe only to discover someone had already gotten there before him—Victor and his Creature had made it to the Pole without the benefit of a sailing ship. In our own voyage to unexplored regions, we too discovered we were not the first ones to get there, and that our predecessors did it without the benefit of HTML. In fact, one of the most novel features that emerged from the hypertext edition recalls a critical phenomenon several centuries old. We realized we were developing a twenty-first-century version of a very old-fashioned kind of edition. The technical term from classical scholarship is the variorum edition, from the Latin phrase *editio cum notis variorum*, an edition with the notes of the various editors or commentators.⁵ The variorum edition has a very long history, and yet the story has never been told. So, although it involves a brief digression from the new media, it is worth a trip back a few centuries to discuss the nature and the history of the variorum edition.

Practically every respectable edition of every work takes earlier editions into account; only first editions of new works can dispense entirely with predecessors. Few, however, warrant the title variorum, which is concerned with presenting the critical tradition as impartially and as systematically as possible. We can find precursors as far back as ancient Alexandrian annotations on Homer and Talmudic and Midrashic glosses on the Hebrew scriptures. Some of these early commentaries were staggeringly large: as the classical scholars Reynolds and Wilson point out, Eustathius's medieval apparatus on the *Iliad* "fills about 1,400 large pages of print in the Leipzig edition of 1827-30. . . . The scale of the commen-

taries . . . is enormous; the discussion of the first line of the *Iliad* runs to 10 pages” (70-71). Despite its antique pedigree, though, the variorum begins in earnest in the early modern period, and came into its own in the age of print. The golden age was the middle of the seventeenth century, largely owing to the unflagging efforts of Cornelis Schrevel, the Dutch classicist who turned out at least thirteen variorum editions of Latin classics between 1646 and 1665: the complete works of Virgil, Terence, Martial, Juvenal and Persius, Lucan, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Pomponius Mela, Justin, Lucius Annaeus Florus, Cicero, Ovid, Erasmus’s *Colloquia*, Claudian, and Quintilian. He scoured hundreds of commentaries and editions from antiquity to his own day, disassembled them, and reassembled them into footnotes. For every line of the *Aeneid* or the *Metamorphoses*, the reader could see a summary of everything that had been said. All told, his variorum editions stretch to roughly thirteen thousand pages.

Although they began with Greek and Latin texts, variorum editions were not limited to the classics. Starting in the eighteenth century, English and other vernacular works started getting classical treatment. Milton often led the way in scholarly packaging: he was the first English poet to receive a full-length scholarly commentary and the first to be analyzed in a concordance.⁶ It is therefore fitting that he was also the first English poet to be accorded a variorum in 1749, when Thomas Newton edited *Paradise Lost . . . with Notes of Various Authors*. The next “classic” English poet to receive a variorum edition was Shakespeare, in Samuel Johnson’s eight-volume edition of 1765 and its revision by George Steevens in 1773.⁷ Johnson recognized that after a hundred years, “the term commonly fixed as the test of literary merit,” Shakespeare could “begin to assume the dignity of an ancient” (7: 61). He therefore gave Shakespeare’s works the kind of treatment reserved for the ancients by ranging the commentary of about a dozen editors from Rowe to his own day under each passage, making Shakespeare the object of serious scholarly attention in a way he had never been before.

Figure 1 shows two pages from the New Variorum Edition of *Hamlet*, edited by Horace Howard Furness in 1877. At the top of the page is the text: on this spread there is room for only three lines from the play. Then comes a thin layer of textual commentary, followed by the serious business of a variorum edition: the notes of the various editors and critics. Half-way down the left-hand page is a reference to line 67, “i’ the sun.” It

King. How is it that the clouds still hang on you? 66

Ham. Not so, my lord; I am too much i' the sun.

67. so] *so much* Qq. F₃F₄, Rowe+, Jen. White. *in the sonne*
i' the sun] Cap. i' th' Sun F₁ Qq. *ith' Sun* F₂. *in the Sun* Q'76.

other work is the word 'kind' used so frequently and so unambiguously as in *The Tragedie of Corboduac*. WHITE and HUDSON follow Steevens, Caldecott, and Singer in referring these words to the King. The former paraphrases: In marrying my mother, you have made yourself something more than my kinsman, and, at the same time, have shown yourself unworthy of our race, our kind. COLERIDGE: This playing on words may be attributed to many causes or motives; as, either to an exuberant activity of mind, as in the higher comedy of Sh. generally; or to an imitation of it as a mere fashion, as if it were said,—'Is not this better than groaning?'—or to a contemptuous exultation in minds vulgarized and overset by their success, as in the poetic instance of Milton's Devils in the battle; or it is the language of resentment, as is familiar to every one who has witnessed the quarrels of the lower orders, where is invariably a profusion of punning invective, whence, perhaps, nicknames have in a considerable degree sprung up: or it is the language of suppressed passion, and especially of a hardly-smothered personal dislike. The first and last of these combine in Hamlet's case; and I have little doubt that FARMER is right in supposing the equivocation carried on in the expression, 'too much i' the sun,' or son.

67. i' the sun] JOHNSON: A probable allusion to the proverb: 'Out of heaven's blessing into the warm sun.' FARMER suggested that a quibble was here intended between 'sun' and *son*. CALDECOTT: Adopting this suggestion of Farmer's, the passage must mean, 'I have too much about me of the character of expectancy, at the same time that I am torn prematurely from my sorrows, and thrown into the broad glare of the sun and day; have too much of the son and successor and public staging without possession of my rights, and without a due interval to assuage my grief.' But a closer observer, (continues Caldecott), here says: 'One part of Farmer's suggestion is right, Hamlet means that he had not *possession of his rights*; but there was no quibble; the allusion is to the proverb referred to by Johnson, which means, 'to be out of house and home,' or, at least, to be in a worse temporal condition than a man was, or should be. Thus in *Lear*, II, ii, 168, and '— they were brought from the good to the bad, and from Goddes blessing (as the proverbe is) in to a warme sonne.'—Preface to Grindal's *Profitable Doctrine*, 1555. And again, 'By such art he thought to have removed him, as we say, out of God's blessing into the warm sun.'—Raleigh's *Hist. of the World*, 1677. His being deprived of his right, *i. e.* his succession to the kingdom, Hamlet might therefore call 'being too much i' the sun.' KNIGHT: There is no quibble. His meaning is explained by the old proverb. STAUNTON: Hamlet may mean, 'I am too much in the way; a mote in the royal eye;' but his reply is purposely enigmatical. DYCE (*Gloss. s. v. heaven's benediction*, &c.): The proverbial expression alluded to by Johnson is found in various authors; from Heywood down to Swift; the former has, 'In your running from him to me, yee runne Out of God's blessing into the warme sunne.'—*Dialogue on Proverbs*, Workes, sig. G 2 ver. 1598; and the latter: '*Lord Sparkish*. They say, marriages are made in heaven; but I doubt, when she was married, she had no friend there. *Neverout*. Well, she's got out of God's blessing into the warm sun.'—*Polite Conversation*, Dialogue I, Works, vol. ix, p. 423. Ray gives as its equivalent, *Ab equis ad asinos*.

Figure 1: from William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, New Variorum Edition (1877), ed. Horace Howard Furness, pp. 34–35.

Queen. Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off, 68

68. *nighted*] *nightly* Ff, Rowe, Knt, White, Tsch. *nightlike* Coll. (MS).

—*Proverbs*, p. 192, ed. 1768. HUDSON inclines to Farmer's suggestion, and adds: 'Perhaps there is the further meaning implied, that he finds too much sunshine of jollity in the Court, considering what has lately happened.' In *Much Ado*, II, i, 331, Beatrice says of herself, 'I am sun-burned,' and this phrase HUNTER (i. 250) ingeniously explains, and gives it a signification akin to the present passage. "'To be in the sun," "to be in the warm sun," "to be sun-burned," were phrases,' says Hunter, 'not uncommon in the time of Sh., and for a century later, to express the state of being without family connections, destitute of the comforts of domestic life. There must have been some reason for this association of discomfort with what is generally considered comfort, at least among northern nations, and this reason is found in the old English version of the One Hundred and Twenty-first Psalm, in which occurs the passage, "So that the sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night;" and as this psalm, in the earlier Rituals of the Church, was used in the Churching of Women, it followed that the matron who was surrounded by her husband and children was one who had received the benediction that the *sun should not burn* her, while the unmarried woman, who had received no such benediction, came to be spoken of by those who allowed themselves to use such jocular expressions as one "still left exposed to the burning of the sun," or, as Beatrice says, "sun-burned." When the translation of the Scriptures was revised, in the reign of James I, the word "smite" was substituted in this verse for "burn," probably on account of these ludicrous associations; and for the same reason, on the last revision of the Liturgy, this psalm was left out of the service altogether. In the first and original use of this phrase, then, it denoted the state of being unmarried; thus Beatrice uses it. It then expanded so as to include the state of those who were without family connections of any kind; thus Hamlet uses it. It expanded still wider and included the state of those who have no home, and thus it is used in *Lear*, II, ii, 168. And it seems to have expanded wider still, and to have been sometimes used for any species of destitution, or distress, or evil. Hamlet therefore means, "I have lost father and mother; you heap upon me the terms 'cousin' and 'son,' but I find myself forlorn, with none of the comforts remaining which arise out of the charities of kindred.'" Ingenious as this explanation of Hunter's is, it applies with more force to the phrase used by Beatrice than to that used by Hamlet; we have no examples given us that 'to be in the sun' was ever thus understood, and for it we must take Hunter's unsupported assertion. NICHOLSON (*N. & Qu.* 25 May, 1867) thus paraphrases: Ham. turns off the King's query with an apparently courtly compliment,—Nay, my lord, I am too much in the sunshine of your favour; where I show but as a shadow (too much am I in that sunshine which I detest); deposed by you as heir and successor to the throne on which by God's providence I was placed, I am now gone to the world; instead of being in clouds and rain, amid sorrow and tears for my dead father and king, I find myself in the midst of marriage festivities and carousings. MOBERLY thinks the proverb may have meant that a person loses all special advantages, and is reduced to light and sunshine, which are the common inheritance of all.

68. *nighted*] For the general rule that participles formed from an adjective mean 'made of (the adjective),' and derived from a noun, mean 'endowed with, or like (the noun),' see ABBOTT, § 294.

Figure 1: continued from left.

is followed by quotations or paraphrases of ten critics, from Samuel Johnson in 1765 through C. E. Moberley in 1873—nearly a thousand words, all devoted to explaining Hamlet’s enigmatic three-word phrase. Johnson believes the reference is to an old proverb; Richard Farmer thinks the line contains a pun; Thomas Caldecott agrees, and elaborates with parallels from *Lear* and other contemporary works; Alexander Dyce brings us back to Johnson; and so on, through more than a century of scholarship.

V

What, then, would a variorum *Frankenstein* look like? I take as my example one of the most famous passages in the book, from the third chapter, when Victor Frankenstein is nearing the completion of his great task. In our edition, the passage is numbered 1.3.6—first volume, third chapter, sixth frame. This is the most discussed part of the book, being cited by 108 of the 209 articles in the edition. Some of Shelley’s more resonant sentences:

Life and death appeared to me ideal bounds, which I should first break through, and pour a torrent of light into our dark world. A new species would bless me as its creator and source; many happy and excellent natures would owe their being to me. No father could claim the gratitude of his child so completely as I should deserve their’s. . . . I could bestow animation upon lifeless matter. . . . I pursued nature to her hiding-places. Who shall conceive the horrors of my secret toil, as I dabbled among the unhallowed damps of the grave, or tortured the living animal to animate the lifeless clay? . . . I collected bones from charnel houses; and disturbed, with profane fingers, the tremendous secrets of the human frame. In a solitary chamber, or rather cell, at the top of the house, . . . I kept my workshop of filthy creation. . . . The dissecting room and the slaughter-house furnished many of my materials; and often did my human nature turn with loathing from my occupation. (49-50)

Words and phrases throughout this passage are hyperlinked to footnotes written for this edition. At the bottom of this frame, however, is a link to

“Commentary,” which takes the reader to a list of commentators who have quoted any part of this passage; from there, links lead to the beginning of each critic’s paragraph that contains the reference.

In our edition, the commentators are arranged alphabetically. Other arrangements are of course possible. In most print variorums, chronology provides the ordering, and this has obvious virtues. But while this would be useful for an edition of Homer or Shakespeare, *Frankenstein’s* critical history is not long enough to make it really satisfactory. We have a flurry of reviews in the years immediately after the novel appeared, then almost nothing for a century and a half, and then a burst of commentary in just a few decades. It is also possible to arrange the commentaries by schools: we might see all the materialist critics together, another group for the feminist critics, another for the psychoanalytic critics. We considered such an approach to *Frankenstein*, but decided against it to avoid the mediation such a classification would force. This alphabetical ordering leaves much work to the reader, which has considerable disadvantages. The reader prepared to do the work, though, will discover a remarkable bustle of competing ideas swirling about the text. I shall allude to only a few of the nine dozen essays that address this passage, but they should be enough to suggest what a variorum edition can do.

Frankenstein’s attempt to “bestow animation upon lifeless matter” reminds many critics of Romanticism itself. Anne Mellor, for example, notes that, “In his attempt to transform human beings into deities by eliminating mortality, Victor Frankenstein is himself participating in the mythopoeic vision that inspired the first generation of Romantic poets and thinkers” (70). Zachary Leader seems to agree, but insists that the novel is not mere commentary but critique: “*Frankenstein* is an implicit attack on the Romantic writer, a type figured in Frankenstein himself, the monster’s ‘author’” (171). Fred Botting even sees the Creature as a kind of text plagued by what he calls a “duplication of romance anxieties” (180).

Some critics draw parallels between the novel and Shelley’s biography. Ellen Moers examines the passage and asks, “Who can read without shuddering, and without remembering her myth of the birth of a nameless monster, Mary’s journal entry of March 19, 1815, which records the trauma of her loss, when she was seventeen, of her first baby, the little girl who did not live long enough to be given a name” (96). Others are reminded of Shelley’s own distant father, William Godwin, in whose “disin-

terested utopianism . . . children were eliminated entirely” (Sterrenburg 149). When we invoke Godwin, the personal readings shade easily into political ones. Pamela Clemit reads the passage as “a Burkean critique of revolutionary aspiration, and a subversive rejoinder to Godwin’s early rational views” (164). Jane Blumberg also finds it an anti-Godwinian novel, in which “Shelley denies the possibility of man’s self-creation, of the success and glory to be found in the remaking of the world and the defiance of God—the essentials of a radical ideal” (56).

The details provide rich fodder for critical debates. We might start with the “workshop of filthy creation” itself. For Paul Sherwin, the “solitary chamber, or rather cell, at the top of the house, and separated from all the other apartments” is “a masterful image of the mind that is its own place, the self as, or trying to be, a free-standing unit” (895). Most critics, though, see it in physical and sexual terms. For Fred Randel, it is “a place of total isolation from any female presence,” “a spot reserved for untouchable maleness,” which “No woman ever enters” (530). The notion of an essentially masculine space, though, is rejected by Marc Rubenstein, who notes “a remarkable resemblance to a woman’s reproductive anatomy”—the workshop is a womb, an emblem of “the enfolding, circular narratives of the novel” as a whole (178).

These disputes about the sexual suggestiveness of the workshop are repeated in debates over Victor Frankenstein himself. For some, he is a grotesque exaggeration of masculinity: William Veeder calls him an “ejaculatory Prometheus” (90), and Devon Hodges “the bearer of the qualities of god-like power and knowledge that characterize the masculine position in culture,” who “stands erect above its prone body, a position that has been called the classical spectacle of male power and female powerlessness in a patriarchal society” (159). Mellor sees a metaphorical rape in this passage, and reads it as an allegory for masculine control of women everywhere: Frankenstein and “the patriarchal society he represents use the technologies of science and the laws of the polis to manipulate, control, and repress women” (122). Victor’s pursuit of nature is for George Haggerty likewise “not an act of love; it is rape,” a violent sex act to be contrasted with the poet’s seduction of Nature (51). This violence also marks Knoepfmacher’s description of his sexuality, which is continuous with his cruelty in other respects: “Frankenstein is phallic and aggressive, capable of torturing ‘the living animal to animate the lifeless clay.’” He

contrasts Victor's vicious machismo with the "feminine qualities" in the Creature (106). Mellor, though, while agreeing that Frankenstein embodies violent masculinity, sees the masculine Victor's feminine counterpart not in the Creature but in Nature itself: the rape is not personal cruelty but an allegory for "uninhibited scientific penetration and technological exploitation" (115).

Others find Frankenstein's sexuality more complicated. Paul Youngquist, for instance, writes that "If Frankenstein's workshop is a womb-room, then his creative undertaking might not be so exclusively masculine as it first appears" (347). In the same spirit, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar find Victor "curiously female, that is, Eve-like. . . . He is consumed by . . . a longing which . . . recalls the criminal female curiosity that led Psyche to lose love by gazing upon its secret face, Eve to insist upon 'intellectual food,' and Prometheus's sister-in-law Pandora to open the forbidden box of fleshly ills. . . . He discovers he is not Adam but Eve, not Satan but Sin, not male but female" (234).

Some of those who see a feminine Frankenstein consider his creation as a kind of perverse pregnancy. Alan Bewell contextualizes the novel in early nineteenth-century obstetric theory, and observes that Victor "ignores the antenatal regimen proffered by midwifery handbooks." Frankenstein's pallor and emaciation indicate that Victor "unconsciously identifies himself with a woman in confinement" (116). Susan Winnett agrees the passage is about pregnancy, but sees just the opposite in the details, calling Victor the negative image of a woman: "Frankenstein has got things backward when, unlike a pregnant woman, he becomes increasingly pale and emaciated as his 'creation' nears completion" (510).

Critics indebted to Freud and his successors have found many varieties of perverse sexuality in the passage. Veeder finds Frankenstein's enervation a sign of impotence. Sherwin argues that "The imagery has an unmistakably anal and masturbatory cast. At once feces and phallus, the filth [in the workshop] is also the maternal presence he is assembling from phantasmal body parts and buried wishes" (885). These "buried wishes" are the subject of Katherine Hill-Miller's analysis: she sees the penetration of nature's recesses as an incestuous longing for the mother: "The generation of the 'monster' is an act tinged with sexuality—a sexuality that has its roots in Frankenstein's desire to possess his mother" (62). She argues that "Frankenstein's guilt over his incestuous longing leads him to

commit [his] instinctive and irrevocable act” (64).

Mellor also uses the feminist and Freudian traditions to go in another direction. She interprets Victor’s quest as an attempt “to steal or appropriate [the] womb, . . . to usurp the power of production as such,” but then adds, “Marx identified childbirth as the primary example of pure, or unalienated, labor. Victor Frankenstein’s enterprise can be viewed from a Marxist perspective as an attempt to exploit nature or labor in the service of a ruling class. . . . His project is . . . identical with that of bourgeois capitalism: to exploit nature’s resources for both commercial profit and political control” (112). Others develop the Marxist elements without the sexual elements: Chris Baldick, for instance, gives the novel a straightforward Marxist reading: “The result of his ‘secret toil’ . . . embod[ies] the socially irresponsible logic of private production itself. The monster is the spirit of private production brought to life” (51).

This list of critical perspectives and controversies regarding this single page of text could be extended tenfold, making the example from *Hamlet* look cursory by contrast. Notice, though, that the critical questions are not resolved: they are instead left hanging. This may be frustrating, but it is what a variorum edition does best.

VI

I conclude by making a case for the value of this sort of thing—for the value of surrounding a two-hundred-page novel with two hundred full-length scholarly essays, and nestling the whole thing in twenty thousand pages of context. It’s a glorious kind of overkill, but is it really worthwhile?

I think so. The value of the variorum edition to professional researchers is obvious enough, but it may be even more useful and instructive for students. This is not because the extensive commentary *settles* any questions, but because it leaves everything open. There is a valuable lesson in that openness. The conventional annotated edition for students devotes its footnotes to the questions that were answered long ago. The variorum edition, on the other hand, by its very nature devotes the most attention to the questions that remain unanswered. It allows, or even forces, students to see criticism not as a set of definitive pronouncements from authoritative experts, but as a complicated and often boisterous argument among

many partisans. They divide into schools. They argue with one another over points of fact and over methods. They try to make cases from the available evidence. In other words, they engage in just the sort of activities we try to teach our students.

One of the very few critics who have given serious attention to the variorum edition is Stanley Fish, who praises the form precisely for never reaching any final answers. He devotes two essays to the variorum commentary on Milton, and he finds its refusal to settle questions provides a more valuable kind of information than any simple footnote could. “What if that controversy,” he asks, “is *itself* regarded as evidence, not of an ambiguity that must be removed, but of an ambiguity that readers have always experienced?” (150). This is consistent with his long-term hobby-horse that “It is the structure of the reader’s experience rather than any structures available on the page that should be the object of description” (152). It is therefore a virtue that the variorum edition presents criticism not as a statement but as a debate. It sees novels and poems as battlegrounds. It conceives of texts and traditions as engaged in perpetual conversation, never at rest but always in motion.

My ostensible journey to unexplored regions took me from the twenty-first century back to the seventeenth. And although one flowering of scholarship is long since passed, I have hopes for a new golden age of variorum scholarship in the electronic age. The variorum edition came of age in a culture of print, but printed editions have their limitations. They are inevitably confronted with limitations of space, and critical comments are necessarily reduced to mere extracts. Notes usually cannot be repeated when they are relevant in more than one place. Electronic media, on the other hand, are especially well suited to this format. This is because the variorum edition turns text into hypertext, or, perhaps more accurately, realizes the hypertextual potential in any critical commentary. It only makes sense, then, to let hypertext turn text into a variorum edition: the medium and the message were made for each other. I hope, therefore, that we will be able to learn some seventeenth-century lessons as we develop the twenty-first-century media.

Notes

1. *Frankenstein* is cited from the Pennsylvania Electronic Edition. For consis-

- tency of reference, though, I provide page numbers from what has long been the standard edition by James Rieger.
2. The final list of publications to be included is still pending. The works of criticism cited in this essay are provisional; some may be omitted and others added.
 3. The term *lexia* is often used in the scholarship of hypertext to refer to such a unit. However accurate, it is unfamiliar to most common readers, and therefore inappropriate for use in the edition itself.
 4. For those familiar with Unix, “grep -c fl306 Articles/*.html” will show how many times each essay cites volume one, chapter three, frame six. By running a shell script nightly, we were able to produce a daily index to the references to the criticism as new essays and links were added.
 5. Some variorum editions focus strictly on textual variants: see, for instance, Mays’s edition of Coleridge’s poems, of which the two-part second volume offers a “variorum text.” Here I focus on those variorum editions with multiple commentaries, whatever they may do with the text itself.
 6. The commentary was *Annotations on Paradise Lost*, bound with most copies of the sixth edition of *Paradise Lost* (London, 1695). The work of 321 pages is attributed to “P.H., Philopoietes,” usually assumed to be Patrick Hume, about whom little is known (see Walsh). The first concordance was Alexander Cruden, *A Verbal Index to Milton’s Paradise Lost* (London, 1741).
 7. The Johnson-Steevens edition is often called the “first variorum,” although the difference between Johnson’s original edition and the later revision is only one of scale. Johnson included substantial extracts from all the commentators who came before him.

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HERE WE ARE: GREETING TECHNOLOGY
WITH HEALTHY SKEPTICISM

by Jackie Grutsch McKinney
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

After participating last April in the “Colloquium on the Future of New Technology in the Arts and Humanities” and the “Technology in the College English Classroom Conference,” I came to new insights about how English departments in particular are dealing with technology. I was reassured to find that speakers from across the country face departments, schools, and administrators who offer (or don’t offer) varying degrees of support for technology; who find themselves as the sole “technology” person in the department; who have discovered their work in researching and teaching with or about technology dismissed as trendy or too vocational. There is comfort, as the saying goes, in numbers. I was also impressed with the balance of supporters and skeptics of the changes technology makes in our classrooms, research, and universities because this sort of mix can lead to productive discussions.

Usually in such forums, we’re assaulted with e-words: e-learning, e-literacy, e-College. What was memorable to me, and what I remarked on in the closing session of the conference with Karen Schiff, were all of the reoccurring a-words.

One thing on the mind of many speakers and attendees was **ACCESS** because the issue of access is an issue of class. What kinds of equipment do our students have or have use of? How might our assignments or methods unwittingly put some students at a disadvantage? One speaker at the conference noted that she was required to use web-enhancement for her composition class only to find that the one computer lab on campus had such limited hours that students could not easily access the materials on the web. One solution to the access problem was offered at the Clemson colloquium by Todd Taylor who has his writing students create their own films using equipment he has secured through grants.

A similar concern is that of **ABILITY**. Over and over when there was concern expressed about students’ ability to use certain programs, speakers assured us that “they know this stuff better than we do.” In many cases, this may be true, but there is a danger in believing—and then

acting or teaching on that belief—that students come from equal backgrounds of computer literacy. This brings us to the question of *our* ability to use the technology, too. Catherine Gouge, who spoke at the conference about developing and teaching a web distance learning course, warned that if we as instructors don't know the programs well enough to help someone with problems over the phone or email, we shouldn't be teaching classes over the web.

Questions of access and ability often lead to **ANXIETY**. What are we doing and why? How? This anxiety was at times a practically visible cloud of smoke rising from fiery talks about **ADMINISTRATORS**. Because of the hierarchical academic worlds in which we find ourselves, others are always making decisions for us to implement. There were plenty of somebody-did-me-wrong songs to be heard at these events. At the colloquium, Pamela Takayoshi encouraged us to be proactive, to join committees, to talk with administrators *before* decisions are made. But anxiety is often caused by **AGE** too—the younger speakers and attendees seemed generally less anxious about the changes technology brings.

Lest we despair, I did find many memorable presentations that voiced true **AFFINITY** for technology. Richard Lanham positively sparkled during his keynote address at the conference as he showed us that letters and words are finally able to do what they've always wanted to do—move around off the page and talk to the reader. Dixie Goswami and the young students who spoke with her at the colloquium showed us how technology is giving students renewed interest in learning and discovery.

If there was an overall central thesis to the talks at the two events, I would say we argued not that we had figured out all the **ANSWERS** about using technology, but we do want to be part of the **ASKING**. The question we posed at the wrap-up session was this: What should we be asking and what should we be asking for? The colloquium and the conference demonstrated that those of us in the humanities are already attracted to the potential benefits of using more technology in our teaching and research, but because of our genuine concern for our students and our work, we'll approach it gingerly and with a scholarly skepticism.

LITERARY TECHNOLOGIES, OR,
WHAT ARE WE DOING HERE?

by Karen Schiff
Clemson University

These conferences have played an essential part in our ability to gain purchase on the technologies that drive so many of our activities with literature these days. They have also showed the diversity of perspectives on the most basic of issues: for instance, how we are defining the term “technology.” I have heard people use this word to signify hardware, software, a tool, a practice, and even a way of organizing one’s work. But the category of “technology” could lose meaning if its definition becomes too amorphous. So what can we say that it is? Or, to prevent this word from becoming an all-encompassing category, what can we say that technology is *not*? Perhaps, as one audience member at the UNCG discussion forum suggested, this is needlessly complicating a simple situation: he said that a “technology” is a tool that we use to accomplish a goal. But the idea of the “tool” is just as complicated, for we could assert that the auditorium in which we were sitting was a tool we were using to facilitate a particular kind of conversation. The room’s shape, size, and configuration influence the kind of conversations that are likely to take place there. Could we therefore call the room a “technology,” as well? We could then still be faced with the question of how we were defining this term.

Perhaps the most productive road toward definition is to witness how “technology” was discussed in practice. At both conferences, people talked about the ideological effects of computer use and about the practical adjustments associated with the widespread adoption of computers. Thinking of Pam Takayoshi’s discussion of the “resigned acceptance” that seeps into many campuses that are experiencing top-down computer mandates, I asked the assembly: how can we, as professors engaged in the use of these tools, become part of the team involved in making decisions about computers? And if we do gain this role, what would we request from our institutions? Several professors mentioned that they had become—or could become—key members of university-

wide computer advisory panels. Others suggested defying disciplinary boundaries to create collaborations with faculty members in other humanities departments—not just in computer science—as a way to build coalitions and solidarity. If the technology is to become more effectively implemented in the humanities, they reasoned, we should not merely talk to the computer scientists on campus as if they are the experts in the field. We need to show ourselves to be experts on how these technologies function best in our own fields of study. Not surprisingly, there was also general agreement that we needed more time and money to conceive of new ways to use the technologies.

One audience member, after hearing many “practical” requests about classroom usage, called for a complementary consideration: that we consider more deeply the theories behind our uses of technology. Upon reflection, I think this is a key ingredient. I believe that if we are more careful about how we think about computers, we could be correspondingly more perspicacious in our choices about policy and use. Theory and practice are certainly intertwined here: to what extent does a technology change our purposes in a given class, much less in an entire discipline? Do new technologies reinstate old hierarchies of power, or create new ones?

Presentations at both conferences addressed these questions. At Clemson, the presentation of the Bread Loaf project, led by Dixie Goswami, made me think that web technology could be used to further a tried-and-true humanistic agenda. She and her team of educators brought self-reflection, creative expression, and an enthusiasm for learning to students in rural or poor school systems where being engaged in such activities was rarely encouraged or funded. These technologies also brought a classical sense of beauty into the students’ experience, by inviting students to design aesthetically clean and simple web pages.

At UNCG, Carlton L. Clark, from Texas Women’s University, complicated the question of the technology’s ideology by asking whether computers could actually seem to work towards one ideological goal while actually supporting its opposite. He suggested that hypertext, which is often touted as a medium that deconstructs an Enlightenment paradigm, is in fact often used or discussed in a way that perpetuates that very world view. If hypertext is employed to facilitate an individual’s quest for understanding, it serves an entity [“man”] rather than a rela-

tion. Hypertext is a relational tool, however: it connects ideas or details and does not uphold the notion that a text can stand alone, disconnected. Can we imagine a way of using and discussing this technology that focuses on its relational properties? If so, we perhaps could be reconfiguring power relationships so that familiar hierarchies are diffused instead of affirmed. If we move from a rhetoric of Enlightenment rationality to a rhetoric of feminist relationality—Clark suggested consulting the writings of Starhawk on the subject of power relations—we could shift not only the ways we use technology but also the ways we imagine ourselves.

Finally, I noted that the conferences seemed tinged with a grim mood. Though this atmosphere was not all-pervasive, it did hang like a fog over many of the sessions I attended. Most of the people in attendance at this final discussion session agreed with my assessment, and even seemed relieved to hear it articulated. Some contrasted the mood of the UNCG conference with a buoyant atmosphere at conferences such as *Computers and Writing*, where the level of acceptance of and enthusiasm about electronics is high.

The lugubrious feeling seems like good news to me. It indicates the credibility of the resistance that many of us encounter as we try to use technologies ourselves, or with our students, or as we attempt to institute progressive technological changes within our institutions. It also acknowledges the enormity of our task within our institutions. As Pam Takayoshi said, we are on the front lines; we are facing the changes head-on. The grim mood perhaps also accompanies the hard work of inventing specific ways to use technologies, sharing strategies and becoming more conscious of how we are using them. As we move further into the digital age and become more familiar with electronic tools, I assume we will become more technically adept, theoretically facile, and generally creative with them. So I believe that the gloomy fog will lift, and that the moods of conferences on technology in the humanities will metamorphose into something that we cannot yet predict.

Part Two:

Digital Publishing: “From Paper to Pixels”



[AS THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS of the colloquium “The Medium of Publishing: Reading, Writing, and Editing” (Clemson University, April 10, 2003), the essay by Melvin Sterne in Part Two concludes this book with a kind of *apologia*. In point of fact, the talk followed an introduction by Chapman on the rapid progress of CU Digital Press, in three years, toward recognition as a university press for the twenty-first century; and it anticipated several demonstrations to that effect in the recently completed “smart” humanities auditorium in Hardin Hall (oldest university building on campus, now renovated). As the editor notes in the Foreword, a hypermedia anthology of the inaugural colloquium of 2001 is available on our website at www.clemson.edu/caah/cedp/Tech%20Colloquium%202001/Online%20Proceedings.htm. —WKC]

ON OFFENSE FOR THE BOOK

by Melvin Sterne

Carve Magazine, Davis, California

Some time ago I was perusing the shelves of a used bookstore and stumbled across a volume of essays entitled the *Best American Spiritual Writing of 2000*. Now, I'm familiar with *Best American Short Stories* and *Best American Essays*, but I had never heard of *Best American Spiritual Writing*, and I was intrigued. It sounded like my kind of book, so I bought it. Inside I found, among other things, an essay by William H. Gass entitled "In Defense of the Book." Gass is a fiction writer, philosopher, essayist, and retired director of the International Writers Center at Washington University. The essay had originally been published in *Harper's Magazine*.

At first glance Gass' essay appears to be a fond reminiscence of a scholar's life and his love of books. Gass is insightful, poignant, and sometimes funny. I could scarce read his recollection of smearing jam on the pages of *Treasure Island* "precisely at the place where Billy Bones chased Black Dog out of the Admiral Benbow with a volley of oaths and where his cutlass misses its mark to notch the inn's wide sign" without breaking into a broad grin recalling my own numerous hours spent—perhaps *invested* is a better word—reading good books.

Gass was lucky in that he was able to translate his love of books into a career. I share his passion for literature. My love of writing impelled me to return to college to earn a Master's Degree in English, and to found and edit a fiction magazine.

Like Gass, I have my favorite book story—that while in second grade I was accused of plagiarism for turning in a book report on Homer's *The Odyssey*. I was remanded to the principal's office, my grandmother summoned. The meeting was held with appropriate solemnity. But much to the principal's surprise, my grandmother explained that I had, in fact, read *The Odyssey*, and could read practically any book in her library. A short quiz some of the books I had read confirmed this to the principal's satisfaction, and I was returned to my class bewildered (and somewhat embarrassed) to find that my reading was

considered unusual, abnormal; and that my efforts to succeed in school were unrewarded and unappreciated.

I don't recall being taught to read. I must have taken to it naturally, and I suspect that some unpleasant childhood circumstances led me to discover reading as an escape from reality. This experience of reading and writing as an escape is still true for me today. I love losing myself in the limitless possibilities of imagination.

Pulitzer Prize winning author Robert Olen Butler describes this immersion in the creative process as “dependent on maintaining a kind of trance-like state—what the athletes call being “in the zone”—in order to stay deeply in touch with the unconscious self, where all art comes from. . . I tell my writing students that works of art do not come from the mind, they come from the place where you dream.”

But we were talking about William H. Gass, and Gass is quick to point out that books serve an important role, not only as entertainment, but as a place of intellectual and spiritual enlightenment. The gift of books, Gass says, “gave a million minds a chance at independence.” He is right, of course. When I begin teaching a creative writing class, I point out that writers are quite possibly the most dangerous people alive. When would-be tyrants overthrow a lawful government, the first people they round up are writers. Why? *Because writers are able to communicate ideas clearly, and to infuse them with such power and passion as to move people to action, even martyrdom.* I have heard that when Abraham Lincoln met Harriet Beecher Stowe he said: “So this is the little lady who started the war.” Slavery had been debated in this country for a hundred years, but it took a novelist to inflame the fires of righteous indignation into the conflagration of civil war.

So far, so good, but I digress. Somewhere in the course of Gass' essay, I began to sense a change in tone, and it became clear that he and I were on divergent paths. Perhaps I should have been clued in by his title: “In Defense of the Book.” I might have asked myself: what, exactly, about books needs defending?

Most of us are aware that publishing has changed significantly in the last fifty years. Whereas there were once hundreds of magazines and periodicals paying for fiction, today there are only a few dozen. We, as readers and writers, are concerned about the corporatization of pub-

lishing, and the implication that conveys. Publishers place profits ahead of principles. They sacrifice art for entertainment. They replicate successful formulas rather than invest in innovation.

As editor of a literary magazine, I am distressed to learn that the average post-graduate reads fewer than five books a year. As a teacher I am concerned when college students appear in my classroom without ever having finished a novel. As a writer, I am saddened when I read that the remaining literary magazines and independent publishers are in severe financial distress. We live in a changing world, on this we all agree. Books, as we know them, *are* endangered. What Gass and I do not agree on is the *cause* of that danger, or the means of their preservation.

One of my points of departure with Gass came when he took what I thought was the peculiar step of defining what a book is. He says that:

We shall not understand what a book is, and why a book has the value many persons have, and is even less replaceable than a person, if we forget how important to it is its body, the building that has been built to hold its lines of language safely together through many adventures and a long time. Words on a screen have visual qualities, to be sure, and these darkly limn their shape, but they have no materiality, they are only shadows, and when the light shifts they'll be gone. Off the screen they do not exist as words. They do not wait to be reseen, reread; they only wait to be remade, relit. I cannot carry them beneath a tree or onto a side porch; I cannot argue in their margins....

Gass offers us a definition by default: not what a book is but what it *isn't*. By inference, Gass attacks the electronic media. He says, in effect, that books are printed on paper, not "limned" on screen, and that increasing fascination with electronics is to be blamed for the book's impending demise.

What an odd argument. I can almost picture King Nebuchadnezzar berating his scribes saying: "What's up with this *parchment* stuff? Why, when I was a boy we wrote on clay tablets with a pointy stick. Now *there's* a book that'll last you a lifetime. A couple of centuries and this

parchment will be dust on the library floor.”

What, then, is a book? In the 4th millennium B. C. E., the Babylonians wrote by means of wedgelike strokes impressed with a stylus on wet clay tablets which were then dried or baked. The normal Babylonian and Assyrian writing used a large number (300–600) of arbitrary cuneiform symbols for words and syllables; some had been originally pictographic. There was an alphabetic system, too, making it possible to spell a word out, but because of their adaptation from Sumerian, a different language, there were many ambiguities. A single symbol could be used to represent a concept, an object, a simple sound or syllable, or to indicate the category of words requiring additional definition. Hardly efficient, but close to permanent.

The oldest proper “manuscripts,” found in Egyptian tombs, were written on papyrus, and date from about 3500 B. C. E. But parchment, durable, foldable, erasable, and because both sides could be written on; gradually supplanted papyrus, and most surviving ancient manuscripts are parchment. Parchment is made from animal skins. The skins are soaked in water, treated with lime to loosen the hair, scraped, washed, stretched, and dried, and then rubbed with chalk and pumice.

Although paper was invented in China in the 2nd century C. E., it was not known in Europe until the 11th century. Johann Gutenberg is usually credited with the invention of printing from movable type, a method that, with refinements and increased mechanization, remained the principal means of printing until the late 20th century. His hand set type was printed on handmade paper. Similar printing had been done earlier in China and Korea. In China printing from movable woodblocks was invented by Pi Sheng in 1040, and printing with movable type made of clay was also prevalent. In Korea, movable copper type was invented as early as 1392. Europeans thought to have preceded Gutenberg in printing include Laurens Janszoon Koster, of Holland, and Pamfilo Castaldi, of Italy. In Europe parchment gave way to paper for use in books only after the advent of printing. Parchment is still used for certain documents, diplomas, and bindings.

There you have, in brief, the history of writing from clay tablets to papyrus, to parchment, to paper, spanning the fourth millennium B. C. E. until the fourteenth century of our Common Era. With the invention of the printing press, the mass production of paper, and the rise of the

middle class through the industrial revolution, books became cheap enough to be widely distributed to the general public, and the general public literate enough to appreciate them. Books exist in this particular form as a matter of convenience and economics, not out of some culturally superior imperative. One cannot argue that books were “invented” with the printing press. Books have existed in many forms over the millennia. Gass’ assertion that a book *is* its body is simply not true. The bodies of many books have passed away, but the information contained therein lives on; to wit: there are no existing copies of any of the original gospel accounts, yet the Bible survives. More accurately, then, we must conclude that a book is the information contained in the body, not the body itself.

This brings us back to the topic of electronic books. So what if, as Gass says, electronic texts are “remade” every day? Do we not do the same thing with paper books? One begins to question Gass’ hysteria about the evils of this (apparently) natural process of social evolution. Gass, himself, lays the foundation for a counter-argument when he cites 15th century concerns about books saying: “The advent of printing was opposed (as writing was) for a number of mean and self-serving reasons, but the fear that it would lead to the making of a million half-baked brains, and cause the illicit turning of a multitude of untrained heads, as a consequence of the unhindered spread of nonsense was a fear that was also well founded.” In other words, the nay-sayers of Gutenberg’s day decried books, saying that untrained—or inferior—minds could not manage higher thought, that the fast and easily accessible flow of information would corrupt men and divert their technology to illicit means. And this, of course, is exactly what happened.

Not long after publishing the Gutenberg Bible, printers were busy cranking out pornography, romance novels, revolutionary tracts, and advertising for washing machines. The same process that announced the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, *Common Sense*, the Gettysburg Address, the Charter of the United Nations, *Harper’s Magazine*, and *The Best American Spiritual Writing of 2000* also produced *Hustler*, *Mein Kampf*, *Gone with the Wind*, Daffy Duck, and God knows what all else. With people, it’s a package deal. You take the good with the bad. But on this we agree: that we owe much to the book—or more specifically to the availability of the information con-

tained in books.

So why should we be surprised if it is the same with the internet? Yet this seems to have caught Gass unprepared, for he says:

So there will be books. And if readers shut their minds down the better to stare at pictures that rarely explain themselves; and if readers abandon reading to swivel-hip their way through the interbunk, picking up scraps of juicy data here and there and rambling on the e-mail in that new fashion of grammatical decay, the result will be to make real readers, then chief among the last who are left with an ability to reason, rulers. Books make the rich richer, books will make the smart smarter.

Am I mistaken, or did Gass' argument just take a decidedly nasty turn? Because I use e-mail, shop, research, and (have mercy) *read* on the internet, am I supposed to become *colonized*? Am I to be fitted for shackles? But that's not all. According to Gass, "at the end of all those digital delivery channels thrives a multitude of pips whose continuous squeaking has created static both loud and distressing."

Ouch! I feel positively *pixilated*.

But if we meditate on the matter with compassion, we may come to see that the real issue fueling Gass' testy response to the internet and electronic publishing is one of control. While Gass argues that the rise of the internet will leave book lovers as "rulers," I suspect that what he really fears is being left behind by this new technology. To the same extent that Gass experiences a loss of power and *control*, he lashes out in anger towards what most of us sense will be, *must* be, the future of publishing. And we know that this future is inevitable for the same sound, fundamental reasons that Gutenberg's press changed the world. It allows us access to information with unprecedented speed and cost efficiency.

Gass writes that, "[i]n the ideal logotopia, every person would possess his own library and add at least weekly if not daily to it. The walls of each home would seem to be made of books, wherever one looked one would see only spines...." A pleasant thought, but I would be willing to wager my next year's salary against his that I have more books available online than he has in his home. If you visit the Online Books

Page (<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/>), you will find that they have over 16,000 of the world's great books available online *for free*, a library that expands, as Gass advises, daily. Want to read Shakespeare? Swift? Joyce? Wordsworth? Shelley? Thoreau? Lao-Tzu? They're there, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Even supposing one got the bargain basement price of \$2.00 per volume (and many of these books are not available at any price), one would spend more than \$32,000 to acquire them. Reading one book a day it would take more than 43 years to complete reading my library. No, I'm afraid Mr. Gass' library doesn't have a chance, and that might be what galls him the most: that any poor fool with a computer now possesses his or her own rival to the library at Alexandria. And imagine the chaos if *all* books were someday available online? Perhaps that is Gass' worst fear. But how could anyone object to the widest distribution of books ever achieved by mankind? It makes Gass' underlying motives appear suspect, at best.

One may forgive Gass, who published his essay in 1999, for appearing technically behind the times. After all, technology is advancing at exponential rates. When he says that he cannot retire to his favorite shade-tree with a book and write arguments in the margin, he is, as we know, mistaken. Ebooks.org, a non-profit site dedicated to disseminating information about e-books products and services, boasts eleven hand-held devices available to consumers between \$149 and \$899. Most of these include keyboards that allow readers to annotate their e-texts, and software that allows them to write letters, send and receive e-mail, and surf the web via cellular phone; not to mention search tools computers offer that books cannot.

In all fairness, the site also acknowledges that the e-book is an idea whose time may not have come, news I am certain Gass will greet with enthusiasm. E-books.org cites a recent article in the *New York Times* (April 22, 2002) to the effect that Microsoft, among others, has withdrawn its support for the annual Frankfurt eBook Awards, that e-books are not big sellers, and that public acceptance is building at a slower rate than businesses and investors anticipated.

But this doesn't mean it won't come to pass. No doubt there will be paper books well into the foreseeable future. People—especially those connected with academia, who both read and produce a signifi-

cant number of books—are slow to change. There remains a great deal of prestige associated with publishing a *hardcopy*, and some residual stigmatization surrounding electronic publication. And there are undeniable conveniences with paper, search engines aside. A paperback never ran down a battery, for one, and a misplaced paperback might set you back ten dollars, but a lost handheld...well, that's another story. There will be a market for paper books for years to come. But the same market forces that made paper king will ultimately spell its demise, an inevitability hastened by new generations raised on electronics. Change, yes. But this change may prove, contrary to Gass' fears, not the death of the book, but its salvation.

For most writers, and with few exceptions, the chasm between obscurity and their first book is bridged by magazine publication. In the last two weeks prior to today, I have been barraged with emails about the financial plight of small circulation literary magazines. Now, to my mind, the word "small circulation" includes almost every magazine publishing fiction in the world today with the exception of the *New Yorker*, *Harper's*, *Atlantic*, *Playboy*, and one or two others. Though they might disagree, such magazines as the *Roanoke Review*, *Gettysburg Review*, *Missouri Review*, *Sewanee Review*, *Glimmer Train*, et al. are basically small circulation magazines with paid subscriptions between a few hundred and perhaps ten or twenty thousand. They become a statistical zero in the demographics of popular reading. I won't argue against the value these magazines have for society. They are the places young writers go to begin their marvelous careers. They are the places where ideas take shape, life is described, society evaluated, and the ordinary events that make up our days are portrayed with the startling power only writers can command. I purchase them. I read them. I submit fiction to them. But the hard economic fact is that many of these magazines are in dire straits. Note the passing of *Story*, possibly the finest fiction magazine ever published.

A recent article in *Pop Matters*, by Phoebe Kate Foster, got a lot of circulation among magazine editors. Foster noted that reading materials account for "0.5% of the average American budget." We spend more money on alcohol, cigarettes, lottery tickets, and chocolate than we do on books and magazines. And this survey does not differentiate between readers purchasing Shakespeare and those subscribing to *Sol-*

dier of Fortune. She goes on to report that “of all the types of publications facing tight times and the threat of extinction at the beginning of the 21st century, perhaps the most dramatically endangered is the literary journal, the long-standing bastion of free expression and creative endeavor in prose and poetry.”

Foster relied heavily on interviews with editors of many of America’s leading literary journals. Naomi Horii, of *Many Mountains Moving*, observed that “this is a particularly tough time, with factors such as cuts in funding, increasing postage rates, decreasing readership, and more chain bookstores and distributors refusing to carry lit magazines.” Pam McCully, co-editor of *Lynx Eye*, says: “the economics of small magazine publishing is brutal.” Howard Junker, of *ZYZZYVA*, observes that “the future is always grim. Death is always at the door. These times are desperately bleak.”

Magazines may occasionally find wealthy benefactors to bequeath endowments sufficient to support them in perpetuity, but these instances are rare. Most magazines stagger along from grant to grant and never achieve real financial stability. And there are other problems in the industry. Don Lee, of *Ploughshares*, noted that many of today’s magazines were “founded as shoestring operations thirty of forty years ago by people from the ‘60’s culture who wanted to ‘do their own thing’ creatively as a counterreaction to commercial publications. These people are now retiring, and some are retiring their magazines, as well.”

Recent discussion on the CLMP (Council of Literary Magazines and Presses) listserv has centered on funding problems, and included a suggestion from one editor to *require* writers to purchase subscriptions before submitting stories for consideration. I’m going to quote this anonymously, for obvious reasons:

Another possible approach that would get rid of the “vanity press” aspect would be to require proof of current subscription to ANY (let’s say) three lit mags, as a condition of submission. These would not have to include the mag being submitted to. This would demonstrate that those submitting were actively supporting the publishing community they want to belong to. Even (especially?) famous writers could reasonably be expected to subscribe to three lit mags. Given the subscription rates of most

CLMP members, it would be a commitment of less than \$100 year.

This would probably also have the benefit of discouraging a number of the unusable submissions that nobody wants to spend time on anyway. At the same time, it wouldn't prevent people who met the three-mag requirement from submitting to many different places, as would be the case if there was a strict "subscribe to us before we consider your submission" policy.

If enough mags went for this in a consortium arrangement, it could also be a good form of promotion. If everyone's submission guidelines included a list of all the participating magazines with a blurb or a web site address for each, would-be submitters would have an incentive to check out titles they were unfamiliar with in order to make up their quota. They wouldn't be restricted to those on the list, but just having the list would encourage people to try something new and not just go for (perhaps) *Granta* or some other well-known titles.

My response to this proposal was to ask: How desperate can times be if magazines must resort to what smells like *blackmailing* authors into supporting them? Are magazines to become vanity presses? What's next? Do we sell publication space like stadium names to the highest bidder? Though there was a murmur of support for this subscription consortium, I do not give it any serious credence. It is, however, a sign of the severe financial distress affecting literary publishing today.

But before we all fall on our swords, I would like to tell you a story from my years as an undergraduate. The University of Washington sponsors an undergraduate literary magazine called *Bricolage*. They have (or had) an annual budget of less than \$1000 dollars. The magazine looked terrible—when last I saw it, it had a construction paper cover—and I have seen high school literary magazines that put it to shame. So when I volunteered to serve on the staff of the *Bricolage*, I suggested that their resources might be better invested in online publication. My proposal was shot down, and nursing my sorely wounded ego, I set out to prove them wrong.

It took me nearly a year to secure funding, and I am greatly indebted to the Mary Gates Foundation, who provided me with a re-

search grant of \$4,500 to offset my startup expenses. With their backing, I was able to found *Carve Magazine*, an online journal dedicated to literary fiction in the tradition of *Story Magazine*. Three years later I find myself at the helm of a bimonthly online magazine with a monthly readership of more than 4,000 in forty countries worldwide. We will publish between 70 and 90 stories this year. We also publish an annual printed “best of” anthology, and sponsor a very good writing contest, the Raymond Carver Short Story Award at *Carve Magazine*.

Carve Magazine was the second online literary magazine accepted for membership in CLMP. I consider that a sure sign of three things: (1), that online magazines are no longer the domain of high school dropout Nazi skateboarders publishing hate manifestos, (2) that editors of other literary magazines recognize that they must adapt if they are going to survive these troubled financial times, and (3) that online magazines are an integral part of the sorting out process which will determine the shape of publishing for the next one hundred years.

Naomi Horii, of *Many Mountains Moving*, says that “the literary magazines that will survive . . . are those that can evolve with changing needs.” Hilda Raz, of *Prairie Schooner*, reports that “many print journals are adding an online component to provide depth—interviews with authors, indices to volumes, videos, historical background, and such. . . .” *Harper’s*, like most commercial magazines, has an online presence. Even *Bricolage* went online this year.

Of course, all online magazines are not equal. Some are experimental. They can be good or bad, but that is to be expected as innovators test the waters of a new medium. There are, to be sure, hucksters, shysters, and hoodlums of every sort, but these die almost as quickly as they appear. Interspersed among them are many dedicated, competent, and qualified survivors who plug away with a grim determination to see this revolution through.

Good online magazines, like good print magazines, adhere to certain standards. Their editors do not self-publish. They have editorial committees of qualified readers. They offer regular publication schedules and stick to them. They may or may not charge for subscriptions, but they *never* charge for submissions. Contests are judged fairly by well-known authors. They belong to trade organizations such as CLMP, or associate with writing programs such as the AWP.

And we may not eliminate paper completely. *Carve Magazine* offers *both* electronic and paper versions of every story we publish. Beginning with our March 1, 2002 edition, we post every story online in HTML and PDF formats. This means that readers may view stories onscreen, or download and print them in booklet format. This, I believe, is the future of magazine publishing, a combination of the best of both worlds. And we do this with an annual budget of less than \$3000. How? We have a volunteer staff, *and we publish online*.

The cost effectiveness of electronic publication will virtually eliminate traditional magazines within ten years. A few may survive, as they should, but there is not enough money to support all those currently in existence. *Carve Magazine* publishes the equivalent of about 200 pages of printed fiction every two months. Can you imagine the savings in postage alone as we reach more than 4000 readers in 40 countries? Paper publications cannot compete with electronics in terms of cost effective distribution.

There is something similar afoot in book publishing. You may have heard of POD—print on demand publishing. What this means is that a publisher can acquire a book and store it in a computer. When a customer orders a copy, they purchase it online, and the order goes directly to a printer who prints, binds, and ships the book in a matter of minutes. The technology is in place and commercially available. Small publishers may now offer books without large investment in inventory and storage. It makes small press publishing cost effective again, though high volume sellers are more profitable when published in large runs. I strongly believe that this melding of technology and printing is the intermediate step in the migration of books and periodicals from paper to pixels. Expanding this small press market through POD technology will create opportunities for writers—especially those whose work large, commercial publishers consider too risky for investment.

My grandfather, who steered our family business through the depression, once remarked to me that an ice age might have killed the dinosaurs, but mammals seemed to have done all right. I believe in writers. I believe in publishers, too, and in electronics. What I *don't* believe is Professor Gass. Contrary to his fears, electronic publishing does *not* represent the death of the book. More likely, it represents its salvation, and perhaps that of the writer along with it.

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