

The background of the cover features four dark green leather book spines with gold floral decorations. The spines are arranged in a row, and the text is centered over them. The floral decorations are small, stylized flowers with leaves, positioned on each spine.

PROOFS OF GENIUS

Collected Editions
from the American
Revolution to the
Digital Age

AMANDA GAILEY

Proofs of Genius

EDITORIAL THEORY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

George Bornstein, Series Editor

Palimpsest: Editorial Theory in the Humanities,

edited by George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams

Contemporary German Editorial Theory, edited by Hans Walter Gabler,

George Bornstein, and Gillian Borland Pierce

The Hall of Mirrors: Drafts & Fragments and the End of Ezra Pound's Cantos,

by Peter Stoicheff

Emily Dickinson's Open Folios: Scenes of Reading, Surfaces of Writing,

by Marta L. Werner

Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice, Third Edition,

by Peter L. Shillingsburg

The Literary Text in the Digital Age, edited by Richard J. Finneran

The Margins of the Text, edited by D. C. Greetham

A Poem Containing History: Textual Studies in The Cantos,

edited by Lawrence S. Rainey

Much Labouring: The Texts and Authors of Yeats's First Modernist Books,

by David Holdeman

Resisting Texts: Authority and Submission in Constructions of Meaning,

by Peter L. Shillingsburg

The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture,

edited by George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle

Collaborative Meaning in Medieval Scribal Culture: The Otho Lazamon,

by Elizabeth J. Bryan

Oscar Wilde's Decorated Books, by Nicholas Frankel

Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books,

by William W. E. Slights

The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen, by John Bryant

Textual Awareness: A Genetic Study of Late Manuscripts by Joyce, Proust, and Mann

by Dirk Van Hulle

The American Literature Scholar in the Digital Age, edited by Amy E. Earhart and

Andrew Jewell

Publishing Blackness: Textual Constructions of Race Since 1850,

edited by George Hutchinson and John K. Young

The Sexuality of Soulwork: Jack Kerouac's Quest for Spontaneous Prose,

by Tim Hunt

Proofs of Genius: Collected Editions from the American Revolution to the Digital Age,

by Amanda Gailey

Proofs of Genius

COLLECTED EDITIONS FROM
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
TO THE DIGITAL AGE

Amanda Gailey

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
ANN ARBOR

Copyright © by Amanda Gailey 2015

Some rights reserved



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 United States License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 171 Second Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California, 94105, USA.

Published in the United States of America by

The University of Michigan Press

Manufactured in the United States of America

⊗ Printed on acid-free paper

2018 2017 2016 2015 4 3 2 1

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/dcbooks.13607059.0001.001>

ISBN 978-0-472-07275-0 (hardcover : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-472-05275-2 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-472-12126-7 (e-book)

*For Leo
who dislikes sentimental dedications*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people who were generous with their time and support as I wrote this book. Kenneth M. Price offered crucial advice in the early stages, and he and Susan Belasco read the whole draft, making invaluable suggestions. George Bornstein offered a careful reading and encouragement. Thomas Dwyer, formerly of the University of Michigan Press, encouraged me to expand the scope of the book to its current form. My experience years ago working on the Whitman Archive first led me to think about the history and significance of editing, and the Archive's resources were later critical to thinking through Whitman's complex relationship to literary collection. The staff and affiliated faculty of the Center for Digital Research in the Humanities at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln have been continually helpful in consulting about digital editing. I especially thank my friends and colleagues Elizabeth Lorang, Andrew Jewell, Brett Barney, and Katherine Walter for their support.

Portions of some of these chapters were presented at the Society for Textual Scholarship, where I received valuable feedback and encouragement: in particular, Martha Nell Smith and Peter Shillingsburg offered comments and queries that helped shape the direction of the chapter on Cold War editing. Additionally, Bethany Nowviskie, Amy Earhart, Ed Folsom, and Melissa Homestead answered crucial questions, and Jerome McGann made very helpful suggestions that strengthened the final chapter in particular. My readers for the University of Michigan Press gave extremely helpful feedback. The Peoria Public Library sent me scans of a fascinating document in their special collections, and Leo D. Blake of the Walt Whitman House sent me materials that helped me understand Whitman's difficulties with his tomb.

Most of all, I thank my daughter, Millie, and son, Ned, who patiently cooperated as their mother finished this book; my parents, Jerry and Vicky Gailey, who were continually supportive; and my husband, Leo Iacono, who read it again and again.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
CHAPTER 1. America Collecting Itself: National Identity and Intellectual Property in the Early Republic	10
CHAPTER 2. Dickinson's Remains	33
CHAPTER 3. Whitman's Shrines	55
CHAPTER 4. Cold War Editing and the Rise of the "American Literature Industry"	83
CHAPTER 5. The Death of the Author Has Been Greatly Exaggerated	107
<i>Notes</i>	141
<i>Index</i>	157

Introduction

This book originates from my interest in the history of literary editing, particularly in how it has shaped my own field of American literature. How has the way we organize, package, and represent literature impacted the culture in which it is produced? The subject of editing seems straightforward, and to its critics even dry,¹ but editorial choices have stealthily shaped the American literary canon for centuries, forging authorial legacies, producing regional and national propaganda, and generally working as a determinant for what and how we consider American literature. There are many kinds of editing, of course, including commercial editors who work with authors to publish their texts² in magazines or books for the first time, consultants who improve the readability of a work, scholars who treat historical materials, and so on—editing is really a broad term that includes a range of labor that has grown increasingly specialized, from the early stationers who edited, printed, and sold books in one shop to the highly segmented scholarly and commercial markets of today. But through the radical transformations of the American literary marketplace from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century, one kind of editing has held firm as the gold standard, as the way we assert the lasting value of an author and his or her works within the canon: the creation of collected editions.

From the earliest days of the Republic when printer Francis Bailey helped produce a collected edition of Philip Freneau, “the Poet of the Revolution,” to the digital age, when scholars at research universities collaborate to create a dynamic and ever-growing collected edition of the works of Walt Whitman, collected editions have powerfully but for the most part silently helped shape the way authorship and textuality have been viewed in the American cultural imaginary. This book examines how collected editions

have helped shape American literature, erecting monuments to individual people on the cultural landscape. My study does not attempt to be comprehensive, but instead examines several important periods and cases in the development of the genre within the American national context. In doing so it looks at how representative authors, editors, publishers, and readers have used the collected edition to build national and regional cultural identity, to assert intellectual property, to market books, to construct feminized and private literary marketplaces, to manage authorial reputation, to influence the humanities, and to construct the field of digital literary scholarship. A more encyclopedic, international examination of the collected edition—a massive undertaking—would also be valuable to book history, but my focus on American collected editions allows this study to more clearly examine the way the genre has functioned within a specific national literary economy, helping to forge an American literary canon and providing an aspirational standard for professional and amateur authors, as well as publishers and editors, as those roles were becoming defined and redefined. This introduction will describe the book’s working definition of “collected edition,” discuss how the concept of genius provided a motivation for many of the volumes, and offer a brief overview of how the collected edition has helped build a national literary identity.

1. DEFINING “COLLECTED EDITION”

Historical shifts in the genre of the collected edition demand that any wide-ranging study work with a flexible understanding of the form. Except when they provide illuminating examples, I have omitted collected editions of theological, political, and historical materials, limiting this study to literary texts. Even with that limitation, I find “collected edition” tricky to define. Today we think of collected editions as complete collections of a single author’s writings (with “writings” itself being a fraught category with nebulous boundaries) professionally published after his or her death. But almost none of the features in this definition have been historically obligatory: some collected editions were conspicuously incomplete (usually omitting works that were deemed so minor as to not affect the edition’s comprehensiveness), sometimes they collected works by more than one author, sometimes they were published while the author was still alive and productive, and sometimes they were published by friends, family, enemies, or the author himself.

Even though there are few characteristics that all collected editions have

in common, and certainly none that can be considered the “essence” of the collected edition, they tend to share several of the following overlapping features: a large gathering of texts, published as a single entity or uniformly bound set of volumes, centered around the identity of an author, purporting to be comprehensive, and edited posthumously or at the end of an author’s career. Despite variability, something about these volumes seems to bind them together as a literary form, and because of the variability of the collected edition, the form has been flexible and responsive to developments in authorship, printing technology, and intellectual property.

Editors of collected editions have had to balance two seemingly opposite concerns: gathering in and sorting out. Historically, they have struck different balances between these two impulses, but generally the genre has evolved to include more and more, partly to justify the publication of new collected editions, and partly because technological developments have made inclusion more practicable. After the industrialization of the book starting in about 1830, uniform binding reinforced the suggestion that a set of works written by a single author were figuratively and literally bound together, and the author became a convenient organizing principle for combining multiple works, reinforced by and reinforcing the Romantic conception of the author as the best way to understand literature. Conversely, authors began to see the collected edition as the height of accomplishment, a way of gathering and enshrining a life’s work. Andrew Nash has argued that by the end of the nineteenth century “a collected edition was the summit of Parnassus.”³ The canonical giants of the United States thought so, but this book will also trace how the collected edition was an aspirational form for amateur poets and their families, resulting in complex and nuanced applications of the genre. The collected edition appealed to authors at all stages of their careers because it harnessed so much about modern authorship: it drew on a broadening middle class to produce and consume intellectual property, new legal commitments to protect that property, and new technologies to disseminate it, and it catered to authors’ and readers’ patriotic interests in attaching a biography to a career of works.

2. GENIUS AND THE COLLECTED EDITION

Many of the authors honored by collected editions were lauded in the volumes as geniuses, such as Joseph Brown Ladd, M.D., killed in a duel in his youth, who is referred to as a “genius” some seven times in the introductory

materials of his posthumous collection. “Genius” is a nebulous and historically rich term that deserves discussion here, as it partially motivated so many of these volumes.

“Genius” in a sense resembling how we use it today—though not so intimately associated with intellect then as now—became a popular concept by the end of the eighteenth century, yoked to the rise of the bourgeoisie.⁴ In his study of genius, Darrin M. McMahon argues that the concurrent rise of professional authorship bolstered the concept of genius: authors benefited when the public saw them as unique minds outputting special intellectual property.⁵ The collected edition became an effective way of packaging this genius, connecting all the author’s works to his biography and name, and creating a salable product so the literate classes could own that genius for themselves.

In the nineteenth century popular understandings of genius took on added dimensions, with some intellectuals asserting that a genius was consciously or unconsciously connected to the eternal, to what Shelley called the “universal mind” and Blake referred to as “Universal Poetic Genius.”⁶ When American readers beheld an American genius—enshrined in a collected edition honoring the fruits of his creative labor—they beheld evidence of God’s blessings on the new nation, evidence that the country was capable of producing minds with a divine connection and prosperous enough to develop them.

Place was crucial to some Romantic understandings of genius. McMahon traces how some people in the nineteenth century came to think that a genius “could not be conceived apart from the people and nation in which he was rooted, for the genius was like a plant that grew in the soil of a particular culture and place.”⁷ Collected editions tend to embrace this understanding of genius, putting forth their subjects as evidence of the fertile intellectual climate that produced them, as when George Beck’s widow tried to sell volumes of his writing as “exhibit[ing] to the world a proof of Kentuckian genius, and the existing and progressive state of the Arts in the Western country.”

The nineteenth century also continued a long history of viewing madness as one of the by-products of genius—poets and artists who brushed too close to the source of genius did so at the risk of their sanity. This dimension of genius was particularly emphasized in the introductions and biographies of many collected editions of amateur women writers, who were often depicted as dying young because genius had sapped their health, or

because divine mercy would spare them a descent into madness that was likely to come if their genius reached maturity.

When scholarly editing rose as a profession in the twentieth century, it continued to honor literary genius through collected editions. During the Cold War, the elaborate, quasi-scientific apparatuses of government-funded Cold War editions conspicuously demonstrated that we didn't just have national geniuses, we also had the resources to invest in highly technical humanities scholarship. When digital editing rose in the late twentieth century, it expanded the kinds of texts that a collected edition might include as well as their presentation, but still usually relied on the individual genius as the foundational principle for the work.

What has counted as a work worth including in a collected edition has been historically malleable. In the eighteenth century and through most of the nineteenth, a collected edition could be uncontroversially considered comprehensive if it included all the texts by an author that a reader of good taste, represented by the editor, found worthwhile. Juvenilia, rejected materials, and other marginal texts were regularly excluded from collected editions. As the form evolved, markets for larger sets of volumes developed,⁸ and the inclusion of texts previously seen as inconsequential now came to reinforce the importance of the author and his genius: whereas early collected editions tended to disseminate texts primarily suitable for reading, later ones demonstrated that a particular author was of such stature that we should want to own even his discarded jottings.

The biographical content of collected editions also expanded over time. When private memorial volumes—often called “poetical remains” or “literary remains”—were published to commemorate dead amateur authors in the nineteenth century, they typically included a biography of the author that was presented much like a eulogy. Eventually, as collected editions gathered more and more content around the nucleus of authorial identity, more biographical material was included, too, sometimes including separate volumes of correspondence to help illuminate and honor the genius at the center of the collection. In the present decade, some digital collected editions attempt to gather unprecedented materials that shed light on the life and times of the author, most notably the Whitman Archive's inclusion of historical and contemporary criticism on Whitman, all known photographs of the poet, and even three thousand documents he wrote as a clerk in the attorney general's office.

3. WHAT COLLECTED EDITIONS DO

The collected edition has developed differently in different national contexts. In England's long literary history, collected editions stretch back to 1526 with Richard Pynson's collection of Chaucer, and were responsive to that country's political and literary development. In Germany, editing vernacular German texts was within the academic purview of philologists beginning in the nineteenth century, whereas the United States did not professionalize the editing of its literature until the mid-twentieth century. Editorial approaches to British and American literature converged in the Cold War era (concentrating on recovering final authorial intention), while Germany developed alternative principles for editing modern scholarly editions (focusing on offering a picture of the text's history).

This volume focuses on the development of the collected edition within the unique cultural and political history of the United States. The nation's founding and early political development roughly coincided with the industrialization of the book, so the United States offers a rare case study in how a late-arrived national literature developed alongside the modern industry that materially produced that literature.

The American collected edition has functioned as an ideological sponge, absorbing changing conceptions of who is an author, what is a work, what constitutes American cultural accomplishment, and who should be reading or consuming American literature. George Bornstein has argued that collected editions "permeate our culture to an extent that makes them seem somehow natural," which largely results from the genre's versatility. At various points in its development, the collected edition tells us much about the culture that produced it. When Helen Masterson died in the early eighteenth century, her family gathered her intellectual property into a scrapbook and labeled it "litterary [*sic*] remains," a genre that would evolve over the next several decades to eventually include Emily Dickinson's first posthumous collection.⁹ This largely feminized subtype of the collected edition developed alongside the grandiose public monuments that male public poets came to view as the crowning achievement of a life's work and the guarantor of a lasting legacy.

The cultural work of such volumes is evident not only in their content, but also in their material forms. As collected editions developed over the nineteenth century, they became ways for consumers to populate home libraries with conspicuous, space-consuming displays of their own education

and good taste, much like Dr. Eliot's Five Foot Shelf of Harvard Classics. Unlike those classics, however, American collected editions were evidence of patriotically minded reading habits, with handsome editions of Lowell and Whitman prominently asserting the owner's familiarity with American literature. The volumes were conspicuous enough to function as furniture, a decorative household object that combined utility with taste and social position. In one of the few studies of historical American collected editions, Michael Anesko has argued that at the end of the nineteenth century the form became a hybrid of cheap mass production—the uniform bindings and pricing were made possible by industrialized printing—and preindustrial, handcrafted touches, such as handwritten limited edition numbers or even tipped-in manuscript pages. Together, these helped the form combine highbrow culture with mass-market consumerism.¹⁰

This blend of the popular and the rarified continued through the twentieth century, when American literature was reedited into weighty collected editions that combined a hoped-for mass audience of students and scholars in the postwar and post-G.I. Bill academy with the new and specialized profession of scholarly editing. Similarly, in the digital age, digital collected editions are created by academics with extremely specialized training at the intersection of the humanities and computer science, typically using editorial standards developed for and by a niche market of academic labor, even though the editions themselves often serve as widely used public humanities projects.

This book examines five significant subtopics in the history of the American collected edition. The first chapter examines the early history of the collected edition in the United States. The first American collected editions frequently spotlighted the talents of authors who were meant to represent the potential of the new nation or specific regions within it. The first collection published in the United States, by Philip Freneau, emphasized his revolutionary politics and demonstrated that the new nation was capable of producing a national—and revolutionary—literature, while Joseph Brown Ladd's posthumous volume showed that "genius and the labors of genius form an important ingredient in that glory of a nation, which the patriot is wont to contemplate."

Because the books were organized around the identity of particular authors, they could represent the kinds of people that came from particular locales. These early collected editions were more flexible than the ones we know today, sometimes including multiple authors or writings by still

living authors. This chapter argues that the genre shifted in response to Lockean conceptions of intellectual property that were solidifying in the early Republic, evidenced by how women, children, and slaves, who had less than full property rights, sometimes shared authorship of collected editions, which reflected their diminished claims to property in general. The industrialization of the book contributed to the popularity of the collected edition: as bookbinding became more homogenous beginning in the 1830s, collections based on authorial identity became an uncontroversial way of organizing materials for sale, which contributed to the standardization of the form.

In chapter 2, I explore the phenomenon of literary or poetical remains, which provided an important and mostly overlooked context for the posthumous publication of Emily Dickinson's poems. Women poets, who often labored under the veil of modesty, keeping their productions private throughout their lives, were sometimes rewarded after death with a volume of literary remains. These volumes, typically introduced by a respected man of letters or community leader, were usually circulated privately as a way of collecting and distributing the dead woman's intellectual property to friends and family and honoring her talents posthumously with the acknowledgment that she eschewed in life. Dickinson's first posthumous edition was published in the pattern of these remains: gathered by friends and family, introduced by the most prominent figure who could be enlisted, paid for by her family, and received initially as an exemplar of the genre.

Likewise, Whitman's poetic career can be more fully understood by considering the context of the collected edition. Chapter 3 argues that the notion of self-collection was a guiding principle in how he published his work. Whitman entertained two models of self-collection, each of which corresponded with funerary arrangements: in the first, he would treat both his body of work and his body organically, collecting and distributing his work through *Leaves of Grass* and his decomposed body through actual leaves of grass. In the second, he would construct a conventional, public memorial for both his works, in the form of a collected edition, and his body, in a mausoleum, which would serve as recognizable shrines to generations of admirers.

Chapter 4 studies the influential midcentury Greg-Bowers method for editing texts, and examines how the professional, scholarly editing of American authors arose in the context of the Cold War academy. Government-funded editions from this period helped produce a vision of an American

national literature and the American academy that was anchored in the Cold War political climate of the United States, exerting soft power as the United States attempted to concretize and spread its values. These editions, the first to apply rigorous, academic methodologies and apparatuses to American literature, were both embraced as cultural accomplishments that uplifted American authors by purifying their texts and vilified as pedantic enemies of traditional literary scholarship.

In the final chapter, I examine how even through the tumultuous theory wars and into the digital age, collected editions have served to silently and steadily reinforce authorship as the primary lens through which texts should be read, sometimes unreflectively reinforcing assumptions about authorship and canonicity. While the author continues to work quite well as an organizing principle and critical lens for many readers of many texts, it seems to have been emphasized in digital editing at the expense of developing methods that might better align with other ways we wish to read. I argue that technological limitations have contributed to the singular status of author-centric collected editions in the digital age, and conclude by considering some potential alternative digital methodologies that might more robustly support the heterogeneous approaches of the modern academy—alongside, of course, this flexible, powerful, underexamined genre that has silently shaped American literature.

CHAPTER 1

America Collecting Itself: National Identity and Intellectual Property in the Early Republic

The first decades of the United States offer us a rare glimpse into how the collected edition influenced and was shaped by the concurrent development of a nation. An examination of the development of the collected edition during the early Republic shows how the genre worked as a nation-building tool, how it reflected American notions of private property, how it grew in response to changing material conditions of book production, and how it eventually served as a special memorializing genre for a growing beltristic middle class. Many of the materials examined in this chapter are by amateurs, were privately or only regionally distributed, and are decidedly noncanonical. These volumes offer a fascinating look into the ideological underpinnings of our notions of authorial genius, intellectual property, and artistic creation, all of which continue to shape how we think about our national literature.

1. THE COLLECTED EDITION AS PROOF OF PERSONAL, REGIONAL, AND NATIONAL GENIUS

Despite a proliferation of newspaper presses in major northern U.S. cities such as Philadelphia and New York, the American literary market of the early nineteenth century was still dominated by British imports. Several factors gave British publications an edge over American ones. A lack of effective international copyright laws meant that American printers could reprint British books more cheaply than paying American authors for original works.¹ Additionally, Britain dominated the international book trade, especially in dealings with its former colony, because of the sophisticated

trade infrastructure it developed as its empire expanded, as well as a laxer approach to postpublication censorship than many of its European counterparts, which had allowed the British book industry to flourish in the preceding century. Finally, American consumers still looked to Europe for cultural leadership and were slow to encourage American cultural developments. In a biting opinion, a writer for the *North American Review* (probably the editor, William Tudor) explained in 1815:

Our literary delinquency may principally be resolved into our dependence on English literature. We have been so perfectly satisfied with it, that we have not yet made an attempt towards a literature of our own. In the pre-eminent excellence of this foreign literature we have lost sight of or neglected our own susceptibility of intellectual labor. So easy is it for us to read English books, that we have hardly thought it worth while to write any for ourselves.²

American deference to British literature would persist well into the nineteenth century, bolstered by the implicit belief on both sides of the Atlantic that the United States lacked a history sufficiently developed to support a national literature.³

Collected editions had been subtly but effectively bolstering nationalistic ideology in Europe since the Renaissance, when an increase in secular intellectual and cultural goods, coupled with a developing capitalist economic system, allowed the author to be valued for his originality rather than for his agility in reworking texts and forms of the past.⁴ In a global cultural market, the collected edition allowed beauty and talent to be associated with the individual, and by proxy the nation of which the author was a subject. The piece in the *North American Review* decries the undeveloped literature of the United States as a matter of intellectual and patriotic negligence, framing the failure to write as a lazy failure to work. Such an approach to authorship spoke to the entrepreneurialism of the new country and drew upon developing views of the author as a producer of cultural capital, views that would prove conducive to the rise of the collected edition in the United States.

Many Americans in the early Republic, as well as some European observers, were at least implicitly aware of the power of the collected edition to assert America's cultural status. Though this chapter will not attempt to closely study the long and complex history of theological publications in America, it is worth noting that the first collected edition of an Ameri-

can writer was *The Works of John Woolman*, published in two parts by Joseph Crukshank in Philadelphia in 1774. The publication of this collection of autobiographical reflections and religious essays was implicitly political: Woolman was an itinerant Quaker minister and radical social activist devoted to the cause of abolition. Since Quakers were actively persecuted not only in Britain but also within the North American colonies outside of Pennsylvania, Woolman would have been read as an inherently politicized figure. Moreover, Crukshank, the printer, was also a Quaker with strong Quaker political sympathies. He was the leading publisher of Quaker texts, and during the years leading up to the Revolution he hid one of his journeymen for months in his printing house as he was pursued by the British for failure to pay taxes in support of the militia. The first collected edition of an American writer, then, reflected radical anti-British sympathies on the eve of the American Revolution.

The first collected edition of an American author published after the formation of the United States was *The Poems of Philip Freneau: Written Chiefly During the Late War*. The volume arose from an ongoing relationship between Freneau and the printer, Francis Bailey, both of whom were deeply invested in nation-building. Though the title of the volume implies that it was a comprehensive edition, Freneau, like many authors who would release collected editions over the next century, was at the beginning of his literary career: the book was published when Freneau was thirty-four and had four productive decades ahead of him. Freneau began his career in 1775 by writing anti-British opinion pieces. In 1778, after a maritime stint in the West Indies in which he focused on nature poetry, he returned to the United States to fight in the war. Soon thereafter he started contributing political pieces to the *United States Magazine*, a revolutionary newspaper published in Philadelphia by Francis Bailey. This collaboration would prove instrumental to the publication of Freneau's poetry collection. In 1780, Freneau was taken prisoner at sea by the British and endured a grueling six-week ordeal aboard the British prison ship *Aurora*. Upon his release, suffering from near starvation, he convalesced at his family home in New Jersey and wrote "The British Prison-ship," his most vehement anti-British writing to date, in which he detailed the inhumanity of the British forces toward their prisoners of war. In 1781, the poem was published by Bailey, who was concurrently beginning the *Freeman's Journal*, a weekly anti-Federalist newspaper. Freneau and Bailey had been corresponding about collaboration during Freneau's convalescence, and the very first issue of the *Journal*

included an advertisement for Freneau’s “Prison Ship,” to be sold at Bailey’s shop. While Bailey advanced Freneau’s poetic career through printing, selling, and advertising his works, Freneau powered Bailey’s newspaper with a constant supply of materials. In fact, Freneau’s contributions to Bailey’s paper were so numerous that one of Freneau’s early biographers has suggested that it would be more accurate to consider Freneau the editor of the paper and Bailey the publisher.⁵

In the spring of 1781 Congress had ratified the Articles of Confederation, and Francis Bailey was appointed official printer. By May, the *Freeman’s Journal* was advertising the Articles, as well as the Declaration of Independence, a collection of state laws, and the Treaty of Paris, alongside Freneau’s “Prison Ship” (fig. 1). Bailey—perhaps with Freneau’s input—was clearly marketing Freneau’s major work as the poem of the Revolution. Like the other political documents, it was attributed to no author.

Bailey and Freneau continued their collaboration on the *Freeman’s Journal*, as well as on other editorial and translation projects, until Freneau went back to sea in 1784. Two years later, upon the ten-year anniversary of the new nation, Bailey published *The Poems of Philip Freneau*, enshrining

Just Published, and to be sold by F. BAILEY,
 T H E
CONSTITUTIONS
 O F T H E S E V E R A L
Independent STATES of AMERICA ;
 T H E
DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE ;
 T H E
ARTICLES of CONFEDERATION
 between the said States ;
 The **TREATIES** between his Most Christian Majesty
 and the United States of America.
 (Published by order of Congress.)
 T H E
BRITISH PRISON SHIP:
 A POEM, in four cantoes.
 Viz. Canto { 1. The Capture,
 2. The Prison Ship,
 3. The Prison Ship continued,
 4. The Hospital Prison Ship.
 To which is added, by the same hand,
 A POEM on the death of Captain **NICHOLAS**
BIDDLE, who was blown up, in an engagement
 with the Yarmouth, near Barbadoes.

Fig. 1. Advertisement for the Constitution, Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, and “The British Prison Ship.” *Freeman’s Journal*, May 2, 1781, 3.

the patriot poet whose reputation he had largely created. Bailey wrote a preface for the volume in which he seemed to verify that the collection, as the name implied, was complete. "The pieces now collected and printed in the following sheets," he explained, "were left in my hands, by the author, above a year ago, with permission to publish them whenever I thought proper." After explaining that many of the poems were written during the Revolutionary War and were published in the *Freeman's Journal*, thereby accentuating Freneau's political background and his ties to Bailey's ongoing publication, he explains that they have been read with pleasure by "persons of the best taste." The volume of poems runs four hundred pages, which is stunning considering that it represents a single decade of a career that would span five. Two years later, Bailey released *The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau Containing His Essays and Additional Poems*, which he sold as an eight-volume set to supplement the 1786 volume of poetry. No American poet before Freneau, or for several years after, received such treatment: a long, multivolume collection predicated on his identity as a uniquely American writer. The edition was the last major collaboration between the men, and stood as a culmination of their work together, in which the revolutionary printer helped to canonize the revolutionary poet as an author who was inextricably bound up in the political and aesthetic identity of the newly formed United States.

Many American writers in the first decades of the United States followed a much different course than Freneau, whose literary reputation was made on American soil. Freneau benefited from the advocacy of an American printer eager to publish patriotic works, but often the new American printing industry and its reading public were squeamish about investing in American writers, even those with proven reputations. American publishers seemed to prefer receiving Europe's benediction before enshrining an author in a collected edition. Surprisingly, even a figure as widely revered in the early United States as Benjamin Franklin did not find an American publisher willing to take on his collected works until the text had made a circuitous route through the European book trade. In 1791 an incomplete version of Franklin's autobiography supplemented by a biographer was published in Paris in French as *Mémoires de la vie privée de Benjamin Franklin*. Two years later, the autobiography was translated back into English and published in London, then this translation of a translation was quickly reprinted in New York as *Works of the Late Doctor Benjamin Franklin: Consisting of His Life Written by Himself, Together with Essays, Humorous, Moral, &*

Literary, Chiefly in the Manner of the Spectator. Even the works of one of the nation's founders found validation only through success in the European market and, remarkably, was only available in the United States as a retranslation of the French text back into English. Thirteen years later, in 1806, a British collection of Franklin's works, this time much more exhaustive, was released. A British reviewer's reaction to the collection confirms how, in the early nineteenth century, collected editions had become evidence of both a nation's cultural accomplishments and its population's investment in those accomplishments. He began his review, "Nothing, we think, can show more clearly the singular want of literary enterprise or activity, in the States of America, than that no one has yet been found, in that flourishing republic, to collect and publish the works of their only philosopher."⁶ To this British reviewer, the failure of the United States to produce a collected edition of one of its most accomplished citizens was evidence of the inadequacy of the nation's cultural production.

Franklin's circuitous route through European publication was typical of many authors from the period who were eventually canonized in collected editions. In 1823, the French publisher Baudry began releasing the collected works of Washington Irving, who was only a few years into his literary career. The Baudry collection was reprinted in London, and in 1825 another French publisher, Galignani, released another nine-volume edition in Paris. The next year, the German publisher Sauerlander undertook a decadelong seventy-four-volume set, *Washington Irving's Sammtliche Werke*, which, after the initial nineteen volumes, proved to be too ambitious to sell as separate volumes and was eventually consolidated into fewer books. Finally, in 1840, after these various grandiose European efforts to collect Irving's works and capitalize on his name, an American publisher, Carey, Lea, and Blanchard of Philadelphia, republished Irving's works in two volumes under the title *The Works of Washington Irving*.

Similarly, James Fenimore Cooper was honored with a collected edition in the United States during his lifetime, but only after he had proven worthy of such treatment abroad. In 1824, Charles Gosselin in Paris began publishing *Oeuvres completes de M. James Fenimore Cooper, americain*. Four years later, Carey and Lea began the first of multiple collections of Cooper that they would put out over the next decade: the first a sixteen-volume *Cooper's Novels*, which they expanded into a twenty-six-volume set in 1832, and finally a twenty-eight-volume *Novels and Tales* released from 1835 to 1846. Carey and Lea were among the first American publishers to adopt the

modern practice of paying royalties to authors and assuming the risks of publishing themselves, rather than requiring authors to underwrite their own books. Carey and Lea purchased the rights to twenty-four of Cooper's works over eighteen years of his prodigious career before the publishers and the author had a falling out over what the publishers viewed as the deteriorating quality and marketability of Cooper's later works.⁷ For almost two decades, though, starting with the publication of *Last of the Mohicans* in 1826, Carey and Lea found Cooper to be a worthy investment. *Last of the Mohicans* was almost immediately reproduced in England, Germany, and France, including as part of the ongoing French collected edition put out by Gosselin. It seems likely that Cooper's demonstrated international appeal made him, along with the European success Washington Irving and European authors such as Charles Dickens, the suitable subject of a collected edition from Carey and Lea.

For the most part, only amateur or little-known authors published collected editions in the United States in the first three decades of the nineteenth century without first proving themselves on the European market. Two notable exceptions include Charles Brockden Brown and the dramatist William Dunlap, both of whom were published in collected editions in the United States before a collection was published in Europe, though Brown had already demonstrated his European appeal through the publication of single-volume works.

Dunlap, who began publishing his own collected works in 1806, had planned an ambitious ten-volume collection that ended because of poor sales after the third volume was published in 1816.⁸ He began the edition at a time when the American public was palpably unfriendly to native productions. In 1795, toward the beginning of Dunlap's career, Judith Sargeant Murray lamented the cruel reception of American dramas by audiences who seemed to evidence their own good tastes by disregarding the work of their fellow citizens:

Is it not . . . of importance to supply the American stage with American scenes? I am aware that very few productions in this line have appeared, and I think the reason is obvious. Writers, especially dramatic writers, are not properly encouraged. Applause, that powerful spring of action . . . is withheld, or sparingly administered. No incentives are furnished, and indignant genius . . . disdain[s] to spread the feast for malevolence and ingratitude.⁹

As he framed his collected edition, Dunlap carefully responded to the prejudices of his compatriots by positioning his work as both original and very much in keeping with orthodox European tastes. In the first volume of the aborted collection Dunlap positions his dramatic works as already tried by the court of public opinion through their successes on the stage. He indicates that much of his work is borrowed or imitated from other, presumably European sources:

Those who are well-read in this species of literature will easily discover whence I have borrowed, whom I have imitated, and what parts of my work may be considered original in the strictest sense. To combine rather than to invent is the lot of modern dramatists. My readers may perhaps be tempted to lament that I have soared so often into the “heaven of invention.”

Here Dunlap is playing both sides of American tastes: on the one hand, he healthily borrows from recognizable, tasteful sources; on the other, he self-deprecatingly notes, he liberally invents his own materials. This is a careful self-positioning at a transitional moment in American literature, in which Dunlap asserts that he is not only well versed in and healthily deferential to European tradition, but also capable of ingenuity. Moreover, in his introduction to the first play in the collection, he protests that at the time of the collection in 1806, the play may appear derivative, but in fact its original publication predated the many similar plays circulating in Europe. “The character of Tattle has, to the best of my knowledge, fair claim to the title of *an original*,” he stresses. “The numerous tribe of kindred characters, which my contemporaries of Great Britain have produced, had not, at the period of its birth, an existence.” Dunlap wants his readers to know that his work is not only in line with British tastes, it predates them. A seasoned veteran of the struggling American stage, he apparently found this maneuvering necessary to sell a collected edition of an American dramatist to a public so often hostile to American productions; even so, the edition failed.

The only other major American author to have been published in a collected edition before 1830 without a prior European collection was Charles Brockden Brown.¹⁰ In 1827, Samuel Griswold Goodrich published a seven-volume collection titled *The Novels of Charles Brockden Brown with a Memoir of the Author*, the first posthumous collection of Brown’s works. While Brown technically had not been collected in Europe prior to this edition,

he had nonetheless demonstrated his European legitimacy as the first American author to have been translated for a European market. So while many amateur authors and a couple of major authors were first published in American collected editions, European validation generally helped ensure the viability of larger, more widely distributed collections in the first decades of the century, when so many American readers looked to Europe for cultural validation.

Despite the Europhilia undergirding collections of major authors, a thriving market for amateur editions steadily developed over the first decades of the nineteenth century, in which the collected edition became a sign of the creative accomplishment of both the author—whose output was prolific and valuable enough to merit collection—and his locale, which was culturally fertile and economically prosperous enough to produce such a consummate author. Amateur poets—many of whom were young enough to anticipate writing for many more years—began publishing volumes of poetry at their own expense, and chose to present them as collected editions rather than as limited poetic projects. By collecting them under the name of the author, the volumes asserted that the author was sufficiently accomplished and important to merit such treatment—an implication that would be lost if the volumes were given work-specific titles. James Elliot, a young military veteran, published one of the first of these vanity collections in 1798. Elliot was a mere twenty-three years old at the time, and a four-volume *Poetical and Miscellaneous Works of James Elliot* seems a bit premature if not ostentatious. Elliot opens his volume with an excerpt from Pope’s “The Temple of Fame” that begins with the lines, “Nor fame I slight, nor her favours call, / She comes unlook’d for, if she comes at all.” This excerpt seems particularly disingenuous at the beginning of a self-published multivolume collected edition of a man barely into his twenties, but it underscores that the collection was meant to appear as self-evident proof of a poet’s accomplishment.

Similarly, in 1817, another young amateur poet published a collected edition in a plain attempt at boosting his social reputation. Benjamin Dolbeare was a twenty-eight-year-old surgeon when he published *The Poetical Works of Dr. Benjamin Dolbeare* in Richmond, Virginia. The book includes mostly poems about romance and courtship, and begins with a suspiciously flattering preface written by an anonymous “friend.” The preface depicts Dolbeare as a man too sensitive for his family’s vocation of farming, who left the

countryside and worked his way through medical school, then launches what seemed to be a personal ad for Dolbeare: he is described as having a “majestic appearance, his countenance . . . full of fire,” and “an agreeable smooth way about him, which is peculiarly pleasing to the ladies.”

While some amateur authors, such as Dolbeare and Elliott, used the collected edition for simple personal aggrandizement, others implemented the genre to make more complex statements about how their writing reflected the larger concerns of the young nation. In 1806, the Boston publishers Etheridge and Bliss released *The Poetical Works of David Hitchcock*, which they may have partially financed or entirely subsidized. The author, as the preface explains, had been an orphan who labored in poverty and was consistently mistreated by his guardians, yet came to provide an inspirational example of how, through hard work and frugality, a diligent genius can achieve intellectual success: “Such has been the origin and progress . . . of a man, who, struggling under all the disadvantages of a want of education, indigence, obscurity, and the contumely of the world, has produced, by the astonishing efforts of his genius, the following Poem.” Hitchcock’s biography frames him as a particularly American poet, one whose own hard work—he commits his poems to paper only after putting in a full day’s work as a shoemaker, the preface explains—allows him to come before the public eye. The publishers, who wrote the preface, clearly expected Hitchcock’s rags-to-riches story to appeal to American readers and help sell the volume.

In 1812, when South Carolinian John H. Woodward published a collected edition of his poems, *The Poetical Works of John H. Woodward*, he framed the volume in a narrative that would appeal to his readers’ patriotism. He explains in the preface that the poems were mostly written during years of political strife as the nation was forming, that they had achieved some popularity in periodicals, and that they are being reprinted in the current volume in an effort at “giving celebrity to his native and favorite country.” Then, after a long-winded poetic prologue, Woodward opens the collection with “To the Patrons of American Literature,” in which he directly appeals to readers who view it as their patriotic duty to support the literary development of the United States:

Ye generous patrons! Whose expanded souls
Spurn kingly power, or lordling’s base controul;

Whose glowing breasts feel the patriot's flame,
 Reward of merit, and Columbia's fame;
 Borne on the trustful patronage ye show,
 Oh! that the muse would teach my verse to flow.

Woodward's volume shows that even as critics viewed a lack of collected editions of American writing as evidence of the new republic's cultural failings, amateurs within the country sometimes attempted to use the genre as evidence of its cultural successes. An intriguing piece of evidence for this use of the genre lies in a collected edition that was in fact never published, *The Posthumous Poetical Works of George Beck*. George Beck had been a fairly well known British landscape artist who immigrated to the United States in 1795 at the age of forty-six, eventually settling in 1804 or 1805 in Lexington, Kentucky, where he ran a girls' boarding school with his wife, Mary. Both he and his wife were dismayed by what they viewed as a failure of Beck's new countrymen to appreciate his talents. An obituary in the *Kentucky Gazette* explained, "He languished here almost unnoticed . . . and Mr. Beck's last years were embittered by the consciousness of neglected and almost useless talents, confined to the drudgery of a day school."¹¹ After Beck's death in 1812, Mary was desperate for money and auctioned off many of his paintings. Finally, in 1818, she attempted to profit from his writings by publishing a collected edition. As was common in the early nineteenth century, the prospective publisher required evidence that the volume would sell before investing in its publication, so Mary circulated an advertisement soliciting subscribers for the volume (fig. 2).

The advertisement reveals Mary's strategy. Despite the fact that Beck had been born and was trained in England, that he spent a mere eight of his sixty-three years in Kentucky, and that they were miserable years at that, his wife believed that her best chance at securing subscribers to the volume would be if she positioned her husband as a distinctly Kentuckian artist. "The circumstances that render this publication most desirable, are," she wrote, "that it will exhibit to the world a proof of Kentuckian genius, and the existing and progressive state of the Arts in the Western country." Unfortunately for Mary, the citizens of Kentucky seemed no more interested in Beck's genius six years after his death than they did during his life, and the volume did not gather enough subscribers to prove viable. However, the failed attempt demonstrates that the collected edition was commonly accepted as a cultural currency representing a place's ability to produce talent.

PROPOSALS
 BY MARY BECK,
 FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION, THE
POSTHUMOUS POETICAL WORKS
 OF THE LATE GEORGE BECK, ESQ.

CONSISTING OF

A new translation of Virgil's *Georgics* and *Pastorals*; Anacreon and Horace's *Odes*; together with original pieces, descriptive of the scenery and beauty of Kentucky—To be comprised in one volume, printed from a new type, on fine wove paper, and embellished with a portrait of the author, painted by Magaven of London; which will be engraven in imitation of chalk by Mr. Lewis of Philadelphia, and executed in his best style.

The circumstances that render this publication most desirable, are, that it will exhibit to the world a proof of Kentucky genius, and the existing and progressive state of the Arts in the Western Country.

The price to subscribers shall be two dollars, paid at the time of delivery. It will be put to press as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers authorise the undertaking.

Lexington, July, 1818.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.	RESIDENCE.	COPIES.
---------------------	------------	---------

Fig. 2. Sales prospectus for *Posthumous Poetical Works of the Late George Beck, Esq.*, 1818.

2. "NOTHING IS MORE PROPERLY A MAN'S THAN THE FRUIT OF HIS STUDY": THE COLLECTED EDITION AS INTELLECTUAL ESTATE

It is difficult to know how many of these amateur volumes were produced, as they tended to be vanity publications produced in small numbers and distributed privately and locally. However, by 1843, when amateur New York poet Mary L. Gardiner paid to publish her *Collection from the Prose and Poetical Writings of Mary L. Gardiner*, the phenomenon was well known. Gardiner writes that she is publishing her poems in "a period when productions of a similar character have become not only common, but, probably in the opinion of the great mass of readers, quite too frequent, to be useful."¹² Indeed, by the 1840s, the appeal of the genre, in combination with advances

in bookmaking and an increasingly literate public, led to an explosion of collected editions by politicians, theologians, well-known authors, and any number of amateur writers who financed their own vanity editions.

What accounts for the appeal of vanity press collected editions? Nationalism and self-aggrandizement contributed to their popularity but do not sufficiently explain the rise of the collected edition as the chosen form. I contend that a rapidly changing notion of intellectual property from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century crucially contributed to Americans seizing upon the eponymous collected edition as a way of organizing literary texts.

Beginning in the Renaissance and flourishing in the eighteenth century, the concept of the author as an original, creative genius replaced older views of authorship, which held the author variously as a craftsman who mastered traditional themes and forms, or as a demigod who created imagined worlds inspired by and in imitation of God himself.¹³ Premodern conceptions of authorship minimized the credit due to a particular author, whose talents were generally seen as lying in derivation and imitation.¹⁴ During the eighteenth century, this view of authorship gave way to a view that found the author himself to be the source of creative inspiration.

The notion of the creative genius gained particular traction in the United States, where intellectual property developed differently than in much of Europe. In the nation's first century, several factors coincided to establish an individual's creative output as his individual property in the laws and public opinion of the United States. The American economy shifted its emphasis from agriculture to industry, which relied on innovation and invention and required that they be legally protected. Ideologically, the Lockean foundation of the American government—including, among other ideals, the belief in an individual's right to life, liberty, and the fruits of his own labor—positioned the nation to guard intellectual property early in its history. The first U.S. Congress in 1790 passed the U.S. Copyright Act, finally taking steps to legislate what an early committee from 1783 had concluded: "nothing is more properly a man's own than the fruit of his study, and . . . the protection and security of literary property would greatly tend to encourage genius."

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the United States viewed literature as the property of its author, and safeguarded it as a special kind of property that must be protected to encourage genius and national development. It is worth mentioning that the first U.S. copyright legislation

did not protect the intellectual property of foreign authors, which had the unfortunate consequence of undermining American cultural production. Because American authors owned rights to their work and British authors did not, American printers and publishers saw the piracy of British materials as a sounder investment than the development of American texts—British texts, already proven on the British market, could be reprinted at will, while untested American works required financial negotiations with a copyright holder. This state of affairs irritated American and British authors alike: Americans because they found pirated texts to undercut the value of their own work, and British authors because a booming overseas industry was built on their unremunerated work. In the British market these problems also rankled, as American texts were pirated with little to no financial gain for their authors—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*¹⁵ and *Leaves of Grass*, for example, both enjoyed particularly healthy sales in the UK via pirated editions. The lack of international intellectual copyright stood until the passage of the Chace Act of 1891, when the United States had become a net producer rather than a net consumer of intellectual goods. Prior to this point, it would not have seemed in the interest of the American economy to push for international copyright, since it would cost more in the consumption of imported intellectual goods than would be reclaimed in the export.

These broad shifts in the Western concept of authorship, combined with the distinctly American emphasis on Lockean rights to the fruits of one's labor, made the eponymous collected edition a way for amateur and later professional authors to publicly proclaim their texts as their property. The possibility of average citizens creating literature and thinking of it as their property was relatively new, enabled not only by recent protective legislation and shifts in authorship but also by rising literacy rates and access to affordable printing. Consequently, laying claim to this property in public held an appeal that we as modern readers, fully acclimated to a history of aggressive copyright laws, may fail to appreciate. Titles of amateur editions such as *The Poetical Works of John H. Woodward* (1812), *The Poetical Works of Jacob Dixon* (1833), *The Poetical Works of Thomas J. Lees* (1839), and *The Poetical Works of John Snowden Hopkins* (1842) were ways of publicly expressing property claims, sometimes only midway through the author's life.

We can find evidence of this in the handful of odd volumes that seem to break the conventions of the collected edition. *The Posthumous Works of Ann Eliza Bleecker in Prose and Verse* was the first posthumous edition of an American author published in the United States, in 1793. In 1777 Bleecker

was forced to flee her New York estate on foot with her two daughters, mother, and sister as British troops approached. On her journey to Albany, her mother, sister, and infant daughter died of dysentery. Bleecker lived for six more years, during which time she wrote elegies detailing her insurmountable grief, as well as the captivity narrative *The History of Maria Kittle*, for which she would be most known. Bleecker never recovered from her devastating losses and died six years after her ordeal, when her surviving daughter Margaretta was only twelve. Margaretta, later Margaretta Faugeres, grew up in the dismal cloud of her grandmother's, aunt's, and little sister's death, as well as her mother's inconsolable melancholy, and edited the posthumous collection of her mother's work ten years after her death.

When Faugeres—by then an abolitionist and activist—edited her mother's writings, she included numerous selections of her own work. We can only speculate about her motives: perhaps she hoped to garner interest in her own work at a time when she needed money (her *ne'er-do-well* husband having recently squandered her fortune); or perhaps she wanted to place her own writings alongside those of a mother she dearly missed. Whatever her motives, by including writings by two authors, the volume offers a rare exception to the solitary genius model of authorship upon which the collected edition is typically predicated. However, if the collected edition is an expression, however unwitting, of property ownership, it is not surprising that writings by women, whose rights to property in the early Republic were unstable at best and sometimes virtually nonexistent, could cohabit a single volume.

In fact, the few cases of collected editions that include writings by multiple authors were all written by authors whose property rights were generally unprotected. There are at least two such volumes in addition to Bleecker's and Faugeres's: *Memoir and Poems of Phyllis Wheatley, a Native African and a Slave* (1833), and *The Literary Remains of Joseph Appleton Barnett and Emily Maria Barnett* (1837). Wheatley's collection included poems by George Moses Horton, a slave from North Carolina. The Barnetts were minor siblings who died of tuberculosis. The early American collected edition, a subtle articulation of an individual's property ownership, sometimes assumed ambiguous boundaries for authors with weak claims to property rights in general: women, slaves, and children.¹⁶

Further evidence that the collected edition was viewed as an expression of property ownership lies in the popularity of publishing "literary remains" or "poetical remains" in the nineteenth century. The term "remains"

as applied to creative accomplishment is tantalizing in its gesture toward the corporeal and legal: it seems linguistically to tie literary works both to the corpse of the author and to his or her estate. The remains, like the body, are what the author has left behind, and also the property that must be gathered and settled after his or her death. While not new to the nineteenth century—"remains" appeared in a collection title as early as 1631, with *The Remains of the Reverend and Famous Postiller, John Boys, Doctor in Divinitie, and late Dean of Canterburie*—the genre of the collected edition was particularly appealing to an American public who, due to a confluence of ideological factors, wanted to see the writing of their loved ones enshrined in an enduring volume that would assert the author's creative genius, reflect well upon his or her community, and settle his or her intellectual estate.

Some books, such as *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd, M.D.*, seem to embody all of these aspirations at once. Published in 1832, about fifty years after Ladd's untimely death, the book was edited by his sister, Elizabeth Haskins, and is dedicated to his family and friends, as if in a late effort to distribute his intellectual estate to those who would find it most valuable:

To you . . . who knew and loved him, who witnessed the dawning of his bold and bright intellect, and wept over his untimely grave—to you, sir, with a sense of obligation for the permission, the literary remains of Joseph Brown Ladd are respectfully inscribed. (iv)

The intended audience was not limited to Ladd's close acquaintances, however. His literary remains, written in the first decade after the nation's founding, were meant to reflect the country's early incubation of genius:

It is hoped [Ladd's writings] will prove not an unwelcome offering to those who love to dwell upon the early history of our republic; since genius and labors of genius form an important ingredient in that glory of a nation, which the patriot is wont to contemplate with honest pride. (iii–iv).

Gaining momentum from this appeal to national pride, Haskins makes the rather implausible claim that the book evidences her brother's "readiness to claim for our country every ray of glory shed upon her annals by the genius and achievements of her sons" (iv).

By the mid-nineteenth century, "poetic remains" and "literary remains" had become such a common way to collect and distribute the writings

of the dead that one unscrupulous editor went so far as to publish a fake collected edition in order to cash in on a national scandal. In 1845, Albert Terrell, a married Bostonian man from an established family, gruesomely murdered a prostitute, Maria Bickford, with whom he had been having an affair. His trial became a major news event, and despite widespread fixation on the trial, Terrell was acquitted on the unlikely defense that he had somehow nearly decapitated his lover while he was sleepwalking. To profit off of the media frenzy surrounding Terrell's trial, Silas Estabrook published *The Early Love Letters and Later Literary Remains of Maria Bickford*, ostensibly the collected writings of a fallen woman, but actually the product of her editor's pen.

3. BOOK BINDING AND "FAÇADES OF RESPECTABILITY"

By midcentury the collected edition was flourishing as a means of claiming intellectual property, glorifying personal genius, and reflecting national talent. Collected editions sprang up across the nation and increasingly functioned as an assertion, if not always a reliable indicator, of literary reputation. Besides the spate of amateur editions, prominent American authors were increasingly enshrined in collected editions. Among the notable volumes published at midcentury were Fitz-Greene Halleck in 1847, James Russell Lowell in 1848, John Greenleaf Whittier in 1848, Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1850, Richard Henry Dana in 1850, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in 1852. Technological developments in bookmaking made this midcentury flourishing of the genre possible.

Well into the nineteenth century, the division of labor within the American publishing industry was not as distinct as it would become later in the century. Printers and publishers were usually one and the same, and the terms were used interchangeably. Publishing itself, that aspect of book production responsible for soliciting, selecting, and marketing texts, would not emerge as a clearly delineated activity until the national book market—buttressed by a more mature transportation system—grew robust enough to support it. Consequently, early nineteenth-century printers usually published books for which they could be assured a return on their investment, either by requiring authors to underwrite their own books or to solicit subscriptions, or by publishing authors of proven reputation. Even then, the role of the printer/publisher was limited, and what he usually delivered to

booksellers—typically sellers in the same region, if indeed the books were distributed beyond his own shop—were the unbound, stitched quires. From the first years of the handpress era all the way into the nineteenth century, the reader, not the printer, was usually responsible for having the book bound. Consequently, copies of the same book often had different covers, and in fact, readers with developed libraries would often bind books of roughly the same size together in order to save on this significant expense. As Jeffrey Todd Knight has pointed out, modern readers tend to lose sight of this important aspect of preindustrialized bookmaking, and fail to consider that in the past readers “were sometimes more likely to reshape such texts according to their own desires than to venerate them as reservoirs of literary content, frozen in time” (305).

However, the malleability of the individual volume ended around 1830, when the development of case binding allowed for the large-scale commercial binding of books, and ushered in an era of homogenous book covers. For the first time since Gutenberg, two copies from a large print run were likely to look alike on the outside, unless the publisher took advantage of mass binding to offer grades of binding at different prices. The industrialization of bookbinding, like the industrialization of gunmaking and dressmaking, offered the advantages of consistency, interchangeability of parts, and affordability, but effectively put an end to both the craft of individualized bookbinding, and the resulting diversity among the final products. With industrialized bookbinding, the decision about what comprised the text of a single volume shifted from consumer to producer: the publisher, not the purchaser, determined which text or texts would sit within a cover, and that determination fixed the individual physical book purchased by a reader as a token of a type, rather than as evidence of idiosyncratic preferences about bindings and collection.

The shift from consumer binding to publisher binding helped establish certain textual genres as natural ways of organizing texts. If the publisher, not the purchaser, was to determine how to fill a cover, he must choose a basis for collection or selection that would seem sensible to potential customers. Because industrialization made binding cheaper, he could afford to bind single texts alone, whereas in the hand-binding period, texts usually cohabited a cover. But for very short works, which would still seem too spare to justify publication under a single cover, or for the production of handsome, multivolume editions that could conspicuously occupy shelf space in the home library, the individual author, fully ensconced in both Romantic and

capitalist notions of individual genius and burnished by shows of national pride, provided an uncontroversial basis for textual organization.

The industrialization of bookbinding was a key factor in the rise of the collected edition as a popular way of preserving creative production. It afforded the publisher control over the most visible portion of the book, allowing him both to market collected editions in targeted ways and to insert his brand on the face of the book. Two midcentury publishers, Theophilus Peterson and Justus Starr Redfield, used collected editions to advance their reputations as publishers while simultaneously contributing to the boom of collected editions by populating American bookshelves with collections by popular authors.

Theophilus (T. B.) Peterson, a Philadelphia publisher experimenting with new possibilities for selling books, mostly published cheap dime novels, but as John Tebbel has noted, occasionally put out “elegantly printed and illustrated books of real literary quality” to “give himself a façade of respectability.”¹⁷ Peterson’s first collected editions were of oft-pirated European authors, such as Dickens and Scott, who cost nothing in royalties and were proven sellers. In the early 1850s, though, he began publishing “uniform editions” of American authors, beginning with the works of Caroline Hentz, the antiabolitionist novelist.¹⁸ Industrialized bookbinding had led to an increase in the production of such uniform editions, multivolume editions in which each volume was printed and bound in a standardized way. Uniform editions provided a way of easily and economically populating a parlor with handsomely bound evidence of one’s cultivation without requiring much selectivity on the part of the consumer. They were precursors to the twentieth-century collections of “classics” such as the Harvard Classics—sold as a “five foot shelf of books”—or Everyman’s Library. Almost a century later, as such collections inundated the market, one critic would decry them as books used as a “color note,” “books published only to be bought,” and “books kept as feeble proof that someone has been educated.”¹⁹ Often, book historians think of multivolume editions as products of twentieth-century conspicuous consumption,²⁰ but in fact the large-scale marketing of books as parlor decorations is at least as old as the uniform editions of the mid-nineteenth century, when Peterson and other publishers dressed up lowbrow American authors such as Hentz, E. D. E. N. Southworth, Ann Stephens, James Maitland, and George Lippard in handsome standardized binding to lend them an air of respectability and make them suitable for public display. Peterson invested in American authors who had

proven readerships, either through the periodical press or through dime novels, and used the venerability of the collected edition to transform disposable, popular literature into enduring work with the appearance of fine taste. In fact, some authors, such as Ann Stephens, were funneled directly to Peterson for publication in respectable, lucrative uniform editions from Peterson's brother's publication, *Peterson's Magazine*.²¹ When an author had proven her success by drawing in readers to the magazine, she was deemed a sound investment for a collection.

Beginning as early as 1854 and continuing into the 1870s, he routinely placed in his books a catalog—on the order of a dozen pages long—for hundreds of his other works. Tellingly, he opened the catalog with a paragraph that only varied slightly over the two decades in which he ran it, explaining:

The Books in this Catalogue will be found to be the very Best and Latest Publications by the most popular and celebrated writers in the world. They are also the most readable and entertaining Books, and are printed for the "Million," at very cheap rates. . . . They are suitable for the Parlor, Library, Sitting Room, Railroad, Steamboat, or Chamber Reading.

Peterson's advertisement elucidates what he had hoped his uniform editions could accomplish: they were meant to appear classic yet appeal to current tastes; they were printed cheaply for the masses, but appeared respectable enough to be displayed in the home or read in public. Directly below this introduction, works of popular American authors, such as Southworth and Hentz, comingle with works of more venerated European authors such as Dickens and Dumas. In other advertisements, Peterson clarified that the volumes of his uniform editions could be bought as a set or individually, allowing them to be used as parlor showpieces or simply bought for reading by people of humbler means. An advertisement he ran at the beginning of Southworth's *Haunted Homestead* (1860), for example, explains:

T.B. Peterson and Brothers also publish a complete and uniform edition of all of Mrs. Southworth's works, any one, or all of which, will be sent to any place in the United States. . . . The whole of Mrs. Southworth's works are also published in a very fine style, bound in the very best and most elegant and substantial manner, in full Crimson, with beautifully gilt edges, full gilt sides, gilt backs, etc., etc., making them the best and most acceptable books for presentation, at the price, published in the country.

Peterson here attempts to sell popular fiction to the masses by dressing the volumes up for conspicuous consumption. By the 1850s, Peterson was known as a publisher of uniform editions, and trade circulars described him as releasing scores of volumes for the uniform works of British and American authors. Peterson knew that comingling the names of popular American fiction writers and European greats would lend additional respectability to his American offerings. He also saw that offering them as a set—but not only as a set—would sell the most number of volumes, from the casual Southworth reader to the homemaker looking for a sophisticated “color note” for her parlor. By the mid-nineteenth century, the collected edition, a nebulous, unfixed genre, had emerged as an effective, subtle means for American publishers to sell volumes while asserting that American authors were laudable producers of intellectual goods for a developing national market.

The power of the collected edition to make or break literary reputation was nowhere more apparent than in an edition published by one of Peterson’s contemporaries, fellow Philadelphian publisher Justus Redfield. Redfield, who had begun as a printer and bookseller in New York City in the 1830s, responded to the developing book industry by refashioning himself in Philadelphia as not simply a printer but also a publisher. He ran two separate locations, one for his printing operation and one for his publishing offices, and would even credit both separately in his books, clearly reflecting a cognizance of the new complexities in the American book trade. In 1845–1846 he began to publish literary collections. In addition to a collection of a British poet’s works—those of Shelley, with a lengthy preface by Philadelphia author George G. Foster that framed the collection for American readers—Redfield also released two collections of American authors: *The Complete Works of N. P. Willis* and *The Poetical Writings of Elizabeth Oakes Smith*. Shelley, a venerable British author who had been dead for twenty-three years, seemed a natural choice for a collection, but both Smith and Willis were living American authors. What made Willis and Smith appealing to Redfield was their popularity in the periodicals press. Willis had been writing for or editing periodicals for two decades by the time of Redfield’s edition, while Smith was still early in her career, having published mostly anonymous pieces and one very popular, credited poem, “The Sinless Child.”

Redfield’s entrepreneurialism in the field of publishing was evident in his handling of collected editions. Leveraging this newly resonant genre, he struck up a mutually beneficial arrangement with his authors. The authors, who had made their reputations in the disposable, multivocal, heterogeneous pages of newspapers and magazines, could find relative perma-

nence in book publication, and through the collected edition in particular they could assert unambiguous single ownership of their work and achieve prestige as the geniuses around whom the volumes were organized. As the publisher, on the other hand, Redfield could count on their popularity in the periodicals press to ensure sales. Other genres were available to such authors—indeed, Willis’s sister, Fanny Fern, would publish the first of several collections of her own periodical writing, *Fern Leaves from Fanny’s Portfolio*, a few years later in 1853, with no attempt to bill the volume as a collected edition. But for a printer and publisher like Redfield, the collected edition offered him an opportunity to allow a market of periodical readers to adorn their parlors with evidence of both the timeliness of their reading habits and their investment in American minds.

Over the next decade Redfield published several collected editions of American authors, including *The Poetical Writings of the Late Willis Gaylord Clark* in 1847. Clark’s works had been published three years earlier as *The Literary Remains of the Late Willis Gaylord Clark*, but the substitution of “Poetical Writings” for “Literary Remains” made Redfield’s volume sound more imposing.

However, Redfield’s most significant collected edition, and certainly the most notorious exemplar of the genre, was the 1850 *Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe*, which would become the central feature of one of American literary history’s most infamous episodes. The editor, the prominent man of letters and anthologist Rufus Griswold, was not only a friend of Willis but also edited the Smith volume, suggesting that he may have been influential in Redfield’s early efforts to publish American collected editions. More importantly, Griswold had been Poe’s nemesis, yet asserted himself as Poe’s literary executor in order to libel Poe’s posthumous reputation—crucially, he chose to ruin his enemy via a collected edition. In his “Memoir of the Author,”²² Griswold offers a portrait of Poe that varies between uncharitable and fictitious. He discusses Poe’s “feebleness of will,”²³ his “habits of frequent intoxication,”²⁴ and describes an incident in which Poe called off an engagement with a woman in a cowardly way by intentionally making her leave him after “he committed at her house such outrages as made necessary a summons of the police.”²⁵ He surmises, finally, that “Poe exhibits scarcely any virtue in either his life or his writings. Probably there is not another instance in the literature of our language in which so much has been accomplished without a recognition or a manifestation of conscience.”²⁶ A reviewer from the mid-twentieth century would say of Griswold, “No name in the history of American publishing has been so hated: he became the Benedict Arnold of bookmen.”²⁷

Griswold produced the Redfield edition after securing the rights to Poe's works from Poe's mother-in-law, Maria Clemm, although Clemm was not the legitimate heir to Poe's estate. Clemm had hoped the Redfield edition would save her from destitution, and trusted Griswold to manage the publication in a way that would benefit her. In a note to the reader that opens the volume, Clemm explains that the edition was sold for her benefit. She writes, "In this edition of my son's works, which is published for my benefit, it is a great pleasure for me to thank Mr. Griswold and Mr. Willis for their prompt fulfillment of the wishes of the dying poet, in labors, which demanded much time and attention, and which they have performed without any other recompense than the happiness which rewards acts of duty and kindness." Actually, though, after exploiting the gravitas of a multivolume collected edition of his nemesis's works to house his scandalous, extended maligning of Poe's reputation, Griswold magnanimously assisted Clemm by sending her nothing but a few copies of the edition. If poaching the rights to Poe's works, leaving his mother-in-law penniless, and using the ornate trappings of a collected edition to frame his libel were not enough, he seems to have orchestrated Clemm's introductory note in a way that would make Machiavelli blush: Clemm, ignorant of Griswold's intentions and likely willing to say anything to make the book a success, writes that Poe had made a deathbed request that Griswold should "superintend the publication of his works" and that he had "many times decidedly and unequivocally certifi[ed] his respect for the literary judgment and integrity of Mr. Griswold." *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe* thereby became an elaborate vehicle of revenge: the author's collected works were gathered up, handsomely printed, framed with a lengthy introduction that asserted Poe as a second-rate writer and debauched human being, certified by a testimonial from his family, then sold to profit the man he hated most. Griswold's revenge hinged on the cultural stature of the collected edition in the mid-nineteenth century. Only the collected edition could so effectively smear Poe's reputation for a century: by inscribing his libel in volumes viewed as a monument to the author, Griswold had essentially engraved his view of Poe on his tombstone. The Poe debacle illustrates how by the 1850s the American collected edition had rapidly grown into a seemingly natural way to present texts and assert the reputation of their authors. As the next chapter will show, it also had profound effects on how some of the most canonical literature of late nineteenth century was disseminated.

CHAPTER 2

Dickinson's Remains

This chapter and the next will focus on how the nineteenth-century collected edition influenced the publication histories of two giants of the American poetry canon, Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman. The story of Dickinson's first posthumous volume of poems is often recounted as evidence of how her poetry was long mishandled: the first editors took great liberties with her poems, "correcting" and titling them in ways that seem benighted to readers today. One commercial publisher refused the volume, and her family eventually paid for its publication—further evidence that readers didn't appreciate the genius under their noses. That the poems were edited at all by her brother's longtime mistress, Mabel Loomis Todd, is also sometimes recounted as regrettable, because it possibly came at the expense of a different and more sympathetic handling by her confidante and sister-in-law, Susan Dickinson.¹ Such criticisms are understandable, but what has been lost in discussions of her first edition is how it was edited, published, and received as part of the long, feminized genre of literary or poetical remains, posthumous collections of work by authors who were typically but not always single, amateur women or girls. This chapter traces the development of the genre in the nineteenth-century United States in order to show how it provides a context for better understanding Dickinson's *Poems*.

In the May 24, 1899, issue of the *Philadelphia North American*, an editor complained:

In burning all her literary accumulations—her unpublished lectures, essays, poems, orations, and the like—Mrs. Mary A. Livermore has set an example of which other persons of public prominence would do well to follow. Near-

ly every man and woman who has written much has thrown aside, either as unworthy or as subject to future revision, far more articles than he or she has published. Immediately after the death of a successful writer publishers are eager to take advantage of the revival of interest in his name, and look for literary remains, regardless of the fact that they may tarnish the fame of the dead. Many a reputation has suffered from ill-advised posthumous publications.²

By the close of the century, the phenomenon of literary remains had become not only commonplace but also notorious. Yet remarkably little has been written about literary remains, even though the subject provides an illuminating lens through which to view the intersection of ideas about death, gender, and creative genius in nineteenth-century America. Samantha Matthews's *Poetical Remains: Poets' Graves, Bodies, and Books in the Nineteenth Century* is the only in-depth study, and it focuses exclusively on British authors, though many of Matthews's observations about the rise of the genre in England apply to the United States. Matthews sees literary remains and bodily remains as intertwined, and convincingly argues that Victorian readers viewed the book as "the embodied medium of the dead poet's spirit, while the body was attributed with a lingering spiritual aura."³ Literary remains became a nexus where the author's biography and spirit were brought together after his or her death, satisfying the pronounced Victorian interest in the moment of death, the fate of the body, the legacy of the spirit, and the rituals with which the living showed due deference to the dead.

In the United States, literary remains, also often called poetical remains, were similarly fueled by changing nineteenth-century death customs. Like the tomb, the death mask, and death portraiture, literary remains functioned as an attempt to capture something of the fleeting essence of the departed, and to preserve it as long as possible in an earthly afterlife that shadowed the one presumably enjoyed by the spirit. Of these various means of preservation, literary remains were, as a genre, perhaps most like death portraiture, the memento mori that captured an image of the corpse shortly after death, often in a lifelike pose. Both were usually intended for duplication and distribution to friends and family, and both were made possible by the development of new printing technologies that put print-based memorials within financial reach of middle-income families.

1. "LIFTING THE SHROUD FROM THE STILL FACE OF THE DEAD"

Literary remains typically comprised two parts, a memoir of the life of the author by the most prominent person the family could call upon to write such a thing, followed by what usually purported to be a comprehensive collection of the author's writings, or at least of her poetic works. While the collections were not always complete, even by the day's standards, they seemed to be so because of their inclusion of heterogeneous forms, letters, and textual debris that was usually accompanied by a caveat that incomplete or unpolished verse was included for the sake of giving the reader a complete picture of the author's intellectual labor, even if the rougher pieces were not themselves of high literary merit.

Literary remains also served as a way to collect and distribute literary property to a deceased author's friends and family, usually with an editor serving as an executor. The form appealed to both professionals and amateurs, but seemed to begin as an amateur form that broadened its scope to professional authors as the century progressed. The earliest instances of literary remains were from amateur authors, and we must assume that far more of these were produced than survive today, given that they were so often privately published and distributed and were not as likely to be owned by libraries, universities, or even private collections in the numbers that professionally published, commercially available books were. Nonetheless, enough of these volumes survive to indicate that the phenomenon of collecting the works of a deceased author and distributing them to friends, family, or the public at large, held wide appeal to the burgeoning numbers of middle-class readers at a time when simultaneous developments in printing technology made the production of such volumes an affordable way of memorializing and reifying the intellectual output of even amateur authors.

Literary remains accommodated a range of materials and authors. The earliest extant example of literary remains in the United States is an unpublished scrapbook from 1809 of journal entries, letters, and clippings kept by Helen Masterton, an obscure private citizen who chronicled her travels. After her death, the owner of the scrapbook, possibly her sister, labeled it "Literary [*sic*] Remains," indicating an early use of the term to describe written detritus that family of a dead person were interested in gathering and preserving. As the genre became more popular over the century, it came not

only to accommodate sensational public figures, such as the famous prostitute and murder victim Maria Bickford (discussed in chapter 1), but also respected public figures such as Sam Houston, whose *Life and Literary Remains* were published in 1884, and prominent figures such as Henry James Sr., whose *Literary Remains* were edited by his son, William James, the same year. However, the typical author enshrined by a volume of literary remains was obscure, and the volume was usually framed as an homage to his or her genius and modesty. The authors were disproportionately young and female, and their lifelong physical and psychological abnormalities, as well as their admirable virtues, are often described at length in the accompanying memoir. As a way of collecting and revering the intellectual product of people who had not lived long enough, healthily enough, or with enough legal privilege to accumulate other kinds of property or accomplishments, literary remains unsurprisingly tended to house the work of unmarried women and young men.

One early volume, *The Literary Remains of John G. C. Brainard*, was published in 1832 in Hartford, Connecticut, and evidences characteristics that would be found in many other volumes of literary remains. Brainard had dabbled in a legal profession before undertaking newspaper work and making an effort at a literary career, but died at age thirty-three of tuberculosis before his efforts could fully pay off. Upon his death, John Greenleaf Whittier, who was living in Hartford and editing the *New England Weekly Review* at the time, undertook the volume of literary remains, possibly on request of the family. Whittier's memoir of the author is at once reverential toward Brainard's genius and cognizant of his mediocrity as a writer, a contradictory position that makes sense if Whittier was called upon to eulogize a colleague whose work he did not wholly want to endorse: while engaging nineteenth-century veneration of the artistic spirit, he also notes the faults in the writing. Whittier begins by writing, "There is a feeling of reverence associated with our reminiscences of departed worth and genius." He continues by recognizing the uncanny connection between the literary remains and the earthly remains:

I feel in no ordinary degree, the peculiar delicacy of the task I have undertaken. It is like lifting the shroud from the still face of the dead, that the living may admire its yet lingering loveliness. I almost feel as if I were writing in the presence of the disembodied spirit of the departed;—as if the eye of his

modest and unpretending genius were following the pen, which traces his brief history.⁴

Like a death mask or memento mori, which memorialize the character of the dead, the literary remains seem to capture the fleeting genius in a moment between death and oblivion. Whittier describes Brainard as a man who was sickly and sensitive about his short stature, demurred from public attention, “would not talk of himself,”⁵ and made “the least outward claim to attention.” “A gentle retirement into the calm beauty of his own mind rendered him in a measure indifferent to the opinion of the world,” Whittier explains, in a sentence that could be repurposed for any number of authors of literary remains.⁶

Whittier also noted that many of Brainard’s poems were flawed: “hasty, careless, and even in some instances below mediocrity—serving only as a foil to the exceeding beauty of the others.”⁷ Such an unflattering comment seems out of place in a memorial volume, but was necessitated by two ingredients of literary remains: an attempt at collecting all the works—good, bad, polished, and roughly drafted—of the dead author, and an editor with a reputation that would be harmed by complimenting poor writing. Consequently, many volumes of literary remains include an acknowledgment of the weaknesses of some of the writing, cushioned in a memoir that praises the exceptional character and prodigious talent of the author. Whittier, who was writing at a time when American letters were still germinal and particularly vulnerable to assault, explained his admiration for uneven writing in patriotic terms: “As an American I am proud of the many gifted spirits who have laid their offerings upon the altar of our national literature,”⁸ he explains, adding further on, “There is one important merit in his poetry which would redeem a thousand faults. It is wholly American.”⁹ For Whittier, the volume required a delicate balance of formal memorializing, criticism that would reflect his own literary acumen and patriotism.

Another literary remains published in 1832, *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd, M.D.*, shares the rhetorical context and many of the aims of the Brainard volume. Ladd had died forty-six years earlier in a duel in South Carolina at age twenty-two, but his sister, Elizabeth Ladd Haskins, apparently saw in the emerging trend of literary remains a possibility to memorialize her long-dead brother. In her dedication she writes, “The following publication is an attempt to rescue from oblivion the scattered relics of

a genius which, had it reached maturity, would have shed lustre on the age that produced it.”¹⁰ After acknowledging that her young brother’s poetry does not pass muster with the professional poetry of the 1830s, she explains, much as Whittier does in acknowledging Brainard’s shortcomings, that his interrupted genius brings glory to the young nation, even if the nation’s literary tastes tend in other directions: “it is hoped [the poems] will prove not an unwelcome offering to those who love to dwell upon the early history of our republic; since genius and the labors of genius form an important ingredient in that glory of a nation, which the patriot is wont to contemplate with honest pride.”¹¹ Literary remains allowed Haskins to gather the intellectual estate of her brother, who died too young to amass a conventional one, and to apologize for their shortcomings by wrapping them up in nationalism.

2. “THE MOST POETICAL TOPIC IN THE WORLD”: HONORING AND INSPECTING THE MODEST WOMAN’S REMAINS

Women authors who were memorialized by literary remains were not as likely as their male counterparts to be framed in terms of national literary identity, but were usually described as having acute senses of modesty, a lack of interest in society and popular literature, a precocity in both literary and spiritual matters that seemed, in some cases, to have supernatural origins, and health or temperament abnormalities that were both piqued by and assuaged by reading and writing. Shira Wolosky has argued that modesty has been profoundly influential on American women’s writing, helping both to circumscribe a women’s sphere and to provide a means for speaking and writing beyond it.¹² Literary remains pushed the culture of modesty to its extreme, typically honoring the work of a woman or girl that was entirely or mostly kept from public view during her life. Because the remains were published after death, the author’s feminine modesty was beyond reproach, and because the work was ensconced in a single-author volume and accompanied by a biography, it functioned more as a tribute to her modest life than anything she might have published on her own. These posthumous volumes also affirmed and were informed by religious ideology, suggesting that strict adherence to the feminine virtue of meekness in life would bring reward and recognition after death.

Some women who were memorialized in literary remains had published

poems—and they almost invariably wrote poems, rather than fiction or nonfiction—in periodicals, but most were unpublished or published only incidentally before their deaths. When published in literary remains that tied them to authorial biography, the writings offered a peek into a chaste woman's life: the women were typically described as nunlike, and while they avoided the intrusion of the public in life, posthumous publication offered a glimpse at the purportedly asexual woman's life and body, which is almost always discussed as infirm, weak, and pathologically feminine. Additionally, literary remains provided a teleological, theodicean narrative for female deprivation: their deaths were often framed as the lamentable outcome of a young intellectual flourishing, and were sometimes discussed as sparing them a descent into an idiocy or madness that may follow premature prodigiousness. Literary remains for women, then, become a posthumous reward for their modesty, a bittersweet conclusion that at once offered a denouement to their tragic lives while demonstrating to the public that such rare, true genius in women may come at the expense of a normal, fulfilling life.

One of the earliest published literary remains of an American woman was *The Literary Remains of Martha Day*, published in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1834. Day died the previous year at age twenty, and had published a few poems in periodicals, though the memoir of her life takes great pains to portray her as eschewing publicity and having “a great aversion to authorship.” Like every other American woman to receive treatment in a literary remains, Day died unmarried, perhaps leaving her friends and family to feel that her life was left so incomplete as to warrant a tribute to her genius, which she would presumably have laid aside for a more important domestic life if she had lived long enough.

Day was the daughter of Rev. Jeremiah Day, the president of Yale, and her literary remains were published for private distribution. She is described by her memoirist in terms that would surface repeatedly in literary remains of young women authors. Day was preternaturally virtuous, pious, and dutiful, and “never supposed that her mental powers and love of literature purchased for her a dispensation from every thing feminine.”¹³ She was a “true poetic genius” who was physically fragile—“generally very pale” with a “broad, full, intellectual forehead”¹⁴—and felt an irresistible urge to write with no corresponding ambition to publish. While she loved poetry, she steered clear of reading fiction, which was too often tawdry and helped “a lazy person pass an idle hour without feeling guilty.”¹⁵ And while she was studious and craved learning, the memoirist is careful to point out

that she did not study “so hard as to injure her health,” keeping her reading in healthy moderation. These balances—moral and intellectual precocity without a health-threatening indulgence of bookishness; an innate need to write without ambition for her writing—resurface in almost all biographical sketches of young women memorialized in literary remains.

No literary remains embody this view of the feminine poetic genius more than those of the Davidson sisters, two poetic prodigies who died young, of tuberculosis, in a long-afflicted family in Plattsburgh, New York. The sisters epitomized the lives behind literary remains, and, by drawing the attention of such public figures as Robert Southey, Washington Irving, Catherine Sedgwick, and Edgar Allan Poe, influenced public perception of amateur women poets for decades. Lucretia was the older sister, and like Martha Day was precociously pious and literary, throwing away books deemed to be of bad character and giving money she intended to spend on books to help her mother. Painting her goodness in a particularly American light, her memoirist, Samuel Morse (who seems to have been locally connected to the family), explains that Lucretia was inspired by the story of George Washington’s character. When she was eleven, she was taken to a celebration of his life, where she was repelled by its ornaments and frivolous pomp, preferring to meditate on the example of his integrity. In an anecdote that seems directly inspired by the Parson Weems tale of Washington and the cherry tree, Lucretia returned home to write an ode to Washington that was so ingenious that her aunt accused her of plagiarism. Lucretia was mortally offended and wrote a poem describing how wounded she was by the accusation, which itself was of such high merit as to dispel any unjust doubt about her character. In this single vignette, the young Lucretia demonstrates her rare spiritual maturity in rejecting the celebration and embracing a symbol of American virtue, while also defending her own honor through her talent. In another anecdote that seems burnished by family retellings, Morse explains that Lucretia once overheard friends discussing whether she was allowed to indulge her poetic temperament too much and should be forced to put down the pen and take on more domestic duties. She took the criticism to heart and gave up writing, but began to waste away and cry uncontrollably until her mother investigated and asked Lucretia to take up writing again, but in balance with domestic work. Like Martha Day, Lucretia was beautiful and pale. She sometimes became so enthralled by writing that she would enter into a trance and forget to eat. As she lay dying of tuberculosis at age sixteen, she was forbidden for the sake of her health

from reading, but surrounded herself on her deathbed with her books, which she fondled and kissed, the books becoming an intimate companion at the hour of death. In a theodicean implication that death was a mercy for her—a suggestion made frequently in literary remains of young women—the last volume in the poem is “The Fear of Madness,” in which she explains she would rather die of her illness than lose her mind:

There is a something which I dread,
It is a dark, a fearful thing;
It steals along with withering tread,
Or sweeps on wild destruction's wing.

That thought comes o'er me in the hour
Of grief, of sickness, or of sadness;
'Tis not the dread of death—'tis more,
It is the dread of madness.

Oh! May these throbbing pulses pause,
Forgetful of their feverish course;
May this hot brain, which burning, glows
With all a fiery whirlpool's force,

Be cold, and motionless, and still,
A tenant of its lowly bed,
But let not dark delirium steal

* * * * *

[Unfinished.]

*This was the last piece she ever wrote.*¹⁶

The poem leaves off midstanza, and its editorial presentation suggests that in the depths of her fear of madness, death rescued her. She died in 1825, when her sister, Margaret, was only a toddler, and Morse edited the remains of the “genius” “child of genuine poetic feeling” four years later.

Margaret died at age fifteen in 1838, and three years later her literary remains were edited by Washington Irving,¹⁷ who had been contacted by the girls' mother, and that same year a second edition of Lucretia's literary remains was released, this time edited by Catharine Sedgwick.¹⁸ The two girls did not share a volume of remains, but the simultaneous release of the

literary remains through the same publisher (Lea and Blanchard) suggested a link between their geniuses that was corroborated by the biographical narratives. Irving explains that when the elder Lucretia died, “on ascending to the skies, it seemed as if her poetic mantle fell, like a robe of light, on her infant sister.”¹⁹ Indeed, Margaret took up the role as the family literary genius, saying to her mother, “Oh, mamma, I will try to fill her place! Teach me to be like her!”²⁰ The young Margaret was precociously devout, preferring to stay close to her chronically ill mother’s side and learn about God rather than to play with other children. Irving implausibly reports that while her mother delayed teaching her to read for fear it might “injure her delicate frame,”²¹ Margaret soon began spontaneously speaking in verse, describing trees out the window in rhymed iambic tetrameter. When she did play with other children she told them stories with “exalted views of truth, honor, and integrity,”²² but her “highest pleasures were intellectual” and “she seemed to live in a world of her own creation, surrounded by the images of her own fancy.” Davidson’s mother was in a difficult position, feeling the need to cultivate the rare genius of her second prodigy while understanding that “it was necessary to keep her in check, lest a too intense pursuit of knowledge should impair her delicate constitution.”²³ After Margaret’s death and the synchronous publication of her and her sister’s literary remains, critical interest in the sisters peaked. Southey wrote on Lucretia, and Poe wrote a characteristically critical review while acknowledging the rare talent of the girls. To be sure, the Davidson sisters seem like characters written by Poe—in fact, Margaret had written a dark Romantic poem called “Lenore” that probably drew from the same inspiration as Poe’s “The Raven” (Gottfried Burger’s 1773 ballad “Lenore”), may have influenced his poem, and includes lines with whiffs of Poe in them: “All her glowing dreams are oer!” “And fields of battle bathed in gore!” “The glowing streamlet flows no more!” and is dedicated “to the spirit of my sister Lucretia.” Although he eventually composed a detailed critique of the young sisters’ poetic shortcomings that seemed in questionable taste, he described “Lenore” as “a romantic love-tale, not ill-conceived in its incidents . . . told with a skill which might put more practised bards to the blush, and with occasional bursts of the truest poetic fire.” Poe—who famously claimed while explaining his composition of “The Raven” that “the death . . . of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world”—describes Margaret as a “fairy-like child” of “exquisite loveliness,” and eventually argues that her and her sister’s young deaths were for the best:

Just as the most rapidly growing herbage is the most speedy in its decay—just as the ephemera struggles to perfection in a day only to perish in that day's decline—so the mind is early matured only to be early in its decadence; and when we behold in the eye of infancy the soul of the adult, it is but indulging in a day dream to hope for any farther proportionate development. Should the prodigy survive to ripe age, a mental imbecility, not far removed from idiocy itself, is too frequently the result.²⁴

Poe's interpretation of Lucretia's death may seem outlandish but it was not unique, and echoed Southey's opinion that Lucretia suffered from an "intellectual fever," and that, like other child prodigies, she was taken soon from life "for transplantation to a world where there shall be nothing to corrupt or hurt them," and that Lucretia's death, specifically, was "a dispensation of mercy."²⁵ For Poe, like Southey, the remains of the young sisters, both physical and literary, were truly poetic, providing not only the most poetical topic in the world, but also preserving the genius that was mercifully cut short before it sunk into witlessness—the very fate Lucretia feared the most.

The Davidson sisters helped solidify the image of the infirm amateur woman poet who was memorialized in literary remains. When Lucy Hooper died at age twenty-five, she was quickly assimilated into the mold of the Davidson sisters despite having lived a somewhat more public life, publishing some poems and prose in periodicals. Her biographer, the editor John Keese, wrote:

Our American literature has already presented to the student the names of several writers, who at an unusually early age, have manifested abilities of a higher order, and who after a brief but brilliant career, have sunk into their early graves, victims, too often, to severe study, or having run out their physical energies by excessive intellectual excitement. The names of Brainard, and of the two Davidsons, suggest themselves at once to the reader, and particularly the latter, as exemplifying in a painful degree, the effects of strong mental excitability, (exhibiting itself in the poetic fervor of inspiration,) upon the corporeal frame.²⁶

Later, he builds on this comparison with the Davidsons, explaining that all such prodigies, including Hooper, had a preternatural ability to foresee their own early deaths, and that this knowledge imparted to them both a sense of melancholy and of holiness:

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that all who have in the early life passed away to the tomb, after a brief but brilliant career of usefulness or talents, have stamped upon their remains an apprehensive character of sadness and melancholy, that seems—after the event—to foreshadow in prophetic spirit their early doom. And thus we find them all, falling as it were by and in the course of their nature, into a saddened and subdued train of thought and expression—mindful in their brightest moments of enjoying rapture, of the vanity of the present. To the dark unfathomed void of the future, all their thoughts appear to turn . . . as to the home where only they are to find rest.²⁷

Readers understood Hooper's volume as a bittersweet memorial to a life tragically cut short but justly rewarded by both salvation and publication. One reviewer recommended it as "a fit pendant to the collections of Lucretia and Margaret Davidson. Like them Miss Hooper was early called away to receive the reward of her pure and spotless life, and like them too in this little volume she has left behind her a valuable legacy to survivors."²⁸ A critic for the *Boston Courier* wrote a review of Hooper's volume that spoke so stereotypically to her life and private career that much of it seems to apply to any number of women honored in a volume of literary remains:

Her life was brief, and passed in domestic seclusion, and her biographer has wisely confined himself to a delineation of her mental development and moral traits of character. . . . In the comparatively small but genial circle of her friends, she appears to have inspired the deepest interest. In point of finish and figure, there is, indeed, location for critical remark as regards several of the selections in this volume; but we have no inclination to look with frigid curiosity upon a garland woven for the tomb.

. . . these "Poetical Remains" of the young and the early-called, will endear her memory and hallow her name.

Like the Davidsons and like amateur women poets to come, including Emily Dickinson, Lucy Hooper's life is marked by seclusion and the respect of a small social sphere; her poetry is flawed but should not be criticized; and the collection of remains enshrines her writing and her memory.

Many of the characteristics of young women authors noted by their memoirists in literary remains also applied to older women. Mary Elizabeth Lee, a South Carolinian poet, died at age thirty-six after a long illness and some success publishing in periodicals and gift books. Her memoirist, the prominent Unitarian Samuel Gilman, explains that she was not only

a precocious reader as a child, seemingly moved by an innate force, but also possessed a remarkable ability as early as about age five, to read twenty pages of a book and then repeat them from memory, much as Margaret Davidson could inexplicably speak in verse as a young child. Like the literary remains of Brainard, which, for the sake of comprehensiveness included weak pieces that served as a “foil to the exceeding beauty of the others,”²⁹ or the less mature writings of the Davidson sisters that were included, in spite of their weakness, to demonstrate the girls’ poetic development, Gilman explains that “what might seem a rather indiscriminate compilation here of her remains” are intended to demonstrate her poetic maturation.³⁰ As a genre, literary remains were meant to collect in a way that would seem comprehensive the intellectual labor of the author for family and friends—with, perhaps, the possibility of attracting wider attention—and to chart and preserve the development of the artistic mind. Coupled with biographical sketches that often included unlikely claims about precocity and innate talent, the volumes repeatedly asserted the biographical framework as the best way of understanding not only individual poems, but also creativity.

The genre was a particularly appealing way for loved ones to memorialize the work of unmarried women who seemed from a nineteenth-century perspective to have not left behind the legacy typical for women. In the culture of modesty that shaped the expectations of women authors toward their work, teaching them, as Wolosky puts it, that modesty has “traditionally defined the quintessence of womanhood,”³¹ a posthumous collection was a fitting reward for years of patient, unrecognized effort, and it seems reasonable to speculate that some sickly, unmarried girls and women who strongly identified as creative might have anticipated such posthumous publication. When women did pursue publication of their work, in the context of the literary remains their ambition was wrenched into a narrative that overlaid the feminine virtue of modesty, even when it fit awkwardly. Gilman writes of Lee, for example, “She shrank, almost morbidly, from personal distinction and notoriety, even while seeming to affect them by the willing publication of her compositions.”³²

3. “MISS EMILY WROTE VERSES, AS OTHER MAIDEN LADIES DO”

It was in this context that Emily Dickinson’s first volume of poetry, titled simply *Poems*, was published and received in 1890.³³ After Dickinson’s death

in 1886, her sister, Lavinia, had approached their brother Austin's wife, Susan, to compile a volume of Dickinson's poetry. Susan agreed, but accomplished nothing toward the project over the following three years.³⁴ Lavinia became deeply frustrated by Susan's inaction, and retrieved the poetry manuscripts from her in order to give them to Mabel Loomis Todd for editing. Todd set to work on the manuscripts without Susan Dickinson's knowledge. Todd, who possibly hoped to ingratiate herself to Lavinia and Austin, found Lavinia's desperation compelling—she hesitated at first because she knew transcribing the poems would take years, but Lavinia persisted, and Todd gave in. At that time, while Emily Dickinson had many admirers among her friends and family, Lavinia was alone in her stalwart belief in Dickinson's genius and potential for literary success—a firmness that was viewed as unsophisticated and naive, even by her family and first editors. For instance, on the eve of the publication of *Poems*, Austin wrote to Higginson, "Whether it was, on the whole, advisable to publish is yet within me, a question, but my Sister Vin, whose knowledge of what is, or has been, outside of her dooryard is bounded by the number of her callers, who had no comprehension of her sister, yet believed her a shining genius, was determined to have some of her writing where it could be read of all men."³⁵ And so, up to the moment of publication, even those closest to Dickinson viewed the volume as somewhat of an indulgence, as a tribute to placate a loyal sister but certainly not a clear contribution to American letters that would thrive on its own merits.³⁶

As was standard for family and friends who were compiling a literary remains, Lavinia and Todd enlisted the participation of the most prominent connection the dead author had—in this case, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who, understanding his primary role to be lending his name to the obscure author's remains, declined to be actively involved in the early stages of editing. Todd was to do the lion's share of the work—transcribing almost a thousand poems, almost all of which were difficult to decipher; then sorting them into categories based on her opinion of their quality. Only then would Higginson become involved, by selecting from among those Todd favored and by helping to correct the poems for print.³⁷

From the beginning, like so many literary remains, Dickinson's volume seemed unlikely to succeed as a commercial venture. There was no likely publisher for the work, and most readers who read much of Dickinson's work found her poems marred by eccentricity, obscurity, and error. Todd knew it would take considerable work to see the poems into print, and ex-

pected the book to be released in very limited quantities. When first approached by Lavinia Dickinson, Todd recorded in her journal:

Having already had some experience with publishers, I told her that no one would attempt to read the poems in Emily's own peculiar handwriting, much less judge them; that they would have to be copied, and then be passed upon like any other production, from the commercial standpoint of the publishing business, and that certainly not less than a year must elapse before they could possibly be brought out.³⁸

Later, when Todd consulted Higginson about publishing the poems, they took for granted that the book would be published at some expense to the family, understanding their roles as the friends who were ushering an obscure dead woman's poems into a volume of literary remains. Higginson wrote to Todd, "The plates will cost rather less than \$1 per page & there can often be two poems on a page—rarely more than one;³⁹ say \$230 for 250 pp. including 300 poems. Would that satisfy Miss Lavinia?"

Todd transcribed the poems for a few hours a day from November 1887 to late in 1889.⁴⁰ In November of 1889 she sent a large selection of transcriptions to Higginson, classified into three groups according to quality. From these, Higginson selected 199 (mostly from Todd's "A" list, plus a few from her "B" list that Higginson favored). Although this final selection represented merely a fraction of Dickinson's prodigious output, the title *Poems* was ambiguous, leaving it unclear whether the volume was a selection or as comprehensive as most literary remains. Higginson and Todd were then ready to shop the poems to a publisher. Wanting to give a large publishing house a shot, Higginson took the poems to Houghton Mifflin, for whom he was a reader. Unsurprisingly, when offered a volume of literary remains by yet another amateur woman poet, Houghton Mifflin flatly refused, saying, as Todd's daughter Millicent Todd Bingham put it, that the poems "were much too queer—the rhymes were all wrong. They thought that Higginson must be losing his mind to recommend such stuff" (51). The editors decided, then, that Todd should approach Thomas Niles⁴¹ of Roberts Brothers, who had published one of Dickinson's poems during her life in *A Masque of Poets* (1878), an anonymous collection that was part of Niles's No-Name Series.⁴²

Niles was squeamish about the venture, claiming that "it would be unwise to perpetuate Miss Dickinson's poems. They are quite as remarkable for defects as for beauties and are generally devoid of true poetical

qualities.”⁴³ At first he offered to print a limited, cheap, hectograph edition of the poems at Roberts Brothers’ cost, but Todd’s husband insisted that the book should be done right if done at all. Niles next sent the poems to Arlo Bates, a reader for Roberts Brothers, who agreed that the poems should be printed, but in a drastically reduced number and only with corrections. Echoing critics of other literary remains, Bates claimed that Dickinson failed to quite reach “that indefinable quality which we call genius” and that she was so hampered by a lack of proper training that “constantly one is impelled to wonder and to pity at the same time.” And there were just too many of them, he thought, just as critics of other dead, mostly women, amateurs had complained. Dickinson’s poems suffered from bounteousness: “the work of exclusion,” Bates explained, “has not been pushed far enough.”⁴⁴ Niles considered Bates’s advice, the poems were further pruned, and he agreed to print a limited edition with no royalties if Lavinia would buy the plates. These facts are often offered as evidence of yet another editor’s or critic’s lack of prescience regarding Dickinson’s writing. While Niles certainly cannot be commended for a visionary advocacy of Dickinson’s poems (though, to be fair, he was quite encouraging of Dickinson in their correspondence during her life), his ambivalence toward the volume, especially given his earlier encouragement of her, probably came from his sense as a publisher that they would be yet one more volume of a dead, amateur woman’s remains in a literary market where such volumes were unprofitable.

By the time Dickinson’s first editors were working on her posthumous volume, literary remains had become so common a means of memorializing the dead that a distinction had emerged between those authors distinguished enough to warrant placing their remains before the public and those for whom the volumes seemed to be pitiable homages to amateurism. For instance, after the assassination of James Garfield, the public hungered for his literary remains, so much so that a family friend contacted newspapers to “warn volunteer authors off the ground”⁴⁵ to prevent an unofficial volume. When Garfield’s widow appointed B. A. Hinsdale, president of Hiram College, as the official editor of her husband’s remains, he felt it necessary to inform the public to keep their distance. “Mrs. Garfield has appointed me the editor of General Garfield’s works, with instructions to collect, edit, and carry them through the process as speedily as is consistent with completeness and thoroughness,” he explained, adding, “reputable publishers are disposed to respect her wishes, and not take hold of unauthorized

enterprises.”⁴⁶ For public figures, the problem with literary remains was the threat of a comprehensiveness that may lack discretion. In 1891, a writer for the *Independent* complained, “It is fast becoming a very dangerous thing for a literary man to die. Certainly it is a very indiscreet thing,” eventually arguing for the necessity of a “society for the ‘Prevention of Posthumous Cruelty to Authors.’”⁴⁷

For amateur authors, who were frequently women, posthumous memorial collections were viewed quite differently. A piece in the *Philobiblion* from 1862 derided “the painful labors of the bibliographer, because they rescue from a merited oblivion the useless works of insignificant authors.” Such sentiment persisted for decades, and in 1915, when “literary remains” was still used to describe posthumous collections, an article in *Life* complained, “it is not for nothing that ‘literary remains’ has acquired a gruesome sound in our ears. Nor that, as between Hamlet’s ‘The rest is silence’ and an installment-plan immortality of rejected manuscripts, we have learned to prefer the former.” While most volumes of literary remains likely escaped critical notice altogether, being too inconsequential and narrowly distributed to attract attention, even the more successful efforts memorializing women authors sometimes attracted critical disdain. For instance, while Margaret Miller Davidson’s literary remains achieved remarkable success, some readers nevertheless saw the volume as another example of the excessive collection of the amateurish efforts of female authors. When the editor of the *Daily National Intelligencer* reviewed the work, he seized the opportunity to decry such volumes as the harbinger of the downfall of the United States. After telling the myth of the Sibyl who burned three-fourths of her writings so that King Tarquin, “no great admirer of female authorship,” would finally pay for her work, he explains in a way that Arlo Bates would echo in his later judgment of Dickinson, “This, we apprehend, is the reason why, since King Tarquin’s time, female compositions of high merit have been rare. Nobody has dealt with the sex as he did, and compelled them largely to submit their works to the ordeal of the flames.” Clarifying that women, in particular, are unqualified to write good poetry, he writes, “It may, in short, be stated as a literary law, that poetry, the most difficult of all the arts, and asking the highest union of genius with cultivation, is not to be written unless the mind has risen to its manliest growth.” For him, the generally positive critical reception of Davidson’s poetry is evidence of a degradation in literary taste that has set the country on a slippery slope toward moral ruin:

When taste and sense have come to such a pass that child-poetry, the productions of a rhyme-stricken girl scarcely in her teens, can be celebrated in critical journals, can catch a general admiration, and can even, by a formal biography and panegyric, receive the literary stamp of the writer of the country whose reputation is the widest and justest, it is a deplorable sign of the weakness, the fatuity in which literature is sunk.

. . . Such is the condition of things towards which our own country now exhibits too strong a tendency. The causes which best bring about the downfall of good government must act as speedily upon sound literature.

Although Davidson died decades before Dickinson, her posthumous popularity made her a prototype for the unmarried, melancholic, dead genius poetess. It was arguably Davidson whom Twain had in mind when he created the character of Emmeline Grangerford in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, published less than two years before Dickinson died.

Emmeline's character parodied what had become a type by the 1880s: the prodigal, morbid poetess who was respected more—perhaps too much—after death than during life. “If Emmeline Grangerford could make poetry like that before she was fourteen, there ain't no telling what she could a done by and by. Buck said she could rattle off poetry like nothing. She didn't ever have to stop to think. He said she would slap down a line, and if she couldn't find anything to rhyme with it would just scratch it out and slap down another one, and go ahead. She warn't particular; she could write about anything you choose to give her to write about just so it was sadful.” Like Davidson and amateur female poets who followed her well-known pattern, melancholic Emmeline could speak in verse. He continues, “she kinder pined away and did not live long. Poor thing, many's the time I made myself go up to the little room that used to be hers and get out her poor old scrap-book and read in it when her pictures had been aggravating me and I had soured on her a little. . . . Emmeline made poetry about all the dead people when she was alive, and it didn't seem right that there warn't nobody to make some about her now she was gone; so I tried to sweat out a verse or two myself, but I couldn't seem to make it go somehow.” When Huck was tired of looking at Emmeline's art in the parlor, her posthumous collection of verse made him favor her again, but because he is a wholesome, homespun boy, he can't produce the rarified, feminized verse of the melancholic girl poet.

When Roberts Brothers declined to shoulder the expense of Dickin-

son's posthumous *Poems*, despite Niles having encouraged her in life, it was likely because they recognized the volume as one of a type, and as quite a different venture than a volume of her poems published during her life might have been, when Niles might have worked with her, and when the volume would be received as a living, responsive author's foray into the literary marketplace, rather than another memorial volume to dead, modest, amateur genius. Higginson and Todd seemed likewise aware of the context in which they were publishing the book. Not only were they willing to have the family pay for the plates, they printed prominently on the title page:

Poems

BY EMILY DICKINSON

EDITED BY TWO OF HER FRIENDS

Mabel Loomis Todd and T. W. Higginson⁴⁸

As with other literary remains, the personal relationship between the deceased and the editors is emphasized. In his preface, Higginson explains that the volume “is published to meet the desire of her personal friends, and especially of her surviving sister.” Just as the editors of other dead women amateurs emphasized their modesty and reclusion, as if to heighten the unassumingness of the poems and shield them, and by extension, their author from public criticism, Higginson stresses the same virtues in Dickinson's life and poetry. The poems were “produced absolutely without the thought of publication, and solely by way of expression of the writer's own mind.” “She must write thus, or not at all,” he explains of her unconventional verse. “A recluse by temperament and habit, literally spending years without setting her foot beyond the doorstep . . . she habitually concealed her mind, like her person, from all but a very few friends; and it was with great difficulty that she was persuaded to print, during her lifetime, three or four poems.” To an unsuspecting reader in 1890, the volume must have appeared to belong to the genre of literary remains. Only the power of the poems within propelled them past the fate of so many similar volumes.⁴⁹

Though modern scholars have generally failed to understand the book as such, Dickinson's *Poems* was received as a volume of literary remains, albeit a rare one that—to many but not all critics—commanded a wider readership. Andrew Lang, writing for the London *Speaker*, was mercenary in his disgust for Dickinson, and referred to the volume as a “remains.”

Many critics understood the volume to have been, like most other literary remains, a privately published posthumous book that only through the fluke of authorial genius found a wider audience. A reviewer for the *Boston Journal* wrote, “the verses were produced by a recluse without the thought of publication, and are issued now after her death to meet the desire of her sister and personal friends. Such a volume has more the character of a private edition than of one published for criticism and public inspection.”⁵⁰ Others expressed a similar understanding of the book. Louise Chandler Moulton wrote for the *Boston Sunday Herald*, “her surviving sister rescued these poems . . . from the destruction that so often awaits the papers of the dead; and it is due to the wishes of this sister and a few near friends that this present volume has been given to the public.”⁵¹

Many of the reviewers assumed the book, like other volumes of its kind, would never reach a wide audience. “It is the special and serious revelation of a soul apart. . . . That it should have a large public is not to be expected,” wrote Charles Goodrich Whiting for the *Springfield Republican*.⁵² Another offered a backhanded compliment: “The posthumous *Poems* of Emily Dickinson . . . will give pleasure to the limited circle for whom they are designed.”⁵³ Others were surprised when the volume gained traction beyond a limited sphere: “It is seldom that an author who gave to the world so little during her life wins such instant and hearty recognition by her posthumous work.”⁵⁴

Understanding a book as literary remains, or even simply reading it as a posthumous work, invites readers to understand the text in a particularly biographical context. In the nineteenth-century United States, marketing a volume as a posthumous work typically positioned readers to interpret it as a fruition of a life, as the reflection not of a limited effort but of an entire mind. The book is not offered as an agent’s foray into the market, but as a standing memorial, a record of the inner life, a salvo that cannot be answered. Works by living authors could bear a dialogic relationship to criticism, with critic and author understanding that each is able to influence the other, but posthumous volumes were understood by readers as a one-way communication, in many cases leaving them to interpret the work as an enigmatic reflection of the author’s life and mind. The reader “interprets her life by her verse and her verse by her life,” wrote an anonymous reviewer for the *Atlantic*. Dickinson’s *Poems* is “the outcome of the genius of an accomplished woman,” as one of the early reviewers put it, a “look into the soul of Emily Dickinson,”⁵⁵ according to another. Throughout the first

reviews of Dickinson critics felt obliged to read the work as evidence for or against the value of her life and genius in toto.

The holistic biographical gaze that readers brought to *Poems* led many of them to accentuate biographical facts or amplify aspects of her life that made her fit more squarely with the stereotype of the dead amateur woman poet. A focus on her seclusion was endemic to the early reviews, with some insisting that she was an invalid, and many describing her as child-like, as if to better resemble the typical author of such volumes.⁵⁶ “In her blameless seclusion Miss Emily wrote verses, as other maiden ladies do. They are mostly very bad verses,” wrote an unimpressed Lang, infantilizing her by using her first name, and placing her squarely in a tradition of modest, amateur, unmarried women and girls. Her poems “show the insight of the civilized adult combined with the simplicity of the savage child,” wrote Arlo Bates.⁵⁷ To others she was “like an unmated child”⁵⁸ or “one of the oddest children of literature.”⁵⁹ A reviewer for the *Philadelphia Press* not only describes Dickinson as an invalid, but also asserts that she died at age thirty-six, a full twenty years younger than she was. Dickinson’s life made more sense to readers when it could be viewed as the kind that normally produced literary remains.

This biographical framing also invited readers to view literary remains teleologically, as a fitting end to the lives they memorialized. Literary remains were the final expression of an examined and concealed life that sometimes came at the expense of health and longevity, and the reward for a life of unassuming feminine modesty, giving the cloistered or quarantined woman a voice, turning her unrecognized labors into property, and protecting her with a shield of decency that guarded against harsh criticism. In Dickinson’s case, a reviewer explained, “She lived the life of a recluse, and wrote the poems now collected in a volume as the expression, and, perhaps, the solace, of her intense individuality.”⁶⁰ Another reviewer, reflecting on the bittersweet nature of the posthumous reward, noted to readers “who have not yet made the acquaintance of this gifted woman in her remarkable book,” “This is sudden fame, but it was won by years of silent and secluded work, and unless those who die have knowledge how ‘their works do follow them,’ she does not know that it has come and heaped its laurel on her grave.”⁶¹ Yet another critic relished the thought of the collection as a denouement to her life of deprivation, writing, “How little did this gentle hermit dream that her musings might some day fulfill her desire.”⁶²

When Higginson and Todd released the second series of *Poems* the very

next year, Todd seemed genuinely surprised by the first volume's success, writing that the first volume "has found a response as wide and sympathetic as it has been unexpected even to those who knew best her compelling power." The titling of the first volume as simply *Poems*—ambiguous in indicating whether the selection was comprehensive or representative—allowed the editors to build on the first volume by releasing the "second series" and "third series," printed in matching format and similar binding, as if they were installments in a planned set, transforming with each edition the literary remains into a multivolume set more suited to a poet of her sudden stature. Although their efforts would be viewed decades later as egregiously unprofessional, presumptuous, and in need of dire remedy as modernists and New Critics required texts edited according to the ethos of the twentieth century, Todd's and Higginson's efforts were rooted in the long tradition of reading women's posthumous writings, and provided to readers a gendered context for understanding them that may have been crucial to their success: the reward of a modest life.

CHAPTER 3

Whitman's Shrines

The first collected edition of Walt Whitman's writings that readers today would recognize as such was the 1902 *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, published by his executors a decade after his death. But Whitman, whose poetic career spanned the latter half of the nineteenth century and who, as a former newspaperman and printer, brought an unusual bookman's sensibility to his poetical project, had a more complex relationship to the phenomenon of collected editions than the date of that posthumous collection might suggest. After the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, collection became one of the recurring strategies of his career, as he folded more and more into his major book of poetry, bound matching companion volumes, and eventually designed his own collected works. As a skilled self-promoter and as a poet who held ambitions to become the nation's poetic voice, Whitman was well aware of how the right positioning within the literary marketplace could bolster the reputations of authors. He and his literary executors viewed author-centric collections as an important way to survey poetic accomplishment and assert posthumous reputation. Whitman's own efforts to control his literary legacy offer a case study in how the late nineteenth-century collected edition mirrored other death customs as a way of marking a dead poet's cultural prominence.

Whitman's attitudes toward his legacy were complex, and it is possible to distinguish in his career two conflicting visions of how he wanted posterity to behold him. In each case, he anticipated a treatment of his corpse that would correspond to a particular literary afterlife. As was the case with many nineteenth-century authors, the corpse and the corpus were intertwined, each offering the author and his public a way to formalize the end of his life and career, to consecrate a specific site for public mourning, and

to confirm the nature of his legacy as the life and works were together ushered into the larger culture. This chapter describes how Whitman variously projected two outcomes for the treatment of his body after death: one in which he was simply returned to the earth to become grass, and one in which his body, elevated from the earth, would be enshrined in the artifice of a tomb. Whitman, and later his disciples, viewed these alternatives as intimately bound to different textual afterlives for Whitman—the organic, unorthodox *Leaves of Grass* and the conventional textual monument of the *Complete Writings*.

1. “LOOK FOR ME UNDER YOUR BOOTSOLES”



Fig. 3. Whitman's typographical design for the cover of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*.

Grass was a central image in Whitman's poetics, so much so that it provides the title of his major work, and by the 1891 edition, the word "grass" appeared sixty-eight times in the body of *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman's view of grass has been variously explained as representing his views of democracy, equality, and resurrection. Ed Folsom reminds us that grass for Whitman was not the homogenous, uniformly cut, tame grass of modern lawns, but the wild, diverse, brambly shoots of the prairie, just as he pictured in his design for the cover of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* (fig. 3).¹ Jerome Loving points out that grass—like so much about Whitman's poetics—can be traced back to his bedrock identity as a printer. The term "grass" would have been familiar to him as a trade term for "compositions of dubious value."² Whitman certainly seems to have picked "leaves" for its double meaning as a bibliographic term, eschewing the martial connotations of the more conventional "spears" and "blades."

In his influential 1962 critical study of Whitman, James E. Miller Jr. discusses grass as one of the most important recurring images in Whitman's writing, "the one single symbol that concentrated in itself the suggestion of the poet's many meanings," in particular his "central concept of democracy—individuality in balance with the mass," and also "the miracle of the universe." For Miller, "the leaf of grass has no limits in its symbolic meaning—it means *everything, all, the total*."³

Many critics look at section 6 of "Song of Myself," his most extended meditation on grass, for Whitman's explanation of its significance. In it, he attempts to define "grass" for an inquisitive child. The section is complex and important enough to quote in full:

A child said *What is the grass?* fetching it to me with full hands;
How could I answer the child? I do not know what it is any
more than he.

I guess it must be the flag of my disposition, out of hopeful green
stuff woven.

Or I guess it is the handkerchief of the Lord,
A scented gift and remembrancer designedly dropt,
Bearing the owner's name someway in the corners, that we may
see and remark, and say *Whose?*

Or I guess the grass is itself a child, the produced babe of the
vegetation.

Or I guess it is a uniform hieroglyphic,
And it means, Sprouting alike in broad zones and narrow zones,
Growing among black folks as among white,
Kanuck, Tuckahoe, Congressman, Cuff, I give them the same, I
receive them the same.

And now it seems to me the beautiful uncut hair of graves.

Tenderly will I use you curling grass,
It may be you transpire from the breasts of young men,
It may be if I had known them I would have loved them,

It may be you are from old people, or from offspring taken soon
 out of their mothers' laps,
 And here you are the mothers' laps.

This grass is very dark to be from the white heads of old mothers,
 Darker than the colorless beards of old men,
 Dark to come from under the faint red roofs of mouths.

O I perceive after all so many uttering tongues,
 And I perceive they do not come from the roofs of mouths for
 nothing.

I wish I could translate the hints about the dead young men and
 women,
 And the hints about old men and mothers, and the offspring taken
 soon out of their laps.

What do you think has become of the young and old men?
 And what do you think has become of the women and children?

They are alive and well somewhere,
 The smallest sprout shows there is really no death,
 And if ever there was it led forward life, and does not wait at the
 end to arrest it,
 And ceas'd the moment life appear'd.

All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses,
 And to die is different from what any one supposed, and luckier.⁴

This section is often read as Whitman vacillating, as expressing his uncertainty about the symbolic power of grass.⁵ But section 6 indicates more certainty than that. Whitman begins the section from a position of strategic naïveté, claiming not to know more about the grass than a child does, before offering several guesses, each of which is introduced as such. "I guess," "Or I guess" he writes four times, then posits an explanation for what the grass "seems" to be—"the beautiful uncut hair of graves"—before realizing that it isn't the hair of graves but the tongues: "O, I perceive after all so many uttering tongues." After all the other guesses, he has homed in on the

meaning of grass, and he finds it to be the enigmatically speaking mouths of the dead—a meaning that is more synecdochal or metonymic than metaphorical for Whitman, because for him, the grass is literally the transmuted mouths of the dead, and not simply a representation of them.⁶ The image of grass as tongues of the dead was so resonant to Whitman that he repeats it in section 49: “I hear you whispering . . . O grass of graves . . . If you do not say anything how can I say anything?”⁷ Finally, he selects this image for the concluding lines of “Song of Myself”:

I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass I love,
If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles.

You will hardly know who I am or what I mean,
But I shall be good health to you nevertheless,
And filter and fibre your blood.

Failing to fetch me at first keep encouraged,
Missing me one place search another,
I stop somewhere waiting for you.⁸

Those seeking Whitman after his death should look for him in the grass, where he will be enigmatic and elusive but real. When folded into the dirt, Whitman anticipates his body transmuted and dispersed into grass, where he will still “mean.” The grass is the transformed voices of the dead; when Whitman dies we can find his voice there, too, however difficult to decipher.

Whitman may become the grass, but he also tells us he would become his book. In the last poem of the final edition of *Leaves of Grass*, “So Long!” Whitman anticipates his death and begins the poem by declaring that he will “announce what comes after me.”⁹ He writes:

Camerado, this is no book,
Who touches this touches a man,
.....
It is I you hold and who holds you,
I spring from the pages into your arms—decease calls me forth.¹⁰

“Decease calls me forth”: It is death that summons Whitman, the book that he has become. And the book, of course, is also grass, *Leaves of Grass*. Whit-

man establishes a metonymic triangle in which he is both the grass and his book; and the book is also grass, both in its title and in the way that it becomes his voice after death. The fate of Whitman after death is a sort of trinity, in which he becomes leaves of grass and *Leaves of Grass*.

Embedded in the title *Leaves of Grass* is not simply the dense image of grass, but also that term, “leaves”—a popular pun that appeared in at least seventy American titles in the decade preceding Whitman’s use¹¹—which seems unusual in referring to grass blades and connotes more than the second meaning of “pages.” “Leave” also means *permitted absence*—a soldier on leave, for instance—and in this sense was often written and spoken as “leaf” in the mid-nineteenth century. Additionally, “leave” means to cause something to remain, to leave behind, and in the specific context of death and dying, *to leave* means both to be survived by loved ones and to transmit property for distribution: one might leave a widow or leave a fortune.

Reading “leaves” in *Leaves of Grass* as meaning absences or remainders does not seem to be recommended by the grammatical construction, but Whitman toyed with similar multiple entendres in other contexts in which grammatical orthodoxy took a backseat to useful ambiguity, such as in the section of correspondence and criticism in the 1856 *Leaves of Grass* titled “Leaves-Droppings.” The more grammatically correct construction would have been “Leaf-Droppings,” but Whitman wanted it to echo the book title and the word “eavesdropping.” Similarly, “Leaves of Grass” offers a reading, not simply of spears or pages, but also of permitted absences, remainders, and inheritances of grass, which underline his concluding claim in “Song of Myself” that in death he will “bequeath” himself to the dirt “to grow from the grass.” *Leaves of Grass* and leaves of grass are where Whitman goes and what he leaves as his legacy.

Over the course of his poetic career, *Leaves of Grass* became Whitman’s autocollection, the ongoing container, sometimes marketed with a companion volume, for those works that he wanted to be part of himself and that he wanted to speak for him during life and after death. At various times he published significant stand-alone works, such as *Drum-Taps* and *Passage to India*, which he saw as coherent independent texts that he wanted to be received as such, but eventually he wrested them back into *Leaves of Grass*, his idiosyncratic collected edition, sometimes by brute force, as with his binding of copies of *Drum-Taps* into the 1867 *Leaves*. Separately printed and paginated, their inclusion was a bit Frankensteinian, but Whitman wanted the pieces that he viewed as significant, as part of him, brought into the collection.

2. THE COMPLETE POEMS AND PROSE, AN ALTERNATIVE TO LEAVES OF GRASS

A reader of Whitman would have been justified in assuming that the poet intended a simple burial for himself—that he who bequeathed himself to the dirt, who marveled at the miraculous chemistry of the earth, at its ability, as he describes in “This Compost,” to turn the “sour dead” into “such sweet things”—would have avoided the pomp and artifice of conventional burial and its attempts to stave off the very transformative miracles Whitman celebrated by sealing off the body from earth’s alchemy. As Whitman aged, though, he became more conventional in many ways, and his attitude toward his own burial seemed to be one of them, though I will argue that Whitman’s apparent hypocrisy toward burial arrangements in his final years may have been more complex and strategic than it seemed. In the last five years of his life, as his health was failing and death seemed almost constantly upon him, Whitman set out to construct dual everlasting monuments for himself, one textual and one sepulchral. His status as a major poet would be secured by following the same steps that other American poets took to ensure their posthumous reputations: a supervised collected edition, a cemetery monument, and later, a more expansive collected edition created by others.

Whitman began planning his textual monument before a cemetery monument was a real possibility. A few years before his death, he began to feel a pressing need to enshrine his works in a more conventional textual monument than *Leaves of Grass*. By the late 1880s, an aging generation of American poets had begun to put their literary houses in order. Lowell (1877–1880), Longfellow (1879), Whittier (1884), and Holmes (1892) had all overseen collections of their works in their old age, in some cases identifying biographers to help ensure that their lives and works would be collected and presented to their satisfaction. These literary last wills and testaments gave authors an opportunity to gather and survey their own literary property and to attempt to exert some posthumous control over their intellectual estates.

In 1888, Whitman was in such bad shape that he and his friends believed he was near death. His contemporaries’ method of shoring up their legacies started to appeal to him, and by summer he had decided it was crucial for him to create a conventional collected edition before his death. He chose the publisher and printer who were bringing out his *November Boughs*, mostly because they would allow Whitman to closely supervise the production of the book. Despite numerous health setbacks, Whitman focused his limited

energies on the book. He said that summer, "I am in a hurry—in a hurry. I want to see the book in plates: then I can die satisfied."¹²

At least at times, as he worked, Whitman seemed to believe that the *Complete Poems and Prose* would supersede *Leaves of Grass*. He explained that it had always been his intention to collect his writings in one place, and as the work progressed Whitman and his quasi-religious followers increasingly seemed to see the collected edition as not only the culmination of Whitman's career, but also a culmination of American literature. "Guess it will be the sacred text by and bye. The first folio of S. [Shakespeare] is valuable but I guess after a little that the autograph C.W. of W.W. will lead it in the market," he joked to his follower, Horace Traubel, though the humor was only in acknowledging his earnestly held aspirations.¹³ He became very concerned about the quality of paper and binding—he did not have unlimited funding for the edition, but he wanted to make sure the book's quality would allow it to last as a monument to him. Decent paper and sturdy binding were the granite for this textual monument. As preparation continued, his acolytes talked about the book without even Whitman's scant modesty. "It will be a standard book for many a day," Maurice Bucke explained. "To many and many it will be sacred, an altogether priceless volume—a bible of the bibles—a resumé of them all."¹⁴ When the book was released, Bucke sent Whitman a letter exclaiming that it was "the first of its kind"—though, as a collection of an author's intellectual output, it certainly was not—and that it was "a volume of the future for the next thousand years."¹⁵ Whitman was so taken with Bucke's description that he duplicated the letter and distributed it with copies of the book.

Whitman's view of the book had always been that it would encompass him. "Take me as I am: my bad and my good, my everything—just as I am: to hell with all cuts, all excisions, all moralistic abridgements," he said to Traubel.¹⁶ He seemed to view it much the way he had historically viewed *Leaves of Grass*, only with a title that would be more readily understood as a collection. In fact, Whitman initially intended to call the volume *Walt Whitman Complete*, emphasizing the metonymy of book and man, until he and Traubel realized that the title, which would be written above a picture of only Whitman's head, would be the object of mockery.¹⁷

Complete Poems and Prose is a curious book, especially given that within a few years Whitman would add so much of its content to the deathbed edition of *Leaves of Grass*, apparently, at the end, wanting his more idiosyncratic autocollection to also stand as a broad record of his life's writings.

However, Whitman positioned himself and his writing in a subtly but distinctly different way in the *Complete Poems and Prose*. He included several chronologically arranged “portraits from life” and an autograph, making the book visually connected to his body, and *Specimen Days*, a collection of reminiscences, also added a significant autobiographical dimension to the book. “The book is probably a sort of autobiography,” he explains in the “Note at End.” Of the photos and autograph, he writes, “I have wanted to leave something markedly *personal*” and described himself as “bequeathing” them to the reader, emphasizing the role of the collection as a literary will.¹⁸ These comments, taken alone, seem to make *Complete Poems and Prose* a record of personal achievement, but Whitman’s concluding remarks also clearly framed Whitman’s “complete” oeuvre as a public text. He explains:

The interrogative wonder-fancy rises in me whether my current time, 1855–1888, with their aggregate of our New World doings and people, have not, indeed, created and formulated the foregoing leaves—forcing their utterance as the pages of those years, and not from any individual epic or lyrical attempts whatever, or from my pen or voice, or any body’s special voice. . . . the book might assume to be consider’d an autochthonic record and expression, freely render’d . . . of the soul and evolution of America.¹⁹

With these comments Whitman casts himself—not for the first time—as an American prophet who channeled the spirit of the nation into his books. The book is a chronicle of his own life and writings, which he bequeaths to us, but it is also a record of the age that America wrote itself. These seemingly irreconcilable views reflect how monuments often work, combining an homage to or the remains of a private individual with a site for commemorating what he represents to the larger community. Later, Whitman would construct another such monument for himself, this time out of granite.

3. “THIS GRANITE, DEAD AND COLD”

In December 1889, the manager of Harleigh Cemetery—at the time a pastoral cemetery outside of Camden and in sight of Philadelphia—approached Whitman with the offer of a free plot. The Reinhalter Brothers, monument builders from Philadelphia, offered to make Whitman a mausoleum at cost, hoping to earn publicity. The cemetery had opened just four years earlier,

and housing a stately memorial for a famous poet would bolster its reputation. Whitman found the offer quite seductive, and without consulting his friends, including the lawyer Thomas Harned, who regularly attended to Whitman and assisted him in legal matters, he signed a contract to allow Reinhalter Brothers to build the tomb at Harleigh and committing him to paying the cost, which was left unspecified at the time of signing.²⁰

Whitman seemed to feel as flattered by this monument as he had been toward other shows of conventional public adoration during his life—the tomb proved to be one of the occasions that evidenced Whitman's desire for public acclaim and acceptance, for signs that the country he loved and sang had accepted him as its voice. This was a sensitive topic in the final decade of Whitman's life, and he often cast himself as more reviled, misunderstood, and conventionally unsuccessful than he really was, finding it easier to consider himself a man ahead of his time than one who had achieved fair but not resounding public success.²¹

Eventually, Whitman's plans went awry—as work progressed on the tomb, Whitman paid the bills in dribs and drabs (sometimes in amounts as low as \$0.40), but was eventually presented with a horrifying bill of \$4,678, which far exceeded his estimate of what the tomb would cost. Ralph Moore, the cemetery manager, presented Whitman with the contract he had signed, but in the interim someone had inserted the specific amount, a forgery that Whitman and his companions viewed as outrageous and as enough to release Whitman from the contract. However, an independent appraiser estimated the cost of the tomb as far higher than the bill presented to Whitman, and so Whitman's friends acknowledged that Whitman was on the hook for the bill.

This conclusion was not only embarrassing to Whitman, who had begun to feel like a doddering fool over the whole episode, but also disastrous for Whitman's brother, Eddy, who was physically and mentally disabled and whose care would be dependent on whatever funds Whitman would leave him. The bill would wipe out vulnerable Eddy's inheritance, and Whitman was beside himself about it, but unwilling to allow his friends to take up contributions on his behalf. Whitman's friends knew that Eddy's fate depended on others paying Whitman's debt. At one point Traubel felt out the wealthy George William Childs, a publisher of the *Philadelphia Ledger* who had previously donated money to Whitman. Childs told Traubel he would be happy to help Whitman out of the mess, but that they should settle it before Whitman's death because potential donors would be far more likely

to support the tomb than to support Whitman's brother after he was gone: "Whitman has lots of admirers who would do anything for him but nothing for his family—wouldn't give them ten cents."²² Finally, Whitman's friend and lawyer Harned settled the bill through some combination of his own money and funds donated to Whitman, possibly from solicitations he made without Whitman's knowledge. The disciples agreed to be vague with Whitman about how this happened, and Whitman seemed happy to accept the matter as closed without asking questions.

Whitman narrowly avoided financial disaster for a tomb that seemed utterly out of character to onlookers. He tried to justify the tomb by claiming it was really for his family—the tomb could hold six bodies in two rows of three, and he wanted to be between his mother and father. However, this motive never seemed fully explanatory, despite the fact that his defenders frequently used it to excuse what would otherwise seem a luxurious excess. Two weeks after agreeing to the tomb he told Traubel he was still debating whether to put his parents in it. Later, Whitman thought it would be difficult to even locate his father's body with any certainty. He explained that he wanted the other crypts—which would eventually hold Eddy, his brother George, and George's wife and infant son—to hold his children. As the tomb fiasco came to a head, he claimed to Traubel and Harned that he had five children (to other people he had claimed six), two of whom were dead, and that he wanted them moved to the tomb. Whitman vacillated about these children—who were expedient fantasies—at first wanting them moved, then not, then wanting them again, and for some time he led Harned, "who was much stirred up by the children," to believe he would make a legal statement regarding them. Harned seemed moved by this explanation for the tomb, and several times pressed Whitman to give him more information about his children, eventually concluding, "Whitman will take the story to the grave." Whitman's purported reasons seem dubious given that he actually had no children to put in it, his father's body may not have been properly identified, and his mother's dying wish had been for Whitman to provide for Eddy's care. The tomb so flew in the face of common sense—Traubel called it "irrational"—and clashed with Whitman's long-professed ideas about death and burial that it seems other ideas must have motivated him.

Harleigh Cemetery surely appealed to Whitman as part of the larger nineteenth-century movement in which cities began burying their dead in landscaped, idyllic parks outside the city proper. Rural cemeteries allowed

for both romanticized views of these “necropoli,” where the dead seemed to eternally rest in a beautified natural setting, as opposed to teeming urban graveyards, and of cities themselves, allowing cemetery visitors to reflect on urban life by looking at the distant, quiet skyline from the serene vantage point of the dead.²³ Whitman appreciated Harleigh’s removed location and its tasteful, naturalistic landscaping. He visited the tomb construction site as frequently as his poor health allowed, turning each visit into a country day trip with his friends and caretakers. The cemetery’s landscape provided Whitman with enough natural beauty that he could justify his entombment as fitting his career-long positions on death, nature, and transformation.

The larger purpose behind Whitman’s interest in the tomb, though, was an end-of-life attempt to shore up his legacy. The first generation of American poets to solidify the nation’s literary identity, including three of whom Whitman referred to as “the mighty four,” had begun to die off as Whitman’s own aging body declined: Bryant in 1878, Emerson and Longfellow in 1882, then Lowell later in 1891. Each of these poets, held in varying degrees of respect by Whitman, were buried in a way that asserted their literary stature. Bryant was honored with an impressive obelisk in Roslyn Cemetery in Long Island, New York; Emerson was buried under a white, naturalistic boulder; Longfellow and Lowell were laid to rest in the prestigious Mt. Auburn Cemetery, one of the oldest and most iconic rural cemeteries in the country. Whitman was interested in the posthumous treatment prominent Americans received, and was fascinated if not repulsed by the desecration of Emerson’s grave and the grave of Quaker abolitionist Elias Hicks, each committed by perpetrators who seemed motivated more by adoration than by profit. Whitman felt ambivalence toward his more popular contemporaries, sometimes praising them, sometimes lamenting the “fatal defects of our American singers.”²⁴ Despite his admiration for Emerson and Bryant especially, Whitman also resented poets whom he saw as failing to answer America’s need for a distinct literature while enjoying the praise of the people, praise he never felt he adequately received. Longfellow “never broke new paths,” he told Traubel, but “perhaps will always have some vogue among average readers of English.”²⁵ In his waning years, as Whitman himself became increasingly conservative, he saw these lesser poets honored with memorial sites, which, by Whitman’s final years, blended natural beauty with shrines for public recognition, which must have resonated with the aging “American bard” who saw his “voice bringing hope and prophecy to the generous races of young and old.”²⁶

The tomb was not just a tomb to Whitman. From the beginning this place where his body would be housed after death was enmeshed with the book where his words would be housed after death. The tomb was more than a tomb; Whitman approached it as an extension of his textual self. To position himself in the American poetic pantheon, two complementary memorials would be erected—the tomb and the *Complete Poems and Prose*, the first presenting the body for public reverence, the second presenting his oeuvre for public reverence, each offering evidence of Whitman's cultural worth. The tomb and the *Complete Poems and Prose* offered an alternative track for Whitman's legacy, a more public, prominent, conventional way for his body and his body of work to live on in the public consciousness than the more organic and idiosyncratic option offered by grass and *Leaves of Grass*.

In her study of Victorian poets' graves and literary remains, Samantha Matthews argues that nineteenth-century poets' graves and works were intimately connected in the public imagination, leading readers to the physical remains and vice versa, the book and the tomb becoming dual sites of reverence.²⁷ Sometimes reverence became so piqued it turned violatory. One defender of Whitman's tomb thought the granite encasements were Whitman's rational safeguard against the "repeated tomb robberies that so disgrace this country."²⁸ Indeed, Whitman had his share of followers who were interested in relics related to his death: he was tickled to hear of admirers who came to watch the construction of the tomb and of visitors who left with pieces of the chipped granite as souvenirs. Immediately after his death, Whitman's close friends—despite their general lack of orthodoxy—shared the contemporary interest in the body at the moment of death, as well as the nineteenth-century fascination with the physiognomy of genius, and they made plaster casts of his face and hands, and sent his brain to the American Anthropometric Society for measurement (where it was accidentally destroyed).²⁹

Of course, Whitman could have avoided all of this fetishizing by arranging for his body to be disposed of in the manner he endorsed in *Leaves of Grass*. The apparent hypocrisy was not lost on some of his readers. Charlotte Porter, writing anonymously for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, called the "posthumous glory of marble" an "inappropriate" burial for a poet who held the "pantheistic thought of a restoration to the bosom of nature":

And why a tomb? Had not Walt Whitman, of all men, earned the sanctity of a burial beneath the sod of the earth? Tombs and catacombs were for those

who awaited the transfer of their earthly bodies to a material heaven in the skies. . . . Every word of the philosophy of his poetry about death is a rejoicing in it as a reunion of the body with the elements which nourished it.³⁰

Whitman's defenders, though, understood the connection between the tomb and his works, and the importance of a public memorial for ensuring his legacy. William Sloane Kennedy, responding to Porter's criticism, wrote:

What are a man's writings but a monument to his memory, which he toils all his life to erect? Whitman knew well that the nation that had rejected his great gospel would erect no monument to him, and he knew well that five hundred years or a thousand years from now his grave would be the shrine of pilgrims from every land of the globe. He did right, then, in marking the spot, and our posterity will owe him thanks.³¹

Kennedy is careful to point out that the tomb was Whitman's idea, not the imposition of friends who failed to grasp his philosophy, and that "rural Harleigh" is "in the woods and nowhere else," his tomb specifically "in the out skirts of an almost empty cemetery in a grove, and abutting on vast fields which will always remain so."

For his design of the controversial tomb, Whitman drew inspiration from a poet as interested in the visual aspects of bookmaking as he was, William Blake. Whitman sketched the tomb, then after Reinhalter brought him the plans, he reported to Bucke that he had seen the "design for the Cemetery vault (do you remember Blake's 'Death?')."³² Blake has no work called simply "Death," but Whitman was likely referring to an illustration that Blake repurposed for several contexts, including for Robert Blair's *The Grave* (fig. 4), which has been understood as Whitman's inspiration for the design.³³ Blake's illustration for this poem shows a figure gazing heavenward on top of the grave, which did not appear in Whitman's design. But Blake used almost the same illustration in other contexts: in *For Children: The Gates of Paradise* (1793), where the top figure is missing, and in *America, A Prophecy* (1793) (fig. 5), where the top figure is also missing, and where the tomb is nestled in a hillside with a tree on top, making this illustration much closer to Whitman's design and lending it additional significance as stemming from Blake's poem about the American spirit of resistance. Though we cannot be certain which illustration inspired Whitman, it seems that the illustration from *America* is more similar to Whitman's plans and comes from a text that would have been meaningful to him.

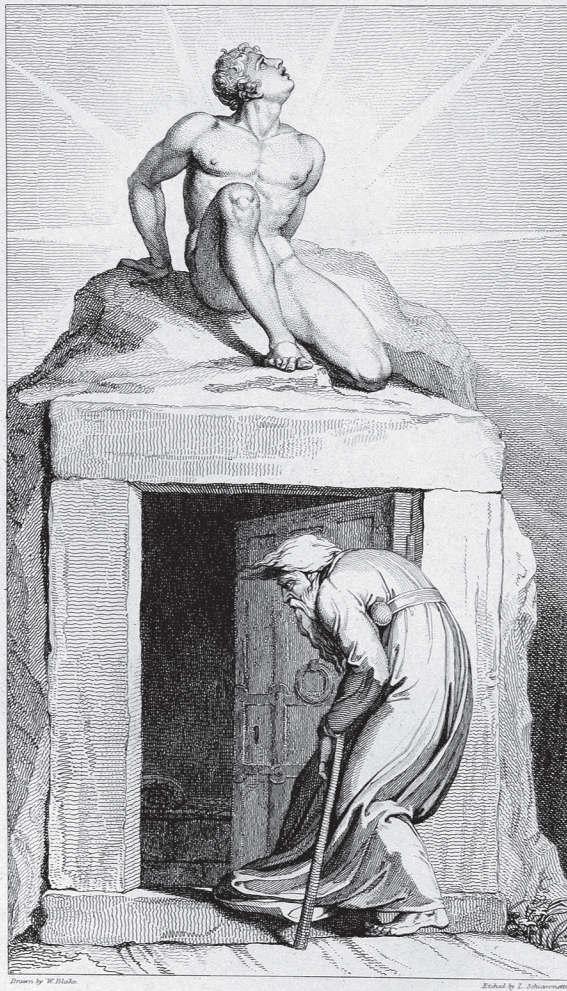


Fig. 4. William Blake, *Death's Door* (1808).

Whitman gave the tomb a title, *Beth*, telling Traubel it means “the unseen, the way up, mystery,” though of course “beth” literally means “house” and provides the latter half of “alphabet,” coloring Whitman’s house for his body with an etymological nod to textuality. “*Walt Whitman’s Burial Vault*” he jotted, as if he were writing advertising copy. In the sketch (fig. 6) Whitman called on the allure of the rural cemetery and Blake’s illustration: “on a sloping wooded hill vault heavy undressed” and “surroundings tree, turf sky a hill, everything crude & natural.” As work began on the tomb, Whitman supervised its construction as much as his limited mobility allowed,



Fig. 5. William Blake, engraving from *America* (1793).

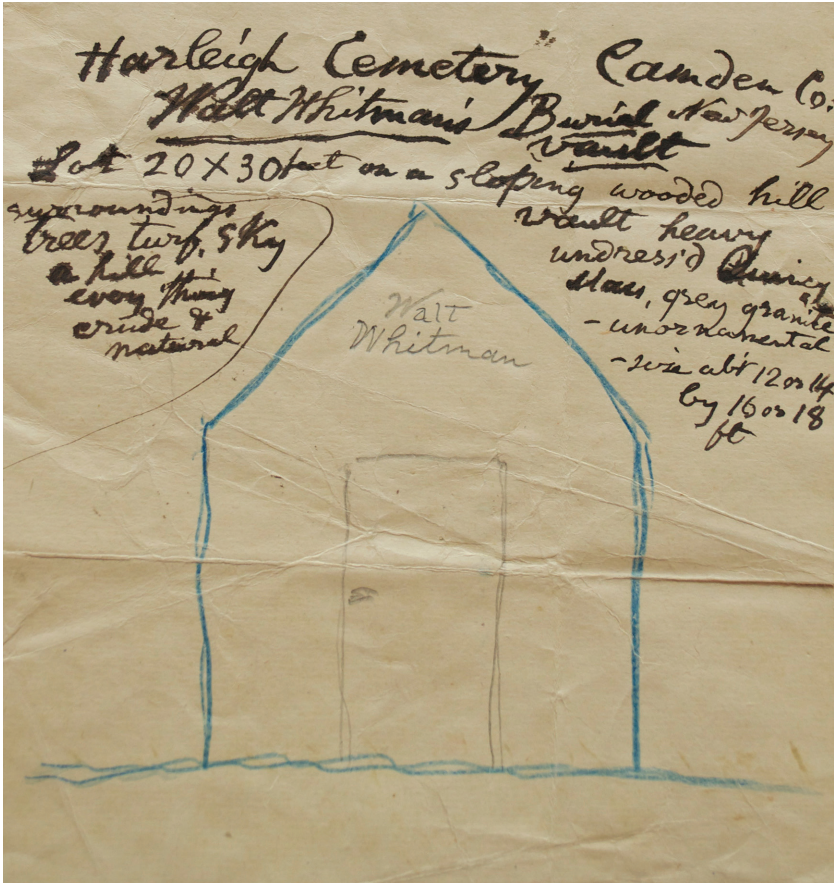


Fig. 6. Whitman's tomb design (Library of Congress).

involving himself the way he did when he supervised the printing of his books. As work progressed on the front of the tomb, Whitman intervened when engravers added a construction date under his name—Walt Whitman 1891—explaining that “my printer’s eye seems offended.”³⁴

When the tomb was completed and the payment imbroglio was heating up, Whitman began thinking about marketing the tomb, much in the way he orchestrated promotion of his books. He sought out two photographers to take pictures of the tomb under his direction, wanting them to capture “all that goes with it—air, trees, a bit of sky, the hill.”³⁵ Eventually, he selected

one of the photographs to reproduce for distribution—a circular picture of the tomb in the middle of a card with specific instructions for layout and printing.

However, as Whitman neared death, he seemed to grow more ambivalent about the tomb. He avoided conversation about it, once changing the subject when William Douglas O'Connor's wife questioned the reasoning behind it, saying "More and more as I grow old do I love the grass. It seems to supply me something—some dear, dear something—much my need, yes, greatly needed."³⁶ Eventually, Traubel reported, Whitman stopped speaking about the tomb, "conscious, in a way, that his friends suspect its consistency and wisdom," though he protested once to Traubel, "it will justify itself—the tomb is one of the institutions of this earth; little by little reason will eke out. Yes, it is 'for reasons.'"³⁷

In Whitman's final years he showed some interest in the tomb as an "institution," writing two poems in 1885 about the deaths and burials of American political heroes. In "Ah, Not this Granite, Dead and Cold," a brief meditation on Washington's life, he begins at the monument, "from its base and shaft expanding," looking outward to all the places in the world "Wherever Freedom, poised by Toleration, swayed by Law, Stands or is rising thy true monument." The dead, cold, granite monument is but a marker, inadequately encapsulating Washington's significance but directing Whitman's mind outward to his influence. In "As One by One Withdraw the Lofty Actors," Whitman sees the political heroes of his age as actors "receding" "in countless graves," much as Blake's old man seems to retreat to the tomb. He concludes by encouraging their "hero heart" to persist through the ages, and directing the grave to "wait long and long." These poems capture Whitman's ambivalence toward graves in his final years, seeing the living world as the true measure of a figure's legacy, but using the burial site as a point of departure for meditating upon their worth.

Whitman's tomb was contradictory to many of the ideas set forth in his poetry, but as he insisted, it had its reasons—the tomb was key to establishing Whitman's reputation after death. A poet for the nation needed a monument for the nation, and this monument would have two parts: a textualized tomb and a tomblike text. Whitman set the trajectory of his legacy by planning his tomb, but the textual component of the memorial needed to be completed by others.

4. "TALLYING THE MAN FROM CRADLE TO GRAVE"

By the end of the nineteenth century, the development of a textbook industry and the rise of public libraries expanded the market for all kinds of editions of American authors. Libraries and universal education were promoted as civic investments, and books that canonized the venerable poets of the United States complemented their mission. Houghton Mifflin led American publishers in catering to this demand, publishing numerous patriotic series of biographies and compilations of American statesmen and authors under the direction of editor Horace Scudder, who also edited the *Atlantic Monthly*. Scudder wrote on educational theory, promoting ideas that would in turn promote his company's books. In his 1888 *Literature in School* he described the dying generation of America poets:

They were born on American soil; they have breathed American air; they were nurtured on American ideas. They are Americans of Americans. They are as truly the issue of our national life as are the common schools in which we glory. During the fifty years in which our common-school system has been growing to maturity, these six have lived and sung; and I dare to say that the lives and songs of Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell have an imperishable value regarded as exponents of national life.³⁸

Whitman was conspicuously absent from his list, reflecting his tenuous position among the literary establishment near the end of the century. Scudder himself supervised the creation of several large collected editions of deceased American authors: Lowell, Whittier, Thoreau, Bryant, Holmes, Emerson, and Hawthorne. These expansive posthumous editions asserted something that authorially supervised editions could not: that after the author's death, the culture found him worthy of such a collection, and, in most cases, that even his juvenilia and unpublished writings—which the author may not have wanted to claim—should be preserved in a textual monument to his development as a genius.

Though Houghton Mifflin stood as the leading producer of these monuments, for many years they did not deem Whitman worthy of such treatment. They even initially rejected his inclusion in the more modest Men of Letters series. In 1898, Charles Dudley Warner, the series editor, wrote to Houghton Mifflin explaining:

To me his name still stands in doubt.

Whatever he is, could you in any way call him a Man of Letters?

If he is a genius, is he a poet? He defies all form. I recognize genius in places. But he was an awful *poser*. Some time before his death, when he was supposed to be in destitution, Mr. Cary of the Century, at great trouble, organized readings for him in New York, and raised some money. When he died it was found that he saved up about \$5000 to build himself a monument!³⁹

Whitman's financial dealings would seem irrelevant to his status as a poet, but Warner saw the tomb affair as evidence of Whitman overreaching in defining his legacy, and wanted no part in extending that overreach by "admitting him among the poets." The publishers agreed, and would not treat Whitman in an homage volume for several years. If Whitman was going to receive the extended, reverential treatment of a multivolume edition, the task would fall to those personally invested in ensuring his legacy, his executors.

Whitman's will named Traubel, Bucke, and Harned as his literary executors. In the years preceding and immediately following Whitman's death, the executors, who viewed Whitman as a religious figure as much as a poet, were deeply concerned with regulating Whitman's public image. Traubel, Harned, and Bucke, in particular, were keenly worried about Whitman's legacy, and feared that other students of Whitman, such as Kennedy or the British contingency of Whitman followers, would begin publishing on Whitman in ways that would challenge the image of him—and of themselves—that they hoped to project. Even before Whitman was dead Bucke wrote to Traubel that their purpose in writing *In Re Walt Whitman* was to "preempt the WW market."⁴⁰ Traubel was very concerned with J. A. Symonds's noncondemnatory insistence that "Calamus" was about homosexual love, which Traubel viewed as libelous.⁴¹ To avert such an interpretation of Whitman's life, and no doubt to publicly affirm their own authority in such matters, Bucke, Traubel, and Harned, with some guidance from Whitman himself, released *In Re Walt Whitman*, as they described it, a "cluster of written matter—abstract, descriptive, anecdotal, biographical, statistical, poetic."⁴² The book affirmed the executors' authority in its creation by stating in all capitals on the title page that it was "edited by his literary executors." Even the title's "In Re" invokes a legalese that underscored the executors' role. The book includes expository and creative work by critics, acolytes, and Whitman himself, and declares the executors as the post-

humorous arbiters of Whitman criticism. Whitman's precarious reputation at the time of his death required, or seemed to require, such maneuvers from his executors. Bucke, Traubel, and Harned were dually influenced by their status as devoted followers—a status most literary editors do not share—and by their perceived responsibility to secure a positive view of Whitman that would poise him for his rightful legacy. For Bucke and Traubel, at least, this was as much a spiritual duty as a personal one. In the decade after Whitman's death the executors' most pressing concern was not yet to issue an edition of his work. Instead, they focused on releasing critical materials and selected correspondence that would help them regulate Whitman's image. Whitman's executors, motivated by their devotion to Whitman and by the desire to preempt the Whitman market, published between 1892 and 1902 one hundred works about Whitman.

As Whitman's executors were fortifying his posthumous reputation, they began amassing the materials for a large collected edition, and found a collaborator in Oscar Lovell Triggs, a literature instructor at the University of Chicago who had published on Whitman and advocated for his poetry after Whitman's death—in fact, Triggs was the earliest known college faculty member to teach a course on Whitman, beginning in 1894.⁴³ Sharing the editing of the 1902 edition with Triggs was smart: Triggs brought an academic prestige to the project that the other editors, well known as personal friends and disciples to Whitman, could not.

The executors chose George Putnam's Sons as the publisher for the edition. Putnam's Sons was an appealing option. While Houghton Mifflin was the clear leader in publishing collected editions of great American authors, Putnam's Sons—which had published only a few such editions, of Cooper, Irving, and Poe—had built a similar reputation for publishing collected editions of the writings of major figures in the history of American democracy. From 1885 to 1900, Putnam's Sons had published collected editions of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Monroe, Paine, Hamilton, Madison, Roosevelt, and, notably, Whitman's beloved Lincoln. Houghton Mifflin may not have found Whitman deserving of such treatment, but he was in good company at Putnam's Sons, whose imprimatur subtly suggested Whitman's significance as a figure of his American epoch. Also, Putnam's Sons' printing arm, the Knickerbocker Press, had ties to the American Arts and Crafts movement, through which Triggs and Traubel had become acquainted. The two men viewed Whitman—with his firmly held beliefs about the role of the author as a craftsman in bookmaking—as a model artisan within the

movement. The Knickerbocker Press produced the edition in accordance with the movement's aesthetics: each volume's title page is printed with a woodcut floral motif, characteristic red and black ink, and typeface imitative of productions from William Morris's Kelmscott Press (figs. 7 and 8). Aspects of this design are echoed through the volumes in ornamental flourishes and the modernized gothic typeface used for titles of poems. These visual cues, along with the binding and high quality of deckled paper used in some of the editions, asserted that Whitman was a poet deserving of luxurious and reverential treatment. As Kenneth M. Price and Ed Folsom put it, "Anyone looking at this edition of his work knew immediately that it *looked* like the work of a major author."⁴⁴

The *Complete Writings* was published in ten volumes:

- 1–3: Introduction (by Harned and Traubel), reprint of the Deathbed edition of *Leaves of Grass*, "Variorum Readings of *Leaves of Grass*" by Triggs
- 4–8: *Specimen Days and Collect*, *November Boughs*, and *Good-Bye My Fancy*; *The Wound-Dresser*, reprint of Bucke's 1898 book; *Calamus*, reprint of Bucke's 1897 book; "Letters Written by Walt Whitman to His Mother," "Walt Whitman and Oratory," "Walt Whitman and Physique," and "Walt Whitman and His Second Boston Publishers," all reprinted from Harned's 1902 *Letters Written by Walt Whitman to His Mother from 1866 to 1872*.
- 9–10: *Notes and Fragments*, reprint of Bucke's 1899 book; "The Growth of 'Leaves of Grass'" by Triggs; "Bibliography of Walt Whitman" by Triggs.

The edition included four significant editorial and critical contributions: the biographical introduction by Harned and Traubel, and three pieces of original work by Triggs—"The Growth of Leaves of Grass," a bibliography, and a lengthy and rather cumbersome variorum. The book was published in six different versions, or "editions" as the publisher called them, which ranged in quality and price and were given names that connected them to Whitman. Copies of the various versions were limited as follows:

- National Edition (500 copies)
- Camden Book Lover's Edition (500)
- Paumanok Edition (300)

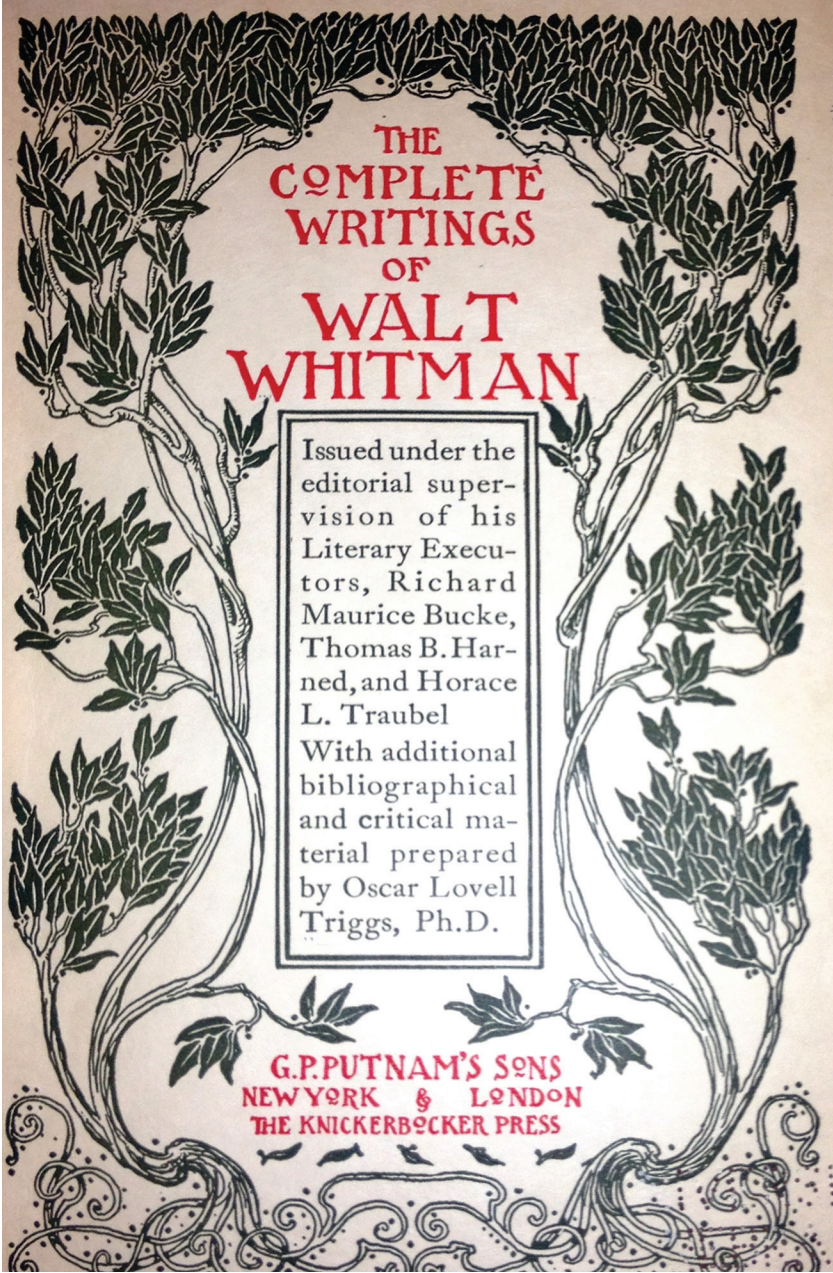


Fig. 7. Title page from *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, George Putnam's Sons, 1902.

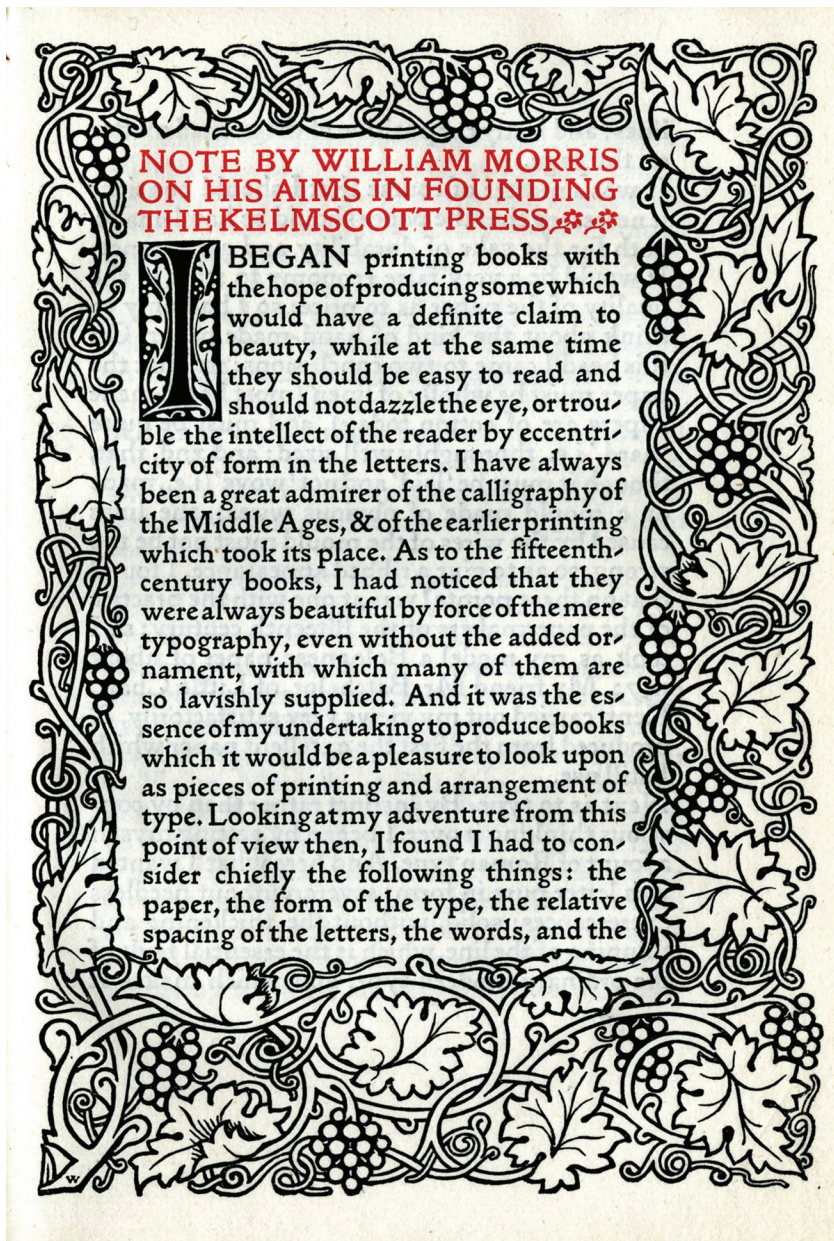


Fig. 8. "Note by William Morris on His Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press," Kelmscott Press, 1895.

Collector's Camden Edition (300)
 Connoisseur's Camden Edition (200)
 Author's Manuscript Edition (10)

Triggs's contributions and Putnam's Sons' marketing were both crucial to the success of the edition, which quickly became desirable collectors' items.⁴⁵ Reviews of the edition were largely positive, and typically pointed to Triggs's contributions and the physical properties of the books as the edition's strongest qualities. By the time the volumes were released, Bucke and Traubel had gained a reputation as hopeless acolytes, prompting many reviewers to approach their role in the edition with some suspicion—such fawning idolatry, they typically believed, could only interfere with a well-balanced edition. To be sure, the disciples were not disinterested in the edition. Michael Robertson has argued that Whitman's religious followers viewed *Leaves of Grass* as scripture, and therefore viewed excerpting it as a kind of sacrilege that failed to comprehend or respect the entirety of Whitman's spiritual message.⁴⁶ This attitude surfaces throughout their introduction—they insist that "*Leaves of Grass* is one poem. . . . Its foundation is a man moral, aesthetic, religious, emotional, meditative, patriotic. It tallies this man from the cradle to the grave. Nay, more, before the cradle and beyond the grave, limitless either way, accepting neither a beginning nor an end."⁴⁷ Such worshipful remarks—later they describe Whitman as "one of the great spiritual forces of the modern world"⁴⁸—struck some reviewers as inappropriately hagiographic. However, the prominent involvement of Triggs, whose PhD was noted on the title page of each volume, appeased many reviewers' concerns and invited them to approach the critical apparatuses as more objective work. A reviewer for the *Outlook* faults the biographical introduction because its "note of appreciation is much more distinctly sounded than that of judicial appraisal." Similarly, he claims that "the editors of this edition would have better served [Whitman's] memory if their interpretation had been a little better balanced."⁴⁹ However, the reviewer describes the volume as "sumptuous," and believes that "the old poet would hardly recognize himself in so magnificent a form." Tellingly, when he lists the contents of the volumes, he affixes the title "Mr." to Bucke, and "Dr." to Triggs. Although Bucke was a psychiatrist, it was the academic credentials of Triggs that stood out to the reviewer. In this response to Whitman, we may see the first intimations that the reading public would eventually prefer a profes-

sional, disinterested editorial stance over the work of friends and family that so often characterized nineteenth-century editions.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson—who harbored a well-known hatred for Whitman, seeing him as overly sexual, egotistical, and cowardly—wrote a review of the *Complete Writings* in the *Nation* that was surprisingly positive, pointing specifically to “its mechanical execution” and to “that absolutely fearless candor which only the profoundest faith in their author can secure for editors.”⁵⁰ Higginson notes their “profoundest faith” as an asset, but when he details what he views as the edition’s chief virtues, he points mostly to the work of Triggs. “The present editors,” he acknowledges respectfully, “do not shrink from inserting not only the details of every change, but even the unprinted variations which have hitherto existed in manuscript only.” Triggs’s variorum tracked the printed changes in each of the editions—of which he included the 1876 issue—and included transcriptions of manuscript versions of selected poems. Triggs clearly did not avail himself of all the manuscripts then owned by the three executors, and concentrated mostly on the major poems, such as “Song of Myself” and “I Sing the Body Electric.” Nevertheless, the scope of the variorum at over one hundred pages long impressed readers such as Higginson as comprehensive.

The early reviews of the *Complete Writings* demonstrate a concern about the edition that would be echoed decades later about the *Collected Writings*, and later still about the *Walt Whitman Archive*. Higginson notes that while it is “desirable, especially in dealing with a peculiarly original and innovating poet, to know the successive phases and forms of his literary productions, . . . this might seem to the author himself very undesirable.” Similarly, an *Athenaeum* reviewer claims:

Whenever a man has really impressed his mark on literature some one will be found to disinter his juvenilia and hackwork from the quiet repose to which their author is inclined to leave them. We do not say that this is a bad thing for literature on the whole, though it often gives us books in which a great name vouches for material of little or no absolute value.⁵¹

Both reviewers admire the editorial apparatuses of the edition, but both express some ambivalence about including what Ed Folsom has called the “discarded writings” of the poet—“doubtful piety,” as the *Athenaeum* reviewer called it.⁵² Their concerns about including passages that were altered or disowned, however, shows a marked shift from commentators’ concerns

only a decade prior. Immediately after Whitman's death, many reviewers set about trying to publicly determine which of his poems were best, as those would be the ones they thought would endure. Though opinions were mixed, and favorites ranged from the predictable "O Captain" to the less expected "Sail Out for Good, Eidólon Yacht," the overall effect of these reviews was to begin the work of distilling the copious writings of a poet of inconsistent quality down to the select few that could prove timeless. Such efforts marked the precarious canonical position of Whitman in the 1890s, a fact that did not escape his executors. After Arthur Stedman published a selection of Whitman poems that he found "most nearly in harmony with the poetic era,"⁵³ Traubel decried the volume as an "expurgation."⁵⁴ The publication of *Complete Writings*, though, changed the terms of the debate. Instead of questioning which of Whitman's published poems would endure, reviewers were now asking whether his unpublished scraps should be preserved. Over the first decade after his death, the central question of admitting Whitman to the canon was one of winnowing. But the editors and publisher of the *Complete Writings* made a bold assertion with the 1902 edition that pruning and preserving Whitman's poetry were to be performed just as they would for any other major and legitimate poet. Even the *Outlook* reviewer, who retained some doubt about Whitman's consistency and endurance, believed by 1902 that such an edition was "inevitable":

Whitman would gain, as no other American writer would gain, by a representative selection of the best that he wrote, detached from that mass of his writing which expressed his temper and his point of view rather than illustrates his genius. A complete edition of Whitman was, however, inevitable, and no ardent lover of the poet could ask for his work in handsomer form.

Whitman's editors knew they were enshrining Whitman in their monumental edition. In the introduction, Traubel and Harned wrote, "Whitman is the book, and the book is Whitman. And this Whitman is a thousand times vaster than either the book or the man. . . . Walt Whitman, cosmically construed, is the blood and brawn of the book."⁵⁵ They emphasized the joint identity of Whitman and his book, even making the surprising and dubious claim that they, as his friends, had no special knowledge of him: "those who absolutely knew Whitman in the flesh had no real experience not realized as well by those who have known him by the books." They saw their job as the steward of Whitman's textual afterlife, the guardian of his new form.



Fig. 9. Tomb of Walt Whitman, Harleigh Cemetery. Frontispiece to volume 10 of *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*.

They believed as Whitman did that he would be either entirely embraced or decidedly rejected, explaining, “When he died there were many who smacked their lips with satisfaction and declared that he was dead indeed. But he has lived on with dramatic persistency.” The dramatic persistency was theirs, who worked so concertedly to buoy his posthumous reputation.

One of the more intriguing episodes recounted in the editors’ introduction is Whitman’s funeral, which they describe as a kind of mystical carnival, in which thousands of people, many of which with no conscious understanding, felt pulled into the celebratory procession, where fakirs were selling fruit and wares and there was much “merrymaking” among “the kaleidoscopic features of the country fair” before assembling at Whitman’s tomb. In the last volume of the *Complete Writings*, largely an assemblage of “fragments left by Walt Whitman,” lies a prefatory photograph (fig. 9) depicting the tomb: there lies Whitman’s remains in the granite monument, next to the literary remains that lie in his textual one.

CHAPTER 4

Cold War Editing and the Rise of the “American Literature Industry”

A boom in collected editions lasted through the early twentieth century, producing monumental sets like Whitman's that were meant to seal an author's reputation. As Michael Anesko has argued, publishers realized they could continue to make money off of authors on their rosters, even if those authors were no longer productive, by repackaging their work as collected editions and selling them on subscription.¹ Beautiful, uniformly bound volumes suggested to consumers not only that they were purchasing *the* Henry James, for example, but also that James belonged to a particular publisher.²

The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collected editions were often as important for their physical characteristics as for the texts they contained: they occupied space in the home as beautiful cultural objects, combining industrialized book production with the luxury of nostalgia for the handmade, as many of the higher-end editions included handcrafted flourishes, or even signatures or other handwritten bits by the author.³ The editing of the texts was itself unprincipled and secondary to concerns such as the aesthetics of the volumes. Anesko points out that for a collection James himself supervised, he ordered the texts so that they could be divided into volumes of pleasantly similar width.⁴ James also took the opportunity of a collected edition to tweak his legacy by revising his works and silently excluding some he wanted to disown,⁵ making the collected edition a collection of intellectual property he valued, as opposed to the more exhaustive record of an author's intellectual life that would become standard in a few decades.⁶ When posthumous editing, often performed by commercial editors or friends and family of the deceased, did have guiding principles, they were typically based on market speculation or on sensitivity to the author's wishes. It wasn't until the midcentury development of a communi-

ty of American scholarly editors that well-articulated methodologies were applied to American texts.⁷

The genesis of the “golden age of editing”—that is, the period from about 1960 to 1975—is usually pinpointed as W. W. Greg’s influential 1950 address, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,”⁸ for heralding in what would become the Greg-Bowers method, which enabled a flourishing of midcentury editions of American authors.⁹ The Greg-Bowers method resonated with Cold War textual scholars: it easily cohered with dominant American political ideology, it complemented the scientific gestalt taking hold of American academic research, and it thereby provided a way for the humanities to professionalize and achieve institutional stature in the era of government research funding. This chapter reviews the development of the Greg-Bowers method and considers it within the context of larger trends within American Cold War politics and academics. It concludes with a consideration of landmark midcentury collected editions of American literature and how they were variously interpreted as welcome monuments to American cultural accomplishment and as evidence of the destruction of humanistic inquiry.

1. GREG’S “RATIONALE OF COPY-TEXT”

Greg’s essay was one of the first attempts to outline principles for the systematic and professional editing of literature. His assertion was so simple and so provisional that we might wonder why it is credited with almost single-handedly setting the course for a concerted, collaborative national academic movement. Looking at a long tradition of slipshod editing in which individual editors typically selected among variant passages based on aesthetic preference, Greg suggested a more objective approach. Early modern authors tended to hand over their manuscripts to printers who were generally conscientious about adhering to the important aspects of the author’s writing—namely, the words, or “substantives”—but who were quite comfortable playing fast and loose with what Greg called the “accidentals”—the punctuation, capitalization, and spelling, which really hadn’t standardized yet anyway and so were seen as left to the judgment of the compositor—or more accurately, were not really “seen” at all.

When we have several editions from an author’s lifetime, then, we should consider the accidentals and substantives differently. A substantive change in a later edition more than likely reflected an authorial revision rather than

a printer's obtrusiveness or carelessness, so the latest substantive variants should be considered authoritative by modern editors. For accidentals, though, which would have been freely interpreted and reinterpreted with each edition, we should look to the earliest edition, which was probably also different from the author's manuscript but not as different as later copies of that copy. We should treat these differently in order to produce a text closest to the author's final intentions, but also feel free to deviate from these guidelines anytime additional evidence suggests we should.

Even though it was so transparent and conditional, Greg's suggestion soon proved inapplicable to many American literary texts without adjustments. These adjustments were provided by early-modernist-turned-Americanist Fredson Bowers, who enumerated provisions for various textual conditions arising from industrial printing, surviving manuscripts, and transatlantic trade. Bowers also provided crucial early momentum to the scholarly editing of American literature, not only by making it a respectable academic enterprise through his own example, but also by arguing for the importance of the emerging field in influential postwar works such as *Principles of Bibliographic Description* (1949).

So why did the Greg-Bowers method ignite a scholarly movement? It's hard to imagine how Greg's simple and friendly suggestion—look to early copy for spelling and punctuation; look to late copy for word selection; or do something else if that seems best—could have mobilized hundreds of editors, professors, and graduate students to create well over a hundred volumes of editions of American authors with unprecedented governmental funding. The method gained traction because the timing of Greg's paper, along with the seeming objectivity and flexibility of his method, resonated in the United States at a time when federal spending priorities were dramatically changing American academia,¹⁰ and provided a compass for the humanities to navigate the middle decades of the Cold War.

2. SCHOLARLY EDITING AND THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

During World War II, the federal government began pouring unprecedented amounts of money into military research and development. At the close of the war, the momentum transferred into a research and development policy in which the government underwrote research activities that worked for the common good and bolstered the international reputation

of the United States.¹¹ The underlying research and development principle was that government would fund basic research—sometimes thought of as knowledge for knowledge’s sake—and commercial enterprises, squeamish about investing in expensive research with no clear practical outcome, could then use the fruits of government-funded research to develop specific, profitable applications. We typically hear about this momentous rise of research and development in regard to its influence on the sciences in American universities—as it transformed universities around the country into federally funded laboratories—but this policy shift was similarly consequential to the field of American scholarly editing, which scarcely existed before World War II and has never since enjoyed the energy and bounty of the Cold War years, except perhaps in the first decade of the twenty-first century, when it was reenergized by the advent of digital editions.

During the Cold War, a crop of ad hoc federal agencies arose to fund a number of projects designed to showcase not only America’s scientific prowess but also its cultural and artistic accomplishments. This was an era not only of supersonic flight, the moon landing, and general-purpose computers, but also of “goodwill tours,” “jazz ambassadors,” and other efforts to show both America’s Cold War enemies and developing nations the ennobling of the American Way. Government funds had tended to support scientific knowledge, but humanistic inquiry presented a thornier subject, because it often dealt directly with studying and interpreting ideology, and was thereby quite difficult to present as value-neutral. What was needed was a humanist enterprise that was seemingly free of ideology but that affirmed American history and cultural accomplishment in a way that evaded ideological, political, and cultural scrutiny by politicians and the public.

In the 1960s, the federal government laid the groundwork for such endeavors. In 1964, the government approved funding for the National Historical Publications and Records Commission to “edit and publish papers of outstanding citizens of the United States.” In 1965, Congress passed the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act, which postulated, “An advanced civilization must not limit its efforts to science and technology alone.”¹² It argued:

The world leadership which has come to the United States cannot rest solely upon superior power, wealth, and technology, but must be solidly founded upon worldwide respect and admiration for the Nation’s high qualities as a leader in the realm of ideas and of the spirit.¹³

With this nationalistic objective, in 1966 the newly formed National Endowment for the Humanities funded as one of its first projects the Center for Editions of American Authors, which had been formally constituted in 1963. The CEAA proudly billed itself as the product of the only nation that saw fit to fund the professional, full editing of its authors.¹⁴ Bowers's adaptation of Greg's methods was just the catalyst that textual scholars needed to join the ranks of generously funded, conspicuous research programs. It provided a quasi-scientific research methodology at a time when scientific progress largely defined American academics both to the federal government and to the international community. Further, by insisting upon its own objectivity and retreating into the text, it provided an "objective," supposedly apolitical humanistic scholarly activity at a time when American universities, recently besieged by the Red Scare and inundated with a new coed hoi polloi, wanted to retreat from the messy politics of the day.

A key factor in the institutional and financial success of Cold War editing was the discipline's alignment with the methodologies and ethos of the behavioral sciences, which proliferated after World War II, soon came to dominate Cold War academia, and forever altered the relationship between government funding and academic research. The humanities, on the other hand, suffered on many fronts after the war: first, the enormity of the war called into question some of the values at the very core of a classical education; later, an increasingly paranoid government and citizenry became wary of any enterprise that called for trying out dangerous doctrines and politicizing knowledge. The behavioral sciences, by contrast, offered apparently value-neutral knowledge and quantifiable results. While humanists worked alone on subjective, interpretive undertakings that seldom had practical ramifications, behavioral scientists worked in professional teams that lent academia an air of comforting competence, authority, and consensus.¹⁵

Scholarly editing closely paralleled the model of midcentury behavioral sciences, and became a way through which the humanities could reap some of the behavioral sciences' rewards, both financial and reputational. It assumed some of the same precepts as the behavioral sciences in its interest in both the motivation and agency of the individual author and the examination of quantifiable patterns of behavior. By examining compositional and publication histories while eschewing sociopolitical contextualization, it studied evidenced behavior without explicitly taking up the more complex and incendiary questions of how to interpret American history. In fact, the very name of the Center for Editions of American Authors suggests

the purportedly ideology-free parameters of the project: the metonymy between an author and his or her works is altogether taken for granted by the name, and invisibly suggests that the Center would not be looking much further than authorial biography in its presentation of texts. By undertaking this work in professional teams overseen by sanctioning committees, Cold War scholarly editing aligned itself with the purportedly value-neutral think tanks that proliferated in the behavioral sciences and appealed to government funders. Taken together, these developments signaled what seemed to many humanists to be a distressing overprofessionalization of the humanities, and consequently editing would become a lightning rod for the animus that some scholars felt toward changes in their profession.

The CEAA accomplished many of the goals of federal funding during the Cold War. Granted large amounts of money from the NEH, the CEAA funded the creation of critical editions that would become monuments to American literary genius. Through the Greg-Bowers method, critical editions were necessarily the aim: that is, the method sought to produce editions that did not necessarily represent any document that had ever previously existed, but rather an ideal representation of authorial intent stitched together from eclectic sources of evidence. John Bryant has observed that critical editions could theoretically be sensitive to a range of intentionalities, including differing intentions over an author's career, but in practice they have conflated intention with "the *final* intentions of an *autonomous* author,"¹⁶ Moreover, these final intentions are really final intentions inferred from a spotty documentary record, elevated through editing to a permanent status because they seem to have come last. As David Greetham has described them, critical editions aimed to "separate the Platonized *textus* of the 'text that never was' from the accreted social detritus that too often accompanied the text proper in this fallen world."¹⁷ Critical editions, then, while produced from intense scrutiny of textual history, evaded pointing to any particular historical moment in order to serve as tributes to atemporal, lasting authorial genius. Only authors whose demographic position and writing seemed so natural and timeless as to transcend their particular contexts could be eligible for such treatment. In its decade of administering funds, as the civil rights movement came to a boil, the New Left set up residence in college campuses, and the sexual revolution began, the CEAA directly funded or otherwise supported editions by the following authors: Stephen Crane, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Dean Howells, Washington Irving, Henry David Thoreau, Mark Twain, Walt

Whitman, James Fennimore Cooper, Herman Melville, William Gilmore Simms, Charles Brockden Brown, Harold Frederic, William James, and John Dewey. These editions, taken as a whole, suggest how a conservative academic discipline wanted to view the history of American letters.

3. EDITING AND THE DECORRUPTION OF AMERICAN GENIUS

The Greg-Bowers method provided editors with a way to systematically enshrine the genius of American authors by narrowing the scholarly focus to the text itself and to the compositional process that created it.¹⁸ Only by stripping away the "corruptions" of the outside world can we uncover the true text—as Joel Myerson has argued, the one suitable for the New Critical analysis¹⁹—and uncover the Romantic genius at work. From the release of the first editions, the CEAA fielded fierce criticism from scholars who viewed the volumes as exercises in pedantry, who famously charged editors for trapping textual beauty "behind barbed wire,"²⁰ and who were generally uninterested in any variants except the most substantive substantives. To defend against this, the champions of the Greg-Bowers principle accused their critics of intellectual laziness, of caring more about the ease of carrying a book on an airplane than the rigor of the text, and ultimately resorted to a New Critical defense that "the real bouquet of a style develops in the thousands of fine distinctions the author makes in the act of creation."²¹

The alleged pedantry of critical editions was really the materialization of a Cold War ideal, in which universities provided space for pure research that would eventually, it was hoped, materialize into practical private application. So as the CEAA dumped money into "barbed wire" volumes—in today's dollars, each CEAA volume cost about \$85,000 in editing alone, not including printing—the goal was always that CEAA-supported professional editions with complete, rigorous apparatuses would provide the basis for private publishers to create accessible readers' editions and textbooks, stripped of the apparatus and ready for the swollen student body squeezing into New Critical classrooms after the G.I. Bill.

This was a public/private partnership, in which the government underwrote supposedly depoliticized, scientifically edited, esoteric volumes with the goal of producing publicly accessible monuments to American genius, and directly resulted from Cold War opinions about the purposes of aca-

demic research and the government's role in supporting it. "The chief glory of every people arises from its authors," explained the first president of the CEAA, Matthew Brucoli, quoting Samuel Johnson, and the federal government seemed to agree.

From its beginnings, the professionalization of textual editing was intimately tied to war technologies. Scholarly editing was born out of the "New Bibliography," an interest in forensically examining canonical early modern print materials for evidence of their physical production, with the aim of using this information to determine the most authoritative variants. Interest in the New Bibliography began among literary scholars in the prewar decades, but received a boost from technology used for aerial photograph comparisons during World War II. During the war, Fredson Bowers was stationed in Australia as a cryptanalyst, supervising the work of a team that included his future bibliographic protégé, Charlton Hinman. Hinman was apparently impressed by a demonstration on aerial photograph comparisons, in which two photographs, taken at different times, are viewed stereoscopically, allowing the examiner to quickly spot changes in the landscape as disturbances in his visual field.²² After the war, Hinman followed Bowers to the University of Virginia, where he applied both his skills as a careful analyst of text and his interest in the photographic compositor to the study of Renaissance literature. Borrowing equipment from the navy, Hinman constructed what came to be known as the Hinman collator, which allowed a bibliographer to place pages from different textual witnesses in stereoscopic focus. As with wartime photograph compositors, this called the viewer's attention to any variation between the two. The collator required considerable time for setup and adjustment, but allowed scholars to identify textual differences much faster than by going back and forth between witnesses, and in some cases called attention to slight differences that were easily missed using older methods. The collator was an inventive marvel. It helped set a tone of authority and technical analysis that would characterize scholarly editing through the Cold War, in particular through the other kind of editorial apparatus, the lists of variants and explicatory notes.

The attention to textual detail among New Bibliographers and scholarly editors at midcentury reflected larger currents in academia and beyond. Textual scholars such as Bowers and Hinman adopted as one of their major projects the identification of Shakespeare's first print compositors through careful study of spelling differences among textual witnesses. The bibliographers undertook this work under the assumption that the orthographic

flexibility of the early modern period allowed compositors wide discretion in spelling, but that individual compositors would evidence consistent habits in how they spelled words. Ascertaining which compositors set which portions of which texts was important because it could provide bibliographers with key evidence in discerning which variants were most likely to be authoritative and which were likely to be corruptions. Once identified, corruptions could be purged from new editions. Jeffrey Masten has argued that this fixation on systematizing individual behaviors was an outgrowth of a larger cultural preoccupation toward outward signs of sexual "deviance" during the Lavender Scare, that period of acute cultural paranoia about "homosexuals and other sex perverts,"²³ as one government study put it, infiltrating and corrupting the body politic during the Cold War.²⁴

Certainly the language of midcentury bibliographers and editors bore a resemblance to the language of political and social paranoia in the Cold War culture at large. Both were keenly preoccupied with the removal of corruption in order to achieve a pure ideal. Science and technology, together with powers of discernment and right thinking, could purge corruptions and produce an ideal text, mind, or body politic that never in fact existed or would ever exist. Purification as a goal predated the Cold War in both social policy and textual editing,²⁵ but gained powerful momentum after World War II, when the specter of an insidious and corruptive enemy seized the public imagination. Doctors sought to purge mental disease and physical deformity from the population through invasive psychiatric treatments and compulsory sterilization programs; politicians sought to purge communists and homosexuals from the body politic; and New Bibliographers sought to purge printers' errors and postauthorial corruptions from sacred secular texts. The American Cold War zeitgeist embraced these attempts to systematically decorrupt the gene pool, the government, and the record of American cultural prowess—and the very efforts to decorrupt were also evidence of American prowess.

The absolutism of the Cold War seeped into the way that editorial theorists, particularly proponents of the Greg-Bowers method, talked about their work. The Greg-Bowers method, they said, would produce "definitive" editions that were "authoritative" and would "establish a text that should not have to be reedited." But it also rhetorically resembled its bedfellow, New Criticism. New Criticism, which arose as a conservative response to industrial capitalism by southern scholars, similarly retreated into the text, or rather, excised those portions of the contemporary world that it found distasteful and distracting, and concentrated on authors and texts that lent

themselves to the view of literature as great works by great men. Scholarly editors were focused on what Joseph Grigely has called “textual hygiene,”²⁶ which idealized textual purity, decrying other editions as “notoriously corrupt” and viewing the history of any text as “a chronicle of corruption,”²⁷ while their New Critical brethren put the same goal in religious terms, framing the study of the text in isolation as a means of studying a pure, closed, symbolic system that can lead to enlightenment. Early proponents of New Criticism tirelessly campaigned for its adoption in American literature classrooms through the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, and then, just as New Criticism began its decline at the beginning of the Cold War, scholarly editing as a fundable research project became grafted to its underlying principles: both defended the tradition of great men putting great ideas into great words against a world that was constantly corrupting and interfering.²⁸

By 1976, though the CEAA stopped granting funds, its dissolution into the Center (later Committee) for Scholarly Editions reflected the entrenchment of its core principles rather than their failure. The CSE broadened its scope to include non-American and nonliterary texts, and administered external review without directly making funding or publication decisions. By this time, the Greg-Bowers method had left an indelible impression on American editing, and even the primary competing methodology of historical documentary editing defined itself against Greg-Bowers yet shared its underlying commitment to textual purity and, arguably, authorial intent.

4. THE RISE OF “THE AMERICAN LITERATURE INDUSTRY”

An examination of the first several scholarly editions of American authors reveals how quickly the profession of editing took hold in the academy and how rapidly it garnered polarized reactions from humanists and other readers. The outbreak of World War II postponed what some scholars have credited as “arguably the first collected works of an American author edited to the standards of modern literary scholarship,”²⁹ the *Centennial Edition of the Works of Sidney Lanier*, which was eventually published in 1946. Under the general editorship of Charles Anderson, the ten-volume collected edition indeed marks the beginning of the professional turn in editing American literature, though a closer inspection of the edition reveals that in many ways it was still of an earlier kind, and belongs as much among the late nineteenth-century efforts to memorialize authors dear to editors as it does

among the Cold War attempts to make editing a scientific way of performing humanities scholarship.

The Lanier edition was important to the development of professional editing in that it was the first edition to systematically collect the works of an American author and state professional editorial principles for editing. Published too early to have been influenced by Greg, the edition roughly follows the tenets of R. B. McKerrow, the Shakespearean bibliographer who had coined the term "copy-text" and whose relatively unrefined methodology had inspired Greg to write his essay. Like other postwar editors, Anderson sought to make his edition "authoritative" and "definitive," and imposed a "reasonable uniformity" in methodology on the different volumes. Specifically, he explains: "The authoritative texts for the poetry and the prose have been established by a rule of thumb as that text which last passed under Lanier's eyes and met with his approval." This much he has in common with later Greg-Bowers editions, but he goes on to explain that the "text has been followed *verbatim*" except in its silent correction of typographical errors and dismissal of printers' errors and slips of the pen, and has been silently regularized, sometimes according to Lanier's habits and sometimes according to modern English usage. These emendations struck Anderson as commonsensical but would rankle almost any Bowersian editorial team and would be considered unacceptably sloppy and unmethodical by professional editors within fifteen years.

The Lanier edition, a fairly obscure scholarly enterprise to us now, sat at the intersection of several intellectual currents during World War II, and a closer inspection of the literary climate into which it was born exposes some of the deeply politicized forces that gave rise to professional editing at midcentury. Most conspicuously, the edition arose in a way that closely resembles the memorializing tribute editions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Charles Anderson, the general editor, was not an altogether disinterested academic, but was actually a first cousin once removed of Sidney Lanier, and thus his work on the edition seems to still be anchored in the older tradition of friends and relatives editing authors to memorialize a loved or respected family figure (and to bolster the family reputation in the process).

Besides the personal reasons for Anderson's interest in Lanier, the edition asserted the value of a distinctly southern poet to two different kinds of readers. It proclaimed to a national audience that a factional southern author, a self-styled "full-blooded secessionist" and poet of the Lost Cause

who had fought for the Confederacy, was deserving of such hagiography. But the edition also served a specific political purpose within the influential and complex circle of Southern Agrarians, which, crucially, included some of the most prominent literary theorists of the early midcentury, the New Critics Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, and John Crowe Ransom. These men were active in both movements, publishing political essays in the influential 1930 manifesto *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition* and numerous pieces considered foundational to New Criticism. Southern Agrarian New Critics were at once arguing for divesting literary study of historical and sociological context while also promoting a reactionary political agenda in which the South retreated from northern industrial modernity via agriculture. The overlap between the seemingly apolitical New Critics and the keenly political Southern Agrarians was not coincidental; they were both motivated by a passionate desire to resist the vagaries of modern, industrial, northern life by retreating into the simplicity and timelessness of the land and the poem, both stripped of the pernicious corruptions of the outside world. As with many political movements, the party faithful sought to drive out dissent and lukewarm commitment, and so in the early 1930s, Ransom, Warren, and Tate separately published essays castigating Lanier, of all people, for points of heresy that seem rather trifling from a historical distance.³⁰ Even at the time, the fundamentalist attack on Lanier seemed distasteful to many Southern Agrarians, and some rushed to his defense. One critic commented that "For Southern agrarians . . . to attack Lanier . . . is one of the curious, unexpected things that happen to disturb one's sense of a settled and clarified order."³¹ Another, J. Atkins Shackford, wrote a long defense of Lanier in the *Sewanee Review* against various charges by Ransom, Warren, and Tate, evidencing that to many Southern Agrarians Lanier was still a revered figure.³²

When Anderson, a southerner, and his editorial team, working out of Johns Hopkins University, published a professionally edited multivolume edition of Lanier's collected works, it not only asserted the value of a Confederate author to a national audience, it also performed some subtle housekeeping work within the southern intelligentsia. Lanier, it insisted, would indeed continue to be a proud figure of conservative southern intellectualism. Enconced in a memorializing volume, he had been collected, pruned, tweaked, and overall made ready for study by the new methods supplied by the invisibly political academic arm of Southern Agrarianism. However, as the war and then the civil rights movement intervened, the

shape of American culture shifted so radically in the twenty years following the Lanier edition that Lanier would fall into obscurity with his Lost Cause brethren and Southern Agrarian descendants. The Southern Agrarian and New Critical interest in textual isolation, however, would find an unlikely ally in the scientificity of Cold War editing, which was similarly invested in treating evidence of the text's material and social existence as corruptions to be purged from consideration.

The Lanier edition was something of an anomaly in its dedication to a regional writer and its hybrid approach, which blended elements of both amateur memorials and methodical professionalism. The first unambiguous attempt to professionally and disinterestedly edit the works of an American author was Thomas Johnson's 1955 edition of Emily Dickinson's *Poems*. Johnson's edition was published five years after Greg's "Rationale," and it is not clear how directly Greg influenced Johnson's methods: certainly Johnson would have completed the bulk of his editing before Greg's essay was published—in fact, his publisher claimed that the edition was "the culmination of more than a half century of effort by Dickinson students."³³ However, whether directly influenced by Greg or simply drawing inspiration from the same scholarly climate that led to Greg's statement of methodology, Johnson's edition employs a method very similar to Greg's. Whenever multiple drafts of a poem were available, Johnson (using Dickinson's handwriting to date the poems) chose the earliest fair copy—that is, a clean copy relatively free of corrections or revisions—for principal representation, relegating other variants to notes. However, Johnson added several complicating exceptions to this rule. If multiple variants originate in the same year, he gives first priority to fair copies that were sent to recipients, even if they were not the earliest. Furthermore, if he discovers that a poem "seems to achieve its final version at a date later than that of earlier fair copies," its later form is chosen and it is organized as having been written in the later year. This exception seems to contradict the general rule of choosing the earliest fair copy for principal representation—a fair copy of a later revision is certainly not the earliest fair copy. However, the exceptions make sense when viewed from Gregian principles: Johnson is trying to capture the elusive moment of Dickinson's final intent, which would normally be the first time she copied a poem cleanly, but sometimes could be much later if she revised a poem and copied it out cleanly again. Already it is not difficult to find problems in this method, such as dating a poem as originating in a year when it was actually revised and recopied.

Through this Greglike method, Johnson also implicitly affirms a paradigm of print culture: that writing seeks an audience, and that the most perfect state of a work is when the author hands it to others to read—at that moment we see the fullest realization of authorial intent but are spared the bastardizations inflicted on the text by others. Such an assumption may be a sensible way of approaching the work of an author who viewed the moment of publication in much the same way, but it is questionable in the case of a poet such as Dickinson, who viewed many of her poems as existing in flux and seems to have thought of the private distribution of variant drafts as something altogether different from “the auction of the mind of man.” We might disregard the complexities of Dickinson’s private poetics and distribution, but it becomes difficult to defend that disregard when it is done in the service of recovering authorial intent.

The weakness in applying Johnson’s Gregian methodology to Dickinson’s manuscripts was not lost on the first reviewers of the edition, who were nonetheless generally sympathetic to Johnson in his attempt to treat the record systematically. Charles Anderson (the same Charles Anderson who edited Lanier) noted that the very notion of a fair copy is fraught within Dickinson’s corpus, as she sometimes wrote competing fair copies with equal authority, and sometimes revisited a fair copy many years later, made a mess of it with new revisions, and thereby left several poems without a clear fair copy to serve as a final draft.³⁴ Jay Leyda noted that in one case Dickinson wrote two fair copies of a two-stanza poem, but later sent a third copy of the poem—this time missing the first stanza—to Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Adhering to his methodology, Johnson represented the poem using the latest draft, relegating the first half of the poem to a variant note, even though many readers would consider the copy sent to Higginson merely an excerpt, or at least so incomplete as to not merit consideration as copy-text.³⁵

In the early reviews of Johnson’s edition we can see academic readers responding to qualities of scholarly editing that would soon polarize humanists, with some favoring what they saw as an objective, methodical, rigorous correction of the American cultural record, and others resisting what they characterized as a pedantic, pseudointellectual waste of public funds that resulted in soulless and unreadable volumes. However, while noting concerns, the Johnson reviewers found them to be mere quibbles. The edition as a whole was a revelation to midcentury scholars of American literature—“a majestic piece of work,” said a reviewer in the *Modern Lan-*

guage Review.³⁶ Serious readers were aware that Dickinson was the victim of slipshod editing, both by her first editors' heavy-handed interventions and, later, her niece's ham-handed errors. But most readers did not fully realize the extent of editorial divergence, the complexity of Dickinson's manuscript record, or the rampant idiosyncrasies of her style until the Johnson edition was published.

Johnson's edition was the perfect advertisement for scholarly editing because previous editions of Dickinson were so notoriously flawed. "Just how important it is to have this text one realizes at once when one turns to Mr. Johnson's version of some familiar poem and discovers how unreliable . . . Mrs. Todd's or Colonel Higginson's or Madame Bianchi's was," wrote Newton Arvin.³⁷ Charles Anderson agreed: "the significance of the accomplishment will be readily apparent to all acquainted with the unfortunate history of their previous publication."³⁸ Reviewers believed that Johnson's careful, methodical rigor had resulted in a text that would require a critical reassessment of Dickinson's poetry. Essentially, they recognized that previous criticism of Dickinson had been based on texts that were so unreliable as to warrant redoing: "It is evident that a serious study of her poetry must begin over again," wrote Anderson. This response would starkly contrast with complaints from reviewers of later midcentury editions, who complained that editorial corrections were so minor as to fail to warrant the reediting of the work.

The canonizing power of the Johnson edition was not lost on contemporaneous readers. "Emily Dickinson has received the editorial treatment accorded to a major classical writer," wrote M. C. Bradbrook, calling the volumes a "monumental tribute" and echoing a lingering nineteenth-century view of editing whereby "the late Miss Dickinson of Amherst receives her full reward." Most readers recognized that the edition was a qualitatively new approach to American literature, and were impressed by Johnson's objective, methodical rigor. Reviewers readily proclaimed the edition "definitive" and "authoritative," terms that would become controversial in coming years, and applauded Johnson for his "maximum of objectivity," even going so far as to congratulate him on the "fortitude required in sticking to principle, once established, without becoming a machine that forgets it is dealing with poetry."

Although these reviewers were inclined to be forgiving of faults they perceived in Johnson's work, they were hesitant about what they saw as a lack of editorial arbitration: it was, in fact, the collected nature of the collect-

ed edition that they found off-putting. While Johnson's work made it clear that amateur editions had mutilated Dickinson's poetry, it also revealed that many of Dickinson's poems were tedious and mediocre, and that if Johnson elected not to exercise taste in pruning down the poems, winnowing would be the principal task of future editors. Austin Warren, the prominent New Critic, acknowledged that Johnson's job was "to publish all the 'literary remains'" yet thought that most should be jettisoned: "Johnson prints 1775 poems. I felt the immediate need to reduce them to three hundred or less."³⁹

This ambivalence is present in other reviewers' opinions of the edition. Readers seemed not to fully understand the role of the editor, in particular to what extent they should expect him to exercise aesthetic judgment in selecting texts and altering them, and how much explication and interpretation he should provide. This confusion is understandable, as the Johnson edition was groundbreaking in its inclusiveness—the earlier Lanier edition, for example, proclaimed that it "bring[s] together in definitive form the body of Lanier's writings so that they can be judged as a whole" before detailing the many kinds of second-rate texts (juvenilia, drafts, miscellany) that were excluded from the "whole." Reviewing the Dickinson edition, Newton Arvin explained to his readers something that apparently did not go without saying, that a collected edition of an American poet ought to be as methodical and comprehensive as one of a canonical European: "It has to be confessed . . . that these handsome volumes are not, and were not intended to be, edited for the ease and joy of the reader of poetry for its own sake: they are no more intended for that than the Variorum Shakespeare."⁴⁰ In a suggestion that seems antithetical to his New Critical sympathies, Austin Warren proposed that future editors make the poems more readable by stripping them of all punctuation but end stops, which would remove Dickinson's confusing and capricious dashes. Arvin complained that Johnson might have reconsidered his method in cases when variants of texts were aesthetically superior to copy-text. Some critics congratulated Johnson on his tasteful restraint in annotation, allowing the poems mostly to stand on their own, while others wished for fuller annotations, and yet others wished for less, and one, Jay Leyda, seemed positively irritated that Johnson inserted his commentary into the volume at all. He wrote, "There is no room or need in a variorum edition for such biographical speculation. The tendency to read the poems as autobiography should be combatted not reinforced by the editor."⁴¹

These concerns—how much should an editor discard for a collected edi-

tion, to what extent should he value readability over accuracy, what should the nature and length of the annotations be—would become increasingly heated as more editions of American literature were published, and as they became some of the most conspicuous and well-funded humanities endeavors within the academy.

In 1960, following the success of the Johnson edition of Emily Dickinson's *Poems*, Harvard University Press began publishing what would become a sixteen-volume edition of *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson* under the general editorship of William H. Gilman, Alfred R. Ferguson, Merrell R. Davis, Merton M. Sealts Jr., and Harrison Hayford. The edition would take twenty-two years to be published in full, and a perusal of the volumes' front matter reveals much about the changing landscape of scholarly editing from 1960 to 1982. Over the course of several volumes editors died and new editors were appointed, and the spread of the volumes surpassed the entire lifespan of the Center for Editions of American Authors, so that early and late volumes contained no seal of approval from the organization. In some important ways the *Journals* edition was unlike the scholarly editions of American authors that preceded it: it focused exclusively on writings that were mostly unpublished by Emerson (a separate edition of Emerson's published works was under way), it released volumes as they were finished, rather than as a set, and it unapologetically embraced a system of painstakingly detailed typographical symbols to inscribe Emerson's compositional processes into the lines of the edition, which boldly privileged methodical bibliographic recording over ease of reading (and in fact resembled the genetic approach favored by German editors). The *Journals* seemed to exponentially multiply the discomfiting characteristics of the few editions that predated it and to embody what were seen as the excesses of other editions that were being simultaneously published.

By 1968, even as scholarly editing endured a highly visible scandal as the public intellectual Lewis Mumford wrote a humiliating critique of the *Journals* that set off a public maelstrom, the professional, methodical editing of American authors had hit its stride: The *Journals* had released six volumes; *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York University Press) had published four volumes of an edition that would still be incomplete at twenty-five volumes by the time of this writing; *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Ohio State) had released four of an eventual twenty-three; *The Writings of Herman Melville* (Northwestern)

had published two of a still incomplete twelve-volume edition; and the Indiana edition of W. D. Howells had released its first volume.⁴² The editorial staff of these editions included prominent scholars and bibliographers; Bowers himself, who was busy on an edition of Crane that would begin to come out the following year, was the textual editor for the Hawthorne edition. These editions, all funded by the CEAA, included lengthy documentation of methodology, as well as editorial apparatuses and notes that far surpassed those of any edition of American literature published before 1960. Since the end of World War II, the profession of editing had become fully entrenched in American academia, with Fredson Bowers as its “demurge,” as one critic would scowl.

It was against this backdrop that Mumford would publish his excoriation of the *Journals*, which really served as a scapegoat for the rise of scholarly editing as a whole. The Mumford review, titled “Emerson Behind Barbed Wire,” appeared in the *New York Review of Books* on January 18, 1968, and was followed up by responses over the course of that year, most notably by the prominent man of letters Edmund Wilson.⁴³ Letters from Wilson and others followed Mumford’s review in March, following which Wilson published a two-part essay excoriating “the American literature industry” in September and October, which was itself followed by mostly approving letters in December. Together these pieces comprised perhaps the most public and notorious debates about the place of editing in the study of literature. Much has been written about Mumford’s remarks,⁴⁴ as well as the even more incendiary follow-up by Wilson, but analyses of the debate have failed to understand it as an expression of a larger response from humanists against a turn in the humanities toward a quasi-scientific professionalization modeled on the behavioral sciences.

Mumford’s most pointed criticisms, and the ones that came to dominate the debate, echo the more measured concerns of the reviewers of Johnson’s Dickinson edition. First, the editors—one of whom, it should be noted, Mumford bore some personal animus for⁴⁵—should have been more selective and not bogged the edition down with extraneous detritus. The edition suffers from “total recall,” he complains, and it “regurgitates the undigested contents of Emerson’s mind,” leaving “the major task of editing to the reader.” Second, and more aggressively, Mumford complains about the obtrusiveness of the editorial apparatus, which he declares is cause for “despair” and has made the edition “unreadable,” going so far as likening it to visiting Emerson in a concentration camp, as the title of the review sug-

gests. In fact, the insufferable apparatus is indicative of all manner of recent academic degradation to Mumford, and provides him with a springboard to launch into a diatribe against the deterioration of the humanities and a general corrosion of civilization. Given that the intrusive apparatus used by the Journals was actually quite unlike the appendix-based apparatus implemented in most midcentury editions, much of Mumford's complaining might seem cantankerous and unmotivated. However, by 1968 scholarly editing had come to embody a new model for the humanities, predicated on the political values, institutional positioning, and labor practices of the newly powerful behavioral sciences, so that many humanists viewed even an editorial apparatus as evidence of the threatened place of traditional humanistic questions in the academy.

Mumford makes several statements positioning editing within "the mock-scientific assumptions governing the pursuit of the humanities today," and complains that as part of "the scholarship industry" it "represents a colossal expenditure of human effort, money, and time that might have been addressed to matters of greater consequence." Later, this charge would be more forcefully articulated by Edmund Wilson toward the CEAA and its editions as a whole. Toward the end of his review, Mumford rails, "That pseudo-scientific non-selective canon of judgment has become now the hallmark of American literary scholarship on the eve of its surrender to the computer and to those limited problems that computers so deftly and swiftly handle." This complaint seems strangely timed to us fifty years later, knowing that the "complete surrender to the computer" was hardly looming in 1968, but the concern is important because it expresses a deep humanistic suspicion toward the kind of academic labor represented by methodical editing, and would be reformulated by public intellectuals in the twenty-first century with the rise of digital humanities, which itself gained a foothold in the humanities via scholarly editing.

As the debate grew in the *New York Review of Books* and beyond, the complaints from outside the field of editing tended to coalesce into the same recurring questions: why are we being forced to read all of this unfiltered material? Why are we wasting money and readability on detailing the minutiae of textual histories? Finally, why should we reward wastrel pedants for their work? For instance, in his letter to the *Review of Books*, Wilson complained about "these stupid academic editions" that collected too many texts by too many writers, and lamented that "the professor who edits these unnecessary works may earn academic promotion in the academic

hierarchy by his industry in becoming an authority on some writer who he discovers has never been edited and few people want to read.” Wilson lashes out at the MLA for, as he puts it, stealing governmental funds that were rightfully his. He had planned to put out collected editions of canonical authors, “well but not pretentiously edited,” though he never explains precisely what that would entail. He had been ready to begin, he explains, when the MLA swooped in and usurped his funding for what would become the CEAA.

Wilson, whose response was read—quite reasonably—as sour grapes by many scholarly editors,⁴⁶ complains further that the southern authors George Washington Cable and William Gilmore Simms were to be subjects of collected editions, and that neither one of them deserved such honor. Simms indeed would receive full treatment, complete with a CEAA seal, in the years following Wilson’s review. In Wilson’s complaint, we see a scholar of international stature in a mainstream press arguing against—among many other things—the canonicity of southern writers. Simms, an unapologetic figure of the Old South like Lanier and Cable, would never achieve the status that Wilson implicitly believes collected editions are meant to denote. However, Simms provided another opportunity for southern academics to use editing as a means to assert the value of southern history and culture during a time when so many political and cultural forces, not the least of which was the civil rights movement, threatened to overturn the values represented by these authors. In the mid-twentieth century, southern literary editors were working on two fronts: as they undertook editing as a new, collaborative, fundable mode of humanities scholarship, they also used their editions to advance a southern literary identity to the rest of the country, much as American literature—specifically the literature of the Northeast—had been doing to the rest of the world a century earlier. Wilson, an Ivy Leaguer and New Englander, implicitly believed in the cultural and scholarly superiority of the Northeast (and even went so far as to disparage the Midwest for supporting the hackwork scholarship of so many midcentury editions). To him, the attempt to canonize a provincial and regressive author such as Simms was preposterous.

The prominent Mumford and Wilson critiques of the nascent field of professional editing were hostile but ultimately ineffective at preventing the rise of the CEAA and the intractable positioning of the Greg-Bowers method as the dominant way American literature would be edited by academics into the 1980s. Notably, neither Mumford, Wilson, nor any other

critic or practitioner of midcentury scholarly editing addresses its underlying premise that large editions should be organized by author. In fact, the author-centered organization of large editions may be the only characteristic of midcentury editing that both editors and detractors found altogether natural and acceptable. The author was so fully naturalized as a basis for organization and collection that even the name of the Center for Editions of American Authors took it in stride. Though Mumford finds the chronological organization of the *Journals* unbearable in its mixing of different texts of different calibers, he never questions the validity of these texts' relationship as products of the same author's mind—he merely wants them to be separated within the edition. Further, the general tenor of the Mumford and Wilson arguments against the inclusion of detritus is not that collecting all of an author's writing is a bad idea, but that what qualifies as "an author's writing" needs to be reconsidered. We need everything Emerson wrote, Mumford seems to say, but not *everything* everything.

This complaint was more forcefully reasserted in Edmund Wilson's curmudgeonly "The Fruits of the MLA," the two-part essay that developed ideas from his earlier letter responding to Mumford in the *New York Review of Books*. Wilson, still incensed that he did not receive government funding to produce reading volumes of American texts, writes at great length about the innumerable defects he finds in the CEAA volumes, ranging from their weight (one particularly offensive volume of Hawthorne was nine pounds) to what he sees as a thoroughly unacceptable quantity of textual rubbish collected in the editions. We do not need to see early newspaper writings from which an author drew a later work because, he insists, everyone knows that ideas must begin somewhere and we don't need to know the details. Catalogs of textual variants are similarly tedious and unnecessary. Together, the collecting and cataloging constitutes to Wilson a grand scam, a "boondoggle" that overprofessionalizes a humanistic discipline and provides a cash cow for academics: "The indiscriminate greed for this literary garbage on the part of the universities is a sign of the academic pedantry in which American Lit. has been stranded."⁴⁷ Finally, he suggests that scholarly editing may be functioning on an ideological scale that transcends academia:

The moment that we are playing the most odious role in the world [Wilson was opposed to the Vietnam War] and most contradictory to our declared ideals, the study of both our literature and history has taken on monstrous proportions as fields for academic activity. . . . It is, in general, to be sure

regretted that the federal \$1,700,000,000 which had been authorized by the National Arts and Humanities Act should recently have been cut in half, in deference to the \$8,900,000,000 demanded for what is called “Defense”; but this does have a cheerful aspect: it is likely to cut down the boondoggling of the MLA editions.⁴⁸

Wilson’s attack on the CEAA editions was relentless and often mean-spirited, mixing meaty issues with personal pet peeves, and occasionally throwing in gratuitous insults to people who had nothing to do with the CEAA or its volumes. However, at its heart was a deep discomfort toward the radical shift in academic humanities that had been taking place since the end of World War II and embodied in the *New Bibliography*: teams of experts engaged in a purportedly value-neutral, scientific enterprise that ultimately served nationalistic aims and attracted government funding at the expense of other endeavors. Readers of the *New York Review of Books*—at least those whose letters were chosen for publication—agreed. William H. Y. Hackett Jr., an executive at a publishing company who was not particularly well positioned to lament the profit motive in humanities scholarship, nevertheless opined:

The Federal government, recognizing the value of authoritative texts of Hawthorne, Melville, Howells, Twain, and other great American authors has appropriated funds to help accomplish this program. With the acquisitions of such funds, some scholars, by changing hats and becoming administrators, have lost perspective in the heady atmosphere of money, influence, and power. . . . [T]hey have joined forces and retreated into their own medieval castle of academic respectability. The moat is MLA, PMLA, and CEAA; the wall, cooperating university presses (supported by tax exemptions); the portcullis, scholarship; and the keep, the CEAA imprimatur and copyright. . . . These MLA “cops” are slugging with their billy clubs of bibliographic obfuscation and cordoning off their ivory tower from all of us yippies.⁴⁹

It is no surprise that against these impassioned charges the CEAA tended to close ranks behind the goals and methodologies that had initiated it. Partly because of this, the Greg-Bowers approach became monolithic within the CEAA, and its scholars became publicly defensive of it and of the work of the Center. Over the next several years, many scholars associated with the Center wrote public defenses of its goals and methods, including most notably a pamphlet titled *Professional Standards and American Editions: A Response to*

Edmund Wilson published by the MLA, in which several humanists rallied behind the work of the Center. G. Thomas Tanselle, an accomplished editor and textual theorist in his own right, devoted a good deal of his professional activity during this time to defending Bowers and his methods against detractors, publishing regular essays in *Studies in Bibliography* in which he staunchly defended Greg-Bowers. Through the 1970s, the CEAA faced additional friction from editors working in the field of history, who were similarly meticulous and methodological, but who fundamentally rejected the tenets of critical editing. Historical editors, who in 1978 founded their own organization, the Association for Documentary Editing, did not believe that recovering authorial intent was a worthwhile pursuit, and instead focused on the rigorous selection, transcription, and annotation of documents as they existed historically—a view that would become increasingly influential to literary scholars as New Historicism and the work of Jerome McGann would permanently redirect editorial theory in the 1970s and 1980s.

Behind the unified face of the CEAA, though, even its supporters had some doubts about the sustainability of the effort. Bruccoli, who publicly championed the CEAA and believed in its essential value until the end of his life, confessed decades after its close that many of the "old boys" who were funded by the CEAA never viewed editing as a legitimate intellectual enterprise, abused the organization, and squandered the money, leaving the CEAA with no recourse to recoup the funds. He further lamented that of the many expensive texts underwritten by the CEAA, few ever made their way into classroom editions, and those that were licensed for textbook use were reprinted with no quality controls, so that all that meticulous textual detail was ultimately vulnerable to the inattentiveness of textbook publishers.⁵⁰

Even more concerning than these practical considerations, some editors began to fear that the CEAA had become too fundamentalist in its adherence to the Greg-Bowers method and too dominated by Bowers himself, who was becoming increasingly intransigent. Even Bruccoli referred to Bowers as the CEAA's "czar," and Hershel Parker, who was involved with the Center for many years but has since become one of its most vocal critics, in one of his more measured moments described Bowers as a man who "attacked in public those who were in his way"⁵¹ and in one of his less measured moments described him as "a peculiarly inattentive mad scientist of a 1930s B movie." In 1974, Parker uncovered problems with Bowers's editing of *Maggie* for the multivolume edition of Stephen Crane's work, and petitioned the CEAA to rescind the seal of approval granted to the text. According to Parker, Bowers responded to this petition by writing the CEAA a let-

ter warning of the legal implications if the CEAA were to rescind a volume's seal. Whether because of this letter, because they disagreed with Parker, or because they feared the humiliation of downgrading work by their intellectual leader, the CEAA unanimously declined to rescind the seal.

As the CEAA was becoming retooled as the Center for Scholarly Editions, Bowers wrote a letter to the man in charge of reconstituting the group insisting that Parker be blackballed; later, according to Parker, Bowers used his influence to prevent him from reporting his criticism of Bowers in various publications. After Parker wrote about his disillusionment with the Center in his 1984 *Flawed Texts and Verbal Icons* (in much more diplomatic tones than he would later use on his blog), Bowers wrote a letter to the editor of *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography* denying that he had ever spoken of Parker in regard to work at the Center, and insisted that he had "never held any position at the Center, official or unofficial."⁵² This denial seems particularly coy coming from the man who was called "the architect"⁵³ of the CEAA by his most devoted defender, Tanselle, and who clearly provided not only intellectual direction but also a great deal of labor on many of the Center's funded volumes.

This skirmish illustrates the crisis facing the CEAA by the mid-1970s. Early attempts to professionalize editing had been almost exclusively tethered to Bowers and his method, which were instrumental in making the CEAA one of the first major well-funded national humanities initiatives in the United States. As the method became a whipping boy for larger changes in the humanities during the Cold War, literary editors—many of whom were in the midst of decades-long projects premised on the Greg-Bowers method—seemed to redouble their commitment to Bowers. Bowers and his method had become both the intellectual drivers of professionalized editing and the single basket into which it put all its eggs, and what began as laudable attempts at professionalizing a lax dilettantism turned into defensive scholarly in-grouping. By the mid-1970s, the editing of American literature was due for fresh perspectives. In 1976, the MLA expanded the scope and methods of the CEAA by retooling it as the Center for Scholarly Editions and broadening it to include a range of authors, languages, and approaches. Soon thereafter, new perspectives on editing, most notably the views championed by Jerome McGann, would significantly shift the focus of editing in the 1980s and, as the following chapter will explore, laid the groundwork for collected editions of American authors in the digital era.

CHAPTER 5

The Death of the Author Has Been Greatly Exaggerated

Despite widespread upheavals in literary theory and the academy in general that began in the later half of the twentieth century, editing has largely remained committed to the bedrock principles that have historically supported major collected editions. Through the theory wars and into the digital age, editions organized around authorial genius more or less remain the gold standard—some editions offer glimpses of alternative ways of presenting literature, but entrenched editorial methods, funding structures, and the persistent belief that editing should be an apolitical undertaking have converged as conservative influences on the field, resulting in a state of digital literary editing that does not radically depart from the picture of scholarly editing several decades ago. This chapter examines the state of editing American literature in the final decades of the twentieth century and into the present in order to address some factors that are inhibiting more heterogeneous approaches and to suggest some possible ways forward that more directly speak to a variety of critical interests in texts.

1. “WIMMIN” AND LITERARY STUDY

In the 1970s and 1980s, the rift between the fields of scholarly editing and literary theory seemed nearly insuperable. It was exacerbated by the slow pace of editorial production, which required the continued, devoted application of editorial methodology and goals established sometimes decades earlier, while competing, highly politicized schools of theory developed at lightning speed outside its doors: the evolution of editorial theory and its products in the decades between the emergence of Greg-Bowers and the

advent of the Web is like a time-lapse film of a glacier inching along, as the days and nights of the theory wars blink by around it. Theory was quickly changing, fashionable, expressly political; by comparison the slow and focused work of textual editing seemed hopelessly stodgy. Theory became defined by its assaults on tradition; editing by its adherence to it. By the 1980s, editors—already seen as pedantic, second-string academics as early as the early 1960s—were widely viewed as academic support staff.

Among the unfortunate consequences of the marginalization of editing was the falling out of fashion of bibliographic methods, long a staple of English studies. Accordingly, as literary scholars became interested in canon expansion—primarily seeking to include more women and minority authors in classrooms, textbooks, and scholarship—their work did not benefit as much from careful editorial and bibliographic work, leaving much foundational scholarship on newly appreciated texts undone to this day.¹ Literary critics working on texts by canonical authors benefited, even if only silently, from bibliographies and well-researched editions often conceived prior to the New Left's shake-up of American universities, while work on women and minority authors often required textual recovery at a time when careful editorial work was unfashionable and institutionally unrewarded. It was more interesting and institutionally profitable to discover or assert challenges to the predominantly white and male canon than to engage in the less flashy work of creating rigorous editions of recovered authors. Cumulatively, the differences between editions of men and women or minority writers affirmed long-standing notions about gender, race, creativity, and intellectual property: male authors who benefited from editions that foregrounded their solitary genius and their sacrosanct intentions toward their art loomed at the center of the canon, while women authors stood in a collective mass with picket signs on its boundaries. In American literature, the major exception to this treatment was Emily Dickinson, whose supposed asexuality and aversion to the literary marketplace made her a suitable honorary inductee, a woman author whose genius could be appreciated without inviting in her more combative countrywomen. The receptions of a few canon-challenging volumes published in the late 1970s and 1980s demonstrate how controversial editing could be, even in an age of radical challenges to literary tradition, when editions contested the naturalized ontologies of literary editing.

When the *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* was published in 1985 it was meant as an answer to the *Norton Anthology of English Litera-*

ture, which at the time devoted 96% of its pages to works by male authors. The *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, organized around linguistic and national identity, was also essentially an anthology of literature by men. Yet when Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar sought to enrich the canon by collecting and presenting overlooked women authors, not by squeezing a couple more into the hallowed standard *Norton* but by offering an entire, two-thousand-page collection of a variety of texts by women, they were lambasted by several critics for inserting a political thesis into the collection of literature. The most prominent criticism came from Gail Godwin in the *New York Times*, who claimed that the anthology “distorts or undermines the achievements of individual artists” by grouping them all in one volume and thereby implying a singular aesthetic tradition or identity.² In the *New Republic*, Denis Donoghue complained about “feminism’s agenda in literary studies” and the reductiveness of the volume even as he conflated the beliefs of many varied international feminists with the anthology’s editors.³ Donoghue saw the anthology as an assemblage of “documentary evidence to support a case against men—or the world,” and argued that it is a book suited for a sociology class, not a literature class, where inclusion should not be based on historical value or political reform but purely on aesthetic grounds. “It does not even pretend to select its material according to the criteria of literary criticism,” he complained.

In the *National Review*’s sarcastically titled “Wimmin Against Literature,” Jeffrey Hart disparaged the editors, calling them “feminists who refuse to submit themselves to the experience of actually reading, and who subject great and vibrant works to their own grievance machine.”⁴ He argued, “These feminist professors do not hesitate to impose their ideology” on us, and chew up literature in “their mincing machine.” Even more measured critics, such as Phyllis Rose writing for the *Atlantic*, faulted the anthology for its political thesis.⁵ Rose, who saw the anthology as making an important contribution to the field of literature, nevertheless thought it was “too political for a good anthology of literature.” In one of the most revealing discussions of literary ontology to appear in discussions of editing, Rose writes:

“Literature by women” is in fact a controversial category, not self-evidently valid like “English literature” or “American literature.” Who could imagine refusing to be included in the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*? Who, on the other hand, could take seriously a *Norton Anthology of Literature by Men*?

The editors dodge this important issue and in doing so render the anthology covertly polemical.⁶

Of course, the editors are not at all being *covertly* polemical, given the clear intentions of the anthology and the ire it raised in critics. And some feminist critics would likely have countered at the time that we already have a *Norton Anthology of Literature by Men*, and it is called the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*. If any volume is guilty of *covert* polemics, it would seem to be the volume claiming to stand for a millennium of literature in the English language that almost entirely excludes texts by women. The covert claim of that anthology is that male authors wrote almost everything worth reading for a thousand years. While Rose finds the categories of “English” and “American” uncontroversial, recent postcolonial challenges to those categories reveal that the lack of controversy was not due to self-evident validity but to naturalized assumptions about national and linguistic histories.

Not long before and after the *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* was published, two other books intended to expand the canon were published, but their critical receptions were quite different from that of the *Norton*. In 1987, Jean Yellin released her edition of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, which was the first edition to credit Harriet Jacobs, and not the pseudonym Linda Brent, as the author. The volume was a major scholarly accomplishment: prior to Yellin’s efforts, critics had neglected this autobiography under the belief that it was written by the white abolitionist (and Jacobs’s benefactor) Lydia Maria Child; even critics who believed Jacobs was the author doubted the veracity of her extraordinary tale of sexual harassment, estrangement from her children, and eight years of confinement in a coffin-like garret. But Yellin’s careful study of the historical record, including a cache of Jacobs’s letters, allowed her to prove that Jacobs was the author and that the book was accurate. *Incidents* quickly became an important addition to American literary history; it offered a rare, woman’s perspective on slavery and complemented texts such as *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*.

The most critical review of Yellin’s edition was published in the *Washington Post*, where reviewer Theodore Rosengarten grumbled mildly about Yellin’s “feminist convictions,” her tendency to “use big words where little words would do better,” and “the introduction which is weighted down by ideology,” but nevertheless saw the book as important, compelling, and nicely annotated.⁷ Wayne Lionel Aponte, writing for the *Nation*, similar-

ly concentrated on the content of Jacobs's narrative, but concluded that it "represents an early attempt to establish an American sisterhood," a claim he does not acknowledge that Yellin herself makes in the introduction, and just the kind of assertion of a tradition that offended several reviewers of the *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*.⁸ Jacobs could be viewed as part of a feminine tradition, so long as the book seemed to stand alone and the reader drew that conclusion for himself; if it were part of the organization of the volume or asserted in the interstitial editorial content, the volume would be seen as distastefully polemical.

Similarly, in 1979, critical response to a selected edition of Zora Neale Hurston's work was generally positive, though limited. Alice Walker edited *I Love Myself When I Am Laughing . . . And Then Again When I Am Looking Mean and Impressive* through the Feminist Press, which had been responsible for bringing Rebecca Harding Davis's *Life in the Iron Mills* and Charlotte Perkins Gilman's "The Yellow Wall Paper" back into public view. Walker had written about her efforts to recover Hurston, who died in poverty and obscurity, in a piece in *Ms. Magazine*,⁹ and *I Love Myself* included selections of Hurston's writings that Walker thought were the best and most representative of the array of Hurston's talents. Despite its overt feminist aim to recover a neglected woman author, the volume failed to attract the controversy that surrounded the *Norton*. It was a *New York Times* recommended book, and a more extensive review in the *Times* praised its editing. Randall Kennedy opened his review by explaining that Hurston was "the leading lady of black American letters between 1920 and 1950," and then emphasized that the volume is selective: it includes "excerpts" of her autobiography, "selections" from her novels, and is altogether a "representative sample of Zora Neale Hurston's many talents."¹⁰ Kennedy was writing as an advocate for the study of literature by black authors, but nevertheless felt that a *selected* edition seemed appropriate for such an important figure. He specifically praised Walker for resisting "sociological and political reductionism" in her insistence that "in assessing [Hurston's] place in our literary tradition we should look first to the work itself and only secondarily to the context from which that work emerged."¹¹

Some of the criticism launched at canon-expanding editors may be valid: the editorial commentary in anthologies and other collections sometimes seeks the lowest common denominators among authors and their works in order to assert a tradition or to justify the basis of the collection. However, the common complaints about this kind of editing left few op-

tions for noncontroversial editing of women authors. Some critics claimed it was overly reductive to collect them, because that would assert a common tradition among so many varied voices—though the same critics sometimes also complained that *more* authors were not included. Sometimes critics grumbled that on the one hand minor women authors were not significant enough to warrant recovery, and on the other hand feminist editors were arrogant in daring to elucidate one of the honorary inductees to an otherwise generally male canon. Single volumes of texts by women, such as *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, could be interpreted as establishing “an American sisterhood,” but a volume that collected such texts together would be lambasted as polemical and inappropriate. Even more sympathetic critics such as Kennedy seemed to view the “leading lady” of black literature as most suited to a representative sampling, despite the fact that white, male authors were frequently the subjects of multivolume, decades-long collected editions that rigorously examined even their scraps and juvenilia.

Editorial efforts to challenge the canon or to innovate the collection and presentation of literature resemble larger patterns in capitalist relations. Texts constitute a form of cultural capital; they stand in for their authors, and by extension their authors’ social place. When certain texts from a vast, multifaceted literary history are collected and propagated, it suggests not only the value of the kinds of people who wrote those texts—the standouts from a mass of voices—but also affirms and normalizes the ways we think about authorship, intellectual output, and property rights. The picture of editing in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, a time of continued political tumult on college campuses, shows something happening in our presentation of texts that looks a lot like larger skirmishes over cultural, economic, and political power. Textual representation is concentrated in the hands of a few greats, who enjoy luxurious editions bearing the signs of conspicuous—though increasingly unsustainable—labor, whose collations and textual apparatus, like a gentleman’s clean collar and brushed vest, indicated that the wearer was the sort of person upon whom much labor should be expended. Meanwhile, editors are aggressively dissuaded from organizing the disenfranchised rabble, and collections of women laying claim to cultural power are seen as politically charged as a picket line.

The least controversial alternative for editions of recovered or canon-expanding authors seemed to be editions that only presented selections of a single author, either a single, stand-alone text or limited selections from the corpus—these did not claim any essentializing traditions or similarities,

and they did not claim through comprehensiveness that the author was of extraordinary stature.

All literary editions assert a thesis. For some the thesis is so naturalized that it goes undetected by most readers, while others violate long-held notions of what makes literature important. In the 1970s and 1980s, as the energy behind the Greg-Bowers method was waning, as scholarly editing became a marginalized academic pursuit, and as the theory wars diverted attention to different kinds of questions about texts, editions became a relatively undertheorized influence on how the academy approached texts. Most texts were edited, published, and reviewed without the focus on editorial method or rigor of previous decades, and texts that did attract attention for their controversial editing tended to be attacked and defended by critics who were not particularly interested in the history of editing or in a sophisticated analysis of literary ontology. Consequently, some editions' theses stood as invisible and unproblematic: (1) established, canonical authors are of such stature that large-scale collections of their every word, including "discarded writings," are valuable scholarly tools; (2) collections of literature by many different authors in which over 90% of the texts are written by men may stand as representative of a national literature, literature of a period, or literature in its entirety; (3) a selected edition of a minority woman author is ideal for capturing her talents at no loss to the complexity of her art or career. A stand-alone single text is also fine and can be read as an exemplar of a demographic, but the editor should not suggest as much via the volume. However, one thesis is visible and available to challenge: A collection of women authors inserts polemics and sociology into literature and reduces women to representatives of their gender.

2. COLLECTED EDITIONS ON THE EVE OF THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION

Collected editions that were under way in the 1980s were facing their own problems. Some editions were proving to be impracticable, and several projects were abandoned midstream, including editions of Stephen Crane, Hamlin Garland, and Washington Irving. Others, such as the massive collected edition of Whitman begun in 1963, were stretching into their third decade. Unfortunately, these major print undertakings could not easily adjust course, even when new materials were discovered—the Whitman

edition provides a case study for how the lack of flexibility and revision in large-scaled editions could cause editing projects to collapse under their own weight. *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman* were designed to meet a list of desiderata that the prominent scholar Sculley Bradley had called for—generally, Bradley had hoped for an edition that would allow scholars to trace Whitman’s poetic growth, as evidenced through his revision process, across the editions of *Leaves of Grass* (of which he counted nine). His interest in the poet’s workshop was compatible with Greg-Bowers, though, since he still viewed the final authorially sanctioned edition as the culmination of authorial intent: previous variants led teleologically to it, and unsanctioned variants were corruptions. Bradley wanted a “true variorum” that would possess four essential characteristics: (1) it should be a faithful copy of the authoritative text; (2) it should track all authorial variants, including manuscript ones, on the same page as the transcription of the principal text; (3) it should include editorial annotations explaining the background and meaning of the text, also on the same page; (4) it should include a rich appendix collecting as much information as is available about sources for the work, the context of the work, important criticism of the work, and commentary on how the variants relate to each other.

This was a very tall order, especially considering that Whitman left behind thousands of manuscripts—though Bradley may not have been aware of the full extent of the manuscript record at the time he envisioned the edition. These goals would prove to be absolutely untenable for a print edition, and would, in fact, not even begin to coalesce until a digital edition was begun over fifty years later. Bradley’s directives were colored by the critical milieu of the midcentury. The textual variants were of interest to him not as alternate performances of the poems—to borrow Cristanne Miller’s phrase in her discussion of Dickinson¹²—but almost exclusively because they were evidence of the poet’s workshop and demonstrated how *Leaves of Grass* evolved into a unified whole by 1881. Consequently, he takes as a given that the deathbed should be considered the authoritative edition, and believes that the record of Whitman’s revisions will show how he “achieved three principle objectives: improved taste by the suppression of indelicacies, solecisms, and coinages; increased force by verbal revision and strengthened imagery; and a greater mastery of rhythm” as well as increasing the “unity of the whole.”¹³ In fact, he believed that a variorum that made visible the evolution of *Leaves of Grass* into its unified final edition would vindicate nineteenth-century critics who less than favorably reviewed earlier editions,

since “the work could not possibly have had anything like the compelling wholeness which it has for the modern reader before the edition of 1881.”¹⁴

The foundational assumption that the deathbed edition should be considered authoritative—an assumption that to some extent persists even today—caused some difficulties for Bradley’s proposed variorum, since he also wanted readers to consider the poems and variants chronologically. Whitman did not organize *Leaves of Grass* chronologically, and any given poem may have undergone any number of revisions over the decades prior to 1891. This complicated chronology and revision history would be accounted for, in Bradley’s plan, through editorial notes, though he did not seem to anticipate how cumbersome such notes would be.

Bradley’s plea for a variorum is important because it articulated “a primary need of American scholarship”¹⁵ that Bradley himself would help remedy over the next twenty-two years. In 1955, New York University Press announced plans to publish a new collected writings of Walt Whitman that would be released under the editorial supervision of Gay Wilson Allen, who had proposed the project to the Press. At the time of its announcement, the *Collected Writings of Walt Whitman* was to include almost everything that Bradley had asked for fourteen years earlier, and some materials that he did not. As Floyd Stovall explained in 1962, the *Collected Writings* were slated to comprise fourteen volumes: “four volumes of correspondence with annotations, two volumes of major prose works published in Whitman’s lifetime with variant readings, a variorum edition of *Leaves of Grass* in two volumes, a reader’s edition of *Leaves of Grass* in one volume, a bibliography in one volume, the collected notebooks, diaries, and prose fragments in two volumes, the fiction and early verse in one volume, and the journalistic writings in one volume.”¹⁶

To take on such a daunting task, Allen had enlisted the help of some of the most prominent Whitman scholars in the world and the major collector of Whitman’s manuscripts to serve on the project’s advisory board: Bradley, Roger Asselineau, Harold Blodgett, Charles Feinberg, Clarence Gohdes, Emory Holloway, Rollo G. Silver, and Floyd Stovall.¹⁷ Allen also began recruiting various scholars—some on the advisory board—to take on specific areas of the *Collected Writings*. All of these scholars’ work on the project was paid for only insofar as their home institutions allowed them time for the work—it was a condition of the Press’s involvement in such an ambitious and unwieldy undertaking that it would not fund the editorial work. Given the daunting nature of the project and the lack of direct financial compen-

sation, it was impressive that Allen was able to secure the long-term commitments from leading scholars to edit portions of the project, and spoke to the respectability of editing as a scholarly activity before it fell out of favor.

Unfortunately, almost as soon as work began, all involved were forced to reconsider the feasibility of the project's high aims. Essentially, the partial failure of the *Collected Writings* resulted from compounding difficulties: first, the editors were initially unaware of the sheer volume of materials that comprised these various aspects of Whitman's writings. Second, the allocation of different aspects of the project to different editors at different institutions over the decades—necessary to begin to tackle the materials at hand—caused problems in organization and continuity that would eventually prove severe and sooner or later affect almost every subproject of the *Collected Writings*. The most acute organizational crisis occurred within *The Correspondence*, which was originally conceived by its editor, Edwin Haviland Miller, as a two-volume project, organized chronologically. Even as Miller worked, more and more unpublished letters surfaced, rendering his volumes incomplete. The first and second volumes appeared in 1961, making them the first parts of the *Collected Writings* to come off the press. In the mid-1960s, Miller released a third and a fourth volume, and by 1969 he was forced to publish a fifth volume containing an "addenda" of over sixty letters that were not incorporated into the chronology of the first volumes. Earlier, in 1963, Allen wrote of Miller's editorial problems:

Possibly some letters may be discovered in obscure places even after all the volumes of the *Correspondence* are in print, but the number is not likely to be large, and two thousand letters should make an edition extensive enough for the needs of Whitman students and scholars. But this situation shows how nearly impossible it is to have an absolutely complete edition.¹⁸

Allen's comments show that even only a few years into the *Collected Writings* the editors were forced to reconsider their admirable goals of gathering all of Whitman's writings, and that Allen himself was willing to consider the *Correspondence* adequate as an *almost* complete correspondence. Unfortunately, Allen underestimated both the number of letters that would continue to surface in coming years and the desires of students and scholars to see all these letters in print—three supplemental volumes were called for, the most recent in 2004. Now divided in a badly broken sequence over seven volumes published over the course of forty-three years, the *Correspondence*

has failed to provide the organized, complete reference that Miller and the other editors had originally hoped.

Similar problems plagued other areas of the *Collected Writings*. Whitman's journalism, which defies easy and complete collection, since Whitman often wrote anonymously and some newspapers issues are not extant, had seemed to have been abandoned decades into the project. In fact, though, just in 1998 and 2003 the project's editors released the first two of a projected five volumes, but there is still no sign of the other three. Even if all five volumes materialize, the *Journalism*, like the *Correspondence*, will almost certainly require supplements.

Another confusing aspect of the *Collected Writings* is the division between William White's three-volume *Daybooks and Notebooks*, published in 1977–78 by NYUP, and Edward Grier's six-volume *Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, published in 1984 by NYUP. As Ed Folsom has written, there was simply "no good rationale"¹⁹ for dividing these aspects of the project, and in fact the division resulted from what Folsom describes as "disagreements over editing styles and timetables."²⁰ That such disagreements resulted in a nonsensical division of materials and a discrepancy in editorial styles between the two projects is a comment on the general disarray and management problems within the *Collected Writings*.

Perhaps the most interesting editorial issues of the whole project were raised by Bradley's and Harold Blodgett's treatment of *Leaves of Grass*. Although Bradley's first requirement of a proper variorum had initially been that "it must be an exact edition" of the chosen copy-text, the variorum that he and Blodgett edited was no such thing. At the inception of the edition, Bradley and Allen both believed in the tenet popularized by Greg and Bowers that the latest versions of poems should be considered authoritative: in his 1963 overview of the project, Allen asked rhetorically, "Which provides the best text for the definitive *Writings*? Should it not be the 1892 'deathbed' text, which Whitman authorized as his choice, commanding in a preface that henceforth no other be reprinted?"²¹ Bradley had also argued for using the Deathbed as the copy-text:

The desire to show the progressive unfolding of Whitman's mind and art has several times evoked the suggestion that the chronological order be employed in a text of the *Leaves*. But for a definitive edition the purely chronological order must be rejected, first, because of the mechanical difficulty presented by changes of order in the later editions of early texts; secondly, because it would

not result in the publication of any single text as Whitman left it; and thirdly, because it would be an injudicious violation of the author's specific injunction to follow the text of 1892 in future editions.²²

Indeed, Bradley and Blodgett followed this directive in preparing the *Comprehensive Reader's Edition of Leaves of Grass*, for which they adhered to final authorial intent, but when preparing the *Variorum* seemed to violate it in favor of a hodgepodge approach that is difficult to defend. Understandably though unfortunately, Bradley and Blodgett would have to scrap plans to include manuscript drafts in their *variorum* because the quantity of materials was simply too staggering. Including these variants would likely have exposed the *Variorum* to the same problems as the *Correspondence*, and was further complicated by the task of sorting out the complex and sometimes indiscernible relationships among printed texts and manuscript drafts. However, Bradley's violation of his own proposed ordering scheme is quite mysterious. Rather than producing an "exact edition" of the 1892 text, the *Variorum* presented the deathbed versions of each poem in the order in which they *debuted* in *Leaves of Grass*. First it printed the twelve poems of the 1855 edition, but in their Deathbed form, then the poems new to the 1856 edition, but in their Deathbed form, and so on. The result was a Deathbed-chronological hybrid, which, as Bradley himself explained years earlier, "did not result in the publication of any single text as Whitman left it," and certainly violated Whitman's "specific injunction to follow the text of 1892," except in segments. The inauthenticity is underscored by the editorial apparatus, which notes any changes among the versions leading up to the Deathbed in footnotes.

The volumes comprising the *Collected Writings* are now spread over five decades of publication and three publishers. They lack a centralized index or table of contents, so that a researcher looking for documents—letters, notebook entries, *Leaves of Grass* versions—pertaining to any particular poem must first learn what the edition makes available, then search through the volumes for each component project, adjusting for differences in editorial methods. Seen as a rather scattered and inconsistent printing of materials, one of the primary values of the *Collected Writings* seems to be preservational: while it is severely crippled by organizational problems, at least the edition presents documents, such as Whitman's letters, that would be difficult for most scholars to access otherwise, and that are vulnerable to damage or loss. In fact, it is precisely this aspect of the *Collected Writings*

that has opened it to charges that it misrepresents Whitman's corpus by reproducing the texts that he did not see fit to publish. Folsom has articulated this position strongly by explaining that when reprinted, the sheer bulk of Whitman's abandoned writings overwhelm his published writings and give the impression that most of what Whitman produced was rubbish. He writes:

The bulk of the *Collected Writings* will end up containing poor writing or hack writing, really the *Discarded Writings* In any case, it's safe to say that when the project is completed, no other major author will be represented by such a large and luxurious *Collected Writings* so filled with intrinsically bad and flat writing. Readers will perhaps need to be reminded that such a result is not Whitman's fault.²³

Such concerns echo complaints about collecting "remains" that stretch back a century, such as when the *Athenaeum* complained in 1903 about "disinterring" abandoned materials in order to publish "books in which a great name vouches for material of little or no absolute value."²⁴ Certainly this problem is particularly marked in Whitman, who wrote incessantly and in later years seemed constitutionally incapable of throwing anything out. Even if we are to view such volumes as a sort of repository, where materials of questionable value are reprinted for storage should scholars ever find them useful, it is important to note what the *Collected Writings* did *not* preserve. Two important bodies of documents in Whitman scholarship—and the ones most in need of curating—his poetry manuscripts and his periodical publications, were omitted from the *Variorum*. Consequently, the *Collected Writings* suffers on both counts: it reprints so much discarded writing as to distort Whitman's work, but leaves out many of the documents that are of most interest to students of Whitman.

The *Collected Writings* was a colossal undertaking, and the editors approached it with noble goals. While the edition failed on many counts, it has provided not only useful materials for Whitman scholarship, but also hard-learned lessons on editing. In the early days of digital editing John Unsworth argued, "If an electronic scholarly project can't fail and doesn't produce new ignorance, then it isn't worth a damn," because "reporting and analyzing failure in any research activity, humanistic or scientific" is essential to producing new knowledge and to helping a community of scholars learn from mistakes. Certainly the value of such analysis is not limited to

electronic editions. The *Collected Writings* provided an object lesson for editors in a transitional age: given even widespread, interinstitutional cooperation, impeccable credentials, strict devotion to the work, and decades to complete it in, the editors of this print edition simply could not adequately treat the materials within the constraints of the medium. Print is unforgiving and difficult to fix. When new materials surface, they cannot be seamlessly integrated into a volume already in print. Print also lends itself to singular, linear presentations of materials. If an editor is trying to reconcile all of the demands that Bradley outlined in his list of desiderata, he will, as the *Collected Writings* shows, find print an uncooperative partner. Finally, the *Collected Writings* demonstrates that on-the-fly funding is shaky grounds upon which to build a monumental edition, even if it is the only option. Early into the project, Allen was encouraged by this “million dollar project without a million dollars,” specifically in the NYUP’s willingness to undertake the publication of the volumes without subsidy. The project’s sprawl and slow pace, though, taxed the NYUP’s commitment to the venture, and editors of later volumes were not assured a publisher—consequently, the edition spans not only decades and the work of dozens of collaborators, but also three different publishers, NYUP, Iowa University Press, and Peter Lang, none of whom maintain sole ownership of the project.

Most importantly, despite the careful attention and labor that went into the *Collected Writings*, it was following a road map created in the critical and technological climate of the midcentury, and by the time the later volumes were released, critical interest in Whitman had shifted, and the editorial commitments of the edition were not optimal for supporting a new generation of scholarship. As literary studies continued to look in different directions—at linguistic sign systems, at the author’s gender, race, and sexual orientation, at the socioeconomic contexts of the work—really, anywhere except at the stand-alone internal coherence of a text or the conscious intentions of its author—scholarly editing and theory seemed increasingly estranged. Anyone worried about the state of scholarly editing at the time would probably have been more concerned by what was not said about it than what was—even the rare controversies were really about how basic editorial decisions aligned with camps in the theory wars rather than careful considerations of how to select, transcribe, and annotate texts.

Then, in 1983, Jerome McGann published *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, which, along with some of his other work, directly addressed ways in which midcentury textual criticism and its attendant editorial ap-

proaches neglected aspects of textual histories that should be of primary interest to critics. The Greg-Bowers method bore an ambivalent relationship with the materiality of texts, depending on intense examination of material textual history only in order to reject it for its corruptions: the goal was to systematically study the material record in order to identify and purge corruptions and recover a purified authorial intent. McGann was also interested in the material history of the text, but instead of rejecting textual changes as a work moved from context to context, he embraced these “fault lines” as precisely what should interest the textual scholar. Rather than seeking a singular intended work, the textual scholar ought to view texts as diachronic, social, embodied things, whose reconfigurations are evidence of their collaborative creation and social meaning. For McGann, the job of the critic was not to ignore or transcend the material record, but to account for it.

McGann’s vision of what an edition might accommodate was largely unrealized until the advent of the Web—before then, print editions that foregrounded the material record and multiple forms of a work typically would have proven infeasibly expensive to produce. But the flexible display, expansibility, and imaging capabilities of the Web made editions with goals in line with McGann’s possible. Perhaps the most successful digital edition of the works of an American author—if not of any author—is the *Walt Whitman Archive*, begun in 1995 by Kenneth M. Price and Ed Folsom, who continue to edit it in its much-expanded current form.

3. DIGITAL COLLECTED EDITIONS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

The Web greatly expanded the capacity and improved the organizational flexibility of collected editions, allowing them to fold in multiple publication contexts and accommodate a richer understanding of the author’s work than print collections feasibly could. The *Whitman Archive* is an instructive case study in digital collection: a mature edition now in its eighteenth year, it has been the U.S. digital editing project most successful at obtaining grant money and creating a sustainable funding model, now with a two-million-dollar endowment. The *Whitman Archive* was strongly influenced by and, in turn, influenced the early development of standards for the digital editing of American literature. In many ways the *Whitman Archive* realized the shift in focus that McGann’s 1983 *Critique* called for—the

Archive is centrally interested in the varying forms that Whitman's writing took as he revised it for different publication contexts. Whitman himself, who was a sophisticated manipulator of the periodical press, a skilled book designer, and a bit of a hoarder, offers a particularly rich record for such a study—when he died he left thousands of manuscripts, six editions and multiple states of his major work, *Leaves of Grass*, and a decades-long trail of periodical publications.

A rigorous digital edition of Whitman in the 1990s was made possible by the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities (IATH) at the University of Virginia.²⁵ The Institute was founded in 1993 after the computer science department at UVA decided to use a million dollars donated by IBM to support digital work in the humanities. Planning committees at the university made crucial early decisions about IATH that would make it a powerful supporter of early digital editorial work and also help lock in technological approaches that are still prevalent in digital editing today.

McGann, then a professor at UVA, helped found IATH, making editorial work one of the Institute's central concerns and consequently one of the oldest and most theorized strains of digital humanities. IATH's first director, John Unsworth, was committed to making its projects web deliverable, a departure from many early digital humanities approaches that committed much of this early, rigorous digital editorial work to technologies such as TEI (Text Encoding Initiative), which was at the time expressed through SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language), but would transform into the XML-based methodologies that continue to form the basis for most digital editorial work.

One of the early editorial projects fostered by IATH was the *Whitman Archive*. When Price and Folsom set out to edit the *Whitman Archive* in the 1990s, they began as scholars of Whitman, not students of editorial theory: the impetus behind the *Archive* was to allow readers to understand the vast record of Whitman materials that had been admirably tackled but inadequately treated by the ongoing print collected edition. Most readers in 1995 would have had no way to access some of the editions of *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman's periodical poems remained uncollected, and Whitman's manuscript record was not much better organized than how he left it in 1892—dispersed over more than three dozen repositories, idiosyncratically and incompletely cataloged, and inaccessible to many scholars who had an interest in the decaying drafts. So the editors' primary goal was to collect these materials and make them accessible, enabled by the Web's capacity

for image display and the possibility of continually growing, inserting, and rearranging materials as their order became clear.

The first goals of the *Archive* were to collect the different editions of *Leaves of Grass* authorized by Whitman, along with a full record of his manuscripts, his periodical poetry, all known photographs of the poet, contemporaneous criticism, and a bibliography of current scholarship. Each of these efforts was a major aid to readers of Whitman, but the ongoing manuscript collection has been a revelation: prior to digital collection, no single scholar had seen all of these materials, much less had the ability to examine and reexamine them at her leisure. Now hosted by the Center for Digital Research in the Humanities at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, the *Whitman Archive* continues to build these components of the *Archive*, but has expanded its parameters to include materials such as translations of Whitman and thousands of letters he penned as an amanuensis for the attorney general after the Civil War. Whitman has become the center, the organizing principle, for a continually expanding digital world—one that powerfully rearticulates the author function as the ontological basis for literary editing.

Other digital editions of American literature are similarly organized. The *Willa Cather Archive* is a more dynamic and extensive digital edition superseding the print collected edition; the *Dickinson Electronic Archives 2*, an overhauled version of the *Dickinson Electronic Archives*, presents transcriptions and scans of Dickinson's manuscripts alongside critical and pedagogical materials in a digital environment that encourages users to think of the materials in "exhibits" to which they can contribute commentary. Less extensive but useful archives are available for a handful of other American authors, including Sarah Orne Jewett, Charles Brockden Brown, and Mark Twain. Some projects focusing on American literature are organized on bases other than authorship, such as *Wright American Fiction*, which offers scans and searchable text for the thousands of books catalogued in Lyle Wright's bibliography of fiction published in the United States between 1851 and 1875. Space constraints preclude a full reckoning of the digital collections of American literature, but what is perhaps most striking about the current landscape of digital American literature collections is how few of them rival midcentury print editions in scope and depth—many projects look at many, many texts, and fewer projects pay close, methodical attention to their editing of the texts, but very few indeed—the *Walt Whitman Archive*, the *Willa Cather Archive*, *Dickinson Electronic Archives 2*, eventual-

ly the *Mark Twain Papers Project*—have undertaken close textual attention to many texts, and these are all organized around authorial genius.

Indeed, for these authors, the genius thesis seems unproblematic—we are interested in literature by Whitman and Dickinson largely because it is by Whitman and Dickinson. However, for many other texts, authorship, authorial intent, and composition processes are not fundamental concerns—scholars may be primarily interested in their similarities to other texts, their material histories, their reception, their performance, and so on. Digital editing offers developed methods for treating the digital equivalent of a collected edition, but few standard ways to rigorously study and present texts whose primary value to readers does not lie in a deep appreciation for the author. This isn't terribly surprising—as McGann has recently argued, given that the foundational act of textual scholarship has been the establishment of a reliable document, and given that reliability has historically been defined in terms of authorial intent and authority, authorship has primacy in the editorial enterprise.²⁶ Consequently, digital American literature reproduces the divide that afflicted print editing in the 1970s and 1980s: a handful of canonical authors are the beneficiaries of rigorous, well-funded, long-term editorial labor, while many other authors—disproportionately minorities—are studied as a largely undifferentiated mass in large-scale digitization projects.

The technological underpinnings of digital editions are partially responsible for this. Any serious digital editorial project that hopes to secure conventional grant funding will almost certainly avail itself of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), the de facto standard for digital editing in the humanities. As a standard for the careful treatment of literary texts in a digital environment, TEI has no competitor. It has the benefit not only of over twenty years of development by an international community of users, but also speaks to traditions in editing that reach back to Greg-Bowers and even beyond in the European and philological traditions.

To understand how TEI is ideally suited to conventional, author-centered collected editions or editions that study a single work, it is helpful to review how TEI works. TEI is based on a model of textuality known as OHCO, or Ordered Hierarchy of Content Objects.²⁷ OHCO approaches text as a series of objects with content—say, a paragraph or a sentence—whose order is important—the third paragraph should come after the second—and which are structured hierarchically—sentences are in paragraphs that are in chapters that are in a book. OHCO is a conceptual model describing the structure of texts, and we can consider its merits

or shortcomings independent of understanding how it is technologically implemented—in many cases, OHCO seems to be a simple and accurate way of describing a text: this book is comprised of chapters, which contain sections, which contain paragraphs, which contain sentences, which contain words. These components are hierarchical, their order is inviolable, and we understand them implicitly as competent readers. Putting aside considerations of textuality that do not lend themselves well to OHCO—which we will consider later on—it is crucial to note that OHCO is born out of and supports a specific textual technology, the markup languages in the SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language) family. SGML was invented in the late 1960s and 1970s by computer scientists, and has now evolved into XML (Extensible Markup Language), with the related HTML (Hypertext Markup Language), the bread and butter of the Web, as one of its offshoots. It is worth mentioning the origin of SGML when reflecting on its suitability for modeling current critical interests in texts, but for the rest of this discussion I will refer to this language as XML, since that is its present incarnation.

XML puts OHCO into practice. Consider a simple (and very abbreviated) example, in which XML markup—the material in brackets, called tags—describes the components of the text (fig. 10).

```
<book>
  <chapter>
    <title>CHAPTER I.</title>
    <subtitle>In Which the Reader Is Introduced to a Man of Humanity</subtitle>
    <paragraph>Late in the afternoon of a chilly day in February, two gentlemen were sitting alone over their wine, in a well-furnished dining parlor, in the town of P—, in Kentucky. There were no servants present, and the gentlemen, with chairs closely approaching, seemed to be discussing some subject with great earnestness.</paragraph>
    <paragraph>For convenience sake, we have said, hitherto, two gentlemen. One of the parties, however, when critically examined, did not seem, strictly speaking, to come under the species. He was a short, thick-set man, with coarse, commonplace features, and that swaggering air of pretension which marks a low man who is trying to elbow his way upward in the world.</paragraph>
  </chapter>
  <chapter>
    <title>CHAPTER II.</title>
    <subtitle>The Mother</subtitle>
    <paragraph>Eliza had been brought up by her mistress, from girlhood, as a petted and indulged favorite.</paragraph>
    <paragraph>The traveller in the south must often have remarked that peculiar air of refinement, that softness of voice and manner, which seems in many cases to be a particular gift to the quadroon and mulatto women. These natural graces in the quadroon are often united with beauty of the most dazzling kind, and in almost every case with a personal appearance prepossessing and agreeable. Eliza, such as we have described her, is not a fancy sketch, but taken from remembrance, as we saw her, years ago, in Kentucky. Safe under the protecting care of her mistress, Eliza had reached maturity without those temptations which make beauty so fatal an inheritance to a slave. She had been married to a bright and talented young mulatto man, who was a slave on a neighboring estate, and bore the name of George Harris.</paragraph>
  </chapter>
</book>
```

Fig 10. {~?~no caption}

The book tag encompasses all of the content. This is one requirement of XML: every XML file must have a single tag, or root element, that contains all of the content. The book contains two chapters; each of those chapters contains a title, subtitle, and paragraphs. It is helpful to think of the tags as nesting Tupperware containers—one large container includes a few smaller ones, which in turn include even smaller ones, and so forth. We can have a few medium ones sitting side by side in the larger one, and the medium ones can have smaller ones sitting side by side within it. But we could not put a large one inside a medium one—a book inside a chapter.

Another requirement of XML involves the lids of these containers. A closing tag matches the name of the element that opened it, but with a slash in front of it: `</chapter>` closes `<chapter>`, for example. To continue with the Tupperware analogy, we must close the smaller tags before we put on the lid of the larger container that holds them. You can't close a medium container and then close the small ones inside it. Similarly, we can't close a chapter and then close a paragraph within it: this is prohibited by the syntax of XML. So if we try this we will violate the rules of XML and make our file unusable by most programs: `<chapter><paragraph></chapter></`

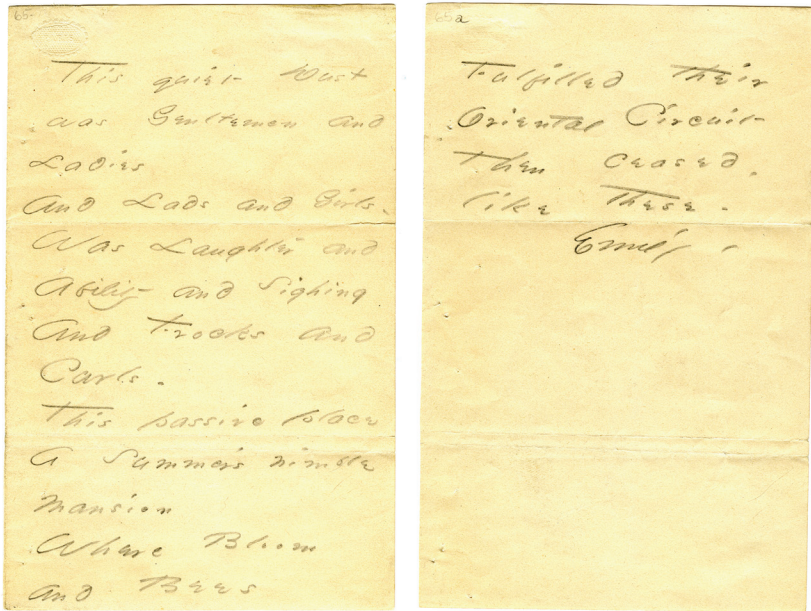


Fig. 11. Emily Dickinson, [This quiet dust was Gentlemen and Ladies], MS #65, Amherst College Special Collections.

paragraph>. Instead, we must nest the tags, closing content objects before we close their parent content objects. This may seem like a minor point, but it has had profound implications for how we treat texts in a digital environment. For example, consider a text that may interest us both for its literary content and its bibliographic features, such as the manuscript poem by Emily Dickinson shown in figure 11, which spans a recto and verso.

If we try to describe both of these interests in a single XML file, we will quickly run into nesting problems. The recto holds only part of the poem, requiring us to close the recto container before we close its child container, the poem shown in figure 12.

```
<leaf>
  <recto>
    <poem>
      <line>This quiet dust was Gentlemen and Ladies</line>
      <line>And Lads and Girls -</line>
      <line>Was Laughter and Ability and Sighing</line>
      <line>And Frocks and Curls -</line>]
      <line>This passive place a summer's nimble mansion</line>
      <line>Where bloom and bees</line>
    </recto>
    <verso>
      <line>Fulfilled their Oriental Circuit</line>
      <line>Then ceased, like These -</line>
    </poem>
    <signature>Emily</signature>
  </verso>
</page>
```

Fig 12.

The squiggly line is where my XML editing program, Oxygen, is calling my attention to the error—I have closed the recto tag before closing the poem tag. The physical bibliography of the document and the literary content of the document are really two different hierarchies, and if we try to blend them in XML, which is incapable of housing conflicting hierarchies, we run into a fatal error. This is a very simple example, but the problem comes up time and again when people consider literary materials with fresh eyes, and are forced to choose one of these hierarchies as the basis for the encoding, wrenching the secondary hierarchy into the file with jury-rigged tagging.

Unlike HTML, which provides tags for document description—so <p> means paragraph, means an ordered list, and indicates a list item

within it—XML provides no vocabulary, only the syntactical requirements that tags are structured in certain ways, that they nest, and a few other technical necessities for computer processing. But the terms an individual user chooses to tag texts is up to her. This is a great descriptive strength of XML: unlike its diminutive relative HTML, which allows for an easily understood but limited and consistent way of describing document structure for web display, XML empowers different user communities to choose for themselves what data are to be described and using what terms. The possibilities are as vast as human interest—for example, SpacecraftML is an agreed-upon set of tags that an aerospace community uses to describe and exchange data; Music Markup Language and the Music Encoding Initiative each attempt to define an ontology of music notation and data and convey it in XML: in each case, a user community defines tags and where they can be applied. Similarly, the Text Encoding Initiative provides a set of tags for describing texts and rules delineating their use. By using a TEI schema—a file that ensures your XML only uses approved tags and in appropriate places—you agree to describe your texts using TEI’s vocabulary. A major structural division is a *div*; a person’s name is a *persName*; a page break is a *pb*—TEI compliance means that you will use these terms to mean these things, and you will not be able to hierarchically meddle with them (no *divs* in a *persName*, for example). Practically speaking, it also recommends to encoders that the types of textual features TEI identifies are the ones that their projects should find salient. While it is possible to build an extension to TEI—a customized tagging set that describes features untreated by TEI—doing so requires much more intellectual and technical labor than using TEI in an orthodox way. This is the strength and the weakness of standards: they make like-minded work much easier to accomplish and communicate, but overall can have a stultifying influence on innovation.

TEI’s tag set has been developed by a community of users—who propose needed encoding, discuss its merits, and publish new releases of the available encoding—for decades, and it reflects an impressive range of scholarly interest in texts. Many TEI tags are designed to describe linguistic phenomenon; others are specialized for specific kinds of literary form, such as drama and poetry. Textual scholars involved with TEI are developing subsets of tags for encoding genetic editions, allowing editors to systematically describe complex compositional histories within manuscripts and sets of manuscripts. A module of tags designed for encoding document structure has also been proposed, which would allow editors to prioritize

the bibliographic structure of a document over its literary content, so that pages, gatherings, and so on are the hierarchy prioritized in the XML, and are not forced into broken, awkward encoding in order to preserve the continuity of the encoding of the literary form.

What has developed is an encoding standard that works quite well for many projects, but in particular those projects that are primarily interested in single authors or single texts. TEI originated and incubated at a time when even open-minded humanities departments had fairly rigid expectations for the presentation of texts, valuing naturalized assumptions about how literature is created, how it should be organized, and its quarantine from contentious politics. Because of both the structure of OHCO/XML and the origins of TEI, the Text Encoding Initiative has developed in a way that offers most support to projects that are interested in single works, single authors, or very formalist markup. These projects, including influential ones hosted by IATH in the 1990s, contributed desiderata in the most formative years of TEI, when the goals of digital editions were primarily to remediate so as to avoid the shortcomings of their print forbears. XML itself, with its prohibition against conflicting hierarchies and nesting structure, lends itself to a view of literature that considers texts (and sometimes works) as discrete, self-contained entities with their own internal coherence. It fundamentally supports a view of literature that says here is a work; here are the texts that comprise it; here are the formal components of the texts; here are interesting sites of composition and revision. At each stage the encoding typically looks inward. In those cases in which editors want to invest in encoding that points out from the individual text—for example, to similar passages in other texts or to continuations in serially printed text—those cross-references can be exceptionally awkward and labor-intensive to pull off. When deciding which of the many TEI tags to implement in the encoding, editors would be wise, in the name of sanity and project management, to develop guidelines that offer tags and encoding strategies for similar features, those formal or compositional attributes that arise in many texts, rather than treating each text idiosyncratically, and this approach will naturally lend itself to looking for habitual features—the structural features and recurring compositional practices found across the collected texts. So the technological requirements, available tag set, and project policies that look for recurrent features in order to minimize workload are all ideally suited to a project that collects the work of a single author with relatively consistent habits that can be viewed as intended or patterned acts, creating

an oeuvre of texts that reflect his genius and evidence self-contained formal elements.

So, although TEI is a rich resource and a testament to the power of collaborative, international work in the humanities, and although it is an invaluable tool for much editorial work, it implicitly supports projects that examine authors and texts as self-contained units more than ones that don't. Similarly, it supports less controversial, less politicized views of texts, such as examinations of their formal and linguistic structures, over more contentious kinds of interpretive claims, such as content or thematic elements.²⁸ These are all understandable and possibly inevitable outcomes of a successful international, interdisciplinary editorial methodology. However, if we are to consider creative new directions for the development of editing, we should bear in mind the influence of the monolithic status of TEI, however excellent it has proven at supporting certain kinds of work.

The limiting influence of TEI has been exacerbated by early hopes that it would allow interoperability: though many involved in TEI have attempted to debunk this myth for several years, TEI has held some allure to organizations who hoped that encoding with TEI would make their XML interoperable with other projects—the dream has been that if we're all using the same vocabulary to describe texts, we ought to be able, with only minor adjustments, to combine them into new or aggregate collections.²⁹ However, the freedom to pick and choose TEI subsets, to apply them idiosyncratically, and to add customized tags, has made interoperability chimeric, except for projects using very light markup—sometimes adhering to a minimalist subset of tagging called TEI Lite—or stripping out much beyond light markup. In those cases TEI loses almost all of its expressive power and becomes HTML on steroids, limited to the lowest common denominator and relegated to describing mostly superficial structural information and metadata. As Google and other private entities have digitized books at a pace most academic undertakings could never compete with, some within the digital humanities community, looking for ways to define a new place for text encoding, have suggested that supporting or joining these mass digitization projects with light markup is the way we should go. During a recent discussion within the TEI, members identified one potential area for growth as claiming a seat in Big Data, and specifically “ensuring that large amounts of lightly but consistently encoded texts (e.g., TEI Lite) are generated and made publicly available, perhaps in a central repository or at least through some centrally coordinated portal.”³⁰ It remains unclear whether

this will become a priority for TEI, but if it does, it would mark a significant shift away from what many editors view as a core mission—that our job is careful, expert attention to texts and their salient features, and not the fast and light output of a product. Such a move from artisan to factory text encoding would be an extreme and discomfiting escalation of reductive and homogenizing influences that have perhaps always been present in TEI.

Projects that look at many different texts by different authors may not find such a natural fit in the ontological commitments of XML/TEI/OHCO. Consequently, some such projects, such as *Nineteenth-Century African American Women Writers* or *Wright American Fiction*, tend to simply produce lightly encoded texts, including only minimal structural encoding, rightly assuming that keyword searching the content is likelier to assist researchers than in-depth formal encoding. Some such projects have invested in more detailed TEI encoding, but arguably this labor does not support what is most interesting about the materials. Projects focusing on noncanonical texts or unorthodox collections of materials seem to face a choice between light TEI markup, in-depth markup designed to support a different interest in the texts, or designing a better mousetrap. The path of least resistance is to use light, predefined markup. Cumulatively, though, this can subtly reinforce age-old differences in how editors and readers confront texts by canonical—and disproportionately white and male—authors, and texts whose authors are not beheld so reverentially. The former generally receive close, expert attention; the latter are collected in casually edited collections.

4. ALTERNATIVE PRINCIPLES FOR COLLECTION: A CASE STUDY

For a few years I've been working on a digital collection of American literature that has brought some of these issues to the fore. *The Tar Baby and the Tomahawk* is a digital collection that aims to provide a heavily annotated resource for scholars and students of literature, history, African American studies, visual communication, and education to examine how adults wanted children to think about race during Jim Crow. When complete, *The Tar Baby and the Tomahawk* will include literature, illustrations, and popular-culture materials featuring characters of different races primarily intended for a juvenile audience roughly between Reconstruction and 1939, when

The Yearling became the first book published for young readers to win a Pulitzer Prize. In some cases, the authorship of this material is collaborative, corporate, or altogether unknown. What binds the materials together is that they all provide evidence of how popular media marketed to children or families during the period of Jim Crow helped to assert, reinforce, and, occasionally, diminish racial inequity.

The materials seem almost defined by their unsuitability for a conventional scholarly editing project. Virtually all of the materials are noncanonical or decanonized texts; their authorship is frequently slippery or of little interest—many of the texts are derivative works, sometimes by one or more uncredited authors; and their afterlives in unauthorized or appropriated forms are often more significant to our study than their pristine origins. The conventional ways of conceptualizing a scholarly edition or digital archive, along with the methods and technologies developed around conventional editions, while eminently reasonable for certain types of materials, have proven unwieldy and inappropriate for ours.

Take, for instance, the works of Joel Chandler Harris, which comprise a large portion of the materials we've collected. If editorial work moved faster than glaciers, there would likely be a sprawling, multivolume print edition of Joel Chandler Harris's works in every American research library. In the mid-1950s, when editors undertook the preparation of modern editions of so many American authors, Harris may have seemed like a contender for such work. At the time of his death in 1908 he was one of the most popular American authors, and Theodore Roosevelt published a letter mourning the loss of a national treasure, declaring Harris's fiction the most likely of American works to endure.³¹ In the 1920s, over a decade after Harris's death, a survey of U.S. high school and college teachers showed that Harris was considered one of the five most important authors in the United States.

Harris published dozens of novels and collections of short stories over his literary career, which stretched from 1881 to 1908, but his most popular works were his Uncle Remus books, in which a loyal former slave tells folk stories to an unnamed white child. Today, Harris's phonetic spellings of nineteenth-century middle Georgian African American dialect, which strike many readers as difficult or offensive, and his paternalistic approach to Remus and implicit nostalgia for the antebellum days, have helped boot him from the canon. Perhaps most damaging to Harris's reputation, however, was the appearance of *Song of the South*. Produced by Walt Disney and released by RKO Radio Pictures in 1947, the film trades on the worst aspects

of the Harris tales: the more complex Remus character of Harris's books is caricatured into a hyperbolically loyal and happy servant to white children, and today, over sixty years after its premiere, Disney views the film as an embarrassment and refuses to rerelease it.

Though Harris himself has fallen into obscurity, and though we no longer view his works as unambiguously good, his texts and their reception suggest interesting and instructive patterns about late nineteenth-century American attitudes toward race and culture. To study these patterns, though, requires a perspective very different from the view afforded by an author- or work-centered edition. Harris's texts are entertaining to read and offer fascinating glimpses into U.S. racial history, but certainly the best treatment of them is not presenting Harris as he may have once been viewed: a highly canonical genius whose compositional process elicits scholarly curiosity or admiration. It is the reception of Harris's works, how they were pirated, appropriated into popular culture, and generally diffused into American racial consciousness that is of interest, and studying these is not well supported by methods developed for author-centered editions.

The project's interest in Harris's Uncle Remus tales is in many ways similar to ongoing scholarship on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which in recent years has enjoyed attention from scholars who examine its cultural significance through the many sympathetic and hostile appropriations it spurred: parodies, homages, minstrel shows, and so on. Stowe's and Harris's central characters followed a very similar path through American and international culture. Both Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus were born in the pages of American periodicals—Stowe's in the *National Era* and Harris's in the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*. Both Harris and Stowe wrote well-intended but sentimental and paternalistic depictions of black characters in an effort to effect social change. Stowe, of course, sought the end of slavery, and Harris, writing at the height of Jim Crow in the American South, hoped to humanize African Americans to his white readers in an effort to end the epidemic of lynchings. Stowe's and Harris's political goals, however flawed they now may seem in execution, were progressive in their times and elicited both admiration and hostility.

Stowe's and Harris's moral earnestness made them easy targets for parodists and hacks. Just as Stowe's characters were quickly subsumed into consumer culture and the minstrel stage, Uncle Remus was featured in pirated publications, abridgments, household decorations, advertisements, coloring books, menus, postcards, and corporate logos. The cultural reach

of Harris's characters far exceeded his grasp. It is this reach that is of most interest about Harris, though the author's intentions and direct creations delimit the scope of most editorial undertakings. One of the few digital projects to trace the cultural reconfigurations of an American literary text is Stephen Railton's *Uncle Tom's Cabin in American Culture*,³² which is full of rich material and editorial insights. Railton's site includes images of several editions of the book; Stowe's own *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* and adaptation of the novel for the stage; "pretexts" that illustrate the culture into which Stowe was publishing her work; numerous reviews of the book; adaptations of the book for children; 3D manipulable images of memorabilia based on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; and images of the book's eventual transformation for stage and screen. All of this traces the text's trajectory from its roots in mid-nineteenth-century abolitionism to its transformation into a twentieth-century industry of racial degradation and caricature.

The problem with the site is that few developed methods available to digital literary scholarship support this kind of approach to texts. For example, Railton is rightfully interested in the covers of early editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. From the golden age of conspicuous literary consumption, these covers speak to what publishers and purchasers found important and beautiful about the text. They worked as the marketable face of the book, and if the ubiquitous still-uncut pages of nineteenth-century gift editions tell us anything, it is that the face of the book most frequently held the owner's interest. Yet TEI does not have a single tag, much less a developed module, for describing the outside of a book—something that is relevant to many literary projects. The *Walt Whitman Archive*, for example, omits cover information from its encoding, since it is unsupported by TEI. However, the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass* was widely known at the time for the adulatory Emerson quote—"I greet you at the beginning of a great career"—that Whitman brazenly reprinted on the spine. If the *Archive* wanted to include this, scholars would have to develop an ad hoc TEI extension. One of *The Tar Baby and the Tomahawk's* customizations to TEI was to create a simple tag for the illustrator of a book, a person as important to much of children's literature as the author. The orthodox TEI approach to treating illustrators is, bizarrely, as a specialized kind of editing—that is, TEI recommends encoding the illustrator this way

<editor role="illustrator">A. B. Frost</editor>,

as though the illustrator were merely another corrupting or altering influence on a pristine text.

The lack of an <illustrator> tag in TEI reflects a bias in the way the standard describes texts. The literary structures of a text, but not its relationship to other texts, nor its collaborative aspects, are robustly supported by the TEI tag set. A project designed around a core of stand-alone texts written by one author is much more suited to this than a thematically oriented project, a collection of collaborative works or texts by different authors, or one that examines textual transmission and appropriation. In the case of the author-centered archive, the design of the project matches up with the nesting structures of TEI: the identity of the author contains individual texts that are comprised of chapters, which hold paragraphs, and so on. But if a project hopes to examine the kinds of connections and cultural dispersions that Railton's work addresses, for example, TEI begins to seem like a hindrance: a significant investment of time and labor into tagging that supports little of the intellectual interest of the project. Yet when Railton's site on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was updated to conform to technological standards, the focus was on migrating the data into TEI-compliant XML. Given that compliance with TEI is a de facto requirement for serious—that is, rigorous and funded—digital editorial projects,³³ the author-centered model is not only implicitly encouraged by the current granting system but is also clearly the path of least resistance for anyone with an interest in digitally editing American literature.³⁴ For many projects, though, it seems that we lack good editorial standards for describing what is of most value: how, in Joseph Grigely's words, those "post-textual reconfigurations of a work tell us something about the personality of a culture."³⁵

5. ALTERNATIVE METHODOLOGIES

TEI is indispensable for many digital editing tasks, but was simply not intended to note the relationships among ephemera such as a children's menu, a do-it-yourself comic, or the other many merchandise tie-ins and other cultural goods generated by the publication of the Uncle Remus tales. Similarly, it is not suited to capture what is of interest in the array of materials pertaining to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that Railton has collected, or the larger patterns of co-opting Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus, which ranged from

friendly retellings to degrading parodies. We have a markup vocabulary for noting intricate structures within a single text, but lack a graceful way of noting patterns or relationships to which a text belongs.

Consider Harris's first story collection, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings*, from 1880. This collection was arguably his most influential, and its story about Brer Rabbit's encounter with a tar baby would be Harris's most widely recognizable tale. *The Tar Baby and the Tomahawk* has collected a variety of materials, both texts and nontextual objects, that were directly or indirectly based on Harris's Uncle Remus tales and that demonstrate the tales' cultural influence. In some cases an item was clearly influenced by a particular book or story, as with "Tar-Baby Nails." Other items make use of characters that recur in several of his collections. Figure 13 illustrates the relationships among many materials we have encountered while working on Harris's texts.³⁶

Viewed this way, it is easy to see how this now fairly obscure text functioned as a cultural vector. However, the diagram in figure 13 does not capture many details of the relationships that are of interest to literary scholarship. A few details that would likely be of wide interest include the following:

1. What kind of thing is the appropriation?
2. Was the appropriation authorized by Harris?
3. Is the appropriation sympathetic to or critical of the aims of the source text?
4. What aspects of the source text were appropriated: characters, illustrations, plot, direct language?

There are more questions we would want to ask, of course, but these few may serve as examples. A model that could support these kinds of queries would need to be ontologically nuanced; that is, it would need to be a carefully constructed formal system that describes the entities, their properties, and their relationships to each other. Figure 14 attempts to represent how a character in one object (a book) is appropriated into an illustration in another object (a menu). I have kept the figure simple and only included here some representative entities and attributes.

A few technologies could allow us to implement this model. Relational databases appeal to some literary archives that attempt to foreground relational structures,³⁷ though commonly used database technologies such as Structured Query Language (SQL) are too inelastic to form the basis of a distributed, flexible system for describing textual entities in different

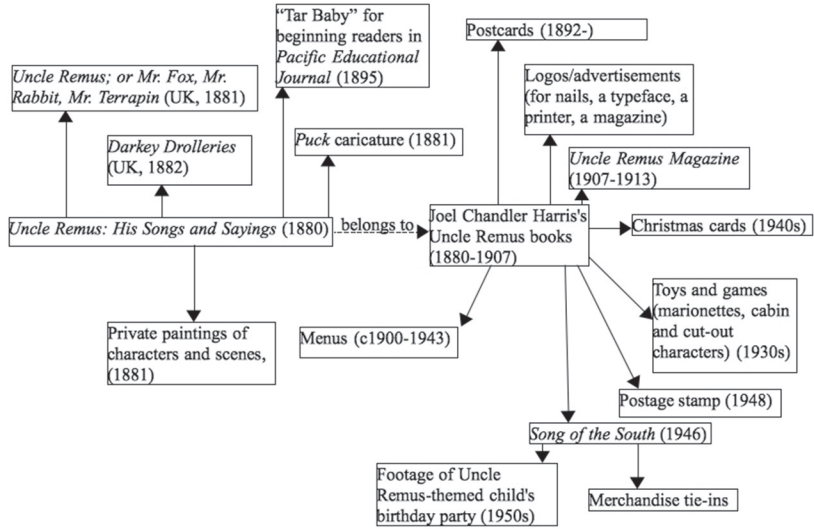


Figure 13. Diagram of appropriations of *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings*.

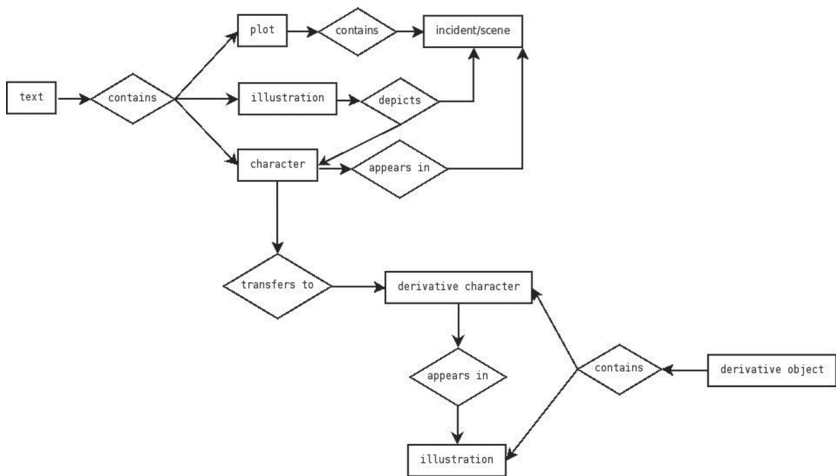


Figure 14. Diagram of textual transmission.

archive and editions. Semantic web technologies such as RDF (Resource Description Framework) and OWL (Web Ontology Language) are proving to be viable, flexible alternatives to relational databases and can accommodate an expanding and diverse set of claims about entities and their properties and relationships. While admittedly difficult to learn and technically implement in comparison to inline markup or limited relational database technologies, the formal specifications of the semantic web, expressible in XML, allow projects to represent particular entities and relationships among them within sophisticated ontologies. Semantic web technologies provide ontological rules and a syntax for expressing them. For example, if we were to describe a set of relationships involved in textual transference in OWL, we could claim the following:

1. Uncle Remus is a character in “The Wonderful Tar Baby Story”
2. Joel Chandler Harris wrote “The Wonderful Tar Baby Story”
3. A toy advertisement features Uncle Remus.

The inferential rules we can describe through OWL would later allow us to derive from this information that this toy advertisement features a character that Joel Chandler Harris created, even though we never directly stated that. This is a simple example, but because the technologies allow us to continually provide the ontology with new entities, it can grow complex very quickly and ultimately allow us to derive sophisticated information about entities inferred from a multitude of single, separately entered statements about them. Essentially, the data-interchange standards of the semantic web are much more expansible than brittle relational databases.

Semantic web technologies, combined with a constrained vocabulary tailored to the purpose, could help literary scholars and cultural historians track many different kinds of textual content and describe intertextual relationships. Further, the flexibility and expansibility of semantic web technologies could allow for aggregation: individual projects describing historically or thematically similar materials could combine records and allow for the mapping or graphing of relationships among materials across projects. But currently, the lack of a developed method for tracking cultural transmission is a significant lacuna in digital literary scholarship. As we seek to build upon the rich tradition of the collected edition, an ontological framework for describing intertextual relationships could prove fruitful.

Digital humanists have already been exploring the use of semantic web technologies to enable other ways of studying American literature. In 2003,

NINES (Networked Interface for Nineteenth-century Electronic Scholarship) was established as both an organization comprised of transatlantic scholars who evaluate materials related to the study of the British and American long nineteenth centuries, as well as a “federated collective” of the peer-reviewed materials that the organization vets. NINES tries to combat the siloing of digital scholarship that is encouraged by many grant programs, institutional structures, and the XML-based technologies that lend themselves to self-contained (and often author-centric) scholarship. Its primary tool to resist editorial isolationism is Collex, an open-source application that Bethany Nowviskie, one of its developers, described as “facilitating primary interpretive gestures of exploration and explanation in a broad and socially networked manner.”³⁸ Collex was designed to use “facets,” in which loose, nonhierarchical claims about relationships, such as creation date, author, and so on are housed in the metadata, and folksonomic tagging, in which users assign free-form descriptive labels to digital objects, in order to connect and exhibit materials that may never have cohabited the same scholarly archive. This semantic web approach was meant to allow NINES to present materials in much more flexible ways than is enabled by strict, prescriptive metadata, and to more closely track the varied interpretive and associative interests of readers. Collex has the potential to offer innovative approaches to collection by using RDF (but not OWL) in combination with a large body of digital materials. However, in practice, the RDF metadata supplied by individual projects tend to record orthodox information—adding rich, innovative metadata for Collex, metadata that break with the organizational principles of the digital project, has typically been an afterthought. By the time a contributing project has been built and is ready to be peer reviewed, the metadata that would make Collex realize its potential are understandably not a priority for editors who designed the resource along different and more conventional lines. The progress of Collex suggests that once a project is designed as a silo there is little reward for the labor of reorganization, and that innovative principles of collection ought to be part of the initial design of individual digital archives and editions.

In the last couple of years, new developments in digital collection portend exciting new ways we might think about collecting and presenting our cultural inheritance. The Digital Public Library of America gathers digital resources into one portal, where users can create exhibitions or build apps. Another digital undertaking, *Viral Texts: Mapping Networks of Reprinting in 19th-Century Newspapers and Magazines*,³⁹ which is still in early stages of development, seeks to examine and theorize how some nineteenth-

century texts get widely reprinted. Projects like these evidence a growing interest in diversifying the ways in which we gather and represent American literature.

The digital representation of American literature continues and complicates a trajectory we could trace at least as far back as the origins of the country itself, when collected editions became a way to showcase individual genius and the cultural potential of an entire community or nation. Through the centuries, collected editions of American authors have proven robust and flexible vehicles, capable of helping form a national literary identity, representing emerging conceptions of intellectual labor and property, serving as enduring memorials for amateur talent, erecting public monuments to greatness, and motivating an academic industry. The collected edition is a venerable genre, an aspirational form for authors and editors, both the bedrock and apex of the canon. Its success is evident in how undetectably it has tended to work. The collected edition has clearly buoyed a certain view of authorship, promoting the image of the genius in his workshop directly communicating to the individual reader. This view of authorship has historically favored—and continues to favor—authors whose race, class, and gender conform to long-held notions of what venerable geniuses look like. Since the mid-twentieth century, the rigorous, developed methods for presenting carefully edited texts have been based on the gold standard of the collected edition. Through the latter half of twentieth century and into the twenty-first, these standards seem to have come at the expense of the development of other methods for careful collection, description, and presentation of literature that would better express critical interests that have developed over the last fifty years. The modern academy understands the importance of historicizing the texts we read, yet even as curricular models and critical studies move away from single-author models, and as digital collections spring up around any number of critical interests, editorial methodologies to express even simple interpretive questions, narratological elements, and intertextual phenomena remain largely undeveloped. The collected edition will surely remain an important genre for organizing texts, but as digital scholarship and readerly interests look beyond siloed collections, we need to develop alternative methods for rigorously representing American texts.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Philip Cohen describes some contemporary theorists as thinking editorial work is “mere drudgery for a few eccentric pedants and an army of graduate students.” See *Devils and Angels* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991), xv.

2. I use “text” in a way it is commonly (though not uncontentiously) invoked in editorial theory, to indicate, depending on context, either (1) the wording of a work—which is itself an abstract ideal that may only be imperfectly realized in documents, or not fully realized at all, (2) the wording of a document, or (3) as shorthand for a book or other print document. See, for example, G. Thomas Tanselle’s “Textual Instability and Editorial Idealism,” *Studies in Bibliography* 49 (1996): 1–60, or Paul Eggert’s “Making Sense of Multiple Authorship,” *Text* 8 (1995): 305–323.

3. Andrew Nash, ed., *The Culture of Collected Editions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 4.

4. Darrin M. McMahon, *Divine Fury: A History of Genius* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 72.

5. McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 70–72.

6. McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 131.

7. McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 133.

8. See Michael Anesko’s study of how publishers sold collected editions on subscription as a way of making money off of authors on their payrolls in “Notes towards the Redefinition of Culture,” in Nash, *Culture of Collected Editions*, 69–79.

9. This volume is held by the Peoria Public Library in Peoria, Illinois.

10. Nash, “Redefinition of Culture,” 76–77.

CHAPTER 1

1. In Britain, the same was true of American works, and the situation did not significantly change until the Chace Act of 1891, which was the first legislation to protect international copyright in the United States. See James L. W. West III's "The Chace Act and Anglo-American Literary Relations," *Studies in Bibliography* 45 (1992): 303–311 for a fuller discussion of the provisions of the law.

2. Uncredited, "On the Literary Delinquency of America," *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal* 4, no. 2 (November 1815): 35–36.

3. See Robert Weisbuch's discussion of this and of universalism, the contention among some nineteenth-century American intellectuals that it was counterproductive to pursue a national literature for nationalism's sake, in *Atlantic Double-Cross: American Literature and British Influence in the Age of Emerson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

4. Martha Woodmansee, "On the Author Effect: Recovering Collectivity," in *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature* ed. Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 15–28.

5. Fred Lewis Pattee, "Philip Freneau as Postal Clerk," *American Literature* 4, no. 1 (March 1932): 61–62.

6. Uncredited, "Art VII. *The Complete Works, in Philosophy, Politics, and Morals, of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin*," *Edinburgh Review* 8, no. 16 (July 1, 1806): 327–344.

7. Steven P. Harthorn, "James Fenimore Cooper, Carey, Lea & Blanchard, and the Fable of the Indulgent Publisher," in *James Fenimore Cooper: His Country and His Art. Papers from the 2007 Cooper Seminar (No. 16)*, ed. Hugh C. MacDougall and Steven Harthorn (Oneonta: State University of New York College at Oneonta, 2009), 29–43.

8. Oral Sumner Coad, *William Dunlap: A Study of His Life and Works and of His Place in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Dunlap Society, 1917), 86–87.

9. Judith Sargent Murray, *The Gleaner* XCVI (1795). Reprinted in *The Gleaner* 3 (1798).

10. The works of Ann Eliza Bleecker, discussed later in this chapter, may provide an additional exception to this rule, though she was significantly less popular than Dunlap or Brown, and the circumstances surrounding her publication are so idiosyncratic as to make her collection seem like a quite different kind of undertaking.

11. *Artists in Ohio, 1787–1900: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Mary Sayre Haverstock, Jeannette Mahoney Vance, and Brian L. Meggitt (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2000), 68.

12. Mary Gardiner, *A Collection from the Prose and Poetical Writings of Mary L. Gardiner* (New York: J. Winchester, 1843), v.

13. See Elizabeth Eisenstein's discussion of St. Bonaventure's medieval definition of authorship, in which he claims:

A man might write the works of others, adding and changing nothing, in which case he is simply called a “scribe” (*scriptor*). Another writes the work of others with additions which are not his own; and he is called a compiler (*compilator*). Another writes both others’ work and his own, but with others’ work in principal place, adding his own for purposes of explanation; and he is called a “commentator” (*commentator*). . . . Another writes both his own work and others’ but with his own work in principal place adding others’ for purposes of confirmation; and such a man should be called an “author” (*auctor*). (Quaestio IV of the *Proemium in Librum Primum Sententiarum*; discussed in Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 121–122.)

14. See Martha Woodmansee’s discussion in “The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions for the Emergence of the ‘Author,’” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17 (1984): 425–48. Woodmansee finds two ways of conceiving authorship in the Renaissance: the first as a craftsman who reworks traditional materials and forms; the second as a vehicle of divine inspiration. Alternatives to these models also appear, such as Torquato Tasso’s view of the author as a demigod who created miniature, mimetic worlds for his readers (see Albert Russell Ascoli, “Worthy of Faith? Authors and Readers in Early Modernity,” in *The Renaissance World*, ed. John Jeffries Martin [New York: Routledge, 2008], 435–451), though Tasso also ascribed the author’s creative powers to divinely implanted understandings of form. (See Jonathan Unglaub, *Poussin and the Poetics of Painting: Pictorial Narrative and the Legacy of Tasso* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006], 20.) See also Roger Chartier’s *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 25–60. Chartier expands on Foucault’s discussion of how legal responsibility for controversial texts contributed to the practice of naming authors on books after the advent of the printing press.

15. Melissa Homestead discusses Stowe’s complicated battles with domestic and international copyright in her chapter “‘When I Can Read My Title Clear’: Harriet Beecher Stowe and the *Stowe v. Thomas Copyright Infringement Case* (1853),” in *American Women Authors and Literary Property, 1822–1869* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105–149.

16. See Homestead’s discussion of gender and intellectual property claims, *American Women Authors*, 21–62.

17. John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1978), 248.

18. In fact, Peterson seems to have harbored a particular interest in publishing proslavery literature in the North, as Hentz was one of several authors he published who glorified slavery.

19. Henry Seidel in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, 1930, quoted in Megan

Benton, “‘Too Many Books’: Book Ownership and Cultural Identity in the 1920s,” *American Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (June 1997): 268–297.

20. See, for instance, Rebecca Rego Barry, “The Neo-classics: (Re)Publishing the ‘Great Books’ in the United States in the 1990s,” *Book History* 6 (2003): 251–275.

21. See a longer discussion of the relationship between Stephens and Peterson in Madeline Stern’s *We the Women: Career Firsts of Nineteenth-Century America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 50–51.

22. *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Rufus Griswold, vol. 3 (New York: Redfield, 1850), vii–xxxix.

23. *Works of Poe*, xxii.

24. *Works of Poe*, xxiv.

25. *Works of Poe*, xxix.

26. *Works of Poe*, xxxi.

27. James Southall Wilson, untitled review of Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold: Poe’s Literary Executor*, *American Literature* 16, no. 1 (March 1944): 37–39.

CHAPTER 2

1. Sally Bushell has argued that the heavy-handed approach Todd and Higginson took with the poems was necessary to getting them published at all, and that the editors themselves were aware that their level of intervention was not ideal, as reflected in the fact that they interfered considerably less in the second and third volumes. See *Text as Process: Creative Composition in Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Dickinson* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 169.

2. “Literary Remains,” *North American* (Philadelphia), Wednesday, May 24, 1899, 4.

3. Samantha Matthews, *Poetical Remains: Poets’ Graves, Bodies, and Books in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

4. *The Literary Remains of John G. C. Brainard, with a Sketch of His Life*, ed. J. G. Whittier (Hartford: P.B. Goodsell, 1832), 7. *Literary Remains of Brainard*, 18. *Literary Remains of Brainard*, 35.

7. *Literary Remains of Brainard*, 21.

8. *Literary Remains of Brainard*, 20. *Literary Remains of Brainard*, 33. *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd, M.D.*, ed. Elizabeth Haskins (New York: H.C. Sleight, 1832), iii.

11. *Literary Remains of Ladd*, iii–iv.

12. Shira Wolosky, *Poetry and Public Discourse in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1–14.

13. *The Literary Remains of Martha Day; with Rev. Dr. Fitch’s Address at Her Funeral; and Sketches of Her Character* (New Haven: Hezekiah Howe, 1834), 97.

14. *Literary Remains of Day*, 78.

15. *Literary Remains of Day*, 87.
16. *Amir Khan, and Other Poems: The Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, ed. Samuel Morse (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1829), 170–171.
17. *Biography and Poetical Remains of the Late Margaret Miller Davidson*, ed. Washington Irving (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1841).
18. *Poetical Remains of the Late Lucretia Maria Davidson* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1841).
19. *Poetical Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, 12.
20. *Poetical Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, 13.
21. *Poetical Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, 13.
22. *Poetical Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, 20.
23. *Poetical Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, 21.
24. Edgar Allan Poe, untitled review, *Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1841, 304.
25. Robert Southey, review of *Amir Khan, and Other Poems: The Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, *Quarterly Review* 41, no. 82 (1829): 289–301.
26. *Poetical Remains of the Late Lucy Hooper, Collected and Arranged; with a Memoir, by John Keese* (New York: Samuel Colman, 1842), 9.
27. *Poetical Remains of Hooper*, 23–24.
28. Untitled review, *New-York Spectator*, Wednesday, June 22, 1842, 1.
29. *Literary Remains of Brainard*, 21.
30. *The Poetical Remains of the Late Mary Elizabeth Lee* (Charleston: Walker and Richards, 1851).
31. *Poetical Remains of Lee*, 2.
32. *Poetical Remains of Lee*, xi.
33. For other analyses of the early editing of Dickinson, see Martha Nell Smith, “Dickinson’s Manuscripts,” in *The Emily Dickinson Handbook*, ed. Gudrun Grabher, Roland Hagenbüchle, and Cristanne Miller (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 113–137; R. W. Franklin, *The Editing of Emily Dickinson: A Reconsideration* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Betsy Erkkila, “The Emily Dickinson Wars,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Emily Dickinson*, ed. Wendy Martin (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11–29; and Elizabeth Horan, “To Market: The Emily Dickinson Copyright Wars,” *Emily Dickinson Journal* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 88–120.
34. Her motivation for stalling the edition is a matter of debate—many contemporary scholars, such as Smith, believe that Susan’s uniquely sensitive understanding of Dickinson’s idiosyncratic poetics overwhelmed her, and though she worked diligently on reading, ordering, and reordering the manuscripts, she was ultimately stymied by her respect for Dickinson’s reluctance to print. This explanation is plausible, but it seems just as likely that Susan, who was busy with the running of a household and the responsibilities associated with her position as a community leader, together with the emotional burdens of her sister-in-law’s recent death, her

son's tragic death only slightly earlier, and the humiliation of her husband's very public affair with Mabel Loomis Todd, simply felt unmoved to undertake the enormous task.

35. Millicent Todd Bingham, *Ancestors' Brocades: The Literary Discovery of Emily Dickinson; The Editing and Publication of Her Letters and Poems* (New York: Dover, 1967), 66.

36. Martha Nell Smith has suggested that some nineteenth-century readers may not have even viewed Dickinson's poems as poems until they were realized in print. She writes, "When Dickinson's poems were first published in printed volumes in the 1890s, many poets did not even regard their poems as having come into existence until they saw them printed . . . when editors Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Mabel Loomis Todd imagined, or *saw*, a Dickinson poem, they saw a typographical object." In this light, editors of poetical remains could be seen as making the poets' writings real through these posthumous volumes. See "Corporealizations of Dickinson and Interpretive Machines," in *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 198.

37. When the poems were about to go to press, Lavinia balked at the fact that her formidable sister-in-law would realize upon the volume's publication that Lavinia had turned to Todd, and at the last minute wrote Higginson asking him to withdraw Todd's name—Todd's only credit for years of careful work—from the book. Higginson refused, and it seems that Todd and Lavinia's relationship began to suffer real strain, since Todd felt betrayed by the woman whom she had greatly assisted, both in the editorial project and in various other personal ways, and whose trying behavior she had endured over the previous several years. The appearance of *Poems* in 1890 indeed had the effect on the Dickinson family that Lavinia feared, and eventually resulted in the dispersal of Dickinson's poems between the house of Susan Dickinson and the house of Todd: Todd's holdings were inherited by her daughter, Millicent Todd Bingham, who had helped transcribe them for the first edition as a child, and the Dickinson family's portion was inherited by Martha Dickinson Bianchi, Susan's daughter and Emily Dickinson's niece. Both women published volumes of Dickinson's writings over the following decades, all drawn from their own stashes of the manuscripts. Today these manuscripts are divided between Harvard's Houghton Library and Amherst, where Bianchi and Bingham respectively bequeathed them.

38. Bingham, *Ancestors' Brocades*, 17.

39. Higginson seems to contradict himself here.

40. For a much more detailed account of Todd's transcriptions, see Franklin, *Editing of Emily Dickinson*, 6–22. It is not clear how many transcriptions Todd originally passed on to Higginson. She recollects giving him "about two hundred," but even after his initial vetting he estimated a volume that would contain three hundred poems, drawn primarily from those of the group sent to him that Todd categorized as the best. This indicates that she gave Higginson far more than two hundred poems to select from.

41. Niles's specialty as a publisher was juvenile fiction, and he is today best known for his encouraging Louisa May Alcott to write *Little Women*.

42. Niles's title at Roberts Brothers was literary manager, but he actually ran the whole operation. Niles had gone to work for Roberts Brothers in 1863, after a firm of which he had been a partner failed. At that time, Roberts Brothers specialized in photo albums, which had become a growth industry among people commemorating loved ones and experiences during the Civil War. The Roberts brothers themselves, Lewis and Austin, were content with their limited industry, but nevertheless allowed Niles to join the company and publish trade books if he were to handle it.

43. Bingham, *Ancestors' Brocades*, 53.

44. Bingham, *Ancestors' Brocades*, 53.

45. *Saint Louis Globe Democrat*, October 22, 1881, 4.

46. *Cleveland Herald*, Tuesday, November 29, 1881, 4.

47. Ethelbert D. Warfield, "The Posthumous Misfortunes of Authors," *Independent* 43, no. 2229 (August 20, 1891): 1.

48. Higginson chose this phrase and explained to Todd that he put her name first because she did most of the work.

49. Indeed, as Caroline C. Maun has argued, the subsequent volumes of Dickinson edited by Higginson and Todd and later Todd alone did not fare as well because readers seemed to think they were gathering subpar poems that were rightfully excluded from the first collection. See "Editorial Policy in *The Poems of Emily Dickinson, Third Series*," *Emily Dickinson Journal* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 56–77.

50. "Book Notes," *Boston Journal*, November 28, 1890, 4. Reprinted in *Emily Dickinson's Reception in the 1890's*, ed. Willis J. Buckingham (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989).

51. "A Very Remarkable Book," *Boston Sunday Herald*, November 23, 1890, 24. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

52. November 16, 1890, 4. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

53. "Conspicuous Books of 1890," *Congregationalist* 75 (December 4, 1890): 426. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

54. Alexander Young, "Boston Letter," *Critic* 14 (December 6, 1890): 297. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

55. "Book Notices," *Pittsburgh Post*, November 24, 1890, 5. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

56. Ingrid Satelmajer discusses a brief attempt to actively market Dickinson as a children's poet in the 1890s in "Dickinson as Child's Fare: The Author Served Up in *St. Nicholas*," *Book History* 5 (2002): 105–142.

57. "Books and Authors," *Boston Sunday Courier* 96 (November 23, 1890): 2. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

58. "Grim Slumber Songs," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, January 6, 1891, 4. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

59. "About Big Men," *Yankee Blade*, January 10, 1891, 4. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

60. Lilian Whiting, "Boston Life," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, November 23, 1890, 29. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

61. John W. Chadwick. "Emily Dickinson," *Unity* 26 (January 20, 1891): 171. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

62. "Editorial," *Unity* 26 (January 22, 1891): 169. Reprinted in Buckingham, *Emily Dickinson's Reception*.

CHAPTER 3

1. Ed Folsom, "Walt Whitman's Prairie Paradise," in *Recovering the Prairie*, ed. Robert Sayre (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 47–60.

2. Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 179.

3. James E. Miller Jr., *Walt Whitman* (New York: Twayne, 1962), 114–117.

4. Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself," in *Leaves of Grass* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1891), 33–34. Online at <http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/1891/whole.html>.

5. See Miller, *Walt Whitman*, for example.

6. In personal conversation, Jerome McGann suggested that Whitman seems to allude to Isaiah 40:6, "All flesh is grass."

7. Whitman, "Song of Myself," 77.

8. Whitman, "Song of Myself," 79.

9. See Kenneth M. Price and Cynthia G. Bernstein's discussion of this poem as *l'envoi*, a genre linking poets to their future readers, in "Whitman's Sign of Parting: 'So Long!' as *l'envoi*," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 9 (Fall 1991): 65–76.

10. Whitman, "Song of Myself," 382.

11. Susan Belasco, "Leaves of Grass and the Poetry Marketplace of Antebellum America," in *"Leaves of Grass": The Sesquicentennial Essays*, ed. Susan Belasco, Ed Folsom, and Kenneth M. Price (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 192.

12. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 1 (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1906), 276. Online at whitmanarchive.org/criticism/disciples/traubel/WWWiC/1/whole.html.

13. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 3 (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1914), 395. Online at whitmanarchive.org/criticism/disciples/traubel/WWWiC/3/whole.html.

14. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 2 (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1915), 520. Online at whitmanarchive.org/criticism/disciples/traubel/WWWiC/2/whole.html.

15. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 2:474.

16. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 3:317.

17. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 2:418. Also recounted in Ed Folsom,

“Whitman Making Books / Books Making Whitman: A Catalog and Commentary.” Online at www.whitmanarchive.org/criticism/current/anc.00150.html.

18. Walt Whitman, *Complete Poems and Prose* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1888), 2 (not contiguously numbered).

19. Whitman, *Complete Poems and Prose*, [1].

20. Few scholarly sources have looked closely at Whitman’s tomb affair. Traubel’s *With Walt Whitman in Camden* remains the most detailed source of information, though it is spread out over many volumes. A recent piece by Matthew L. Ifill, “The Rudest Most Undress’d Structure (with an idea) since Egypt’: The Story of Walt Whitman’s Tomb, Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, NJ,” *Conversations: The Newsletter of the Walt Whitman Association*, Fall–Winter 2011–2012, 1–4 provides a very readable description.

21. See David S. Reynolds’s discussion of Whitman’s misrepresentation of his fame in *Walt Whitman’s America* (New York: Knopf, 1995), 515–521.

22. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 9 (Oregon House, CA: W. L. Bentley, 1996), 410. Online at whitmanarchive.org/criticism/disciples/traubel/WWWiC/9/whole.html.

23. See Desiree Henderson’s extensive discussion of Whitman and the rural cemetery movement in “What Is the Grass?’: The Roots of Walt Whitman’s Cemetery Meditation,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 25 (Winter 2008): 89–107.

24. Walt Whitman, “Poetry of the Future,” *North American Review* 132 (May 1881): 203.

25. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 3:24.

26. Whitman (writing anonymously), review of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*, *United States Review* 5 (September 1855): 205–212.

27. Matthews, *Poetical Remains*, 3 and passim.

28. William Sloan Kennedy, untitled, *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 16, 1895.

29. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 8 (Oregon House, CA: W.L. Bentley, 1996), 245 and 323. Online at www.whitmanarchive.org/criticism/disciples/traubel/WWWiC/8/whole.html. Also Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), 53.

30. “The Listener,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 9, 1895.

31. *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 16, 1895.

32. *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*, vol. 5: *The Correspondence, 1890–1892*, ed. Edwin Haviland Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 66.

33. For instance, see Kaplan, *Walt Whitman*, 49.

34. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 8:245.

35. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 8:289.

36. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 8:475.

37. Traubel, *Walt Whitman in Camden*, 8:428.

38. Horace E. Scudder, *Literature in School* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888), 25.

39. Reprinted in George Monteiro, “Whitman, Warner, and the American Men of Letters Series,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 1 (March 1984): 26–27.

40. Artem Lozynsky, *Richard Maurice Bucke, Medical Mystic: Letters of Dr. Bucke to Walt Whitman and His Friends* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977), 91.

41. See Joann P. Krieg’s “Without Walt Whitman in Camden,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 14 (Fall 1996–Winter 1997): 85–112.

42. Horace L. Traubel, Richard Maurice Bucke, and Thomas B. Harned, eds., *In Re Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1893), vi.

43. Triggs mentions the course in “Whitman the Most Significant and Most Universal of Modern Writers,” *Conservator* 6 (June 1895): 60, and Hamlin Garland adds that 1895 was the second year that the course ran, *Conservator* 6 (June 1895): 61. Apocryphal reports claim that Triggs was fired from his position for his championing of Whitman (see Thomas Henry Briggs, Max J. Herzberg, and Emma Miller Bolenius, eds., *Romance* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932], 300), though evidence for this is scarce, and Triggs was involved in some in-fighting that seems as likely a factor in his dismissal.

44. Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price, *Rescripting Walt Whitman: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 131.

45. Folsom and Price, *Re-scripting Walt Whitman*, 130.

46. Michael Robertson, *Worshipping Walt: The Whitman Disciples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 280.

47. *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* vol. 1, ed. Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas P. Harned, Horace L. Traubel, and Oscar Lovell Triggs (New York: George P. Putnam’s Sons, 1902), xlv.

48. Bucke et al., *Complete Writings of Whitman*, xxxix.

49. “Some New Editions,” *The Outlook*, December 20, 1902, 947–949.

50. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, review of *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, *Nation* 76 (May 14, 1903): 400–401.

51. “American Books,” *Athenæum*, January 17, 1903, 79–80.

52. Ed Folsom, “The Whitman Project: A Review Essay,” *Philological Quarterly* 61 (Fall 1982): 369–394.

53. Walt Whitman, *Selected Poems*, ed. Arthur Stedman (New York: C. L. Webster, 1892), vii.

54. Horace Traubel, “Selections from the Prose and Poetry of Walt Whitman,” *Conservator* 9 (April 1898): 28–29.

55. Bucke et al., *Complete Writings of Whitman*, xxix.

CHAPTER 4

1. Michael Anesko, “Collected Editions and the Consolidation of Cultural Authority: The Case of Henry James,” *Book History* 12 (2009): 186–208.

2. Anesko, "Collected Editions," 189.
3. Anesko, "Collected Editions," 198.
4. Anesko, "Collected Editions," 191.
5. Anesko quotes James as writing, "It is best, I think, that it should be selective as well as collective; I want to quietly disown a few things by not thus supremely adopting them." "Collected Editions," 191.
6. Strategic exclusion, in fact, was quite common through the early twentieth century, and poets such as Marianne Moore excised considerable material from collected editions. See George Bornstein's "What Does a Collected Edition Collect? Mapping Modernist Poetry," *Paideuma* 35, nos. 1–2 (Spring–Fall 2006): 3–16.
7. For a study of modernist collected editions, see George Bornstein's "What Does a Collected Edition Collect?"
8. W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950–1951): 20–37.
9. For a recent discussion of Greg, his life, and his impact on editorial theory and bibliography, see *Textual Cultures* 4.2 (Autumn 2009), a special issue devoted to Greg on the fiftieth anniversary of his death.
10. Similar changes were occurring in other nations. For example, see Paul Eggert's *Securing the Past: Conservation in Art, Architecture, and Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 158, for a brief discussion of midcentury editing in Australia.
11. William G. Wells, *Science, Technology, and the Congress: The First 200 Years* (Washington, DC: Directorate for Science and Policy Programs, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1994), 22–27.
12. National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 (P.L. 89–209) §3.
13. National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act, §8.
14. This characterization was not entirely accurate. For example, Germany undertook a similar effort to create large editions in the 1960s, based mostly on the method of genetic editing favored by German editors. See Bodo Plachta, "German Literature," in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. D. C. Greetham (New York: MLA, 1995), 504–529.
15. Ron Robin, *The Making of the Cold War Enemy: Culture and Politics in the Military-Intellectual Complex* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 19–37.
16. John Bryant, *The Fluid Text* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 44.
17. David Greetham, *The Pleasures of Contamination* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 277.
18. As John Bryant has pointed out, "Modern editing, literary theory, criticism, and classroom instruction have an understandable fixation on single texts, if only to address the simple need among theorists, critics, teachers, and students to locate the same words on the same page at the same time" (*The Fluid Text*, 113). As Ameri-

can universities grew in the Cold War, so-called definitive editions provided rapidly expanding literature classrooms with common texts.

19. Joel Myerson, "Colonial and Nineteenth-Century American Literature," in Greetham, *Scholarly Editing*, 351–364.

20. Lewis Mumford, "Emerson Behind Barbed Wire," *New York Review of Books*, January 18, 1968, 3–5. I discuss this piece at greater length later in this chapter.

21. Matthew J. Bruccoli, "A Few Missing Words," *PMLA* 86, no. 4 (September 1971): 587.

22. See Steven Escar Smith's discussion of Hinman's inspiration for the collator in "'The Eternal Verities Verified': Charlton Hinman and the Roots of Mechanical Collation," *Studies in Bibliography* 53 (2000): 129–161.

23. Senate Report No. 241, 1950.

24. Jeffrey Masten, "Pressing Subjects; or, The Secret Lives of Shakespeare's Compositors," in *Language Machines*, ed. Jeffrey Masten et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997), 75–107.

25. See Joseph Grigely's extended discussion of textual criticism and early twentieth-century eugenics in his chapter "Textual Eugenics," in *Textualterity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 11–50.

26. Grigely, *Textualterity*, 23.

27. Bruccoli, "A Few Missing Words," 587.

28. Philip Cohen has succinctly remarked on the relationship between New Criticism and Greg-Bowers editing: "Although traditional editors have often criticized the New Critics' focus on the aesthetic autonomy of literary works, it was, curiously enough, the New Criticism's emphasis on close readings of single texts that made the massive editorial projects of the 1960s and 1970s possible." Yet, for their part, "many theorists deny the recuperability of authorial intention and its usefulness in discussing and evaluating texts that have been constituted referring to that same intention." See *Devils and Angels*, x–xi.

29. Richard Macksey, "In Memoriam: Charles Anderson," *Modern Language Notes* 114, no. 5 (1999): 1119–1121.

30. John Crowe Ransom, "Hearts and Heads," *American Review* 2, no. 5 (March 1934): 554–571; Allen Tate, "A Southern Romantic," *New Republic* 76 (August 30, 1933): 67–70; Robert Penn Warren, "The Blind Poet: Sidney Lanier," *American Review* 2, no. 1 (November 1933): 27–45.

31. Aubrey Starke, "The Agrarians Deny a Leader," *American Review* 2, no. 5 (March 1934): 550.

32. "Sidney Lanier as Southerner: In Response to Certain Charges by Three Agrarians," *Sewanee Review* 48, no. 2 (April–June 1940): 153–173.

33. *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), xi.

34. Charles Anderson, review of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson, Including Variant Readings Critically Compared with All Known Manuscripts* by Thomas H. Johnson, *Modern Language Notes* 71, no. 5 (May 1956): 386–390.

35. Jay Leyda, review of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson, Including Variant Readings Critically Compared with All Known Manuscripts* by Thomas H. Johnson, *New England Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (June 1956): 239–245.

36. M. C. Bradbrook, review of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson, Including Variant Readings Critically Compared with All Known Manuscripts* by Thomas H. Johnson, *Modern Language Review* 51, no. 4 (October 1956): 592–594.

37. Newton Arvin, review of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson, Including Variant Readings Critically Compared with All Known Manuscripts* by Thomas H. Johnson, *American Literature* 28, no. 2 (May 1956): 232–236.

38. Anderson, review of *Poems of Emily Dickinson*, 387.

39. Austin Warren, review of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson, Including Variant Readings Critically Compared with All Known Manuscripts* by Thomas H. Johnson, *Sewanee Review* 65, no. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1957): 565–586.

40. Arvin, review of *Poems of Emily Dickinson*, 234.

41. Leyda, review of *Poems of Emily Dickinson*, 245.

42. The Howells volumes were not released in order, and the first volume was actually number 32.

43. See also Paul Eggert's discussion of the *New York Review of Books* dustup in chapter 8 of *Securing the Past*.

44. See Joel Myerson's discussion, "Colonial," 353.

45. As Hershel Parker explains, Mumford had publicly bristled when William H. Gilman, the general editor of the *Journals* that Mumford attacks, corrected various points in Mumford's scholarship on Melville. See footnotes on page 20 in Parker's *Flawed Texts and Verbal Icons: Literary Authority and American Fiction* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1996).

46. Even more unseemly: Wilson's collaborator in seeking funds to edit volumes of American literature was Jason Epstein, who was married to Barbara Epstein, editor of the *New York Review of Books*.

47. Edmund Wilson, "The Fruits of the MLA: I. 'Their Wedding Journey,'" *New York Review of Books*, September 26, 1968, 10.

48. Edmund Wilson, "The Fruits of the MLA: II. Mark Twain," *New York Review of Books*, October 10, 1968, 12.

49. William H. Y. Hackett Jr., *New York Review of Books*, December 19, 1968, 36–37.

50. Matthew J. Bruccoli, "What Bowers Wrought: An Assessment of the Center for Editions of American Authors," in Nash, *Culture of Collected Editions*, 237–244.

51. Parker, *Flawed Texts*, 62.

52. Fredson Bowers, *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography* 2, no. 3 (1988). Scan provided on Parker's blog (fragmentsfromawritingdesk.blogspot.com/2011/03/bowers-false-denial-of-blackballing.html).

53. G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Achievement of Fredson Bowers," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 79 (1985): 188.

CHAPTER 5

1. See Susan Belasco's essay, "The Responsibility Is Ours: The Failure of Infrastructure and the Limits of Scholarship," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 26, no. 2 (2009): 329–336.
2. Gail Godwin, "One Woman Leads to Another," *New York Times*, April 28, 1985.
3. Denis Donoghue, "A Criticism of One's Own," *New Republic* 194, no. 10 (March 1986).
4. Jeffrey Hart, "Wimmin Against Literature," *National Review* 40, no. 19 (September 30, 1988).
5. Phyllis Rose, "Women Writers and Feminist Critics," *Atlantic* 256, no. 2 (August 1985): 88.
6. Rose, "Women Writers."
7. Theodore Rosengarten, "Slave Woman in the Attic," *Washington Post*, July 19, 1987.
8. Wayne Lionel Aponte, Book Notes, *Nation*, September 12, 1987.
9. Alice Walker, "In Search of Zora Neale Hurston," *Ms.*, March 1975.
10. Randall Kennedy, "Looking for Zora," *New York Times Book Review*, December 30, 1979, 8, 17.
11. Kennedy, "Looking for Zora," 8.
12. Cristanne Miller, "Whose Dickinson?" *American Literary History* 12, nos. 1–2 (2000): 230–253.
13. Sculley Bradley, "The Problem of a Variorum Edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*," in *English Institute Annual*, 1941 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1965), 133.
14. Bradley, "Problem of a Variorum Edition," 133.
15. Bradley, "Problem of a Variorum Edition," 157.
16. Floyd Stovall, "On Editing Whitman's Papers," *Mississippi Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1962): 121.
17. Gay Wilson Allen, "Editing the *Writings of Walt Whitman*: A Million Dollar Project without a Million Dollars," *Arts and Sciences* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1962): 9.
18. Allen, "Editing the *Writings*," 10.
19. "The Whitman Project: A Review Essay," *Philological Quarterly* 61 (Fall 1982): 373.
20. Foreword to *The Correspondence* by Walt Whitman, vol. 7, ed. Ted Genoways (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004), vii.
21. Allen, "Editing the *Writings*," 10.
22. Bradley, "Problem of a Variorum Edition," 134.
23. Folsom, "Whitman Project," 374.
24. "American Books," *The Athenæum*, January 17, 1903, 79.
25. See McGann's discussion of the early years of IATH in *Radiant Textuality* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), especially pages 1–19.

26. See McGann, *A New Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 158.

27. See “What Is Text, Really?” by Steve DeRose, David Durand, and Elli Mylonas; Allen Renear, *Journal of Computing in Higher Education* 2 (1990); and Allen H. Renear, Elli Mylonas, and David Durand, “Refining Our Notion of What Text Really Is: The Problem of Overlapping Hierarchies,” in *Research in Humanities Computing 4: Selected Papers from the ALLC/ACH Conference, Christ Church Oxford, April 1992*, ed. S. Hockey and N. Ide (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 263–280.

28. See chapter 5 of McGann’s *A New Republic of Letters*, “Marking Texts in Many Dimensions,” for another critique of TEI and SGML-based textual representation.

29. John Unsworth, “Computational Work with Very Large Text Collections: Interoperability, Sustainability, and the TEI,” *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative* 1 (June 2011). Online: <http://jtei.revues.org/215>; doi: 10.4000/jtei.215.

30. Brett Barney, “Digital Editing with the TEI Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow,” *Textual Cultures* 7, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 29–41.

31. For information on Harris’s popularity, see Walter Brasch, *Br’er Rabbit, Uncle Remus, and the “Cornfield Journalist”: The Tale of Joel Chandler Harris* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000). In a letter published in *Uncle Remus’s Magazine*, September 1908, 5, Roosevelt opined, “I very firmly believe that his writings will last; that they will be read as long as anything written in our language during his time is read.”

32. See <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu>.

33. See, for example, the guidelines for Scholarly Editions grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities: <http://www.neh.gov/grants/guidelines/editions.html>.

34. Ann Gordon discusses how grants for editing historical papers have skewed the selection of subjects in “Experiencing Women’s History as a Documentary Editor,” *Documentary Editing* 31 (2010): 1–9.

35. Grigely, *Textualterity*, 46. McGann’s recent *A New Republic of Letters* is also concerned with the scholarly treatment of what he calls “secondary documents,” which he sees as crucial to a full and instructive study of production and transmission history.

36. For the sake of simplicity the diagram omits materials commonly encountered in author-centered archives, such as manuscript drafts. I have separated *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* from the rest of the Remus texts in order to illustrate that many derivatives directly relate to one text, while others, produced after many of the books were published and making use of recurring characters, cannot be traceable to a particular text. Except for the dotted arrow noting the special relationship between the 1880 text and its parent category, the arrows in the diagram indicate the direction of demonstrable influence.

37. See, for example, Ed Whitley’s *Vault at Pfaff’s* (<http://digital.lib.lehigh.edu/pfaffs/>), a study of the bohemian community in New York that included several

important mid-nineteenth-century American writers. Whitley realized early in his work that the relationships among these authors and the many texts they published in a particular newspaper were of much more scholarly interest than the finely tuned editing of any particular text. He and a colleague at Lehigh University's library created a database that would allow them to express these relationships and store an impressive quantity of annotations on the writers (Whitley, 5–6).

38. "Collex: Semantic Collections & Exhibits for the Remixable Web" (www.nines.org/about/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Nowviskie-Collex.pdf).

39. www.viraltexts.org.

INDEX

Page numbers followed by letter *f* refer to figures, and page numbers followed by the letter *n* refer to notes.

- abolition, 24
The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, 50
Allen, Gay Wilson, 115
American Anthropometric Society, 67
Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography, 106
Anderson, Charles, 92–94, 96, 97
Anesko, Michael, 7, 83, 141n
Ann Eliza Bleecker, 23–25, 142n
Aponte, Wayne Lionel, 110–11
Arts and Crafts movement, 75
Arvin, Newton, 97, 98
Ascoli, Albert Russell, 143n
Asselineau, Roger, 115
Association for Documentary Editing, 105
Athenaeum, 80, 119
Atlanta Journal Constitution, 133
The Atlantic, 52, 73, 109–10
- Bailey, Francis, 1, 12–14
Barnett, Joseph Appleton and Emily Maria, 24
Barry, Rebecca Rego, 143n
Bates, Arlo, 48, 53
Baudry, 15
Beck, George and Mary, 4, 20–21
behavioral sciences, 85–89
- Belasco, Susan, 148n, 154n
Bernstein, Cynthia G., 148n
Bickford, Maria, 25
Bingham, Millicent Todd, 47–54
Blake, William, 4, 68, 69f, 70f
Blodgett, Harold, 117–18
book binding, 7–8, 26–28
book production, 7–8, 10, 27–28, 83
Bornstein, George, 6, 151n
Boston Evening Transcript, 67
Boston Journal, 52
Bowers, Fredson, 8, 85, 95, 100, 105, 107;
 see also Greg–Bowers method
Boys, John, 25
Bradbrook, M.C., 97
Bradley, Sculley, 114–18, 120
Brainard, John G. C., 36–37
Brasch, Walter, 155n
Brown, Charles Brockden, 16, 17, 123
Brucoli, Matthew, 90, 105
Bryant, John, 88, 151n
Bryant, William Cullen, 66, 73
Bucke, Maurice, 62, 68, 74–76, 79
Buckingham, Willis J., 147n
Bushell, Sally, 144n
- Cable, George Washington, 102
canon, 1–3, 9–10, 109–13

- Carey and Lea, 15–16
cemeteries, 65–66
Center for Digital Research in the Humanities (CDRH), 123
Center for Editions of American Authors (CEAA), 87, 89, 92, 99–106
Center for Scholarly Editions, 106
Chace Act of 1891, 142n
Chartier, Roger, 143n
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 6
Child, Lydia Maria, 110
Childs, George William, 64
civil rights movement, 88, 94
Clark, Willis Gaylord, 31
Clem, Maria, 32
Coad, Oral Sumner, 142n
Cohen, Philip, 141n, 152n
Cold War, 5, 6, 9, 84–106
Collected edition, definition of, 2–3;
 contents of, 5; function of, 6; English, 6; German, 6, 151n; and gender, 6, 108–13; and conspicuous consumption, 6, 28–30, 83; and place, 7, 19–22; and nationalism, 11, 25; and adulation of European culture, 16–18; and amateurs, 18–21, 34–45, 48; and periodicals, 29–31; and revenge, 32; and mediocrity, 34–37, in the Cold War, 85–106, digital, 121–40
Collex, 139
The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman, 114–20
The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman, 75–77, 80–81, 82f
The Complete Poems and Prose (Whitman), 61–63
Confederacy, 93
Cooper, James Fenimore, 15–16, 48–49
corruption, 91
A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism, 120–22
Cruikshank, John, 12

Daily National Intelligencer, 49
Dana, Richard Henry, 26
Davidson, Lucretia and Margaret, 40–45, 49–50; and the character Emmeline Grangerford, 50
Davis, Merrell R., 99
Day, Martha, 39–40
DeRose, Steve, 155n
Dickens, Charles, 16, 28, 29
Dickinson Electronic Archives, 123
Dickinson, Austin, 46
Dickinson, Emily, digital editing of, 126–27; as exception to editorial treatment of women, 108; and genius, 48; literary remains and, 6, 8, 33–54; manuscript, 126f; publication of first edition, 45–48; publication of Johnson edition, 95–99; reviews of *Poems*, 51–52; Dickinson, Lavinia, 46–48, 146n
Dickinson, Susan, 33, 46, 145n
Digital Public Library of America, 139
Dixon, Jacob, 23
Dolbeare, Benjamin, 18
Donoghue, Denis, 109
Drum-Taps (Whitman), 60
Dumas, Alexander, 29
Dunlap, William, 16–17
Durand, David, 155n

editing, and the Cold War, 84–106;
 digital, 4, 7, 121–140; early twentieth-century, 83, 93; golden age of, 84;
 scholarly, 4, 85–89; types of, 1
Eggert, Paul, 141n, 151n, 153n
Eisenstein, Elizabeth, 142n
Elliot, James, 18
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 66, 73, 99, 100–102
Erkkila, Betsy, 145n
Estabrook, Silas, 26
Etheridge and Bliss, 19
Everyman's Library, 28
Extensible Markup Language (XML), 122, 125–31, 135, 138, 139

Faugeres, Margaretta, 24
Feinberg, Charles, 115
feminism, 109–13
Ferguson, Alfred R., 99
Fern, Fanny, 30
folksonomic tagging, 139

- Folsom, Ed, 56, 76, 80, 117, 119
 Foster, George F., 30
 Foucault, Michel, 143n
 Franklin, Benjamin, 14–15
 Franklin, R. W., 146n
Freeman's Journal, 12
 Freneau, Philip, 1, 7, 12–14,
- G.I. Bill, 7, 89
 Galignani, 15
 Gardiner, Mary L., 21, 142n
 Garfield, James, 48
 genius, and authorship, 3; and Dickinson, 46, 48, 51, 53; historical conceptions of, 22; and madness, 3–4, 41–42; and place, 3, 20; and women, 36–39, 49, 108; and Whitman, 67, 73–74, 81
 George Putnam's Sons, 75, 77, 79
 Gilbert, Sandra, 109
 Gilman, Samuel, 44–45
 Gilman, William H., 99
 Godwin, Gail, 109
 Gohdes, Clarence, 115
 Goodrich, Samuel Griswold, 17
 Gordon, Ann, 155n
 Gosselin, Charles, 15
 Greetham, David, 88
 Greg–Bowers method, 84, 88–89, 91–92, 95–96, 102–7, 114
 Greg, W. W., 8, 84–85; *see also* Greg–Bowers method
 Grier, Edward, 117
 Grigely, Joseph, 92, 135, 152n
 Griswold, 31–32
 Gubar, Susan, 109
- Hackett, William H.Y., Jr., 104
 Halleck, Fitz-Greene, 26
 Harleigh Cemetery, 63–66, 68, f8o
 Harned, Thomas, 64–65
 Harris, Joel Chandler, 132–34, 136, 138
 Hart, Jeffrey, 109
 Harthorn, Steven, 142n
 Harvard Classics, 28
 Haskins, Elizabeth, 25, 37–38
 Haverstock, Mary Sayre, 142n
 Hayford, Harrison, 99
- Henderson, Desiree, 149n
 Hentz, Caroline, 28, 29
 Hicks, Elias, 66
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 46–54, 80, 96, 97
 Hinman collator, 90
 Hinman, Charlton, 90
 Hinsdale, B.A., 48
The History of Maria Kittle, 24
 Hitchcock, David, 19
 Holloway, Emory, 115
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 26, 61, 73
 Homestead, Melissa, 143n
 Hooper, Lucy, 43–44
 Hopkins, John Snowden, 23
 Horan, Elizabeth, 145n
 Horton, George Moses, 24
 Houghton Mifflin, 47, 73
 Houston, Sam, 36
 Hurston, Zora Neale, 111
 Hypertext Markup Language (HTML), 125, 127–28, 130
- Ifill, Matthew L., 149n
In Re Walt Whitman, 74
Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, 110–11, 112
Independent, 49
 Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities (IATH), 122, 129
 intellectual property, 8; international, 10–11, 23; and the rise of collected editions, 22–26; and gender, 24–25, 112–13; and race, 24–25, 112
 Irving, Washington, 15, 40, 41, 113
- Jacobs, Harriet, 110–11
 James, Henry Sr., 36
 Jewett, Sarah Orne, 123
 Jim Crow, 132
 Johnson, Thomas H., 95–99
- Keese, John, 43
 Kelmscott Press, 75–76, 78f
 Kennedy, Randall, 111, 112
 Kennedy, William Sloane, 68
 Knickerbocker Press, 75–76

- Knight, Jeffrey Todd, 27
 Krieg, Joann P., 150n
- Ladd, Joseph Brown, 3, 7, 25, 37–38
 Lang, Andrew, 51, 53
 Lanier, Sydney, 92–95
 Lavender Scare, 91
Leaves of Grass, 8, 23, 55–62, 67, 72, 76,
 79, 115–18, 122, 123, 134
 Lee, Mary Elizabeth, 44–45
 Lees, Thomas, 23
 Leyda, Jay, 96, 98
Life, 49
 Lippard, George, 28
 literary remains, 5, 8, 24–25, 31, 33–54;
 and death customs, 34–38; Dickinson's
Poems as, 45–54, 98; and mediocrity,
 34–37
 Livermore, Mary A., 33
 Locke, John, 8, 22
London Speaker, 51
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 26, 61,
 66, 73
 Loving, Jerome, 56
 Lowell, Robert, 7, 26, 61, 66
 Lozynsky, Artem, 150n
- Maitland, James, 28
Mark Twain Papers Project, 124
 Martin, Wendy, 145n
 Masten, Jeffrey, 91
 Masterson, Helen, 6, 35
 Matthews, Samantha, 34, 67
 Maun, Caroline C., 147
 McGann, Jerome, 105, 106, 120–22, 124,
 148n, 154n, 155n
 McKerrow, R. B., 93
 McMahon, Darrin, 4, 141n
 Meggitt, Brian L., 142n
 memento mori, 34, 37
 Men of Letters series, 73–74
 Miller, Cristanne, 114, 145n
 Miller, Edwin Haviland, 116
 Miller, James E., Jr., 57
 Modern Language Association (MLA),
 102, 104
Modern Language Review, 96–97
- modesty, 39–45
 Monteiro, George, 150n
 Morris, William, 75
 Morse, Samuel, 40
 Moulton, Louise Chandler, 52
Ms. Magazine, 111
 Mumford, Lewis, 99–103
 Murray, Judith Sargent, 16, 142n
 Music Encoding Initiative, 128
 Music Markup Language, 128
 Myerson, Joel, 89
 Mylonas, Elli, 155n
- Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*,
 110
 Nash, Andrew, 3
The Nation, 110–11
 National Endowment for the Humanities
 (NEH), 86, 88
National Era, 133
 National Foundation on the Arts and
 Humanities Act, 86, 104
 National Historical Publications and
 Records Commission (NHPRC), 86
National Review, 109
 Networked Interface for Nineteenth-
 century Electronic Scholarship
 (NINES), 139
 New Bibliography, 90, 104
 New Critics, 54, 89, 91, 94
New England Weekly Review, 36
New Republic, 109
New York Review of Books, 100–103
New York Times, 109, 111
 New York University Press, 115
 Niles, Thomas, 47, 50, 147n
*Nineteenth-Century African American
 Women Writers*, 131
North American Review, 11
Norton Anthology of English Literature,
 109–10
*Norton Anthology of Literature by Wom-
 en*, 108–11
 Nowviskie, Bethany, 139
- Ordered Hierarchy Content Objects
 (OHCO), 124–25, 129, 131

- Outlook*, 79
- Parker, Hershel, 105–6, 153n
- Passage to India* (Whitman), 60
- Pattee, Fred Lewis, 142n
- Peter Lang, 120
- Peterson, Theophilus, 28–30
- Peterson's Magazine*, 29
- Philadelphia North American*, 33
- Philiobiblion*, 49
- Poe, Edgar Allan, 31–32; and the Davidson sisters, 40–43, 144n
- poetical remains, *see* literary remains
- Porter, Charlotte, 68
- Price, Kenneth M., 76, 148n
- propaganda, 1
- Pynchon, Richard, 6
- Quakers, 12
- Railton, Stephen, 134–35
- Ransom, John Crowe, 94
- Red Scare, 87–88
- Redfield, Justus Starr, 28
- Reinhalter Brothers, 64, 68
- Renaissance printing, 90–91
- Renear, Allen H., 155n
- research and development, 85–87
- Resource Description Framework (RDF), 138–39
- Reynolds, David S., 149n
- Roberts Brothers, 47–48, 50, 147n
- Robertson, Michael, 79
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 132
- Rose, Phyllis, 109–10
- Rosengarten, Theodore, 110
- Satelmajer, Ingrid, 147n
- Sauerlander, 15
- Scott, Walter, 28
- Scudder, Horace, 73
- Sealts, Merton M., Jr., 99
- Sedgwick, Catherine, 40, 41
- Seidel, Henry, 143n
- sexual deviance, 91
- Shackford, J. Atkins, 94
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 4, 30
- Sibyl (myth), 49
- Silver, Rollo G., 115
- Simms, William Gilmore, 102
- Smith, Elizabeth Oakes, 30
- Smith, Martha Nell, 145n, 146n
- Smith, Steven Escar, 152n
- “Song of Myself,” 57–59
- Song of the South*, 132–33
- Southern Agrarians, 93–95
- Southey, Robert, 40, 42
- Southworth, E.D.E.N., 28, 29, 30
- SpacecraftML, 128
- Springfield Republican*, 52
- Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML), 122, 125, 155n28
- Stedman, Arthur, 81
- Stephens, Ann, 28, 29
- Stern, Madeline 144n
- Stovall, Floyd, 115
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 133–35, 143n
- Structured Query Language (SQL), 136
- substantives and accidentals, 84–85
- Symonds, J.A., 74
- Tanselle, G. Thomas, 104–6
- The Tar Baby and the Tomahawk*, 131, 134, 136
- Tasso, Torquato, 143n
- Tate, Allen, 94
- Tebbel, John, 28
- Terrell, Albert, 26
- Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), 122–35
- textual recovery, 108–12
- theory wars, 9, 107–8
- Thoreau, Henry David, 73
- Todd, Mabel Loomis, 33, 46, 97
- Traubel, Horace, 62, 64–66, 69, 72–76, 79, 81, 149n
- Triggs, Oscar, 75–76, 79–80, 150n
- Tudor, William, 11
- Twain, Mark, 123
- U.S. Copyright Act, 22
- Uncle Remus, 132–33, 137f, 138
- Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture*, 134
- Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 23, 133–34

- Unglaub, Jonathan, 143n
United States Magazine, 12
 Unsworth, John, 119
- Vance, Jeannette Mahoney, 142n
 Vietnam War, 103
Viral Texts: Mapping Reprinting in 19th-Century Newspapers and Magazines, 139
- Walker, Alice, 111
The Walt Whitman Archive, 80, 122, 134
- Warfield, Ethelbert D., 147n
 Warner, Charles Dudley, 73
 Warren, Austin, 98
 Warren, Robert Penn, 94
Washington Post, 110
 Washington, George, 40, 72
 Web Ontology Language (OWL), 138
 Weisbuch, Robert, 142n
 West, James L. W., 142n
 Wheatley, Phyllis, 24
 White, William, 117
 Whiting, Charles Goodrich, 52
 Whitley, Ed, 155n
- Whitman, Eddy, 64–65
 Whitman, George, 65
 Whitman, Walt, 1, 5, 7, 8; brain of, 67; corpse of, 55, 59, 60; digital edition of, 121–24; funeral of, 82; posthumous image of, 74–82; relationship to grass, 56; scholarly edition of, 88, 99, 113–24; tomb of, 55, 63–72 f71, 80f; *see also The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman, The Complete Poetry and Prose, The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass, Passage to India*, and “Song of Myself”
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 26, 36–38, 61, 73
The Willa Cather Archive, 123
- Willis, Nathaniel P., 30, 31
 Wilson, Edmund, 100–104, 153n
 Wolosky, Shira, 38, 45
 Woodmansee, Martha, 142n
 Woodward, John H., 19, 23
 Woolman, John, 12
 World War II, 85, 90, 92
Wright American Fiction, 123, 131
- Yellin, Jean, 110–11