(Re)Making *Beowulf*: Tracing the Influence of James Mercer Garnett's Translation in Late Nineteenth-Century America

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INTRODUCTION

For most readers, the name of the Old English poem *Beowulf* conjures up images of warriors, armor, mead, treasure, and vaguely described monsters that stalk the halls of men at night. Scholars from as early as the nineteenth century have almost unceasingly ruminated on the poem, the majority focusing on decrypting the linguistic complexities of the poem. Others have turned their attention to the physical materiality of the Cotton Vitellius A XV manuscript, the only surviving medieval text that contains *Beowulf*.[1] Still more critics have explored the adoption and repurposing of *Beowulf* and other Old English texts by different cultures, the most recent discussions being on the appropriation of the Anglo-Saxon language and culture by white supremacy groups in the United States.[2] However, almost no researchers have examined the physical history of *Beowulf* editions and translations produced in the nineteenth century. This gap in contemporary scholarship comes as a surprise, since such research would inform contemporary discussions within both textual studies and the reception of Old English. In his redefinition of bibliography as a "sociology of texts," D. F. McKenzie notes, "At one level, a sociology simply reminds us of the full range of social realities which the medium of print had to serve, from receipt blanks to bibles. But it also directs us to consider the human motives and

[1]The most recent examination of *Beowulf* in terms of manuscript studies and digital humanities has been done in Kevin Kiernan and Emil Iacob's *Electronic Beowulf*, currently in its fourth edition (University of Kentucky and British Library, 2015, https://ebeowulf.uky.edu/ebeo4.0/CD/main.html, accessed 21 Apr. 2021).

[2]See *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, edited by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Blackwell Publishers, 2001); *Editing the Nation's Memory: Textual Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Dirk Van Hulle and Joep Leerssen (European studies series, vol. 26, 2008); *Constructing Nations, Reconstructing Myth: Essays in Honour of T. A. Shippey*, edited by Andrew Wawn with Graham Johnson and John Walter (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007); *Anglo-Saxonism & the Construction of Social Identity*, edited by Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville, Florida, University Press of Florida, 1997); Allen J. Frantzen's *Desire for Origins, New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1990); and María José Mora and María José Gómez-Calderón's "The Study of Old English in America (1776-1850): National Uses of the Saxon Past" (*The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* vol 97, no. 3, July 1998, pp. 322-336).

interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption" (13, 15). McKenzie's comment about the social history of texts emphasizes the importance of the text's creators, disseminators, and users, as well as the importance of the physical text itself. So too does this thesis seek to establish the importance of nineteenth-century American translators, printers, publishers, and readers of *Beowulf*, who encountered this poem as both a literary work and a physical object.

Using a generous mixture of analytical bibliography and historical research, this thesis examines just one of the many *Beowulf* printings that influenced the trajectory of nineteenth-century Old English studies.[3] The book in question is *Beowulf: An Anglo-Saxon Poem, and the Fight at Finnsburg*, a translation of the poem into modern English by James Mercer Garnett (1840-1916) and first published in 1882. There are several benefits to focusing on Garnett's *Beowulf*. Not only was it the first translation to be produced by an American, but it also experienced a long and successful printing run: it was reprinted fourteen times over the course of thirty years and currently survives in at least three hundred copies.[4] Moreover, his translation specifically targeted students who were first encountering *Beowulf* and who needed a guide for understanding the Old English vocabulary and syntax of the poem. James Albert Harrison (1848-1911), one of Garnett's colleagues, praises the translation as a useful pedagogical tool, calling it

[3]There are several good surveys on the nineteenth-century publication history of *Beowulf* and other writings on Old English. Among these are Donald K. Fry's *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg: A Bibliography* (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1969), Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson's *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972* (Buffalo, New York, University of Toronto Press, 1980), Douglas D. Short's *Beowulf Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, Garland Publishing, 1980), Adelheid Stiegler's *Studien zur Übersetzung des altenglischen Beowulfepo*s (Bamberg, K. Urlaub, 1964), and Chauncey Brewster Tinker's *The Translations of Beowulf: A Critical Bibliography* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1903).

[4]The British scholar Sharon Turner was the first to tackle translating *Beowulf* into modern English in his book *The History of the Manners, Landed Property, Government, Laws, Poetry, Literature, Religion, and Language, of the Anglo-Saxons* (first published in 1805), although he only translated a section of the poem. Later British scholars, such as Benjamin Thorpe and Thomas Arnold, produced full modern English translations of *Beowulf* in 1855 and 1876, respectively.

"the best that has yet appeared indeed for perplexed students who hold text in one hand and translation in the other for purposes of comparison" ("Beowulf: An Anglo-Saxon Poem" 84). Nor was Harrison the only one to laud Garnett's work.[5] Chauncey Brewster Tinker, surveying the impact of Garnett's translation in 1903, summarizes:

> Garnett's volume had a flattering reception. The book received long and respectful reviews from the Germans. [American] Professor [Francis J.] Child and [British scholar] Henry Sweet expressed their approbation…This cordial welcome has been due in large measure to the increasing attention given the poem in American colleges and secondary schools. Being strictly literal, the book has been of value as a means of interpreting the poem. (87)

Given the evident popularity of Garnett's translation during his own life, it makes this translation a fitting source through which to explore textbook production, post-bellum cultural relations between the North and the South, and the study of Old English in the Gilded Age (1865-1900), a period in which such a study increased in popularity in the United States universities.

The goals of this thesis are two-fold. The first is to lay the groundwork for future research on *Beowulf* as a physical text in the nineteenth century. This is primarily accomplished in chapter one and the first half of chapter two, which examine the cultural and historical landscape in which Garnett wrote and published his translation. Chapter one offers a brief yet comprehensive biography of Garnett, a life-long educator who took a break from teaching to serve in the Confederate army. The fact that Garnett's translation was produced by a Boston-based publisher and used in schools throughout the United States provides an opportunity to discuss possibilities of collaboration and unity between the North and the South after the Civil War, as well as the

[5]For a list of contemporary reviews of Garnett's *Beowulf*, see pages 55-56 of Donald Fry's *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburh: A Bibliography*.

growth of Old English studies in American universities. The chapter concludes with an examination of Garnett's obituaries, particularly the one written by James W. Bright, as a means of studying the legacy of both Garnett and his *Beowulf* in the United States. Chapter two moves to a discussion of the American textbook industry in the Gilded Age and provides a brief history of Garnett's publisher, Ginn and Company. The second half of chapter two analyzes how Garnett and Ginn & Company used the physical elements within Garnett's translation, such as title pages, copyright pages, prefaces, and advertisements, to contextualize and market the textbook. This type of analysis speaks to the other goal of this thesis, which is to examine the physical features of Garnett's *Beowulf* and to study the impact of the translation *as a physical object* in the late nineteenth-century American classroom. Chapter three similarly addresses this goal by exploring the "social realities" of the translation by investigationg how it was used by individual owners during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Perhaps in the course of reading this introduction, a question has crept into the reader's mind: Why does this thesis not examine Garnett's *Beowulf* as a literary work? Would not an analysis of the content of Garnett's translation contribute to the discussions of the North-South rapprochement after the Civil War, the role of Old English in the United States, and the developments in American education? A literary analysis of Garnett's translation would certainly benefit the second and third points just raised, and hopefully one shall appear soon. That being said, such an analysis, even if produced, would not speak as easily to the first point. As Garnett himself said, "The origin of the poem then is Scandinavian, and it is with Scandinavian tribes, manners, and customs that we have to do" (*Beowulf* xxiv).[6] Garnett thus focuses his textbook on

[6]Unless otherwise specified, all quotes from Garnett's *Beowulf* are taken from the 1906 reprinting of the fourth edition that is currently housed at the University of Virginia library in Charlottesville, Virginia. This copy was the one that I had on hand while writing the thesis, and its identity as a library book means that future readers will hopefully be able to access it as well.

these matters and does not use his translation as a means of commenting on postbellum relations between the American North and South. Instead, the curious reader must turn to the physical reception and distribution of Garnett's *Beowulf* in order to address this topic. For too long, scholars of *Beowulf* have focused on its nineteenth-century legacy only in terms of literary and linguistic developments. This thesis argues that Garnett's *Beowulf* is as much physical ink on paper as it is words on a page, and a thorough understanding of the textual features of this translation will bolster contemporary discussions on the history of Old English in the United States.

A Note on Terms

Most scholars today use the term "Anglo-Saxon" to refer to the people group who lived in Great Britain between the fall of the Roman empire in 476 CE and the Norman invasion in 1066 CE; they use the term "Old English" to specifically refer to the language that this people group spoke and wrote. Writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, used "Anglo-Saxon" to refer to both the people group and their language. This usage of "Anglo-Saxon" directly connected the conceptions of nationhood and race with those of language and literature. In this essay, I will employ the former method for identifying the Anglo-Saxon people and their Old English language except when directly quoting sources.

CHAPTER ONE

The Author and the Culture: Studying Old English in Postbellum America

James Mercer Garnett is relatively unknown, not just in Old English studies but also in any form of scholarly studies of the twenty-first century. No book-length biography about him exists, and even a standard search on the Internet is liable to turn up more information about his grandfather of the same name (1770-1843) than about this *Beowulf* translator. In his lifetime, however, Garnett was a leading scholar in the field of English literature and language, producing multiple articles and Contemporary scholars and writers commemorated Garnett's impact on American literature and education both before and after Garnett's death. These writings include: the multi-volume *University of Virginia: Its History, Influence, Equipment, and Characteristics* (1904), which Garnett co-edited with Paul Brandon Barringer and Rosewell Page;[7] the newspaper obituaries of Garnett in the *New York Times* and in Charlottesville's *Daily Progress* (both February 1916);[8] Charles W. Kent's obituary of Garnett in the *Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia* (April 1916); James W. Bright's obituary of Garnett in the *American Journal of Philology* (1916); and Armistead Churchill Gordon, Jr.'s biography of Garnett in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1931), which uses information pulled from Philip Alexander Bruce's *History of the University of Virginia* (1920-1921) from all of the aforementioned sources except the *Daily Progress* obituary (Gordon 158).

[7]The division of labor outlined on the title page and in the introduction clarify that it was Rosewell Page who was in charge of writing the various alumni biographies in *University of Virginia* (Barringer et al 1, 5). Consequently, Garnett would not have written his own biography for this book, although it is likely that Page reached out to him for information for the biography.

[8]I collated the obituaries from *New York Times* (20 Feb. 1916) and the Charlottesville-based *Daily Progress* (21 Feb. 1916) by eye and discovered that they are identical in word but not in the type setting, font, or spacing.

The first section of this chapter provides a summary of Garnett's life, particularly focusing on his interactions with Old English. The primary sources mentioned in the previous paragraph have been used to construct this biography. The second section continues the discussion of the history of Old English in the United States before moving to a survey of Garnett's legacy, again using the sources outlined above, and the presence of his *Beowulf* in that legacy. The chapter concludes with a brief survey of the printing history of Garnett's translation as a means of transitioning into chapter two.

Who's Past is Present: A Biography of James Mercer Garnett

The eldest of three children, Garnett was born on April 24, 1840 in Aldie, Virginia to Theodore Stanford Garnett and Florentina Isidora Garnett (née Moreno). He attended the Episcopal High School, a boarding school in Alexandria, Virginia, from 1853 to 1857 before moving to Charlottesville to study at the University of Virginia.[9] At the time, only a handful of higher education institutions, including the University of Virginia, offered courses on Old English. Such offerings were highly dependent on the availability of a knowledgeable and willing professor to teach them. While most institutions simply stopped offering Old English when the course's instructor left the institution, the University of Virginia actively sought to find a replacement faculty that could teach the course (Hall 440).[10] This was due in large part to the

[9]The 1857 *Enactments of the University of Virginia* stipulate that incoming students should be at least sixteen years old (University of Virginia, leaf 35 recto).

[10]Henry Wheaton, an antebellum American scholar and ambassador to Denmark, notes in 1838, "so little has yet been done to advance the study of the Anglo-Saxon [language] in this country [i.e., the United States]. The university of Virginia is the only institution in which a provision has been expressly made for instruction in it" (377, qtd. in Hall 439; originally published in Wheathon's "The Anglo-Saxon Language" in the *New York Review*, vol. 3, 1838, pp. 362-77). Thomas Jefferson hired Georg Blaettermann as the first professor of modern languages (which included, ironically, Old English) at the Univeristy of Virginia. Blaettermann taught at the University from 1824 to 1840 before being fired for maltreating his wife. Charles Kraitsir was hired to take Blaettermann's position, but Kraitsir also fell out of favor and was fired in 1843. Maximilian Schele de Vere was hired in 1844 and held the position for over fifty years, finally retiring in 1895 (Hall 434-5, 440; Mehrländer and *Dictionary* pars. 3, 9).

University's founder, Thomas Jefferson, and to his interest in Old English. Jefferson proposed that Old English be one of the University's regular offerings, and that proposal was incorporated into the University's official curriculum (Hauer 884-5).[11] Consequently, the University of Virginia was the first American school to offer Old English and the only one to continually offer the course since its founding in 1819, two facts which granted the University a long-standing reputation in Old English studies by the time Garnett arrived there as a student. During Garnett's time at the University, Professor Maximilian Schele de Vere (1820-1898) taught Old English as well as modern languages like French, Spanish, Italian, and German. Schele de Vere was a popular teacher at the University and published a great deal on language and the emerging field of comparative philology (Hall 440, 447; Mehrländer and *Dictionary* pars. 4, 6, 8, 10). The impact that the University of Virginia had on Garnett is evident in Garnett's later writings, which continue Schele de Vere's investigations into Old English and comparative philology yet also document the history and traditions at the University. Garnett graduated from the University of Virginia in 1859 with a Master of Arts degree, but he stayed in the Charlottesville area to teach at a local school from 1859 to 1860 and then to pursue graduate coursework at the University from 1860 to 1861—actions which reflect his lifelong interests in both research and education.

Garnett's academic pursuits, however, were put on hold when the Civil War erupted in 1861. He joined the Confederate Army in July 1861 as a private; by the time of Lee's surrender at Appomattox in 1865, an event where Garnett was present and paroled, he had risen to the rank of an ordnance captain.[12] After the war, Garnett taught at various schools in Virginia and

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[11]For a discussion of Thomas Jefferson's interest in Old English, see Stephen Hauer's "Thomas Jefferson and the Anglo-Saxon Language" in *PMLA*, vol. 98, no. 5, 1983, pp. 879-98.

[12]The Special Collections at the University of Virginia possesses several items that once belonged to Garnett, including an inventory form filled out by Garnett while at Appomattox. See James Mercer Garnett's "Return for Grimes' division, 1865 April 10," accession #12904, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Louisiana before taking time off in 1869-1870 to study at Leipzig and Berlin. His time in Germany and his citation of German sources within his *Beowulf* translation suggest that he possessed a strong understanding of German language and scholarship. When he returned to the United States, he became principal of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, where he taught history, language, and English literature from 1870 to 1880. During this time, he married Kate Huntington Nolan (1849-1919) in 1871, and they had their only child, James Mercer Garnett, Jr. (1872-1942). Garnett was an avid advocate for the role of English literature in the school system, producing several articles and lectures on education while continuing to teach at St. John's. Before Garnett's term at St. John's, a scholar named Hiram Corson introduced the study of Old English as part of the senior year literature curriculum (Hall 448). Garnett continued to teach this subject to both undergraduates and graduates while serving as St. John's principal (Garnett, *Beowulf* xi). After Garnett's departure in 1880, however, classes in Old English were no longer mentioned in the school's annual catalogues, perhaps because St. John's College had no one to teach such courses and simply gave up on offering them.[13]

Garnett spent the next two years teaching at a private school in Ellicott City, Maryland, and editing his translation of *Beowulf*. He then returned to the University of Virginia in 1882 to serve as professor of English language and literature, and he remained there until his retirement in 1896. While teaching at the University, he published his translation of *Beowulf*, a translated collection of shorter Old English poems (*Elene; Judith; Aethelstan, or the Fight at Brunanburh; and Byrhtnoth, or the Fight at Maldon*, 1st ed. 1889, 2nd ed. 1900, 3rd ed. 1911), and a number of academic articles. Garnett continued to teach, write, and publish after his "retirement," including

[13]The academic catalogs produced by St. John's College in 1852 and from 1867-68 to 1884-85 substantiate this argument. For a complete citation of specific catalogs consulted, see the Works Cited entries under "St. John's College."

a year-long temporary position as English chair at the Woman's College in Baltimore from 1896 to 1897. By the time of his death at his Baltimore home in 1916, his published works extended across a broad variety of topics: reflections on the Civil War and Southern culture, reviews and articles on Biblical and English literature, examinations of the Greek life and election practices at the University of Virginia, and treatises on American and international education systems. His work on translating *Beowulf*, however, appears to be the only one that significantly impacted American scholarship and education—yet even that book ceased to be printed after his death.

A History of Old English in the South…and the North

Garnett's *Beowulf* did not mark the founding of Old English studies; rather, it was one of the many contributions to a growing discipline in the United States that was in part begun by Jefferson's *Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Language* (written 1798-1825, published 1851) (Hauer 884, Mora and Gómez-Calderón 322). Students of the Anglo-Saxons did not solely confine themselves to the examination of language and literature but actively applied their knowledge to questions of national and racial identity. This idea of viewing language, state, and ethnicity as interconnected was not a new one. María José Mora and María José Gómez-Calderón, in their article "The Study of Old English in America (1776-1850): National Uses of the Saxon Past," explain that such ideas originated out of the Romantic movement in Europe: "The Romantic belief in the affinity between language and race had given a strong impulse to the parallel development of philology and ethnology. Early contributions to Anglo-Saxon studies in America follow this model and appeal to racial feeling as the basis of national character" (329). Americans viewed Old English as a useful vehicle for affirming national and racial identities, especially when those identities were challenged. During the American Revolutionary War

(1775-83), the Americans considered themselves heirs of the Anglo-Saxons both in terms of settling new lands and of fighting against political "oppressors" such as the "Norman"-descended British (Mora and Gómez-Calderón 323-5). Writers such as Louis F. Klipstein (1813-78), who was the first American to produce an Old English textbook (the *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* in 1849), invoke the Anglo-Saxon heritage once again to justify American westward expansion and the ensuing wars against racial "others" such as the Mexicans (Mora and Gómez-Calderón 329, 335-6).

Gregory VanHoosier-Carey extends this discussion into the postbellum South, where he points out several instances in which Southern writers stress their connections with the Anglo-Saxons for two purposes. The first was to reassure themselves that while they, "like the Saxons, had lost the political and military struggle, they were destined to prevail in the linguistic and cultural battles that would ultimately decide the fate of the American people" (165). The second was to reaffirm white linguistic and racial superiority over the recently freed African American slaves (168).[14] Garnett, unlike Klipstein, does not go into a politically charged comparison between philology and ethnology in his translation, but he nevertheless marks the study of Old English as a personal and collective endeavor. In his introduction, Garnett declares that *Beowulf* is "the earliest representation that we possess in the vernacular of the life of our Teutonic forefathers in their continental homes" (*Beowulf* xxiv). His first-person plural pronouns "we" and "our" lay claim to the *Beowulf* poem as a symbol of his and his reader's European heritage. Based on the discussion above, one would assume that Garnett's "we" stands for the white

[14]VanHoosier-Carey and Mora and Gómez-Calderón are not blind to the obvious paradoxes in such claims to Anglo-Saxon descent: the American colonists could identify as inheritors of the Anglo-Saxons only through their British ancestry, and the Southerners who labeled the North as "Norman" had once considered themselves to be of "Norman" descent (Mora and Gómez-Calderón 324; VanHoosier-Carey 162).

South, securing its cultural influence over the "Norman"-like North and its racial influence over people of color. Garnett certainly grew up in a culture that advocated Southern independence and racial superiority. His grandfather of the same name was a Virginia plantation owner, and his Old English professor at the University of Virginia, Schele de Vere, owned slaves and offered support to the Confederacy during the Civil War (Mehrländer and *Dictionary* pars. 4-5). Garnett himself served in the Confederate Army, and both he and his wife continued to express devotion for the Confederacy even after the Civil War had ended.[15] The assumption that Garnett's Confederate patriotism crept into his *Beowulf*, particularly within this quote, fits perfectly within the Southern culture that Garnett inhabited, even if his discussion of the poem's "Scandinavian" origins (*Beowulf* xxiv) briefly distracts from the Anglo-Saxon focus of his translation whose title begins, "Beowulf: An Anglo-Saxon Poem."

However, it is unlikely that Garnett intended the "we" in his introduction to be for Southerners alone. In his first edition (1882) preface, he credits Francis A. March, a Boston native currently teaching at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, and the Johns Hopkins University librarian William Hand Browne for assisting Garnett in the creation of his *Beowulf* (*Beowulf* xiv). In fact, Garnett appears to have collaborated closely with Johns Hopkins University over the course of revising his translation, as he thanks various members of that University in his 1882, 1892, 1900, and 1912 prefaces (*Beowulf* [1906] xiv, xviii, xix; *Beowulf* [1912] xxi).[16] Garnett cites his audience to be *Beowulf* students in general (*Beowulf* [1906] xv,

[15]In 1899, Garnett published his diary from the Civil War. He later alludes to his Confederate service (but not his academic work on Old English or philology) in his self-published *Genealogy of the Mercer-Garnett Family of Essex County* (1910), and in 1912 he wrote an article titled "Personal Recollections of the University of Virginia at the Outbreak of the War of 1861-65." Bright comments that Garnett requested to be buried in his Confederate uniform (245). Kate Garnett helped establish a chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Albemarle County, Virginia (Richey 18).

[16]For the page number in the 1912 printing, I used the University of Louisville copy (see Appendix B). For information on the printing runs and print history of Garnett's *Beowulf*, see the last section in this chapter.

xvii) and never addresses Southern students in particular. If Garnett intended his translation to specifically advance the South's imminent cultural victory over the North, which VanHoosier-Carey observes in other Southern writers, then why would Garnett explicitly thank non-Southerners for assisting with his translation, and why would he not specify his audience as "Southern"? No evidence exists to confirm what Garnett exactly meant when he says "we," but based on the above information, and the fact that Garnett's translation was published by a Boston-based textbook house with a national presence, it is more likely that Garnett's "we" was an American one. After all, the South was not the only geographic region of the United States that took an interest in Old English.

The study of Anglo-Saxon culture in the nineteenth century existed on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. J. R. Hall, observing the national and international nature of Old English studies in the nineteenth century, notes, "Germany claimed Anglo-Saxon as a Germanic language, England and America claimed it as their mother-tongue, and Denmark claimed the central Anglo-Saxon poem, *Beowulf*, as based on Danish sources and largely about Danes" (449).[17] The South was not alone in its nationalist adoption of Old English, for, as Hall's use of "American" suggests, the North was not disinterested in such studies. Continuing his discussion of Old English studies in the United States, Hall lists eleven individuals who never taught Old English at a university setting but who nevertheless passionately studied and wrote about the language (436, 439-40).[18] Only two of these individuals were from the American South; the rest

[17]For further reading on international contestations over which nation was the "inheritor" of the Anglo-Saxons, see Tom Shippey's "The Case of Beowulf" in *Editing the Nation's Memory*, edited by Dirk Van Hulle and Joep Leersen.

[18]Those individuals were: Thomas Jefferson, Henry Wheaton, Louis F. Klipstein, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, James Russell Lowell, Walt Whitman, William G. Medlicott, John Seely Hart, and George P. Marsh. Mora and Gómez-Calderón devote significant space in their aforementioned essay to analyze Longfellow's discussion of Old English in his 1838 article for the *North American Review* (see Mora and Gómez-Calderón 327-9).

hailed from the North. This shared interest in Old English extended into the university setting: prior to the Civil War, Old English was offered with some consistency at two Southern universities (Virginia and Mississippi) and two Northern ones (Lafayette College and Harvard), although the subject had made sporadic appearances at Randolph-Macon College in Virginia, the University of Alabama, and Amherst College in Massachusetts (Hall 440-1).

The examination of Old English in postbellum America now turns to whether teaching Old English was as evenly distributed between the North and the South after the Civil War as it was before. Neither Hall nor VanHoosier-Carey provide comprehensive data on which American universities were offering Old English during the Gilded Age. VanHoosier-Carey cites J. B. Henneman's "The Study of English in the South" (1894) as evidence of the rapid growth of Old English studies in postbellum Southern universities, who participated in the appropriation of Anglo-Saxon culture to describe "their own cultural situation" (168). VanHoosier-Carey considers Henneman's article to be devoted specifically to Old English (VanHoosier-Carey 157, 172), but while Henneman does speak a great deal on Old English in Southern universities, his overarching focus is on English studies as a whole, nor does claim to provide a comprehensive survey of the entire subject in the South (Henneman 196-7). Consequently, Henneman's article and the data it contains may better represent the general spread of English studies, rather than the particular spread of Old English, in the postbellum South.[19] Hall's data leans towards the opposite argument, suggesting that it was in the North that Old English took off. Hall names nine institutions in which self-taught scholars introduced the study of Old English between 1865 and

[19]In his footnote 29, VanHoosier-Carey notes, "The data that Henneman provides in 'The Study of English in the South' reveals a rapid proliferation of Anglo-Saxon studies in Southern universities following the Civil War. At the start of the war in 1861, there was only one Southern university [the University of Virginia] offering courses in Old English; between 1865 and 1870, this number increased to five. By 1894, there were at least twenty-three universities offering course work in this field" (171-2). The University of Mississippi is not included in the list of Southern universities that offered Old English before the Civil War; see Hall 440-1.

1900, six of the institutions being in the North, one in the South, one in the Midwest, and one on the West coast (441, 449).[20] Again, Hall's data is incomplete, as he does not include scholars who were not self-taught but who introduced Old English at specific American institutions. Hall and VanHoosier-Carey's individual articles do not provide substantial data sets through which to examine the dispersal of Old English over time in American institutions; combined, though, they indicate that the North and the South had parallel interests in offering Old English both at the institutional level and by professional scholars. Between 1859 and 1892, seventeen different Americans, split almost evenly between nine Southerners and eight Northerners, travelled to Germany to study Old English and other subjects related to language and philology (Hall 447-8).[21] VanHoosier-Carey is right to examine the specific appropriation and scholarship on Old English in the postbellum American South, but one must not forget that the North possessed an equal interest in this subject.

Remembering Garnett and His Beowulf *in Print*

Having established the cultural context in which Garnett's *Beowulf* was written, it is important to now turn to the ways in which it was remembered, especially in relation to how Garnett himself was remembered. No better example of this exists than in Garnett's obituary in the *American Journal of Philology* (hereafter *AJP*), a Baltimore-based journal to which Garnett frequently contributed. James W. Bright (1852-1926), the author of Garnett's *AJP* obituary, was a Pennsylvania native and a professor of English language and philology at Johns Hopkins

[20]The Northern institutions were George Washington University, Haverford College, St. John's College (Annapolis), Cornell University, Yale University, and the University of Wisconsin; the Southern institution, Emory University; the Midwest, Knox College; and the West coast, Stanford University.

[21]Given the University of Virginia's influence in the study of Old English in the United States, it comes as no surprise that five of the Southern scholars studied at the University of Virginia under Schele de Vere: Garnett, James A. Harrison, Thomas R. Price, J. Douglas Bruce, and Charles W. Kent (Hall 447).

University (Robinson 45). Evidence indicates that Garnett and Bright personally knew each other: Garnett expresses gratitude to Bright for assisting him in compiling bibliographical sources for a reprinting of Garnett's *Beowulf* (Garnett, *Beowulf* [1912], xxi). Bright, for his part, has nothing but praise to heap on Garnett in the *AJP* obituary, which concludes with describing Garnett as "a constant, sympathetic, and helpful friend" (247). Since *AJP* was a scholarly journal, it makes sense that Garnett's obituary would emphasize his academic experiences and expertise. Bright concentrates his praise on Garnett's *Beowulf*, claiming it to be "the most widely read translation of the poem," whose "usefulness has in part been due to the Bibliography supplied in it and through repeated revisions kept notably complete" (246). Garnett is not a passive scholar, nor is his *Beowulf* a stagnant textbook. What makes Garnett's *Beowulf* stand out in Bright's eyes is its detail, relevance, and accessibility for an ever-growing audience.

Being that Bright's article is located in an academic journal, it makes sense that Bright would mention little if any of the personal details of Garnett's life, such as Garnett's marriage and family. However, one non-academic detail that Bright does include in his obituary is Garnett's military service during the Civil War:

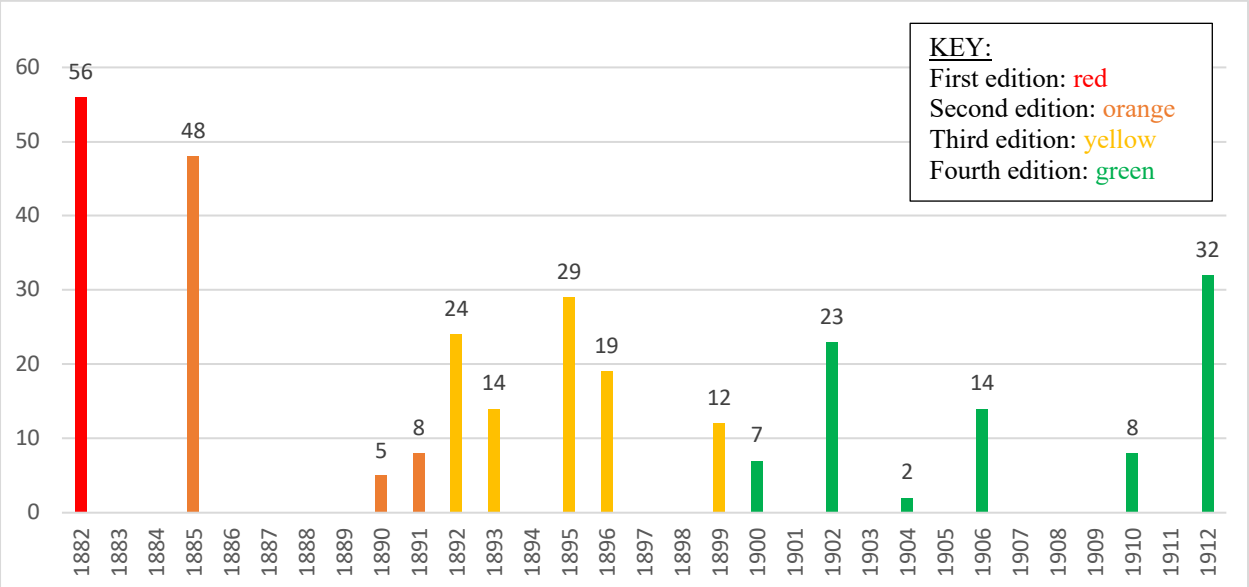
> Experiences of another character now set in. He entered the Confederate Service July 17, 1861, and was paroled at Appomattox Court House April 9, 1865. Professor Garnett's military career, in which he attained the rank of Captain of Artillery (in the 'Stonewall Brigade'), was cherished to the end of his life as a memory of highest duty faithfully performed. In obedience to his request he was at death shrouded in his militant uniform, and was thus buried in the symbols of one that never faltered in an avowed purpose or failed to keep once plighted faith. (Bright 245)

At first glance, Bright's lauding of Garnett's Confederate allegiances seems radical, even heretical. In the twenty-first century United States, to applaud someone's service to a cause that directly conflicts with one's own seems to instantly convict the praise-giver of being on their "enemy's" side. Such logic would imply that Bright and/or *AJP* (at that time) were pro-Confederacy and therefore pro-slavery. Certainly, this is a possibility, but there is no evidence to suggest what Bright or *AJP* thought about slavery, or that this was intended as a support for the Confederate cause. Indeed, a closer examination of the above lines reveal that Bright's approach to the Civil War is more nuanced. Nowhere does Bright mention Garnett's stance on slavery or on secession from the Union, perhaps because that would reflect poorly on Garnett, or perhaps because Bright disagreed with Garnett's opinions. Whatever the reason, Bright instead uses Garnett's time in the Civil War to emphasize qualities of value within Garnett. Bright describes how Garnett "attained the rank of Captain" in order to suggest that Garnett earned his title through hard work and good military service. Garnett "cherished" this military career as evidence of a "highest duty faithfully performed," implying that he was a man who both honored and exhibited loyalty to something larger than himself. Bright does not condemn Garnett for such loyalty, and he represents Garnett's burial in his Confederate uniform not as a sign of treason or aggression but as "symbols" of Garnett's ability to faithfully keep his word. In a later paragraph on Garnett's personal attributes, Bright again commends Garnett's "resolute adherence to duty" and remarks, "He was the soul of loyalty" (247). Bright's invocation of the Civil War is not to divide his readers between North and South but to pay his respects to a colleague who possessed a strong sense of honor, devotion, and constancy to both his beliefs, his students, and his work.

The Printings of Garnett's Beowulf*: A Brief Survey*

Garnet's *Beowulf* was originally published in 1882. It then proceeded to go through a second edition (1885, reprinted 1890 and 1891), third edition (1892, reprinted 1893, 1895, 1896, and 1899), and fourth edition (1900, reprinted 1902, 1904, 1906, 1910, and 1912). Evidence gathered from the book's prefaces and from general collation of parts of the translation indicates that Ginn & Company used the same printing plates to produce each of these editions and reprintings. In bibliographical terms, therefore, the subsequent versions of Garnett's translation would not be considered "editions," which involve the resetting of type and creation of new plates, but "impressions," which use the same plates over the course of multiple print runs. I nevertheless maintain Ginn & Company's use of the word "edition" to show how Ginn & Company marketed the text, although I also state the print year when referring to particular impressions or copies. Figure 1 provides a general overview on how the over three hundred copies that have been located are dispersed based on print year (see Appendix A for more information on the location of copies) and "edition."

Figure 1: Number of Located Copies of Garnett's *Beowulf* by Print Year.



CHAPTER TWO

The Publisher: Producing and Marketing Garnett's Translation

At the time of the initial publication of Garnett's translation in 1882, Ginn & Company was a rising powerhouse in the American textbook trade. Founded in 1867 by Edwin Ginn (1838-1914), this Boston-based publishing house went through several name changes before settling on "Ginn & Company" in 1885 (Dornbusch par. 1, "Ginn and Company").[22] Ginn & Company focused on producing textbooks and other educational materials for American schools—everything from biology lectures to elementary-school readers to periodicals like *Political Science Quarterly*. This made Ginn & Company an ideal house for publishing Garnett's student-focused translation, although how Garnett and Ginn & Company first came into contact with each other is unclear. Ginn & Company did have a practice of soliciting leading scholars for material for publication (e.g., Lawler 23-4, 30, 37, etc.), and they may have done the same for Garnett. Garnett mentions in his first edition (1882) and second edition (1885) prefaces that his translation was approved by unnamed scholars (*Beowulf* xi, xv-xvi), which may or may not have included representatives from Ginn & Company. It is also possible that both parties became acquainted while jointly working on James Albert Harrison's Old English edition of *Beowulf* (published 1882; see Harrison, *Beówulf* iv).[23] Regardless of how Garnett and Ginn & Company

[22]Previous names include "Edwin Ginn" (the original name of the company), "Ginn Brothers," "Ginn Brothers and Company," and "Ginn and Heath." (Lawler 19-20). The last name was adopted when Daniel C. Heath became a partner of the company in 1876 (Lawler 20). When George A. Plimpton joined the firm in 1881, the house became "Ginn, Heath, and Company" (Lawler 59). In 1885, Heath decided to leave the house in order to establish his own publishing company, D. C. Heath and Company, and Ginn changed the house's name one more time to "Ginn & Company" in order to reflect the departure of Heath (Lawler 71, 72).

[23]Harrison's edition of *Beowulf* was published by Ginn & Company and advertised in *Publishers' Weekly* on 5 July 1882 (vol. 22, pp. 160 and 162). Garnett's translation was released later that year and advertised in *Publishers' Weekly* on 9 December 1882 (vol. 22, pp. 856, 863). In his first edition (1882) preface, Garnett comments on Harrison's edition of Heyne's *Beowulf*, stating, "it [Heyne's *Beowulf*] has just been republished in this country,

met, their collaboration on Garnett's *Beowulf*, and his later translations of *Elene* and other shorter poems in 1889, was long-lasting and effective.

This chapter explores the history of Ginn & Company as it relates to the textbook trade in America and documents some of the many physical features of Garnett's *Beowulf* textbook that Ginn & Company introduced. Ginn & Company uses Garnett's translation not only as a source of revenue but also as an advertisement for their presence in the textbook industry, just as Garnett uses his prefaces as an advertisement of his academic credentials. As much as Garnett's translation is a literary work, it is also a physical book and testifies to Ginn & Company's involvement in the physical creation and dissemination of Garnett's *Beowulf*.

The Textbook Trade in America

Between the close of the Civil War and the start of the First World War, the American textbook trade underwent significant developments in terms of both scope and infrastructure. A noticeable change was the increasing number of publishing houses that were entering the industry, which was brought about by three cultural and economic conditions that made this growth not only possible but also profitable. The first condition was the rising literacy rates in United States, which meant an increased demand for books in general and for materials to teach reading in particular (Venezky and Kaestle 418). The second was the relatively low level of capital that was necessary to enter and compete in both the textbook trade and the general book trade, which made it easier for new publishing houses to form and flourish (Sheehan 38-9).[24] The

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edited by Professor James A. Harrison, of Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, so that the Anglo-Saxon text is now easily accessible in inexpensive form" (*Beowulf* xi-xii).

[24]Donald Sheehan, in his book *This Was Publishing: A Chronicle of the Book Trade in the Gilded Age*, cites several factors that contributed to this low entry-level threshold, such as: the lack of established "brand-names" in the book trade; the low costs of advertising and distributing books; the ability to have books printed by outside companies for a manageable price rather than maintain one's own printing press; and the lack of an international copyright law that protected non-American works from piracy (38-9). Sheehan does note that entry-level expenses had risen

third was the increase in the number of publishing houses within the general book industry, which rose from over four hundred in 1859 to eight hundred and nineteen in 1914 (Sheehan 22-3). While these houses did not focus specifically on textbooks, some did include educational materials as part of their literary offerings. A few houses, such as D. Appleton and Company and Henry Holt, were able to rise in power within the textbook trade, but the majority of these publishing firms rarely did more than dabble in textbooks (Sheehan 45, 47; Venezky and Kaestle 422). As Richard Venezky and Carl Kaestle noted in their discussion of late nineteenth and early twentieth century American reading primers, effective textbook houses needed both a national presence and the ability to regularly update their offerings in accordance with the advancing educational regulations of diverse cities and states (422-3). Large publishing houses certainly possessed the requisite national reach, but they often lacked the time, resources, or desire to focus on textbooks, in large part because their energy was already spread over a plethora of endeavors. Consequently, the majority of the leaders in the textbook industry were houses like Ginn & Company, who concentrated on producing and updating their materials while simultaneously marketing those materials to a national audience.[25]

While the textbook trade required companies with an extensive geographic reach across the United States, the actual headquarters of these companies were localized in the northeast. This was not a new development during the Gilded Age: well before the Civil War, the North was the printing powerhouse of the United States, due in large part to its higher literacy rates and

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significantly (but not insurmountably) by the beginning of the twentieth century, due in large part to the passage of an international copyright law in 1891, the increased use of advertising practices, and authors' growing demands to receive large pre-publication advances rather than post-publication royalties (39).

[25]See Sheehan 27-34 for a discussion of the overstretched and at times speculative nature of the American book trade during the Gilded Age. Thomas Lawler, who wrote *Seventy Years of Textbook Publishing: A History of Ginn and Company* (Boston, Ginn & Company, 1938), spends several chapters on the national growth of Ginn & Company from a small house in Boston to a national and even international powerhouse in the textbook trade.

the subsequently higher demand for printed texts to read (Fahs 195).[26] The 1860 United States census lists 986 printing houses and 109 bookbinders in the North, while only 151 printing houses and 17 bookbinders were located in the South (qtd. in Fahs 213). This meant that the North possessed over 86% of the total available book-producing resources before the start of the Civil War. The Civil War merely exacerbated those divisions: since the majority of fighting took place in the South, the South suffered more losses in equipment and more destruction in their land than the North, which put them further behind the North in terms of the printing industry (Fahs 195). This did not mean that there were no textbook houses in the South during the Gilded Age; rather, it meant that the North had more. Of the seven houses that Venezky and Kaestle list as being the predominant textbook publishers between 1880 and 1940, three (including Ginn & Company) were based in Massachusetts, two in New York, and one in Chicago (422-3).[27] If Garnett wanted to get his *Beowulf* published, he had to look North.

Just because the majority of textbook companies and of publishers in general were in the North did not mean that they published specifically pro-North works. Alice Fahs notes that Southern longings for the Confederacy's "Lost Cause" found their greatest expression in the national magazines of the 1880s and 1890s, such as the New York-based *Century Magazine* and *McClure's* (219). Fahs continues, "Ironically, then, it was northern magazines and books that eventually became the mouthpieces for the southern literary nationality that southerners during

[26]Fahs adds that writers and readers in the antebellum South relied heavily on Northern industries for printing books (195). This was true even within Old English studies at the time. In order to publish Jefferson's *Essays* in 1851, the University of Virginia hired John Trow's publishing house, which was based in New York. Just two years earlier, Klipstein (a Virginian by birth who spent most of his life in South Carolina) had his *Analecta* published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, also in New York (Genzmer 446-7, Mora and Gómez-Calderón 329).

[27]The two other Massachusetts houses were D. C. Heath and Allyn & Bacon; the two New York houses were Henry Holt and Silver Burdett; the Chicago house was Scott/Foresman ("D. C. Heath and Company," "Allyn & Bacon," "Silver Burdett," "Scott Foresman"). The seventh house that Venezky and Kaestle list, Row/Peterson, is difficult to track down and pin to a geographic headquarters. Henry Holt was the only one who had a large presence in both the general book trade and the textbook trade; the other six companies were primarily textbook companies.

the war so desperately wanted to create" (219). Part of that "southern literary nationality" was, of course, the study of Anglo-Saxon culture, although it was an interest equally shared by the North.[28] Ginn & Company, for their part, produced an entire "Anglo-Saxon Library" in the late nineteenth century that included Harrison's *Beówulf* edition (Lawler 44), and they also published Garnett's translations of *Beowulf* and *Elene* as stand-alone pieces that could further aid students' encounters with Old English poetry. Thomas Lawler's biography of the house, titled *Seventy Years of Textbook Publishing: A History of Ginn and Company* (1938), cites many other instances in which the company published literature simply for literature's sake (e.g., 48-50). Lawler justifies Edwin Ginn publication of one such work, a translation of Madvig's *Latin Grammar*, by explaining, "It fitted into the plan devised by him [Ginn] for publishing from time to time works that would be a distinct contribution to education, though of little or no monetary value to the house. It was, Mr. Ginn said, a duty of an educational publishing house to share in the production of such works" (29-30). Like other publishing houses of the time, Ginn & Company saw themselves as national agents whose duty was to contribute to the improvement of American literary culture rather than to make a large profit. Donald Sheehan's survey of general publishing houses during the Gilded Age reveals that this belief was widespread throughout the book trade (4-6). Publishers were more interested in literary merit than in making money when considering what books to publish, which may have improved American culture but certainly strained the resources and profitability of these companies.

[28]See chapter one of this thesis for a discussion of the shared interests in Old English between the North and the South. In addition to Ginn & Company's work with Old English, D. C. Heath, an offshoot of Ginn & Company that was based in Lexington, Massachusetts, published *Beowulf: An Anglo-Saxon Epic Poem* in 1897 ("D. C. Heath and Company"). This translation of *Beowulf* was written by John Lesslie Hall (1856-1928), a Virginia native who taught English history and literature at the College of William and Mary ("John Lesslie Hall").

Not only did publishing houses have to compete with each other when selling books, but they also had to deal with a volatile and unpredictable market. Books are by nature a "cyclical" commodity, a term used by economists to describe a product that is not essential for the survival of either the individual or the nation as a whole. When the market begins to go downhill—and the American market often went downhill in the Gilded Age—consumers stop buying cyclical commodities in order to spend what money they had on more necessary items such as food and water (Cook 244). The American Book Trade Association commented on the cyclical nature of books in 1876 when it stated, "Books are largely a luxury" (qtd. in Sheehan 17), and Sheehan adds, "Not even the trade in textbooks offered much comfort, because the necessity for their use did not imply the replacement of old and battered copies" (17). Textbook houses faced the same challenges as general book houses in terms of selling enough books and making enough money to keep themselves solvent. Nancy Cook notes that some textbook companies sought to increase their profitability by extending their control to other aspects of the book trade such as printing or advertising, a process referred to as "vertical integration" (244).[29] This business strategy was not always met with success: "As often as not, the added demands of keeping presses running got them into even more trouble: inventory exceeded demand, and capital was tied up in inventory" (Cook 244). In addition to sending publishing houses deeper into debt, vertical integration failed to address the primary problem: the house's inability to sell books, or even to understand the qualities that made a book sell—a question that few if any publishers in the Gilded Age could answer (Sheehan 186-7). Despite these perils, some publishing houses did thrive during the late

[29]Other companies attempted horizontal integration, subsuming multiple smaller houses into one large corporation in an attempt to monopolize the textbook industry (Cook 244). Ginn & Company never attempted horizontal integration, and the house vehemently protested the creation of textbook monopolies such as the American Book Company (ABC). See Sheehan 45-9 and Venezky and Kaestle 421-2 for a general discussion of how cutthroat Gilded Age business practices entered the textbook industry, and Sheehan 48 and Lawler 95-6 for how Ginn & Company handled the presence of ABC.

nineteenth century. Ginn & Company was one of those houses who flourished, and their rising success in the industry is reflected not only in their growing staff, capital, and audience but also in the very books that they sold, including Garnett's *Beowulf*.

Producing the Translation, Marketing the Publisher

Throughout all four editions of Garnett's *Beowulf*, the contents of the title and copyright pages change to reflect developments that occur outside of the text, whether it was a new edition of the translation, an update in Garnett's academic career, or a change in the publisher's and/or printer's name and address. Observing such changes offers insight into the developments of Garnett's literary career and Ginn & Company's publishing one, but it also illuminates how Ginn & Company viewed Garnett's *Beowulf* as a physical vehicle through which to advertise their presence and growth in the American textbook industry.

Ginn & Company relied on a large pool of knowledgeable scholars to author their various readers, grammars, and periodicals, and they identify Garnett as one of those scholars through the title page. In the first edition, Garnett is simply listed on the title page in one line, center-aligned, by his full name and his academic degrees of "M.A." and "LL.D.", which instantly mark Garnett as a scholar and serve to validate his translation as an academic work. The second edition adds a center-aligned subheading under Garnett's name that reads, "PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE | UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA." The third edition expands on this subheading to change the period after "VIRGINIA" to a semicolon and add the phrase "TRANSLATOR OF "ELENE" | AND OTHER ANGLO-SAXON POEMS.", for Garnett had by then published his translation of *Elene* (also with Ginn & Company) in 1889. This update informed the reader that Garnett was an active scholar in his field, and it is also an implicit advertisement

for *Elene*. The fourth edition makes another change to Garnett's title by adding "FORMERLY" at the beginning of the subheading, since Garnett had already retired from the University of Virginia, and by shifting around the other words so as to keep the subheading centered. These adjustments to Garnett's identification on the title page imbue the translation with the qualities of erudition, literary professionalism, and contribution to American education and culture, which Ginn & Company desired. It cost time, labor, and money to rearrange and add to the type on a printing plate, so the fact that Ginn & Company spent the energy to repeatedly modify the title page suggests that they deemed these adjustments both important and profitable. Indeed, their efforts to constantly expand upon Garnett's academic career suggest that they treated Garnett's name as a sort of marketing technique, defining the book as an educational tool that possessed the authority of a scholar and could therefore be trusted to provide high-quality learning to the next generation of Old English students.

Just as the title pages document Garnett's rise in academia, so they also track the rise of Ginn & Company. The title pages for the impressions of 1882 and 1885 simply list the publisher and publication city as "BOSTON: | PUBLISHED BY GINN, HEATH, & CO."[30] Not only was it conventional to put the place of publication before the name of the publisher, but it had the added benefit of localizing the publisher within a well-known geographic place. By the 1891 impression however, the publisher's name on the title page had changed to "BOSTON, U.S.A.: | GINN & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS."[31] As "Boston" located Ginn & Company within the United States, so does the addition of "U.S.A." locate Ginn & Company within an international

[30]The "|" symbol is used in direct quotations to signal a line break. I was unable to examine a title page for the 1890 impression. Ginn & Company also used the spine of Garnett's translation to advertise the book, printing "BEOWULF | [rule] | GARNETT" near the top of the spine and the publishing house's current name near the bottom.
[31]See footnote 22 of this thesis (p. 21) for an explanation of the various name changes that Ginn & Company underwent.

community. The passage of International Copyright Act in 1891 may also have prompted Ginn & Company to clarify that their translation was printed in the United States and therefore that it qualified for American copyright ("International Copyright Act of 1891" par. 13). The word "PUBLISHERS" clearly identifies Ginn & Company as experienced professionals in the publishing industry, as opposed to the phrase "PUBLISHED BY" that gives no indication of how established or experienced Ginn & Company is. The title page's description of Ginn & Company stays this way until the 1906 impression, which lists the publisher on the title page as "GINN & COMPANY | BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · LONDON" and continues to do so through the 1912 printing. The word "publish" and its cognates are completely dropped, perhaps because Ginn & Company had built up enough of a reputation by this point that their name was automatically associated with publishing. The inclusion of other major commercial centers in the United States and Great Britain reflects how Ginn & Company's reach had expanded throughout the United States as well as across the Atlantic. Whereas the changes in Garnett's identification on the title page expanded Garnett's contributions to the field of Old English, the changes in Ginn & Company's identification condensed their name but expanded their geographic reach—and, by default, the reach of textbooks such as *Beowulf*.

While Ginn & Company was increasing in influence across the United States, they were also strengthening their control over multiple facets of the book trade. This is evident in the gradual changes within the printer's colophon, located at the bottom of the copyright page. In the first (1882) and second (1885, 1890, 1891) editions, the printer's colophon states that Ginn & Company used J. S. Cushing & Co., a printing house based in Boston, for their typesetting and

printing.[32] J. S. Cushing & Co. was a relatively new printing house at the time, having been founded in 1878 by Josiah Stearns Cushing, an experienced typesetter and compositor, but it soon met with great success in printing school and college textbooks (Norwood Historical Society par. 2, Norwood Press and J. S. Cushing & Co. [i]). Cushing himself was an innovator in the creation of new type-fonts for textbooks, not only for English characters but also for those of foreign languages such as Assyrian, French, Greek, Hebrew, Japanese, Latin, Sanskrit, and Spanish (Norwood Historical Society par. 2, "Estes Press [May 1890]" 143), and his company printed Harrison's *Beówulf* for Ginn & Company using a modernized Old English alphabet. Edwin Ginn himself purportedly offered encouragement and financial support when Cushing & Co. first went into business (Lawler 86), and J.S. Cushing & Co.'s *Specimen of Book Types* (1894) includes a positive review by Ginn & Company in its "Unsolicited Testimony" section.[33]

Ginn & Company may have thought highly of J. S. Cushing & Co., but Edwin Ginn nevertheless expressed a desire to begin to vertically integrate Ginn & Company so that they would be able to do their own printing and bookbinding as well as publishing (Lawler 88).[34] Ginn & Company established its own pressroom in 1887, and when the time came to produce a

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[32]In the 1882 first edition of Garnett's *Beowulf*, the copyright page lists the printers as "J. S. CUSHING & CO., PRINTERS, 101 PEARL STREET, BOSTON." In the 1885 second edition, the printer's note changes to read, "J. S. CUSHING & CO., PRINTERS, 115 HIGH STREET, BOSTON."

[33]The review is the earliest one included in Cushing's *Specimen of Book Types* and reads, "Boston, Mass., Aug. 14, 1879. TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—It gives us pleasure to recommend Messrs. Cushing & Co. as superior workmen, and reliable in every respect. Their work speaks for itself. We never have employed any printer or printers that have given us better satisfaction. GINN & HEATH."

[34]Lawler explains, "In 1881 Cushing did the composition of all the new Ginn books, the electroplating being done by H. C. Whitcomb and C. J. Peters. In 1882 Cushing moved from his original location in Boston, at Federal and Milk Streets, to 16 Hawley Street, where he remained for many years. Most of the presswork was in the hands of Wright and Potter, in Post Office Square, and Rockwell and Churchill, in Arch Street. The foreman of the pressroom of this latter concern was James S. Berwick, who soon afterward headed the firm of Berwick and Smith. The bookbinding was done chiefly by the T. Y. Crowell Company and Ephraim Adams, and the binding of pamphlets by S. K. Abbott. Practically all his book paper was purchased by Mr. Ginn from S. D. Warren and Company. Much of Mr. Ginn's success was owing to the confidence with which he was able to inspire this concern, and the consequent financial assistance and support furnished by S. D. Warren and Company" (87). Cushing & Co. continued to use electroplating in their typesetting when the co-founded the Norwood Press, as they state in their *Specimens*, "By freely replenishing our type, and using it only for electrotyping purposes, we are enabled to keep it in perfect condition,—an advantage all will recognize" (Norwood Press and J. S. Cushing & Co. [i]).

third edition of Garnett's *Beowulf* in 1892, they updated the printer's colophon to read "TYPOGRAPHY BY J. S. CUSHING & CO., BOSTON, U.S.A. | [rule] | PRESSWORK BY GINN & CO., BOSTON, U.S.A." Just as the title page's publisher note changes to emphasize Ginn & Company's location in "Boston, U.S.A." so does the printer's colophon change. Although Ginn & Company could now print Garnett's *Beowulf* on their own, they were not completely independent at this time, since they still relied on J. S. Cushing & Co. to do the typesetting. By 1896, however, Ginn & Company had enough resources to establish their own press, called "the Athenaeum Press" after the Boston library which the early offices of Ginn & Company had overlooked (Lawler 90).[35] However, Ginn & Company did not adjust the printer's colophon accordingly until the 1906 fourth edition printing, when it becomes, "The Athenaeum Press | [rule] | GINN & COMPANY • PRO- | PRIETORS • BOSTON • U.S.A." J. S. Cushing & Co. are omitted from the colophon, and Ginn & Company relabel themselves as "proprietors," owners of the Athenaeum Press, rather than mere press-workers. This change in the printer's colophon coincides with the change in the publisher note on the title page, suggesting that both changes were made in response to a general remarketing of the company in 1906. Vertical integration could worsen a publisher's prospects during the Gilded Age, but in the case of Ginn & Company, it actually symbolized their advancement and growing power within the textbook industry.

The title and copyright pages offer more subtle ways through which Ginn & Company could define themselves as influential publishers, but the house also marketed its educational wares through explicit means, specifically the printed advertisements within Garnett's *Beowulf*. Before 1898, advertising in the American book trade was done with restraint, but the advent of

[35]As for J. S. Cushing & Co., they continued to have success in the textbook publishing industry and eventually created the Norwood Press with two other companies. The Norwood Press experienced great success through the early twentieth century, but production declined after World War II, and all three companies involved in the Norwood Press had closed by 1953 (Norwood Historical Society par. 1, "J.S. Cushing & Co.").

the Spanish-American War coincided with a boom in advertising that continued into the early 1900s (Sheehan 183-4). Based on Sheehan's analysis of advertising during the Gilded Age, one would expect Garnett's *Beowulf* to begin to contain a lot of advertisements in the 1899 printing and beyond. However, only the 1885, 1902, and 1912 printings contained advertisements.[36] If Ginn & Company were influenced by popular advertising trends when releasing their fourth edition, then why would not all of the fourth edition printings contain advertisements, and why would the 1885 printing have advertisements at all? A closer examination of the gatherings in each of the printings reveals that the presence of advertisements in Garnett's *Beowulf* was more likely based on the number of available pages once the number of gatherings had been determined. All of the printings of Garnett's translation are bound in octavo (i.e., eight leaves, or sixteen pages, per gathering). One or two extra gatherings added if the standard contents of the translation and its materials required it, but never in order to accommodate advertisements. Instead, the advertisements appear when there are extra blank pages in the last gathering. After the conclusion of the "Notes" section, the 1885 printing would have had four blank pages and the 1902 and 1912 printings would each have had six. As the advertisements used in the Garnett translation required four pages at a minimum, these three printings gave Ginn & Company enough space to add these notices.

Like most successful advertisements, the ones that appeared in Garnett's *Beowulf* are specifically tailored to the translation's intended audience. Unlike general books in the Gilded Age, which could be sold to the general public through a variety of ways such as book trades,

[36]The 1882, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1904, 1906, and 1910 impressions do not have advertisements. The three 1899 copies that I had access to in person had all been rebound by libraries, as was the one electronic copy of the 1900 printing that I examined via *HathiTrust Digital Library*. Copies that have been rebound can in the process lose some pages and/or have pages misplaced (see Appendix C, particularly the University of Virginia's 1882 copy 2 and Texas State University's 1902 copy), although the University of Virginia's 1885 copy 1 does contain the advertisements found in other 1885s that have retained their original bindings. I was unable to examine any 1890, 1891, or 1896 printings for advertisements.

bookstores, and subscription orders, textbooks were typically sent directly to the consumer (Sheehan 195, Venezky and Kaestle 423). It makes sense, therefore, that Ginn & Company would include advertisements for texts that would be of interests to consumers such as schools, teachers, and students who had an interest in older English literature. For example, the last three pages in the 1885 printing cite a number of peer reviews that endorse three specific works published by Ginn & Company and relating to Old English: Harrison's *Beówulf*, Garnett's *Beowulf*, and Theodore W. Hunt's edition of Caedmon's *Exodus* and *Daniel* (c. 1883). The inclusion of Garnett's translation in this set at first seems counterintuitive: after all, if textbooks were sent to the consumer, then Ginn & Company had already executed a successful sale and made money. It is possible that these advertisements were a pre-arranged set of plates that Ginn & Company printed when there was space in these books.[37] However, it is more likely that Ginn & Company intentionally used the available space within Garnett's translation to market the book itself: the set of three advertisements in the 1885 printing is preceded by a page that contains two lengthy reviews of Garnett's translation by German scholars. As much as these advertisements market other Old English books in Ginn & Company's catalog, so they also reinforce the academic credibility of Garnett's work and affirm that the consumer has made a wise investment in purchasing this translation.

Ginn & Company's use of advertisements in Garnett's *Beowulf* may have been particular to Garnett's translation, but the practices involved were neither stagnant nor self-created. Nineteenth-century publishers tended to approach blatant advertisements with caution yet valued reviews as a means of increasing sales for their books; as the twentieth century arrived, however, more and more publishers became disillusioned with the efficacy of reviews in selling books

[37]I have not examined the advertisements found in either Harrison or Hunt's editions, so further investigation must happen before an accurate generalization can be made with confidence.

(Sheehan 178-9). The absence of reviews in the 1902 and 1912 advertisements within Garnett's *Beowulf* may signal that Ginn & Company, like many other houses, had become disillusioned with reviews as a marketing tool and had cast aside their compunctions about direct advertising. Indeed, Ginn & Company actively calls attention to their advertisements in the 1902 and 1912 printings of Garnett's translation by introducing a section title page (an unmarked page 111) that delineates the end of Garnett's work and the beginning of Ginn & Company's offerings. This page, the majority of which is blank space, draws the reader's eye to the advertisement section title[38] at the center of the page and stands in stark contrast to the text-filled "Notes" section that precedes it. The section title page is followed by a blank page (an unmarked page 112) and then four pages of advertisements (unmarked pages 113-116) that respectively list Ginn & Company's offerings for Old and Middle English literature (including Garnett's *Beowulf*), general English literature, literary classics labeled as "The Athenaeum Press Series," and Elizabethan drama.[39] Garnett's translation is no longer one of three works on Old English but now resides within a larger sphere of both Old English and general literary publications, which could be advertised in any number of Ginn & Company's textbooks. Ginn & Company updated the layout, typeface, list of works, and occasionally prices in their advertisements with as much attention as Garnett updated his Old English bibliography, suggesting that advertisements were viewed by Ginn & Company no longer as necessarily evil but rather as a necessary good.

Advertisements were not only words on a page: they could also be visual features that caught the user's eye and drew them into the text. Even the color of the textbook was an

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[38]The word used in the 1902 printing is "ADVERTISEMENTS", which identifies the advertisement section exactly as it is. The word was changed to "ANNOUNCEMENTS" in the 1912 printing for reasons unknown.

[39]See Appendix C, "Contents" for details on the differences between the 1902 and 1912 advertisements. The books listed on the Old and Middle English literature page (p. 113) range from twenty cents to four dollars, with the majority of books falling between fifty cents and $1.50. Garnett's translation was marketed at $1 at the time of its initial publication in *Publishers' Weekly*, and it stayed priced at $1 in both the 1885, 1902, and 1912 advertisements within Garnett's *Beowulf* ("Beowulf" 856, 863). For context, $1 in 1885 equals $25 today ("CPI Calculator").

intentional choice in marking the book as an appealing yet educational tool. While noting the many innovations that Ginn & Company made in the production of textbooks, Lawler notes, "In few departments of education publishing have greater improvements been made than in the covers of textbooks. The dull, uninteresting, repellent covers of our earlier days have given way to the bright blue, red, yellow, and green covers of the present day, with decorating lettering and artistic design on waterproof cloth in ink and stamped in gold from dies of brass" (85). This is almost a word-for-word description of the cover of Garnett's *Beowulf*. From the second edition (1885 and its reprintings) to the last printing in 1912, Garnett's translation was bound with an olive-green cloth color,[40] with the following phrases stamped onto the book: "BEOWULF — GARNETT" in black ink on the top third of the front cover, "BEOWULF | [rule] | GARNETT" in gold near the top of the spine, and "GINN & COMPANY" in gold near the bottom of the spine.[41] This shows that Ginn & Company were consistent in producing Garnett's translation so as to give the book a distinctive look while catching the reader's eye. The other noticeable physical feature that appears in the text is the facsimile of a page from the *Beowulf* manuscript, which is in all of the printings of Garnett's translation. This facsimile was used by the Early English Text Society for their facsimile edition of Beowulf, edited by Julius Zupitza and released in 1882, and it was from this Society that Garnett gained permission to use the autotypes from one of the pages for his translation (Garnett, *Beowulf* xiv). The presence of the facsimile at the very beginning of the text is a teaching tool for the readers of Garnett's translation: even before the readers encounter the translation, they see how the poem was originally laid out on the page. The

[40]The four 1882 copies from the University of Virginia have a variety of colors. The covers of copies 4 and 5 have a dark rust-red color, while the green copy, so named for the color of its cover, is actually a dark teal color. Copy 2 has since been rebound in a rust-red cover, but it is difficult to say whether the color of this cover rebinding matched the original cover's color.

[41]For the 1885 printings, the name at the bottom of the spine is "GINN, HEATH & CO."

facsimile shows that Garnett and Ginn & Company are aware of developments both in Old English scholarship and in printing technologies. The color of the cover and the inclusion of the facsimile, combined with the presence of advertisements, demonstrate that there was an interest in advertising through the physical features of the book well before Sheehan's date of 1898. Garnett's translation was not just a pedagogical tool but a walking advertisement for Ginn & Company—and for Garnett.

Defending the Translation (and the Author)

One of the most noticeable features of Garnett's translation is the preface, which introduces not only the translation proper but also the entire contents of the book *and* the history of that book. It is in the preface that Garnett defines his translation's intended audience as students, responds to reviews that criticize the literalness of his translation, and laments the limitations of his work as both a pedagogical tool and a physical object. With each new edition (and some later impressions) came a new preface explaining the reason for such an edition or impression, and while Ginn & Company could have saved a lot of money, materials, and labor by not reprinting all of Garnett's previous prefaces, they continued to include the older prefaces in addition to incorporating the new one.[42] This way, the reader can track the rising popularity of the text through the necessity for multiple editions and reprintings, and consequently for multiple prefaces. Indeed, the prefaces themselves are a form of advertisement, whether intentional or not, for the translation and for Garnett in particular. Garnett's discussions of contemporary scholarship, print runs, and publishing costs in his prefaces frame Garnett as a professional scholar and add to the academic prestige, and therefore the monetary value, of his translation.

[42]The only time that Ginn & Company does not include an older preface is in the 1912 impression, where they omit the 1902 impression preface. See Appendix C "Contents" to track the changes in the physical contents of the book.

The inclusion of other scholars' names in the prefaces is as much as collegial courtesy as it is a demonstration of Garnett's academic connections and influence. As mentioned in chapter one, Garnett acknowledges a number of scholars from the American North and South as well as those in Germany and England.[43] Not only do these names point the reader to further people and sources that discuss Old English, but they also act like recommendations on a resume, establishing Garnett's scholarly legitimacy by invoking an academic network to which Garnett is privy. In the 1885 preface, after facing criticism for the manner of his (very literal) translation, Garnett responds, "I was happy to find the plan of a line-for-line translation approved by a distinguished scholar whose judgment I value highly, and whose reputation embraces both sides of the water. He writes: 'I think your idea of the kind of translation desirable is entirely right, and you have carried it out with no wrenching of the modern dialect to suit the old'" (*Beowulf* xv-xvi). Garnett's use of a direct quotation raises a voice other than his own in defense of his translation. The intentional anonymity of this internationally acclaimed scholar encourages the reader to picture this individual as any number of scholars whom the reader respects, resulting in the reader's increased respect for Garnett's translation. Whether this was Garnett's reason for keeping the scholar anonymous is unclear: Garnett may have simply been respecting the scholar's wishes to remain anonymous. Nevertheless, Garnett's references to developments in the field of Old English studies, including responses to his translation, highlights his identity as

[43]In his *Beowulf* prefaces, Garnett cites work done by the following scholars (in no particular order): John Mitchell Kemble (xi), Benjamin Thorpe (xi), Thomas Arnold (xi), Moritz Heyne (xi-xiii, xv, xix), Adolf Socin (xix), Christian W. M. Grein (xi-xiii, xv, xix), James A. Harrison (xi, xix), Robert Sharp (xix), Thomas N. Toller (xii), J. Schipper (xii), Richard Wülcker (xv, xvii), Julius Zupitza (xv), Max Förster (xx), an unnamed translation of *Beowulf* from Yale University (xx), and A. J. Wyatt (page xix in the 1912 impression, taken from the University of Miami copy). Garnett gives special thanks to the individual assistance of Frederick James Furnivall (xiv), Francis A. March (xiv), William Hand Browne (xiv, xviii), H. C. F. Miller (xviii), Julian Huguenin (xix), and James W. Bright (xix in the 1912 impression, taken from the University of Miami copy), as well as to unnamed scholars (xv, xvi, xvii).

both a scholar and a teacher that seeks to pass on his knowledge to the next generation of *Beowulf* students.

Garnett's extensive discussion of contemporary *Beowulf* scholarship in his prefaces is only matched by his elaborations on the extensive print history of his translation. With the exception of the first edition (1882) preface, all of Garnett's prefaces make some reference to the translation's many print runs (xvi, xvii, xix, xx, xxi [in the 1912 impression, taken from the University of Miami copy]). Garnett logically attributed the need for multiple reprintings as a sign of his translation's popularity: in the 1885 impression preface, he notes, "the exhaustion of the first edition within two years from the date of publication has served to confirm this opinion" (*Beowulf* xvi). Garnett uses the word "exhaustion" to suggest a sense of complete and utter depletion, implying that the publisher's storehouses are literally emptied of all his translations because those books have all been purchased by eager consumers. He thus cites the need for reprintings not only to explain why the translation is being reprinted but also to justify the educational and economic value of his text. The mention of print runs additionally reveals the relationship between Garnett and Ginn & Company. Garnett begins his third-edition preface by stating, "As the second edition of my translation of 'Beowulf' has been out of print for over two years, and constant occupation has prevented me from giving the text any further revision, I have determined to issue at once the third edition to meet an immediate demand" (*Beowulf* xvii). Garnett cites himself, not Ginn & Company, as the active agent in this decision to release another edition, even if Garnett lacks the time to incorporate new revisions before the edition is released. This did not mean that the issuing of reprintings fell solely on Garnett's shoulders: according to Garnett's preface for the 1902 impression, "The revision of this translation must still be postponed to a more convenient season, but as the publishers inform me that another reprint is

needed, I have added to the bibliography" (*Beowulf* xx). Ginn & Company certainly had the power to issue new printings of Garnett's translation, but the fact that they reached out to Garnett about this new printing and included the changes that Garnett implemented suggests a mutual cooperation between the two parties in the release of more impressions. Garnett's documentation of his translation's print runs, and also of his relationship with Ginn & Company, advertises (and indeed confirms) the popularity and collegial scholarship surrounding his *Beowulf*.

Garnett uses the preface as a means of narrating the successes of his *Beowulf* through multiple print runs, but he also acknowledges the limitations of reprinting the translation. In addition to the constraints of time, Garnett cites cost and labor as key factors that inhibit his ability to make changes in the translation. This does not mean that Garnett is unwilling to make changes to the translation: he explains in the 1885 preface, "I have revised certain passages with a view to greater accuracy, but I have not changed the plan of the work, for that would have necessitated the re-writing of the whole translation" (*Beowulf* xv). An in-depth collation of pp. 90-3 in copies from the 1882, 1885, 1893, 1902, and 1910 printings confirms this statement: the 1885 printing did introduce small changes in wording and punctuation, as exhibited in Table 2.[44] However, such changes were made on the original printing plates, as indicated by the presence of consistent type damage throughout all five printings (e.g., "w" in "bow" on p. 90, line 2974 of the translation).

Table 2: Changes Between the 1882 and 1885 Printings of Garnett's *Beowulf*

Page	Line	1882 printing	1885 printing
90	2957	pursuit told	given pursuit
90	2958	was Hygelac's	to Hygelac
90	2959	peaceful plain	Peace-plain
91	3006	or	and
91	3007	did. Now	did. — Now
93	3057	each	such

[44]Like Garnett, I also was limited by the constraints of time, and I was unable to collate all pages of all available copies before the writing of this thesis. Instead, I collated pp. 90-93 (section XLI in the translation) from the following five copies: the 1882 copy 4 from the University of Virginia, the 1885 copy 2 from the University of Virginia, the 1893 copy from the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point, the 1902 copy from Agnes Scott College, and the 1910 copy from Bridgewater State University. The 1893, 1902, and 1910 copies followed the word changes introduced in the 1885 copy but tended to print those changes in increasingly lighter ink than the rest of the text. I have yet to figure out why that is the case.

Using the original plates when making these changes saved money, although the question of funds seems to have concerned Garnett more than Ginn & Company. In the 1892 preface, Garnett reiterates, "As to rhythmical revision, which some have desired, that would not be possible without a re-writing of the whole [translation] and a re-casting of the plates, and that I cannot undertake" (*Beowulf* xviii). In short, Garnett cannot provide either the time to rewrite the translation *or* the money necessary to pay for making new printing plates, a cost that he reiterates in his 1912 preface (e.g., p. xxi of the 1912 impression). It is not surprising that Ginn & Company expected Garnett to fund the production of the plates: Sheehan explains that before World War I, there was a "respectable and widespread" expectation in the United States that the author would pay for the cost of the plates (85). One may be tempted to view Garnett's invocation of cost and time as a cop-out for not doing more work on the translation. However, one must also remember the efforts that Garnett underwent to update the bibliography, introductory materials and notes, and (when he could) the translation itself. In this context, Garnett's discussion of the limitations in producing his translation suggest that he wished to deliver the highest level of scholarship that he could in his *Beowulf* and, when that highest level went unreached due to logistic constraints, to openly acknowledge the factors that temporarily deterred him from making his translation the best that it could be.

Ginn & Company did more than merely publish Garnett's *Beowulf*. They added features such as title pages, copyright pages and advertisements, that showcased their prominence in the textbook trade as well as Garnett's literary credentials. They marketed the translation, advertised it, distributed it, and made money off of it. They transformed Garnett's abstract work into a physical object that travelled from the South to the North and then across the United States. Nor

was Garnett unaware of the physical nature of his translation: his prefaces not only highlight his academic connections but also acknowledge the logistics of producing and re-producing the translation through multiple print runs. Studying the impact of Ginn & Company on Garnett's *Beowulf* grounds the translation within the print culture of late nineteenth-century American textbooks, and it reminds the reader that Garnett's translation was not produced by the efforts of one person but of many, all with the goal of bringing *Beowulf* to the next generation of scholars and teachers.

CHAPTER THREE

The Owners: Interactions with Garnett's Translation

Garnett's translation of *Beowulf* was always intended for students. It makes sense, therefore, that a paper about his translation should devote a good portion of its space to the manner in which students and other book owners interacted with his translation. Examining a book owner's markings on the page can also offer insight into the reception history of Garnett's *Beowulf*, particularly which passages attracted the most attention from readers, as well as biographical data on the textbook's individual owners who may or may not be well-known today. Andrew Stauffer and Kristin Jensen, who respectively direct and manage the University of Virginia's "Book Traces" project, argue that owner intervention data can supplement archival collections of more influential figures and shed light on persons that have little to no presence in institutional archives (Jensen, "New Book Traces assignment"). Observing and analyzing such owner markings in Garnett's *Beowulf* can thus augment scholars' current understanding of American history, literary culture, and material culture.

Methodology and Terms

This chapter offers a general overview and analysis of the data that I collected on "owner interventions," a term used by Stauffer and Jensen to define the physical marks and insertions placed in a book by its possessors.[45] When identifying and analyzing reader markings in Garnett's *Beowulf*, I utilize an unpublished labeling system developed by Stauffer and Jensen at

[45]Libraries are technically owners of these books as well, but in the interest of time and space, I have had to postpone my discussion of library interventions in Garnett's *Beowulf* until a later date.

the University of Virginia for internal use on their Book Traces project.[46] They designed this system in order to classify different types of interventions and to mark such interventions' presence or absence on the page, with the hope that such data would support an as yet unrealized experiment on teaching a machine to identify owner interventions. I used this system while working as a research assistant for Stauffer on the Book Traces project, and I chose to employ it in this thesis because of my familiarity with it and because of its ability to quantitatively classify and analyze owner interventions. The following terms are those used by Stauffer and Jensen's system to classify particular types of owner interventions:

- An *annotation* can be found on pages including, but not limited to, the inside covers, flyleaves, advertisements, and title pages. Annotations, unlike inscriptions, do not mark ownership; instead, they are words or other non-artistic markings that do not relate to the contents of the book.
- *Artwork* signals any form of artistic drawing, doodle, or decoration inscribed into the book by the owner.
- An *inscription* is a notation that includes the owner's name and/or other identifying information, such as place or date, for the purpose of marking ownership of the book. Inscriptions are usually located in the front inside cover or front flyleaves of a book.
    - » *Gift inscriptions* differ from standard inscriptions because they indicate that the book has been presented to one party by another party.

[46]For more information on the Book Traces project, see their website at https://booktraces-public.lib.virginia.edu/ and Stauffer's academic publications, specifically his book *Book Traces: Nineteenth Century Readers and the Future of the Library* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021) and his chapters "The Date-Stamped Book" (in *The Unfinished* Book, edited by Alexandra Gillespie and Deidre Lynch, pp. 397-411; Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2021) and "My *Old Sweethearts*: On Digitization and the Future of the Print Record" (in *Debates in the DigitalHumanities*, edited by Matthew Gold; Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2016). Special thanks to Stauffer and Jensen for granting me permission to use this labeling system in my thesis.

    - » *Covered inscriptions* are standard and/or gift inscriptions that have been partially or fully covered by an insertion.

- An *insertion* is a physical object that has been placed in the book. These interventions can be put into the book without any binding agent, or they can be secured inside the book by means of glue or tape. Insertions are divided between two categories:
    - » *Botanical insertions* describe organic matter such as leaves and insects.
    - » *Non-botanical insertions* describe man-made materials such as paper clips and personal bookplates.
- *Marginalia* refers to notations made in the book's text-filled pages, which I define to include the table of contents, introductory material, actual translation, and notes. Marginalia is the only intervention in this system to be assigned a term that classifies its location on the page. These locative terms are *top margin, left margin, right margin, bottom margin, interlinear*, or *multiple* (i.e., interventions on a single page that are found on two or more of the aforementioned locations). Marginalia are broken down into one of the two following subcategories:
    - » *Verbal marginalia* include written words, letters, and numbers.
    - » *Non-verbal marginalia* encompass underlining, brackets, check marks, and other non-verbal markings used to comment on the contents of the book.

When collecting data for owner interventions in Garnett's *Beowulf*, I examined one fully digitized copy of Garnett's translation and five in-person copies.[47] I also examined the photographs that I took of the pages in twenty additional copies, which I was able to examine in-

[47]The fully digitized copy was of a 1900 impression, currently located at the University of California at Los Angeles. Three in-person copies came from the University of Virginia (1882 copy 4, 1885 copy 2, and 1906) and the remaining two (again 1885 and 1906) came from my personal collection.

person via Interlibrary Loan before returning the copies to their home institutions. Some of these particular copies are missing photos for certain pages, which I did not photograph due to a lack of foresight and time. I include here what data I was able to collect and analyze in the hopes that future scholars will build on my findings. Further information about what copies I examined, as well as what pages I was able to examine for each copy for owner interventions, can be found in Appendix B.

Marginalia and Other Unnamed Interventions

The majority of interventions in the examined copies of Garnett's *Beowulf* are unsigned and therefore difficult to ascribe to any particular individual, location, or date. The anonymity of this data, however, does not mean that it is useless, because such data reveals patterns in which readers interacted with Garnett's translation. Table 3.1 offers a visual comparison between the various types of owner interventions gathered from the copies. Marginalia interventions alone constitute eighty-six percent of the data, split between non-verbal (sixty-four percent) and verbal (twenty-two percent). Out of the remaining fourteen percent, six percent is taken up by "undetermined" interventions, so called because I recorded certain pages as having interventions but did not record, via photograph or notes, what kind(s) of marginalia were on those pages. The pagination for these undetermined photos falls for the most part within the actual translation of

Table 3.1: Frequency of Intervention Types Across Examined Copies of Garnett's *Beowulf*

Intervention Type	**Entries**
Annotation	66
Artwork	4
Inscription	8
Inscription, covered	1
Inscription, gift	0
Insertion, botanical	1
Insertion, non-botanical	8
Marginalia, non-verbal	760
Marginalia, verbal	259
[Undetermined]	73
Total	**1180**

Garnett's *Beowulf*, which usually has instances of marginalia (e.g., Table 3.4).[48] Consequently, the majority of these undetermined interventions are most likely marginalia, whether verbal and/or non-verbal. The predominance of marginalia within copies of Garnett's translation may be explained by the fact that this book was intended to be a textbook. Books purchased for personal enjoyment were more likely to contain artwork and botanical insertions, whereas textbooks were used as a tool for studying and were frequently marked up as a result.[49] The textbook nature of Garnett's translation provides similar insight for the non-botanical insertions: in addition to four owner bookplates, two non-botanical insertions are forms of lined notepaper used by students at the time, and one is a pasted two-leaf flyer that discusses Old English literature and *Beowulf* in particular.[50] Garnett's *Beowulf* was written, printed, and designed for student use, and the prevalence of school-related interventions and marginalia, which comment on the text, demonstrate that some users did indeed use this text for study within the classroom.

Table 3.2: Frequency of Marginalia Interventions Across Examined Copies of Garnett's *Beowulf*

Location on Page	Non-Verbal	Verbal
Interlinear	255	19
Margin, bottom	5	0
Margin, left	159	114
Margin, right	48	53
Margin, top	6	12
Multiple	287	61
TOTAL	**760**	**259**

Further examinations of marginalia in Garnett's *Beowulf* reveal that the type (non-verbal vs. verbal) and placement (interlinear, etc.) of these interventions tend to follow certain patterns. As seen in Table 3.2, non-verbal marginalia are more common than verbal marginalia and are more likely to occur in multiple

[48]The undetermined interventions are found in: the 1893 copy at the University of Kansas, pp. xxii-xxiii, xxv, xxxii, 1-26, 28, 32-33, 37-47, 50, 56, 61, 63, 67-68, 70, 81, 84-85, 88, 95; the 1895 copy at the University of Nevada at Reno, pp. 30-35, 37, 39, 44, 48, 81, 83-84, 97, 100, back inside cover; and the 1899 copy from the University of North Alabama, pp. 4-5.

[49]Credit to David Vander Meulen for making this observation (spring 2021).

[50]The fourth non-botanical and non-bookplate insertion appears to be a piece of white tape. I frankly have no idea what it is or why it is in this copy of Garnett's *Beowulf*.

areas of any given page. This may be partly explained by the fact that non-verbal marginalia, such as underlining and check marks, require fewer strokes of the pen than verbal marginalia. As a result, it takes less energy and time to mark something on a page than to describe and analyze it with written language. Non-verbal marginalia allowed readers to utilize a shorthand that flagged intriguing passages in the text without significantly interrupting the reader's progression through the content of the text. Few readers put marginalia in the top and bottom margins, preferring instead to keep such markings close to the actual text for ease of access and because of the greater amount of empty space in the side margins.[51] Naturally, interlinear non-verbal marginalia were very prevalent, as the spacing between lines provided enough room for underlining and accent marks but less so for written words. Marginalia in the left and right margins were similarly constrained by the physical layout of the page, particularly the closeness of the margin in question to the page's gutter. Table 3.3 shows the dispersal of non-verbal and verbal marginalia based on page location as well as whether the page was a verso (even-numbered) or recto (odd-numbered). This table also gives a percentage ratio that represents how many of the particular type and location of marginalia (e.g., interlinear

Table 3.3: Location of Marginalia on Verso Versus Recto Pages

Location on Page	**Non-Verbal**			**Verbal**		
	Versos	*Rectos*	*%*	*Versos*	*Rectos*	*%*
Interlinear	122	133	48/52	10	9	53/47
Margin, bottom	4	1	80/20	0	0	0/0
Margin, left	85	74	53/47	75	39	66/34
Margin, right	15	33	31/69	15	38	28/72
Margin, top	3	3	50/50	5	7	42/58
Multiple	132	155	46/54	28	33	46/54
TOTAL	361	399	48/52	133	126	51/49

[51]An examination of p. 49's printing plate dimensions and paper dimensions for all available copies reveals that Ginn & Company left, on average, 65.2 mm of empty space in the right and left margins combined, as well as 44.4 mm of empty space on the top and bottom margins. Even books that have since been rebound by libraries still retain this element of spaciousness, boasting of roughly 53.1 mm of space on the side margins and 34.3 mm on the top and bottom ones. Please see Appendix C for the data used to make these statements.

non-verbal) are located on a verso or a recto (in this case, 48% on versos and 52% on rectos). The right margin of a verso page and the left margin of a recto page are both situated near the gutter of the book, which would make it difficult for the reader to write in that particular margin. The fact that there are non-verbal and verbal marginalia in both left and right margins, regardless of the presence of a gutter, suggests that the distance between the text of the translation as the gutter was spacious enough so as to allow owners to write in margins next to the gutter. However, the presence of a gutter did diminish the likelihood of there being marginalia in that margin. The verso-recto percentage ratio for the side margins changes from a roughly even distribution to an uneven one, with one-third of the marginalia appearing in margins near the gutter and two-thirds appearing in margins that border the edge of the pages.[52] The location of marginalia on the page was therefore not a random distribution or determined entirely by a reader's personal style but was significantly influenced by the physical layout of the printed text on the page.

The text of Garnett's *Beowulf* had an impact on owner marginalia based on the available space it created on the page, but its content also affected the likelihood that a reader would mark up that page with marginalia. Table 3.4 offers an analysis of marginalia interventions based on page content, with pages 1-95 being the *Beowulf* translation, 96-97 *The Fight at Finnsburg* translation, 99-110 the "Notes" section for the translations, and 111-116 the advertisements (when applicable).[53]

[52]The exception to this statement is the dispersal of non-verbal marginalia within the left margins. The majority of instances occur on verso pages (away from the gutter) but the percentage ratio (53/47) is very close to a 50/50 equal distribution ratio. This may be because non-verbal marginalia required less room to write, although other unconsidered factors may also be at work here.

[53]For more information about the contents for each impression of the translation, see Appendix C.

Table 3.4: Number of Examined Copies of Garnett's *Beowulf* (out of 26) with Marginalia Interventions per Page											
Page	**Entries**	**Page**	**Entries**	**Page**	**Entries**	**Page**	**Entries**	**Page**	**Entries**	**Page**	**Entries**
fic	0	intro10	2	glos2	3	025	14	058	5	091	1
ffr	0	intro11	1	glos3	4	026	14	059	8	092	3
ffv	0	intro12	0	glos4	4	027	10	060	12	093	2
i	0	intro13	1	glos5	3	028	9	061	8	094	5
ii	0	intro14	4	glos6	3	029	12	062	7	095	6
iii	0	intro15	1	glos7	3	030	9	063	3	096	9
iv	0	intro16	0	glos8	3	031	9	064	8	097	4
v	0	intro17	1	glos9/oe1	7	032	7	065	4	098	2
vi	1	intro18	2	oe2	2	033	13	066	7	099	2
vii	0	intro19	0	001	11	034	6	067	10	100	1
viii	0	furth1	0	002	12	035	4	068	8	101	2
ix	2	furth2	0	003	13	036	10	069	4	102	1
x	2	furth3	0	004	16	037	8	070	5	103	0
xi	5	furth4	2	005	9	038	9	071	7	104	0
xii	0	1900bib1	0	006	17	039	10	072	7	105	1
xiii	1	1900bib2	0	007	16	040	8	073	5	106	2
xiv	0	1900bib3	0	008	13	041	10	074	4	107	1
1885pref1	0	1900bib4	0	009	12	042	12	075	5	108	0
1885pref2	0	1902bib1	1	010	15	043	15	076	2	109	0
1892pref1	0	1902bib2	1	011	10	044	11	077	10	110	2
1892pref2	0	1904bib1	0	012	14	045	12	078	5	111	0
1900pref	1	1904bib2	0	013	14	046	9	079	7	112	0
1902pref	0	1904bib3	0	014	13	047	10	080	4	113	0
1912pref	0	1906bib1	0	015	14	048	16	081	3	114	0
intro1	8	1906bib2	0	016	12	049	10	082	6	115	0
intro2	8	1910bib1	0	017	15	050	9	083	9	116	0
intro3	12	1910bib2	0	018	11	051	8	084	4	bfr	0
intro4	9	1912bib1	0	019	14	052	10	085	9	bfv	0
intro5	15	1912bib2	0	020	14	053	9	086	0	bic	0
intro6	4	1912bib3	0	021	12	054	10	087	3		
intro7	7	finnintro	3	022	12	055	9	088	5		
intro8	8	genetree	3	023	12	056	10	089	3		
intro9	1	glos1	6	024	10	057	7	090	2		

Key to Terms in Table 3.4 in Order of Appearance:

fic = front inside cover
ffr = front flyleaf recto
ffv = front flyleaf verso
pref = preface
intro = introduction to *Beowulf* and original bibliography
furth = further additions to the bibliography
bib = additions to the bibliography for later impressions
finnintro = introduction to *The Fight at Finnsburg*
genetree = genealogy tree
glos = glossary of names
oe = list of Old English words
bfr = back flyleaf recto
bfv = back flyleaf verso
bic = back inside cover
*For terms with numbers:
Preceding number = year
Following number = page (if more than one)
E.g.: 1892pref2 = second page of preface to 1892 impression

The most consistently marked pages across copies fall within the first two-thirds of Garnett's *Beowulf* translation, followed by the first eight pages of the introduction (which introduce the poem's narrative and poetic style), the last third of Garnett's *Beowulf*, and the glossaries of Old English names and terms. These are the pages that explicitly deal with the Old English poem, and it makes sense that readers who picked up this text were primarily interested in *Beowulf* and consequently marked up the parts of the book that related to the poem. Ironically, the bibliography that Garnett put so much time and effort into, and which takes up a lot of space in the textbook (from the ninth page of the introduction to the introduction for *The Fight at Finnsburg*), is one of the least marked-up sections. This does not necessarily mean that Garnett's bibliography went unread; it may actually indicate that readers had less trouble navigating the bibliography than they did the translation, and so did not need to mark these pages for guidance, or the readers were not as interested in the bibliography as they were in other parts of the textbook. The other question that Table 3.4 raises is why the majority of copies have so many marginalia interventions for the first two-thirds of the poem, which document Beowulf's fights with Grendel and Grendel's mother but then begin to taper off in last third when Beowulf fights the dragon. A few factors must be considered in order to answer this question. The most obvious one is that students may have been less interested in the later sections of Garnett's translation than in the earlier ones. A second factor could be the pace at which the reader was working his or her way through Garnett's text: if taking a class on *Beowulf*, the reader may have had a teacher who was unable to address the entire text during the course of the class. Alternatively, the teacher may have indeed discussed the full text during the class, and the student was familiar enough with Garnett's translation by this time that he or she saw less of a need to mark up the text for guidance and help—or the student started to slack off on the readings as the end of the

course approached. Further research on marginalia in other copies of Garnett's *Beowulf* will go a long way in confirming these trends and answering these questions about how readers physically, and consequently mentally, interacted with the text.

The length of this thesis prohibits further analyses on individual examples of marginalia and other unnamed interventions, as there are too many that occur even in this small pool of examined copies. Nevertheless, a sample of two individual examples may provide a model for which future scholars can engage with these instances of interventions. The 1899 impression of Garnett's *Beowulf* located at the University of Arizona is what one may call a "well-loved" copy: the book itself has been rebound, most likely because the original binding was falling apart, and at least half of the pages within the copy have been taped to treat rips in the paper. Furthermore, several different hands have inscribed verbal and non-verbal marginalia onto various pages of the translation, including a hand that repeatedly pencils in words such as "here", "begin", or a combination thereof. This hand writes these words in messy yet legible cursive, tends to place the words close to the printed text, and possibly also places interlinear non-verbal marginalia in order to further mark the spots referred to by the verbal marginalia (e.g., pp. 29, 33). These spots tend to be at significant plot points in the poem, although they are most concentrated on pp. 16-29 and peter off after p. 43. It seems likely, therefore, that these markings were used to either point out pivotal moments that struck the user or to note what the user needed to read before their next class session on *Beowulf*.[54] Not only do these markings offer insight into the reading

[54]These instances occur on p. 4, line 118, right margin "here" (Grendel attacks Heorot); p. 13, line 407, left margin "begin" (Beowulf first speaks to Hrothgar); p. 16, line 506, left margin "begin Here –" (Hunferth taunts Beowulf); p. 17, lines 528-9, right margin "Here" (Beowulf responds to Hunferth); p. 19, line 620, left margin has a possible "begin" (Wealhtheow presents the cup to the Danes and Geats); p. 21, lines 674-5, right margin "here" (Beowulf removes his armor before the Grendel fight); p. 22, line 702, right margin "Begin" (Grendel arrives at Heorot); p. 24, lines 766-7, left margin "Begin" and right margin "here" (Grendel desires to flee from Beowulf); p. 26, lines 835-6, right margin "here" (Grendel's arm hangs from the Heorot rafters); p. 27, line 874, right margin "here" (tale of Sigemund); p. 28, line 916, left margin "beg[in?]" (Hrothgar, once sorrowing, now heads to Heorot); p. 29, line

practices of this specific user, but they also act as an exception (and perhaps a challenge) to the marginalia patterns outlined above: most of the user's verbal marginalia occur in the right margin rather than the left one, and the user appears to have no issue about writing near the gutter of the book.

One other striking example of unique owner interventions occurs in the 1885 impression, copy 2, at the University of Virginia. While the interventions described above for the Arizona 1899 copy reflect one user's patterns of engaging with the *Beowulf* translation, a user in this Virginia copy does the exact opposite. This user writes short annotations in penciled cursive in the top margin every odd-numbered page from ix through 73, thus authoring fifty-five of the sixty-six total annotations recorded across all examined copies. The contents of these annotations consist primarily of articles of clothing, such as "Party dress" (xiii, repeated on xxxiii), "Hat to Scout Suit" (23), "Baby's long dress" (31), and "Afternoon Dress" (67). The user intersperses these clothing entries with names: "Little Gracie Harreman" (ix), "Fluffles her dog" (xi), "Julie" (xxix), "Mother" (xxxvii), "Allen" (9), "Baby" (29), "Roddy" (37), "Big Sister" (49), and "Little Sister" (63). These entries suggest that this is a packing list of sorts presumably made by a young girl in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, with the names perhaps referring to dolls or other toys rather than actual people. Finding such a list in an Old English textbook is completely baffling, but it serves as a reminder that Garnett's *Beowulf* was not solely limited in its usefulness to the classroom.

Named Interventions: Inscriptions and Owner Bookplates

929, right margin "here" (Hrothgar thanks God for Grendel's defeat); p. 33, line 1070, right margin "here" (tale of Finn and Hnaef); p. 43, lines 1401-2, right margin "here" (Geats and Danes begin pursuit of Grendel's mother).

Inscriptions and owner bookplates are perhaps the most personalized form of intervention to be found in a book. Not only do such interventions name the person who wrote or pasted them in, but they also contain physical evidence of that person's individuality. No two handwriting samples are the same, nor are two bookplates of the same design and paper. The inherently unique physical qualities of these two forms of owner interventions make them fitting vehicles for someone to physically mark a book as their personal copy. However, out of a total of 1,180 instances of interventions within the twenty-six examined, there were only nine inscriptions, four bookplates, and one covered inscription. If inscriptions and owner bookplates are such excellent tools for marking ownership of a book, then why did only a handful of copies contain such interventions?

There are four reasons behind the dearth of inscriptions and bookplates in these copies of Garnett's *Beowulf*. First, the number of copies examined is too small to draw any major conclusions about owner intervention practices in Garnett's translation. Had one hundred or more copies been examined, then that would provide a large enough pool of data to substantiate any generalizations. Second, out of the twenty-six examined copies, nine of them had been rebound. Re-binding a book rarely preserves the original cover and flyleaves, which are where most inscriptions and owner bookplates are located. It comes as no surprise that these nine rebound copies contained no instances of inscriptions or bookplates, but it is intriguing that only eight of the remaining seventeen copies, whose original bindings and flyleaves had been preserved, possessed instances of inscriptions and bookplates. A third reason for why some books lack these kinds of interventions may be because the original owner was not an individual person but an institution, who purchased these books for local use in their libraries. Students at these institutions would be less likely to write their name into a book that they would eventually

have to return to the library. This ties into the fourth reason for a lack of inscriptions and bookplates: users of Garnett's translation may have decided to not leave ownership markings in the book simply because of its function as a textbook. The fact that Garnett's translation was used as a textbook may also explain the absence of any gift inscriptions in these copies, since textbooks are associated with schoolwork rather than special occasions. While it is difficult to determine the frequency in which users of Garnett's translation placed inscriptions and bookplates into their copies simply because of this small data sample, the presence of these types of interventions does indicate that some users took steps to physically mark Garnett's *Beowulf* as their own.

The inscriptions and bookplates in the examined copies offer a glimpse not only into possible intervention practices within Garnett's *Beowulf* but also into the lives of those who used Garnett's text. This type of information is valuable because the individuals whose inscriptions and bookplates appear in this data set were not very well known in either their lifetime or after it. The *Dictionary of American Biography* (*DAB*), first issued in 1931, lists none of these individuals in its biographies of notable deceased Americans. This information suggests that they were not well remembered during or after their lifetime—if they died before *DAB* was released. A more modern resource, *Wikipedia*, offers no individual entries for any of these names, although it does mention Ella Park Lawrence in an article on the Illinois state flag and seal. There is also evidence that these persons do not have a huge presence in institutional collections and archives. *Social Networks and Archival Context*, abbreviated as *SNAC*, is a database that lists institutional archives for a wide array of historical figures. *SNAC* does provide individual entries for three of the owners of Garnett's *Beowulf*, a few possible entries for three more owners, and no results for the last two, although the majority of these entries have a relatively small presence

in the examined archives.[55] Since this is the case, it is all the more important to examine owner intervention data in these books because they provide much-needed information on such individuals, who have minimal or non-existent presences in standard historical archives (Jensen "New Book Traces assignment"). It can also serve as a starting point for research on the demographics and geographics of the people who had access to Garnett's *Beowulf*.

Of the ten individual names that appear in the examined copies of Garnett's translation, the one with the most external information available is Charles W. Kent (1869-1917), who wrote Garnett's obituary for the University of Virginia alumni bulletin. Like Garnett, Kent attended the University of Virginia and studied under Schele de Vere, and he was one of the nine Southerners that continued his education on Old English in Germany (Hall 447). Kent then returned to the University to teach as a professor of English literature, and he produced books on the Old English poem *Elene* as well as on Edgar Allen Poe and general Southern literature. The 1882 copy 4 at the University of Virginia contains Kent's personal bookplate, which shows a nude man and woman surrounded by flora in black ink and holding a sign that reads in orange ink, "CHAS ·W · KENT | *His* | BOOK". At the bottom of the bookplate is the phrase, "The Worldes sweet In from | Paine and Wearisome Turmoyle", a quote from Book II of Edmund Spencer's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) that complements the Edenic imagery of the bookplate. The bookplate appears on the front inside cover,

Figure 3.1: Photograph of Charles W. Kent's bookplate in the 1882 copy 4 at the University of Virginia.

[55]Charles W. Kent is the exception: his *SNAC* entry contains over forty archives that either mention him or were created by him.

making it one of the first things that the reader sees when opening the book, and consequently making it very clear whose book this is. Further research would have to be done to determine whether this bookplate was custom made for Kent or simply a standard image that was filled in with Kent's name. It is clear, however, that Kent possessed multiple copies of this bookplate: an identical one appears in the front inside cover of a copy of Moritz Heyne's *Beówulf*, fourth edition (1879) also housed at the University of Virginia. Kent's copy of Heyne also contains an inscription on the front flyleaf recto, which reads, "C. W. Kent | Göttingen. | Germany." and is dated 12 December 1884. This information suggests that Kent obtained his copy of Heyne's *Beówulf* during his studies in Germany and used it alongside Garnett's translation. Kent's bookplates thus serve to provide a glimpse into the sources that Kent had access to and may have influenced his later work on *Elene* and other Old English texts.

Like Kent, Clarence W. Wagener (n.d. found) attended the University of Virginia as a student, albeit at a later date. Wagener's personal bookplate in the 1906 copy at the University of Virginia reads, "FROM THE LIBRARY OF | CLARENCE W. WAGENER | CLASS OF 1912 | UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA." Wagener intentionally identifies himself not just by name but also by his institution and class year, thus highlighting his role as a university student.[56] As with Kent's bookplate, Wagener's is designed to catch the eye. Its decorative red border stands out against the black type of the bookplate's letters and the cream-colored pages of the book, and the positioning of the bookplate in the center of the front inside cover makes it all the more difficult to miss when first opening the book. Two digitized Google Books, William Shakespeare's *Life of*

[56]Additional sources list that Clarence Wagener was involved in St. Paul's Memorial Church as a Sunday School superintendent (an Episcopal church located just off campus) during his time at UVA; he published a newspaper based in Manassas from 1921 to 1923; and he published a book called *What The Small Town Needs* (Fischer Printing Company, Baltimore, 1924), which the *University of Virginia Alumni News* praises for its examination of problems in the small urban community (*JOURNAL OF A SPECIAL COUNCIL* 175, "The Prince William News", Alumni Association of the University of Virginia 90).

Shakespeare, Poems, Sonnets (Wyman-Fogg Company, Boston, 1901) and A. Hayward's translation of *Faust: A Dramatic Poem by Goethe* (Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, Boston, 1851), possess Wagener bookplates identical in appearance and position to the one in Garnett's *Beowulf*. The presence of these bookplates connects all three texts to Wagener and consequently to each other. Wagener has no entry in *Wikipedia* or *DAB*, but all three of the above books are currently housed at the University of Virginia, and *SNAC*'s individual entry for Wagener notes that the University of Virginia currently holds a collection of his papers from 1958 to 1965. Not only do these dates suggest that Wagener was still living, and could therefore not be included, in the supplements of the *DAB*, but also it suggests that he had connections with the University even after graduation, since his personal library and papers ended back up at his alma mater. The presence of multiple bookplates indicates that both Wagener and Kent took some pride in marking their books as their own, and this practice benefits the modern scholar who wishes to reconstruct either man's personal library.

Men were not the only ones reading Garnett's *Beowulf*. The front inside cover of the 1891 printing at Vassar College contains three types of interventions, all of which refer to Ella Park Lawrence (1857-1924). Placed in the center of this page is a bookplate containing a heraldic crest, the motto "Justitiae Tenax", and the names of both Lawrence and her husband, George Appleton Lawrence. At the top of the page is the inscription "Ella P. Lawrence, | March 23, 1891" and at the bottom is an annotation, written in the same handwriting and with the same ink, that reads, "Lectures by Dr. Symonds on 'The Story of the English | Novel'_ to members of the 'Hawthorne Club' 1891". This annotation implies that the book was received and/or purchased in connection with these lectures, which apparently treated *Beowulf* as a contribution to the English novel. Lawrence does not have an entry in *DAB*, and her profile in *SNAC* only lists her in an

archive of honorary degrees from Knox College, which she attended in 1874 but did not graduate from (Schock par. 7). She does not have an individual entry in *Wikipedia*, but she is mentioned in an article on the development of the Illinois state flag, with which she is greatly credited ("Flag and Seal of Illinois" par. 6). Although she spent most of her life in Illinois, Lawrence attended Vassar as a student in 1875, as did her daughter Rebecca Lawrence Lowrie (c.1893-1975), who graduated in 1913 (Schock pars. 3, 7, 8). A library bookplate on the front flyleaf verso of this copy records that this book was a gift to Vassar from Lowrie in honor of Fanny Borden, who worked as a Vassar librarian during Lowrie's time at the college (Vassar Historian par. 1). The inscription, annotation, and bookplates within this copy of Garnett's *Beowulf* reveal that this textbook was not only used to teach in the broader context of English literature but also to give as a gift from mother to daughter and then to their alma mater.

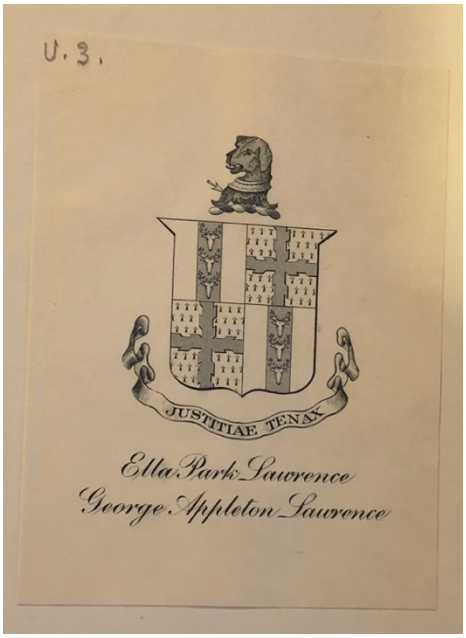

Figure 3.2: Photograph of Ella Park Lawrence's bookplate in the 1891 copy at Vassar College.

The question of family extends to other copies of Garnett's translation, particularly the 1895 impression held by the University of Nevada at Reno. On the front inside cover is an inscription in black ink that reads, "Alfred Doten, | April 3, 1897 | Reno, Nev." and which has penciled underlining and brackets.[57] The second inscription, written in pencil on the front flyleaf recto, similarly reads, "Alfred Doten | N. S. U. | Class of '99 | April 3, 1897." A comparison of the formation of letters between the two inscriptions, particularly the capital "A"s, "D"s, and "N"s and the lowercase "r"s and "e"s, reveals that the two inscriptions were written in different

[57]I do not know whether the penciled marks were written by Doten or by a later user.

hands. This is a confusing realization, especially since both inscriptions have the same name, date, and location; N. S. U. refers to "Nevada State University," an earlier name for the University of Nevada at Reno ("University of Nevada, Reno" par. 3). The identity of the person(s) who wrote the two inscriptions grows more complicated while researching Doten. The Nevada journalist Alfred Doten (1829-1903) appears in both *Wikipedia* and *SNAC*, albeit not in *DAB*. However, the writing sample of this Doten included in *Wikipedia* is markedly different from either inscription, and is it further unlikely that a sixty-eight-year-old man would be studying at a university at this time. Doten did marry and had four children, and further research on *FindAGrave* confirms that one of those children was a son named Alfred Doten Jr. (1877-1926), who was a Nevada native and would have been twenty years old—a more likely age for attending university—at the time of these inscriptions ("Alfred Doten Jr. (1877-1926)"). It is unusual that Doten does not refer to himself as "Alfred Doten Jr." in his inscriptions. The relationship between Doten Sr. and his family were strained (Berkove par. 2), so Doten Jr. may have dropped the "Jr." from his name either because he did not know his father well or because he did not want to be associated by name with him. It is possible that Doten Jr. had two distinct handwriting styles that he used and thus wrote both inscriptions in the 1895 Nevada copy, but further research would need to confirm this speculation.

While many of the inscriptions found in Garnett's *Beowulf* are easy to read and identify, some remain difficult to locate in historical archives and encyclopedias. Such is the case for Carl R. Bryant, whose inscription appears in my personal copy of a 1906 printing, and J. Franklin Bradley, who has an inscription in the 1912 copy at the University of Louisville. Neither individual has an entry in *DAB* or *Wikipedia*, and while *SNAC* offers two possible entries for Bradley and three for Bryant, it is difficult to verify whether the *SNAC* entries refer to the same

person who wrote these inscriptions. Bryant's first name clearly marks his gender as male, but since the copy in which his signature is found contains no physical data that links the copy to any institution of higher learning, it makes it difficult to locate Bryant in relation to other institutions or archives. Bradley's spheres of influence are more easily discernable, for the library bookplate within the University of Louisville's 1912 copy notes that this book was "Presented by Dr. J. F. Bradley" to the University. Assuming that "J. F. Bradley" and "J. Franklin Bradley" are the same person, and assuming that this bookplate was written at a time when it was rare for women to receive doctorates, then one can deduce that Bradley was male, received some type of higher education, and was somehow affiliated with the University of Louisville. The same situation is true for Mary Humphreys, whose signature appears on the front inside cover of the 1885 copy 2 at the University of Virginia. She also does not exist in *Wikipedia* or *DAB*, and while four possible results exist for her on *SNAC*, it is again difficult to connect her with any of them. The information that can be gleaned about these individuals from their copies of Garnett's *Beowulf* is admittedly minimal at best, but it is also a stepping-stone to learning more about who was reading *Beowulf*: professors as well as normal students, men as well as women.

If finding information on Bryant and Bradley is difficult, how much more is it for the last two owners that appear in these copies. The owner bookplate in the 1893 copy at Lafayette College clearly reads, "PRIVATE LIBRARY | of | D. E. FILSON", yet no information about this Filson is available via *DAB*, *Wikipedia*, or *SNAC*. Searching the website *FindAGrave*, which records tombstones and obituaries, did bring up four possible entries for "D. E. Filson," but only one fits the date and geography for this bookplate. A David Elliott Filson (1872-1906) is buried in Falls Creek, Pennsylvania, just a four-hour drive from Lafayette College (Waite "David Elliott Filson"). Further research needs to be conducted to confirm that "D. E. Filson" and "David

Elliott Filson" are the same individual, but the possible correlation between these two names provides a good starting point. Legibility is not the only concern in searching for information on inscriptions and bookplates. The UVA 1906 inscription is difficult to read: even if a feasible transcription might be "H. S. Elio," this does not provide much to go on in terms of searching for information on this person. More importantly, the lack of information on these two names, as well as the ones mentioned above, does not mean that such information is gathered in vain. As shown above, some owner interventions corroborate previous knowledge about that person (Kent did study in Germany), while others generate new avenues of inquiry into a person's life (how were the relationships between Lawrence and Lowrie, or Doten Sr. and Doten Jr.?). This data also suggests that Garnett's *Beowulf* was used by ordinary individuals, men and women, professional scholars and normal students—facts which strengthen the claim that Garnett's *Beowulf* quickly became well-established in American schools and consequently had a large influence on the ways in which American students read *Beowulf*.

REFLECTIONS

The creation of this thesis has involved a great deal of labor for locating, examining, and analyzing copies of Garnett's *Beowulf*, as well as researching the history of Garnett, Ginn & Company, and the named owners. It has involved an even greater deal of transformation. At the conclusion of his introduction to *This Was Publishing*, Sheehan confessed that working on this book increased his "long-standing respect and admiration" for those publishers, and "If the results of this study have thereby been tinctured, the reader is forewarned" (xiv). When I first read this sentence, I scoffed at Sheehan's inability to remain emotionally detached from his subjects. Now, drawing to the end of a project that has spanned three semesters and a pandemic, I realize that Sheehan's acknowledgement is refreshingly honest and accurate. Researching books and the people who wrote, made, and used them requires a personal connection on the part of the scholar who studies them (although I suppose that is true for any number of academic fields). There are some aspects of Garnett's character and life that I still wrestle with, but there are also others that I have grown to respect. I also realize that Old English is not a dead language but plays an integral role in the way that Americans discuss race, language, and history—a history that is difficult to track and analyze if the scholarship involved does not include a bibliographical analysis of those Old English printed texts.

To title this last section a "Conclusion" would imply a sense of finality and closure for this thesis. Rarely, however, do conclusions of papers signal the closing of any particular field of scholarship. The end of one paper leads to the beginning of another, which more often than not draws out the weaknesses of its predecessor. I hope that is true for this thesis, regardless of whether it is I or someone else who pulls it up, reads it, and responds to it. Garnett's *Beowulf* can

offer so much to today's scholars because it speaks on many relevant subjects: the connections between Old English, the Confederacy, and white supremacy movements; the spread of Old English not just in the American South but also in (and because of) the American North; the developing role of *Beowulf* in American education; and the ways in which the translation's author, publisher, and readers used the translation as both literary work and physical object for their own (mostly) educational ends. My thesis offers no conclusive answers for these topics, only fragmentary responses and awareness of the need for future scholarship. Garnett expressed similar sentiments as he worked on his *Beowulf*:

> While these additions [for the translation's 1902 reprinting] were in course of transcription[,] a new prose translation emanating from Yale University has issued from the press; so the good work goes on, and "Beowulf" becomes better known and more popular year by year. Let some one now undertake a variorum edition of the text, and we shall have a more secure basis for translation. (*Beowulf* xx, from the 1902 preface)

The twenty-first century scholar is not lacking in *Beowulf* editions and translations, but more work on Garnett and his contemporaries is certainly needed to advance studies in the history, dispersal, and usage of Old English and its printed texts in the United States.

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APPENDIX A

List of All Located Copies of Garnett's *Beowulf* by Institution

Institution	Country	State / City	1st ed.	2nd ed.	3rd ed.	4th ed.	Total Copies
Agnes Scott College	United States	Georgia	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Amherst College	United States	Massachusetts	1882 (1)	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	2
Antioch College	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Aquinas College	United States	Michigan	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Beloit College	United States	Wisconsin	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Berea College	United States	Kentucky	n/a	1891 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Bethany College	United States	West Virginia	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Bibliothek der Freien Universität Berlin	Germany	Berlin	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
Boston Athenaeum Library	United States	Massachusetts	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Boston College	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	1900 (1)	2
Boston Public Library	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	n/a	n/a	1910 (1)	1
Boston University	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Bowdoin College	United States	Maine	n/a	1890 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Brandeis University	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	1890 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Brevard College	United States	North Carolina	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Bridgewater State University	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	n/a	n/a	1910 (1)	1
Brigham Young University	United States	Utah	n/a	1891 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Brown University	United States	Rhode Island	n/a	1890 (1), 1891 (1)	1896 (1)	1906 (1)	4
Buffalo and Erie County Public Library	United States	New York	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Butler University	United States	Indiana	n/a	n/a	n/a	1910 (1)	1
California Lutheran University	United States	California	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
California State University, Sacramento	United States	California	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
California University of Pennsylvania	United States	Pennsylvania	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Calvin University	United States	Michigan	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
Carleton College	United States	Minnesota	n/a	1885 (3)	n/a	n/a	3

Case Western Reserve University	United States	Ohio	n/a	1885 (1)	1896 (1)	n/a	2
Catholic University of America	United States	District of Columbia	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	1906 (1)	2
Central Methodist University	United States	Missouri	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Central State University	United States	Ohio	n/a	1891 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Centre College	United States	Kentucky	n/a	n/a	1893 (1), 1895 (2)	n/a	3
Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library	United States	Ohio	n/a	1885 (4)	n/a	n/a	4
City University of New York, City College	United States	New York	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
Cleveland State University	United States	Ohio	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Colby College	United States	Maine	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	1906 (1)	2
College of St. Elizabeth	United States	New Jersey	1882 (2)	n/a	n/a	n/a	2
College of Wooster	United States	Ohio	1882 (1)	n/a	1899 (1)	1900 (1), 1910 (1)	4
Colorado State University	United States	Colorado	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (2)	2
Columbia University, Teacher's College	United States	New York	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Cooper Union Library	United States	New York	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	2
Cornell University	United States	New York	1882 (2)	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	3
CW Mars Library, Uxbridge Free Public Library	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Delta State University	United States	Mississippi	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Denison University	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
DePauw University	United States	Indiana	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Eastern Illinois University	United States	Illinois	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Elmira College	United States	New York	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Emory University	United States	Georgia	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Emporia State University	United States	Kansas	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	1910 (1)	2
Farmington Public Library	United States	New Mexico	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Finlandia University	United States	Michigan	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Fordham University	United States	New York	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	1912 (1)	2
Furman University	United States	South Carolina	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
Graves-Hume Public Library District	United States	Illinois	1882 (1)	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	2
Guilford College	United States	North Carolina	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Hamilton College	United States	New York	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1

Hartnell College	United States	California	1882 (1)	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	2
Harvard University	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	1885 (3)	1893 (1)	1902 (1), 1906 (1)	6
Haverford College	United States	Pennsylvania	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Hiram College	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	n/a	1910 (1)	1
Idaho State University	United States	Idaho	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Illinois State University	United States	Illinois	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Illinois Wesleyan University	United States	Illinois	n/a	n/a	n/a	1906 (1)	1
Indiana University, Bloomington	United States	Indiana	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Iowa State University	United States	Iowa	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Johns Hopkins University	United States	Maryland	1882 (3)	n/a	1893 (1)	n/a	4
Kansas State University	United States	Kansas	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Kenyon College	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	n/a	1900 (1)	1
La Salle University	United States	Pennsylvania	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Lafayette College	United States	Pennsylvania	n/a	n/a	1893 (1)	n/a	1
Lawrence University	United States	Wisconsin	1882 (1)	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	2
Lenoir-Rhyne College	United States	North Carolina	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Library of Virginia (Richmond)	United States	Virginia	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	1906 (1)	2
London Library	United Kingdom	London	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Louisiana State University	United States	Louisiana	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Loyola Marymount University	United States	California	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Loyola University Chicago	United States	Illinois	n/a	1891 (1)	1892 (1)	n/a	2
Luther College	United States	Iowa	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Macquarie University	Australia	Sydney	n/a	n/a	n/a	1900 (1)	1
Maharishi International University	United States	Iowa	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Marian University	United States	Indiana	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Mills College	United States	California	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Mississippi State University	United States	Mississippi	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Monmouth College	United States	Illinois	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Morehead State University	United States	Kentucky	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
Mount Allison University	Canada	New Brunswick	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	1902 (1)	2
Mount Holyoke College	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1

National Library of Denmark / University of Copenhagen	Denmark	Copenhagen	n/a	n/a	1893 (1)	n/a	1
New Mexico State University	United States	New Mexico	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
New York University	United States	New York	1882 (1)	n/a	1895 (1)	1902 (1), 1912 (1)	4
Newberry Library	United States	Illinois	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Northwestern Oklahoma State University	United States	Oklahoma	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Notre Dame de Namur University	United States	California	1882 (2)	n/a	n/a	n/a	2
Oakland City University	United States	Indiana	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Oberlin College	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	1893 (1), 1895 (1)	n/a	2
Oglethorpe University	United States	Georgia	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Ohio Wesleyan University	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	n/a	1910 (1)	1
Oregon State University	United States	Oregon	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
Pennsylvania State University, U Park	United States	Pennsylvania	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Peter White Public Library (Marquette)	United States	Michigan	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Phillips Exeter Academy Library	United States	New Hampshire	n/a	n/a	n/a	1910 (1)	1
Princeton University	United States	New Jersey	1882 (1)	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	2
Public Library of Cincinnati / Hamilton Co.	United States	Ohio	n/a	1885 (4)	n/a	n/a	4
Purdue University	United States	Indiana	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Queen's University	Canada	Ontario	n/a	1890 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Randolph College	United States	Virginia	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Reed College	United States	Oregon	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Rhodes University	South Africa	Eastern Cape	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Rollins College	United States	Florida	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Saint Anselm College	United States	New Hampshire	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Saint John's College, Grenfield Library	United States	Maryland	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	1912 (1)	2
Saint John's College, Meem Library	United States	New Mexico	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
Saint Louis Public Library	United States	Missouri	n/a	1890 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Saint Mary's College, CA	United States	California	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
San Diego State University	United States	California	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1

Southeast Missouri State University	United States	Missouri	n/a	n/a	n/a	1904 (1)	1
Southeastern Oklahoma State University	United States	Oklahoma	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Southwestern Oklahoma State University	United States	Oklahoma	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Southwestern University	United States	Texas	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
Spring Hill College	United States	Alabama	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	
St. Anselm College	United States	New Hampshire	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
St. John's College	United States	Maryland	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	1912 (1)	2
St. Mary's Episcopal School	United States	Tennessee	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Stanford University	United States	California	1882 (1)	n/a	1895 (1)	1904 (1)	3
State Library of New South Wales	Australia	Sydney	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Swarthmore College	United States	Pennsylvania	1882 (1)	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	2
Temple University	United States	Pennsylvania	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	1902 (1)	2
Texas State University	United States	Texas	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (3)	3
Texas Woman's University	United States	Texas	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Toledo Public Library	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	n/a	1906 (1)	1
Transylvania University	United States	Kentucky	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Trenton Free Public Library	United States	New Jersey	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Trinity University	United States	Texas	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Tufts University	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg	Germany	Freiburg	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Universitätsbibliothek München	Germany	München	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
Universitätsbibliothek Rostock	Germany	Rostock	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
University of Adelaide	Australia	South Australia	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
University of Akron	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
University of Alberta	Canada	Alberta	n/a	n/a	1896 (1), 1899 (1)	n/a	2
University of Arizona	United States	Arizona	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
University of California, Berkeley	United States	California	n/a	n/a	1895 (2)	n/a	2
University of California, Los Angeles	United States	California	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	1900 (1)	2
University of Cambridge	United Kingdom	Cambridge	1882 (1)	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	2

University of Cape Town	South Africa	Cape Town	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
University of Colorado, Boulder	United States	Colorado	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
University of Dayton	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of Delaware	United States	Delaware	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
University of Denver	United States	Colorado	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
University of Hawaii, Manoa	United States	Hawaii	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign	United States	Illinois	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
University of Kansas	United States	Kansas	n/a	n/a	1893 (1)	n/a	1
University of Kentucky	United States	Kentucky	n/a	n/a	1892 (2), 1895 (1), 1896 (1)	1912 (1)	5
University of Leeds	United Kingdom	Leeds	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	1900 (1)	2
University of Lethbridge	Canada	Alberta	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
University of Louisville	United States	Kentucky	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of Maryland, College Park	United States	Maryland	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
University of Miami	United States	Florida	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	United States	Michigan	1882 (1)	n/a	1893 (1)	n/a	2
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis	United States	Minnesota	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	1906 (2)	3
University of Missouri, Kansas City	United States	Missouri	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
University of Missouri, St. Louis	United States	Missouri	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
University of Nebraska, Lincoln	United States	Nebraska	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
University of Nevada, Reno	United States	Nevada	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
University of New Hampshire	United States	New Hampshire	n/a	n/a	n/a	1902 (1)	1
University of North Alabama	United States	Alabama	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	United States	North Carolina	n/a	1891 (1)	n/a	1912 (1)	2
University of North Carolina, Greensboro	United States	North Carolina	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of North Texas	United States	Texas	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
University of Northern Colorado	United States	Colorado	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
University of Oregon	United States	Oregon	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1

University of Oxford	United Kingdom	Oxford	1882 (1)	1885 (1)	1895 (2)	n/a	4
University of Pennsylvania	United States	Pennsylvania	n/a	1885 (1)	1892 (1), 1893 (2), 1895 (1)	1900 (1), 1906 (1)	7
University of Rochester	United States	New	n/a	1885 (1)	1895 (1)	1912 (1)	3
University of South Dakota	United States	South Dakota	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
University of South Florida	United States	Florida	n/a	1891 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
University of Southern California	United States	California	1882 (1)	n/a	1893 (1)	1906 (1)	3
University of Sydney	Australia	Sydney	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
University of Tasmania	Australia	Tasmania	n/a	n/a	n/a	1906 (1)	1
University of Texas	United States	Texas	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
University of the Incarnate Word	United States	Texas	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
University of Toronto Libraries at Downsview	Canada	Ontario	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of Toronto Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies	Canada	Ontario	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	2
University of Toronto St. Michael's College	Canada	Ontario	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
University of Victoria	Canada	British Columbia	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of Virginia	United States	Virginia	1882 (4)	1885 (2)	n/a	1906 (1)	7
University of Washington	United States	Washington	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	1906 (1)	2
University of West Alabama	United States	Alabama	n/a	n/a	1895 (1)	n/a	1
University of Western Australia	Australia	Perth	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
University of Wisconsin, Madison	United States	Wisconsin	n/a	n/a	1893 (1)	1902 (1)	2
University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point	United States	Wisconsin	n/a	n/a	1893 (1)	n/a	1
University of Wyoming	United States	Wyoming	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	1902 (2)	3
Utah State University	United States	Utah	n/a	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
Valparaiso University	United States	Indiana	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Vassar College	United States	New York	n/a	1891 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Victoria University	Canada	Melbourne	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Virginia Military Institute	United States	Virginia	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Walsh University	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	1893 (1)	n/a	1

Wellesley College	United States	Massachusetts	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
Western University	United States	Ohio	n/a	n/a	1892 (1)	n/a	1
Westsminster College	United States	Missouri	n/a	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	1
Wilkes University	United States	Pennsylvania	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1
William Jewell College	United States	Missouri	1882 (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Williams College	United States	Massachusetts	1882 (1)	1885 (1)	n/a	n/a	2
Wofford College	United States	South Carolina	n/a	n/a	1896 (1)	n/a	1
Yale University	United States	Connecticut	1882 (1)	n/a	1899 (1)	n/a	1
York University	Canada	Ontario	n/a	n/a	n/a	1912 (1)	1

APPENDIX B

List of Copies Examined for This Thesis

First Edition:

1882:

CORe 1882: Cornell University (Olin Library, Ithaca, NY), call number PR1583.G23 (do not know which of two copies this is). Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 18 Jul. 2015. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo1.ark:/13960/t76t17905. Examined pp. v, vi, and xxi electronically.

UMNe 1882: University of Minnesota at Minneapolis (TC Wilson Library Annex Storage, Minneapolis, MN), call number 821B45 JG Copy 2. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 17 Sep. 2017. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002359904t. Examined pp. v, vi, and xxi electronically.

UVA 1882 Copy 2: University of Virginia (Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA), call number PR1583.G3 1882 Copy 2. Has been digitized by Google and uploaded to HathiTrust (last updated 11 Mar. 2020, accessed 10 Feb. 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x001532769). Examined entire copy in person. Did not take photographs of pages for owner intervention analysis.

UVA 1882 Copy 4: University of Virginia (Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA), call number PR1583.G3 1882 Copy 4. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

UVA 1882 Copy 5: University of Virginia (Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA), call number PR1583.G3 1882 Copy 5. Examined entire copy in person. Did not take photographs of pages for owner intervention analysis.

UVA 1882 Green Copy: University of Virginia (Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA), call number PR1583.G3 1882. Referred to as "UVA Green Copy" for its dark green cover, which the other first-edition copies housed at the University of Virginia do not have. Examined entire copy in person. Did not take photographs of pages for owner intervention analysis.

Second Edition:

1885:

CORe 1885: Cornell University (Library Annex, Ithaca, NY), call number PR1583.G23 1885. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 13 Apr. 2020. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924013339357. Examined pp. v-vi and 111-4 electronically.

HARe 1885: Harvard University (Widener Library, Cambridge, MA), call number 28286.33.2 (do not know which of two copies [Old Widener or Offsite Storage] this is). Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 15 Apr. 2020. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044019780899. Examined pp. v-vi and 111-4 electronically.

JLW 1885: Julie Wilson's personal library. Examined entire copy in person for bibliographical analysis and for owner intervention analysis.

PSUe 1885: Pennsylvania State University (Library Storage, University Park, PA), call number PR1583.G3 1885. Listed in university library catalog as having xlvi + 110pp and 20cm-dimensions. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 6 Oct. 2020. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/pst.000056764574. Examined pp. v-vi and 111-4 electronically.

UVA 1885 Copy 2: University of Virginia (Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA), call number PR1583.G3 1885 Copy 2. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

1890: N/A

1891:

VAS 1891: Vassar College (Thompson Memorial Library [i.e., "Main"], Poughkeepsie, NY), call number PR1583.G3 1882. Examined entire copy in person during 2018-2019 academic year but did not record sufficient data of collation, contents, etc. Examined photographs taken of the front outside cover, front inside cover, front flyleaf (recto and verso), and spine for owner intervention analysis.

Third Edition:

1892:

PRIe 1892: Princeton University (Firestone Library, Princeton, NJ), call number PR1583.G376 1892. Listed in university library catalog as having lii + 110p and 20cm dimensions. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 26 Jun. 2020. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101018336006. Examined pp. v-vi electronically.

1893:

HARe 1893: Harvard University (Widener Library - Old Widener, Cambridge, MA), call number 28286.33.3. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 27 Jun. 2020. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044089137343. Examined pp. v-vi electronically.

LAF 1893: Lafayette College (Skillman Library, Easton, PA), call number 829.3 B481Ega. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of pp. ii-xlii (evens only), xliii-lii, 1-20, and 25-112 (pp. 21-4 torn out of book) for owner intervention analysis.

KAS 1893: University of Kansas (Watson Library, Lawrence, KS), call number PR1583.G3 1893. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of pp. v-vii, xiii-xiv, xix-xx, 1, 27, 48-49, 51, 64, 109, back flyleaf (verso only), back inside cover, back outside cover, front flyleaf (recto only), front outside cover, page sides, and spine, as well as notes for the book as a whole, for owner intervention analysis.

UMIe 1893: University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (Buhr Shelving Facility, Ann Arbor, MI), call number 828 B481 tG24 1893. Listed in university library catalog as having lii + 110 pages and 20cm dimensions. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 9 May 2020. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015063510971. Examined pp. v-vi electronically.

WIS 1893: University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point (University of Wisconsin Stevens Point Library, Stevens Point, WI), call number PR1583.G23. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

1895:

NEV 1895: University of Nevada at Reno (University of Nevada at Reno Knowledge Center—MARS, Reno, NV), call number 1583.G3 1895. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of pp. i-29, front outside and inside covers, and front flyleaf, as well as notes for the book as a whole, for owner intervention analysis.

IND 1895: Indiana University (Auxiliary Library Facility, Bloomington, IN), call number PR1583.G2. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book (pp. 85-88 were cut vertically in half at time of photographing) for owner intervention analysis.

UCBe 1895: University of California at Berkeley (Berkeley, CA), call number 923h.Eg.1895. HathiTrust Digital Library lists two separate copies of this book. The first is digitized by Internet Archive, last updated 8 Dec. 2018, accessed 16 Feb. 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t3fx7627c. The second is digitized by Google, last updated 2 Sep. 2019, accessed 16 Feb. 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b60294. Upon examination, the Google copy seems to be simply a black-and-white version of the Internet Archive copy, although it is unclear whether this single copy is housed in the Main (Gardner) Stacks or the NRLF at the University of Berkeley. Examined pp. v-vi electronically.

1896: N/A

1899:

NMSU 1899: New Mexico State University (Zuhl Library, Las Cruces, NM), call number PR1583.G3 1899. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

UNA 1899: University of North Alabama (Collier Library, Florence, AL), call number PR1583.G3. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book except pp. 4-5 for owner intervention analysis.

ARI 1899: University of Arizona (Main Library, Tucson, AZ), call number PR1583.G3 1899. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

Fourth Edition:

1900:

UCLAe 1900: University of California at Los Angeles (Southern Regional Library Facility, Los Angeles, CA), call number PR1583.G18b 1900. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 9 May 2019. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.aa0016186207. Examined entire copy electronically.

1902:

TSU 1902: Texas State University (Alkek General [Library], San Marcos, TX), call number PR1583.G3 1902 (do not know which of three copies this is). Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

AQC 1902: Aquinas College (Grace Hauenstein Library, Grand Rapids, MI), call number PR1583.G3 1902. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photograph of p. v for owner intervention analysis.

ASC 1902: Agnes Scott College (McCain Library, Decatur, GA), call number PR1583.G3 1902. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book except pp. iii and iix-xlvii for owner intervention analysis.

MSU 1902: Morehead State University (Camden-Carroll Library, Morehead, KY), call number 829.3 B481A. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of pp. I, v-vii, x-xlviii (evens only), xlix-l, lii-lx (evens only), 2, 4, 6-8, 10-20 (evens only), 22-8, 30-40 (evens only), 42-44, 46-64 (evens only), 66-8, 70, 72, 74, 76-7, 111, 113-6, back flyleaf (verso only), back inside and outside cover, front inside cover, and front flyleaf (recto only) for owner intervention analysis.

LSU 1902: Louisiana State University (Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge, LA), call number PR1583.G3 1902. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of pp. [*2*], i-lx, 1, and 111-118 for owner intervention analysis.

1904:

SEMO 1904: Southeast Missouri State University (Kent Library, Cape Girardeau, MO), call number PR1583.G3 1906. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

1906:

HARe 1906: Harvard University (Widener Library – Old Widener, Cambridge, MA), call number 28286.33.3. Digitized by Google. Uploaded to HathiTrust Digital Library. Last updated 16 Mar. 2020. Accessed 10 Feb. 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044074365487. Examined pp. v-vi electronically.

JLW 1906: Julie Wilson's personal library. Examined entire copy in person for bibliographical analysis and for owner intervention analysis.

UVA 1906: University of Virginia (Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA), call number PR1583.G3 1906. Examined entire copy in person for bibliographical analysis and for owner intervention analysis.

1910:

BSU 1910: Bridgewater State University (Maxwell Library, Bridgewater, MA), call number PR1583.G3 1910. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

BUT 1910: Butler University (Irwin Library, Indianapolis, IN), call number PR1583.G37 1910. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

1912:

LOU 1912: University of Louisville (Ekstrom Library, Louisville, KY), call number PR1583.G3 1912. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book for owner intervention analysis.

MIA 1912: University of Miami (Richter Library, Miami, FL), call number PR1583.G3 1912. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of entire book (pp. xxiii-xxvi torn out) for owner intervention analysis.

PUR 1912: Purdue University (Humanities, Social Sciences, and Education Library, West Lafayette, IN), call number 829.3 B468 G186 1912. Examined entire copy in person. Examined photographs taken of p. v and page sides for owner intervention analysis.

APPENDIX C

Bibliographical Data for Examined Copies

Title Page Transcription (with Type Dimensions) for the First Edition (1882):

BEOWULF: [5] | An Anglo-Saxon Poem, [4.0/4.0/2.3*] | AND [1.3] | THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG. [3] | TRANSLATED BY [1.7] | JAMES M. GARNETT, M.A., LL.D. [Capital height 2.7; height from bottom of comma to top of capital 3.0] | [rule 21mm] | *With Facsimile of the Unique Manuscript in the British* [3.0/2.3/1.3] | *Museum, Cotton. Vitellius A XV.* [3.0/2.3/1.3] | [rule 21mm] | BOSTON: [2.3] | PUBLISHED BY GINN, HEATH, & CO. [Capital height 2.0; height from bottom of comma to top of capital 2.7] | 1882. [2.3]
***Note:** Capitals are the same height as the ascender-descender height.

Collation Formulas:

First Edition

First Edition of 1882 (UVA 1882 Copies 4, 5, Green): 8^{O}: [unsigned, A^4 *B*-K^8], 76 leaves, pp. *i-ix* x *xi* xii-xiv *xv* xvi-xxx *xxxi* xxxii-xl, *1* 2-98 *99* 100-107 *108-112*.

*UVA 1882 Copy 2: 8^{O}: [unsigned, π^1 A^4 (*A*1 + *B*-C^8; - A_4) *D*-K^8], 76 leaves, pp. [*2*] *i-ii ix*-x *xi*-xl *iii-vi 1*-107 *108-110*.

Second Edition

Second Edition of 1885 (UVA 1885 Copy 2): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-K^8 -A_1], 79 leaves, pp. *iii-ix* x *xi* xii-xiv *xv* xvi *xvii* xviii-xxxvi *xxxvii* xxxviii-xlvi, *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-114*. UVA 1885 Copy 2 is missing leaf -A_1 (*i-ii*), which was originally bound with the book (as indicated by paper fragments within the book) but has since been cut out.

Second Editions of 1890 and 1891: N/A

Third Edition

Third Edition of 1892: N/A

Third Editions of 1893 & 1895 (KAS 1893, LAF 1893, WIS 1893, NEV 1895): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-K^8 L^2], 82 leaves, pp. *i-ix* x *xi* xii-xiv *xv* xvi-lii *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-112*. LAF 1893 is missing leaves $E_{5\text{-}6}$ (pp. 21-24),) and KAS 1893 leaf F_1 (pp. 29-30), all of which were originally bound with the book (as indicated by paper fragments within the book).

*IND 1895: unknown collation, 81 leaves, pp. [*2*] *i-ix* x *xi* xii-xiv *xv* xvi-lii *1* 2-98 *99* 100-106 [*2*].

Third Edition of 1896: N/A

Third Edition of 1899 (NMSU 1899, UNA 1899, ARI 1899): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-C^8 D^9 *E*-K^8], 83 leaves, pp. [*2*] *i-ix* x *xi* xii-xiv *xv* xvi-lii *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-112*.

Fourth Edition

Fourth Edition of 1902 (ASC 1902, MSU 1902): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-L^8], 88 leaves, pp. *i-viii* ix-lx *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-116*.

*TSU 1902: 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-*L*^{8}], 88 leaves, pp. [*2*] *iii*-*viii* ix-xxxii xxxv-xxxvi xxxiii-xxxiv xxxix-xl xxxvii-xxxviii xliii-xliv xli-xlii xlvii-xlviii xlv-xlvi xlix-lx *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-118*. Pp. i-ii and their contents are missing (not sure if omitted by printer or owner).

*AQC 1902: Gathering notation unknown (library binding). Pagination most likely follows that of standard 1902 printings. Does have pp. 110 *111-116*.

*LSU 1902: 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*^{1} *B*-*M*^{8} *N*^{1}], 90 leaves, pp. [*2*] *i*-*viii* ix-lx *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-118*.

Fourth Edition of 1904 (SEMO 1904): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*^{1} *B*-*M*^{8}], 89 leaves, pp. [*2*] *i*-*viii* ix-liii *liv* lv-lxiv *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-112*.

Fourth Edition of 1906 (UVA 1906): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-*L*^{8}], 88 leaves, pp. *i*-*viii* ix-lv *lvi* lvii-lxvi *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110.

Fourth Edition of 1910 (BSU 1910, BUT 1910): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-*L*^{8} *M*^{1}], 89 leaves, pp. *i*-*viii* ix-lvii *lviii* lix-lxviii *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110. BSU 1910 is missing leaf D_6 (pp. lix-lx), which was clearly originally bound with the book but has since been cut or ripped out after publication.

Fourth Edition of 1912 (LOU 1912, PUR 1912): 8^{O}: [unsigned, *A*-*M*^{8}], 96 leaves, pp. [2] i-*viii* ix-xix *xx* xxi *xxii* xxiii-lxxii *1* 2-98 *99* 100-110 *111-118.* MIA 1912 is missing leaves $B_{4\text{-}5}$ (pp. xxiii-xxvi).

Contents:

<u>First Edition</u>

First Edition of 1882 (UVA 1882 Copies 4, 5, Green): *i* blank. *ii* facsimile of Beowulf MS leaf 138a. *iii* transcription of facsimile. *iv* blank. *v* title page for 1882. *vi* copyright statement: 'Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1882, by | JAMES M. GARNETT, | in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.'; printer's imprint at foot: '[rule 61.5mm] | J. S. Cushing & Co., Printers, 101 Pearl Street, Boston.' *vii* dedication: 'To my Wife.' *viii* blank. *ix*-x 'CONTENTS.' *xi*-xiv 'PREFACE.' *xv*-xxx 'INTRODUCTION.' *xxxi*-xxxix 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' xxxix-xl 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-96 *Beowulf* text. 97-98 *The Fight at Finnsburg* text. *99*-107 'NOTES.' *108-112* blank.

*UVA Copy 2 Contents: π1^{r} handwritten title page in black ink. π1^{v} handwritten call number in pencil and black ink. *i*-*ii* same as other UVA 1882 copies. *ix*-xl same as other UVA 1882 copies. *iii*-*vi* same as other UVA 1882 copies. [Missing *vii*-*viii*.] *1-110* same as other UVA 1882 copies.

<u>Second Edition</u>

Second Edition of 1885 (UVA 1885 Copy 2): *iii*-*iv* same as 1882. *v* title page for 1885. *vi* copyright statement same as 1882; printer's imprint at foot: '[rule] | J. S. CUSHING & CO., PRINTERS, 115 HIGH STREET, BOSTON.' *vi*-xiv same as 1882. *xv*-xvi 'PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.' *xvii*-xxxv 'INTRODUCTION.' xxxvi 'THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG.' *xxxvii*-xlv 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' xlv-xlvi 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-98 same as 1882. *99*-110 'NOTES.' *111-114* advertisements.

Second Editions of 1890 and 1891: N/A

<u>Third Edition</u>

Third Edition of 1892: N/A

Third Editions of 1893 and 1895 (WIS 1893, LAF 1893, KAN 1893, NEV 1895): *i-iv* same as 1882. *v* title page for 1893 or 1895. *vi* copyright statement same as 1882; printer's imprint at foot: 'TYPOGRAPHY BY J. S. CUSHING & CO., BOSTON, U.S.A. | [rule] | PRESSWORK BY GINN & CO., BOSTON, U.S.A.' vii-xiv same as 1882. *xv*-xvi 'PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.' xvii-xviii 'PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.' xix-xxxvii 'INTRODUCTION.' xxxviii-xli 'FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY.' xlii 'THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG.' xliii-li 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' li-lii 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-98 same as 1882. *99*-110 'NOTES.' *111-112* blank.

*IND 1895: [*1-2*] blank. *i*-98 same as third edition. *99*-106 'NOTES.' [*2*] blank.

Third Edition of 1896: N/A

Third Edition of 1899 (NMSU 1899, ARI 1899): Same as 1893 and 1895.

*UNA 1899: [*1-2*] blank. *i-112* same as third edition.

<u>Fourth Edition</u>

Fourth Edition of 1902 (ASC 1902, MSU 1902): *i-v* same as 1882. *vi* copyright statement same as 1882; printer's imprint at foot: 'TYPOGRAPHY BY J. S. CUSHING & CO., BOSTON, U.S.A. | [RULE] | PRESSWORK BY GINN & CO., BOSTON, U.S.A.' *vii*-xiv same as 1882. xv-xviii same as third edition. xix 'PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.' xx 'PREFACE TO THE IMPRESSION OF 1902.' xxi-xxxix 'INTRODUCTION.' xl-xliii 'FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY.' xliv-xlvi 'ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | Prepared for the fourth edition by Dr. Julian Huguenin, Johns Hopkins | University, Baltimore, Md.' xlvii-xlviii 'ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | For the impression of 1902.' xlix 'THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG.' l 'GENEALOGY. | [From Max Förster's *Beowulf-Materialien*.]' li-lix 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' lix-lx 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-98 same as 1882. *99*-110 same as third edition. *111* 'ADVERTISEMENTS.' *112* blank. *113* advertisement 'BOOKS ON OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH'. *114* advertisement 'BOOKS ON ENGLISH LITERATURE'. *115* advertisement 'THE ATHENAEUM PRESS SERIES'. *116* advertisement 'THE BEST | ELIZABETHAN PLAYS'.

*SWTX 1902: [*1-2*] blank. Missing *i-ii*. Other page numbers are correct in terms of what they contain, but the pages are just in the wrong order. *117-118* blank.

*AQC 1902: Same as above, but I didn't clarify the contents in my notes. I assume the preface material is the same. xlvii onwards is recorded and matches up.

*LSU 1902: [*1-2*] blank. *i-116* same as standard 1902 version. *117-118* blank.

Fourth Edition of 1904 (SEMO 1904): [*1-2*] blank. *i-v* same as 1902 edition. *vi* copyright page (did not record contents of printer's colophon). *vii*-xlviii same as 1902 edition. xlix-li 'ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | For the impression of 1904.' lii 'THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG.' liii 'GENEALOGY. | [From Max Förster's *Beowulf-Materialien*.]' *liv* blank. lv-lxiii 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' lxiii-lxiv 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-110 same as 1902 edition. *111-112* blank.

Fourth Edition of 1906 (UVA 1906): *i-v* same as 1902 edition. *vi* copyright statement: 'Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1882, by | JAMES M. GARNETT, | in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington. | 26.11'; printer's imprint at foot: 'The Athenæum Press | [rule] | GINN & COMPANY * PRO- | PRIETORS * BOSTON *

U.S.A.' *vii*-xlviii same as 1902 edition. xlix-li 1904 bibliography. lii-liii 'ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | For the impression of 1906.' liv 'THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG.' lv 'GENEALOGY. | [From Max Förster's *Beowulf-Materialien*.]' *lvi* blank. lvii-lxv 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' lxv-lxvi 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-110 same as 1902 edition.

Fourth Edition of 1910 (BSU 1910, BUT 1910): *i-v* same as 1902 edition. *vi* copyright statement: 'Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1882, by | JAMES M. GARNETT, | in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington. | 210.7'; printer's imprint at foot: 'The Athenæum Press | [rule] | GINN & COMPANY * PRO- | PRIETORS * BOSTON * U.S.A.' *vii*-xlviii same as 1902 edition. xlix-li 1904 bibliography. lii-liii 1906 bibliography. liv-lv 'ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | For the impression of 1910.' lvi 'THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG.' lvii 'GENEALOGY. | [From Max Förster's *Beowulf-Materialien*.]' *lviii* blank. lix-lxvii 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' lxvii-lxviii 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-110 same as 1902 edition.

Fourth Edition of 1912 (LOU 1912, MIA 1912, PUR 1912): [*1-2*] blank. *i-v* same as 1902 edition. *vi* copyright statement: 'Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1882, by | JAMES M. GARNETT, | in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington. | 212.8'; printer's imprint at foot: 'The Athenæum Press | [rule] | GINN & COMPANY * PRO- | PRIETORS * BOSTON * U.S.A.' *vii*-xix same as 1902 edition. *xx* blank. xxi 'PREFACE TO THE IMPRESSION OF 1912.' *xxii* blank. xxiii-xli 'INTRODUCTION.' xlii-xlv 'FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY.' xlvi-xlviii 'ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | Prepared for the fourth edition by Dr. Julian Huguenin, Johns Hopkins | University, Baltimore, Md.' xlix-l 'ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | For the impression of 1902.' li-liii 1904 bibliography. liv-lv 1904 bibliography. lvi-lvii 1910 bibliography. lviii-lx ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. | For the impression of 1912.' lxi 'THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG.' lxii 'GENEALOGY. | [From Max Förster's *Beowulf-Materialien*.]' lxiii-lxxi 'GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES.' lxxi-lxxii 'LIST OF OLD-ENGLISH WORDS.' *1*-110 same as 1902 edition. *111* 'ANNOUNCEMENTS'. *112* blank. *113* advertisement 'BOOKS ON | OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH'. *114* advertisement 'ALBION SERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON | AND MIDDLE ENGLISH POETRY'. *115* advertisement 'ATHENÆUM PRESS SERIES'. *116* advertisement 'THE | NEW HUDSON SHAKESPEARE'. *117-118* blank.

*LOU 1912: p. *vi*, comma after 'GARNETT' and period after 'Washington' have faded due to type damage.

Paper and Text Dimensions for Page 49:

<u>Paper Dimensions for Page 49 for Copies with Original Binding (in millimeters):</u>

UVA 1882 Copy 4: 141 x 204
UVA 1882 Copy 5: 133 x 195
UVA 1882 Green Copy: 141 x 203
JLW 1885: 155 x 203
UVA 1885 Copy 2: 162 x 202
WIS 1893: 153 x 192
LAF 1893: 154 x 192
KAS 1893: 155 x 191.5
NEV 1895: 148.5 x 191.5
ASC 1902: 154 x 192
MSU 1902: 142 x 192
JLW 1906: 150 x 191
UVA 1906: 152 x 191
BSU 1910: 150.5 x 192
BUT 1910: 148 x 192
LOU 1912: 151 x 191

MIA 1912: 150 x 192
PUR 1912: 151 x 191

Average: 149.5 x 194.3

Paper Dimensions for Page 49 for Copies with Library Binding (in millimeters):

UVA 1882 Copy 2: 122 x 181
IND 1895: 125 x 180
NMSU 1899: 142 x 189
UNA 1899: 139 x 181
ARI 1899: 140 x 189
TSU 1902: 142.5 x 183.5
ACQ 1902: 150 x 183
LSU 1902: 141 x 186
SEMO 1904: 135 x 185
Average: 137.4 x 184.2

Printing Plate Dimensions for Page 49 (in millimeters):

I started gathering this information about halfway through my physical examination of the available copies of Garnett's Beowulf*, so I did not obtain the printing plate dimensions for all of the page 49s that I examined. However, Ginn & Company used the same printing plates for all of the impressions (as discussed in chapter two of this thesis), so it is safe to assume that these text dimensions would apply for all printings.*

UVA 1882 Copy 4: 84.5 x 150
JLW 1885: 84 x 149.5
UVA 1885 Copy 2: 84.5 x 149
WIS 1893: 84.5 x 150
IND 1895: 84.5 x 150
NMSU 1899: 84 x 150
SEMO 1904: 84 x 150
JLW 1906: 84 x 150
UVA 1906: 84 x 150
BUT 1910: 84.5 x 150
MIA 1912: 84.5 x 150
Average: 84.3 x 149.9

APPENDIX D

Acknowledgements

Although Garnett's *Beowulf* went through many changes, there is one beautiful consistency throughout all of the impressions: page vii always has Garnett's dedication, which simply reads, "To my Wife." My acknowledgements are not as brief, but they are as equally heartfelt:

To my thesis advisor, David Vander Meulen, who introduced me to the wonders of bibliography, advised me on my methodology, read multiple drafts of this thesis, patiently endured my spring semester stress, and joyfully shared in my enthusiasm for this topic.

To the librarians at the University of Virginia Clemons Library and at Special Collections, especially Sherri Brown, Penny White, Heather Riser, and Christine Helmlinger Stewart. Without their extraordinary efforts during the midst of a pandemic, I would have been unable to examine as many copies of Garnett's *Beowulf* as I did, or to use the University of Virginia's Hinman Collator during those examinations.

To Peter Baker, who encouraged my *Beowulf* enthusiasm and pointed out helpful resources; to Victoria Olwell, who fostered my interest in nineteenth-century American literature; and to Alison Booth, who supported my fascination with all things bibliography and generously modified the requirements for my class final so that I could devote more time to this thesis.

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To Renu Linberg, Kaylee Lamb, and Janice Murray for their support through texts, Zoom study sessions, and thesis work dates at Shenandoah Joe's.

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To all who have encouraged me during this process, whether through prayer or through word, at the University of Virginia Graduate Christian Fellowship and at Charlottesville Community Church.

To Mom, Dad, and Mia, who have been my constant cheerleaders during this process. You mean so much to me, and I love you all.

Finally, to God, who granted me the opportunity to write a thesis on something I am passionate about, who placed these wonderful people in my life, and who strengthened me throughout this arduous yet rewarding endeavor. May this work give Him glory and aid future scholars in their own labors of love.