Chapter Three:

Golden Treasuries: Lyrics and Anthologies

> Entirely, then, to remove every objection to which the subject is, at present open; to exhibit all the most admired, and intrinsically excellent specimens of lyric poetry in the English language at one view; to promote real instructive entertainment; to satisfy the critical taste of the judicious; to indulge the nobler feelings of the pensive; and to afford innocent mirth to the gay; has been the complex object of the present publication.
>
> Joseph Ritson (*English Songs* ii)

In this chapter I examine the genre of the poetry anthology and what I take to be the text which best exemplifies the way in which lyric poetics has influenced conceptions of poetry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Francis Turner Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury* (1861). However the poetry anthology is not, any more than is the lyric, a single, unified object, but is instead a product of a complex series of causes, intentions, influences and innovations. (An interesting list of intentions, making up the "complex object" of his publication, *A Select Collection of English Songs* (1783), is supplied by Ritson in the quotation I have used, as a warning perhaps, to head this chapter).

Consequently, although this chapter will centre on a discussion of *The Golden Treasury*, it will be necessary for me first to begin in the eighteenth century and to examine the characteristic types of poetry-publications in that century. In doing this, I also attempt to describe the nature and some of the functions of lyric poetry in the eighteenth century, and thus, by implication, critique Romantic readings of the eighteenth century's poetry. I shall then examine the ways in which lyric poetry was published in the nineteenth century and go on to describe how *The Golden Treasury* represents a departure from the various genres in which this poetry had been published. Finally in this chapter I examine the influence of *The Golden Treasury* and the plethora of anthologies which appeared subsequent to it.

Song in the Eighteenth Century

The second volume of *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* usefully provides a catalogue of the 3020 volumes of poetry, excluding authorial collections, that were published between 1660 and 1800 (Watson II 327-430). Of these I have excluded 206 titles, which were either authorial, or mainly prose, or undecidable, bringing the total down to 2814. I have sorted these *by title* into various categories, of which the most significant are set out in **table one**[1]:

	Category	Total No. Volumes	Percentage of Total	Ave No. of Vols per Year
1.	Song/Music	825	29.3	5.9
2.	Miscellanies	488	17.3	3.5
3.	Wit and Drollery/ Convivial	452	16.1	3.1
4.	Political/State/ Occasional	237	8.4	1.7
5.	Amatory	148	5.3	1.1
6.	Scottish Song	123	4.4	0.8
7.	Beauties/ Anthologies	114	4.0	_
8.	Older Poetry	104	3.7	_
9.	Moral/Religious	104	3.7	_
10.	Ballads/Topical	79	2.8	_

Table 1: Statistics of various categories of poetry published in the eighteenth century

There are several things which can be noted straight away, from this table, and others which need to be added to a discussion of it.[2] Perhaps the first thing to notice, in contrast to the Romantic view that the eighteenth century lacked song, or the lyric, is that the largest single category of non-authorial poetry publications, nearly a third

of the total, was explicitly of song, and that there was no shortage of these, compared to other types of publication, bearing in mind the small size of the book-market in the eighteenth century. Of course, the difference between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century's poetic output is that in the eighteenth century most of the *authorial* collections would not have been lyrical; they would mostly have been in heroic couplets. So the first point we can make from these statistics is that in the eighteenth century song collections were primarily "sub-literary".[3]

This can be borne out by examining the third of my categories, that of "Wit & Drollery" and convivial publications. By all the evidence of the title-lists in the *NCBEL* and the information in A.E.Case's *A Bibliography of English Poetical Miscellanies 1521-1750*, it would not be overstating the case to say that this category is also largely made up of songs, for most of the titles that I have assigned to this category make explicit mention of "song", an example of this being *The Bottle Companions, or Bacchanalian Club: Being Merry Drinking Songs by the Most Ingenious Masters* (1709). A further point to make as to the quantity of song in the eighteenth century is that both the *NCBEL* and Case will, as they are dealing with the production of books by known publishers, have largely ignored the enormous volume of ephemeral broadsides, ballads and other such publications of the century (Pinto *Common Muse* 2), as witness the tiny category of Ballads and Topical verse in my table, which cannot be a true representation of the situation.[4]

A further point to make is that the *NCBEL* has almost completely ignored the whole genre of hymnody, which, as we saw in the previous chapter, is the most likely discursive background for certain of the features of the later literary lyric. This is the result of judging the literary field of the eighteenth century by the standards of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for in the eighteenth century "literature" was the name for any printed material at all, except only the most ephemeral.

A final point to make in connection with song in the eighteenth century is to do with my category six, Scottish Song. There seems to have been, in the eighteenth century, a definite genre of the Scottish Song; whilst many publications containing Scottish songs were published in Edinburgh or Glasgow, presumably for a Scottish audience, many were not. Allan Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, for example, was first published in Edinburgh in 1724, but had migrated to Dublin for a printing by 1729 and was reprinted in London in 1730; on the other hand *Orpheus Caledonius: or A Collection of the Best Scottish Sangs* [sic], was published in London in 1726 and re-

printed there in 1733. The evidence indicates that there was a demand, in England, for songs in the Scottish dialect. This, together with some of the other points I have made already about the lyric in the eighteenth century lead one to conclude that, rather than the literary lyric, the creation of the nineteenth century, the eighteenth-century song's nearest analogue in modern times is the popular rock-music lyric, which exists primarily to be sung, has definite social and, if one can use the word, ritual, implications and is hugely popular, whilst possessing little (high) cultural-capital. Adumbrations of the literary lyric should be looked for in the hymnody and the devotional verse of the period (Patey 26). Nor was "naturalness" a distinguishing feature of eighteenth century song; rather it, no differently from other poetic modes, was overdetermined by generic conventions and, as we shall see, was implicated overwhelmingly in social life.

It is the common complaint of the nineteenth century that the eighteenth century had no poetry, and that specifically it lacked the lyric. As John Dennis put it in the introduction to his anthology *English Lyrics from Spenser to Milton*:

> There are two periods in English Literature in which poetry has burst out in song with a music so irresistibly enchanting that criticism is lost in delight. In these periods, represented by Spenser and Shakespeare in the seventeenth [sic] century and by Coleridge, Shelley and Tennyson in the nineteenth century, our lyric poets have sung with such sweetness that the ear must be depraved or dull that is not won by their notes. There have been times when English Poets were as unapt to sing as birds in autumn. In the eighteenth century the voices of the most popular versemen failed ignominiously. (vii)

If this means that in the eighteenth century poets of polite society were not expected to write songs, other than as lesser and lighter poems, usually for specific occasions, and that eighteenth century song bore none of the oppressive aesthetic burden that it did by Dennis' time, it is true enough. But the assertion that there was as little song in the eighteenth century as bird-song in a European autumn is as untrue historically as it is ornithologically. Song there was in the eighteenth century, in abundance, but it was recreational, convivial, sentimental, and, in popular hymnody, devotional, and the least regarded type of poetry. Thomas Crawford, in an introduction to an anthology of Scottish eighteenth-century lyrics, notes of the role of the lyric in Scotland:

> The lyric was a product of society; it served social life at every level; and it was, from the beginning of the century to the end, above all a poem to be *sung*. (7)

Making allowances, as always, for the difference between English and Scottish society, this can be taken as a useful statement of the nature of the eighteenth-century

lyric. And the figure of 3,000 Scottish poems published between 1682 and 1785 (Crawford 7) can be used to produce an approximate figure of 32,000 songs published in Britain between 1660 and 1800, from the data in the *NCBEL*.[5]

Before ending the discussion of these figures there is one further question to consider, that of my second category, the Miscellany, for this genre of publication shows a further use of the lyric in the eighteenth century. The Miscellany is a difficult type of publication to investigate briefly, not least because "miscellany" can mean several different things, but Dr Johnson's definition, from his *Dictionary*, is helpful:

> MISCELLANY. *n.s.* A Mass formed out of various kinds.
>
> I acquit myself of the presumption of having lent my name to recommend *miscellanies* or works of other men.
>
> *Pope*
>
> When they have joined their pericranies,
> Out skips a book of *miscellanies*.
>
> *Swift*

This is helpful because Johnson manages to include very neatly three of the most important features of the literary miscellany of the eighteenth century in this one entry. Firstly, although he fails, very strangely, to indicate that his definition applies (perhaps principally) to a literary genre when both his quotations are concerned with this sense, he does indicate that a miscellany is concerned with differences of *kind*. Secondly, in the quotation from Pope, he indicates that a miscellany can have implications of *mixed authorship* and lastly, in the quotation from Swift, he shows that there are also questions of *quality* involved.[6]

Literary history will perhaps be most familiar with the term "miscellany" in the second of these senses, that is to say, as the productions of authors within a literary clique uniting to publish works jointly, and often anonymously. The most famous example of this sort of use of the genre are the Swift/Pope *Miscellanies* (1727, further editions in 1732, 1745 & 1747). Another such is *Poems on Several Occasions* (1717), described on its title-page as "by His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Mr Wycherely, Lady Winchelsea [sic], Sir Samuel Garth, N.Rowe Esq, Mrs Singer [and] Bevil Higgins Esq". The work's twentieth-century editor, Norman Ault, shows in fact that it was edited by Pope, who contributed many of the poems (xxi). It was, Ault surmises, a collection published in the wake of Pope's 1717 *Works* and designed to include those lesser poems of his, especially the love-poems, that were insufficiently serious to be included in the *Works* (xviii, xxiv, xxix-xxxi). The volume includes 93 poems of various kinds, of which, in fact, only three are songs.

Although the subsequent reputation of the authors responsible for some of these miscellanies has ensured that the term is not a wholly unfamiliar one, the subsequent concern of literary scholars for the unique and individual ownership of poetic works by their respective owners means that the miscellanies of this period are now no longer primarily reprinted as such, but they are broken up and the works in them distributed to the various *Collected Works* of the contributors.[7] This disappearance of the miscellany from view has the unfortunate property of obscuring its two other properties, that is, that is contains poetry of mixed kind and mixed quality. When, for example, we find a title which ascribes a single kind of poetry to a miscellany, such as *A Miscellany of Lyric Poems* (1740), then it will be the case that the miscellaneous quality is to be taken as relative to the homogeneity of other publications; it is a work containing lighter poems than other publications; and its contents will be of mixed authorship. But mostly miscellanies are themselves of mixed kinds and qualities and it may be indeed that for authors such as Dryden, Pope or Swift, this was often the most important factor in their decision to publish works in a miscellany, not the mixing of authorship and its anonymity. For Pope and Swift, or other writers of the period, the miscellany was a way of publishing their less dignified productions in a mode that would deflect criticism of this lack of dignity, as we have seen with *Poems on Several Occasions*. An example of the importance of generic classification applied in a poetry collection, which results in the use of the term "miscellany" is in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Gray, Containing his Odes, Miscellanies &c &c &c* (1799). Here the anonymous and unidentified editor has grouped together the one genre of poetry that Gray produced in any quantity, namely his Odes, while his other pieces, in various genres, are grouped together in the "Miscellanies" section. These works include the "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard", then as now his most famous work, but banished to the Miscellanies section because Gray omitted to write any other elegies; the other works in the section include "A Long Story" (a humorous narrative), three epitaphs and a translation from Statius.

I should make clear that in using the term in the "quality" here I am not alluding to Romantic distinctions of degree, although Swift's allusion to miscellanies in the couplet Johnson quotes is presumably depreciatory. For the eighteenth century, each genre had its own set of characteristics: a lyric, for example, might be "charming", "pathetic", or "merry", but was unlikely to be "judicious" or "satiric". And so a miscellany was a place where poems of lesser weight, or of mixed weight, could be published. A good example of this is the second part of *The Fugitive Miscellany: Being a Collection of Such Fugitive Pieces in Prose and Verse, as are not found in any other Collec-*

tion, with many pieces never before published (1775). To begin with we should note that this second part is part of a series that, as the Advertisement promises, was set to turn into an annual publication. It was in fact already a successor to the six parts of *A New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, as the advertisements in the back make clear—a puff for the sixth part of this publication (described as being "written principally by persons of eminence and fashion"), allowing for exaggeration and "hard-sell", is important in making clear the reading public for which the works were designed:

> The volumes or parts of this work having been published at different times, it is kindly desired that such noblemen and gentlemen as have occasionally purchased any of them and choose to complete the work will please to send for the volumes they want as soon as possible: it being intended when the present impression is sold to reprint the whole together, and sell the work complete.

The work itself consists of humorous and serious epigrams and epitaphs, topical verses, various verses of a "luscious" nature, prose and seven songs. And it is interesting, for reasons I will go on to outline in the next section, that of these songs two are antiquarian pieces, namely "Song, Written 250 Years Ago" (142), which turns out to be "Back and sides go bare, go bare" and "My golden locks time hath to silver turned", more familiar perhaps as "*His* golden locks ..." from Dowland's *First Book of Songs*, here described as "taken from Walpole's Antiquities, and ... never before printed" (151).

The genre of the miscellany existed, then, to provide variety and diversion, and this stands in stark contrast to the overwhelming Romantic emphasis on the intensity and sublimity of the literary object. Its variety means that the miscellany will almost invariably involve the lyric, sometimes to a considerable extent. So the principal point I should like to make in concluding this section is to stress this one particular function of the lyric in the eighteenth century—that is, how it functions as a leavening, when juxtaposed with works of greater poetic, and prosaic, weight and of differing kind, in the genre of the miscellany, and elsewhere.

Selections, Collections and Antiquarianism

One important feature of collections of songs is that at the beginning of the period covered by the *NCBEL* such collections are invariably titled so as to emphasise the newness and currency of their contents; the title of a volume of 1683 is representative in this regard, *The Newest Collection of the Choicest Songs*. Towards the end of the period, however, such titles become rarer and a sort of general title along the lines of "A Collection of .... Songs", is the rule. One very significant title belonging to this

period is *A Collection of Such English Songs as are Most Eminent for Poetic Merit* (1772, reprinted 1774).[8]

I would argue that this supports a reading of the changes in the publishing practices of the period that is broadly in line with the more general analysis of the period by Colin Campbell, in *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. In particular I would argue that the shift I have described above is a reflection of the shift he describes, from a small, aristocratic consumer-class, whose imperatives are fashion and emulation, to a wider, middle-class consuming public, whose imperatives are for products of intrinsic worth, this worth being gauged increasingly by the personal pleasure it produces, not, to the same extent as before, by how it aids social emulation (22-27 and *passim*). Hence, then, a shift from collections of fashionable and current songs, to those stressing abiding *literary* value.[9] Campbell sees the crucial decade in the eighteenth century, the decade that marked the real shift, as that of the 1760s. In the earlier part of period, particularly before about 1720, in the field of poetry the appetite of the middle-classes would presumably have been satisfied with popular, orally-transmitted songs, broadsides and, in the case of the Nonconformist community, who may have formed the bulk of the urban middle-class at this time, hymns and religious verse.

As well as the generalised class of "collections" or "selections", another genre emerged towards the end of this period—namely the "Beauties", named after the most successful works of this genre, *The Beauties of the Poets* (1773). In fact the earliest volume of this kind had appeared in 1738 (*The English Muse: or A Collection of the Thoughts of Our English Poets*), followed two years later by *The Quintessence of English Poetry*. Oliver Goldsmith's anthology, *Beauties of English Poetry*, appeared in 1767. Although in its resolute selection of exclusively neo-classical and longish, but complete, poems it fails to make use of lyric poems, in the way that other "Beauties" do, its Preface is worth quoting at length for its useful delineation of the type of reader that it is designed for:

> My bookseller having informed me that there was no collection of English Poetry among us, of any estimation, I thought a few hours spent in making a proper selection would not be ill bestowed. Compilations of this kind are chiefly designed for such as either want leisure, skill, or fortune, to choose for themselves; for persons whose professions turn them to different pursuits, or who, not yet arrived at sufficient maturity, require a guide to direct their application. (i)

Another feature of this Preface that is worth noting is the way it makes all the

rhetorical moves to allow poetry to speak for itself, whilst remaining within the eighteenth-century paradigm—the quality that the poetry has is not uncircumscribed poetic value, but the capability of eliciting a natural estimation in a suitably, and socially, qualified reader. And there is a further example, like the passage quoted above, where Goldsmith tries to accommodate the new, wider reading public of his day within the older parameters of criticism. After rejecting personal taste and "affectation in criticism", he goes on:

> In this publication I run but few risques of that kind; every poem here is well known, and possessed, or the public has been long mistaken, of peculiar merit.... I claim no merit in the choice, as it was obvious, for in all languages the best productions are most easily found. As to the short introductory criticisms to each poem, they are rather designed for boys than for men[10]; for it will be seen that I declined all refinement, satisfied with being obvious and sincere. (iii-iv)

However it was not until the early 1770s that this genre came to occupy a substantial part of the market; then in the years between the appearance of *The Beauties of the Poets* and 1800, ten similar volumes appeared, and *The Beauties* itself was reprinted six times. Indeed Margreta de Grazia, in an article on the tradition of "beauties" from Shakespeare, has described a gradual shift from early "beauties", which made little of the authorship of Shakespeare and were designed to make available for public use a repertoire of sententious utterances, to the later "beauties" where the attribution of authorship is a guarantee of the intrinsic qualities of the quotations.

An example of the genre of the "beauties", which we can use to contrast with *The Golden Treasury*, is *The Beauties of the British Poets* (1828).[11] Here the editor, the Rev George Croly, reprints selections of sententious, sentimental or descriptive beauty from notable poets, though he is not concerned, on the whole, to reprint complete poems, and indeed so little is he concerned with the lyric in itself that until Burns he includes no lyrics at all, not even Elizabethan lyrics. He reserves for himself the power of discerning the qualities of the works in question; for example, as to Shakespeare's dramas he asserts that out of thirty "twelve are master-pieces", though he does not say which these are (viii-ix). However, although the intrinsic worth and copiousness of British poetry is stressed, there is no attempt at or claim for inclusiveness:

> The object of this volume is to give such a selection from our eminent writers, as may best exhibit their styles of thought and language. All their beauties

> would be impossible to give. But the following pages contain many of those passages on which their authors would perhaps be most content to be tried at the tribunal of posterity. There are other Authors from whom this volume would gladly have adduced extracts, but its size was previously restricted; and such is the opulence of English poetry, that to comprehend all, many volumes must have been formed, instead of one. (xiv-xv)

If the "Beauties" represent one tradition of publishing lyric poems in the eighteenth century, another was the anthology, and it is here that we find an emphasis on completeness and inclusivity we do not find in the "beauties". Moreover for both the generalised collection and the "beauties" to be compiled and published there obviously had to exist a source of prior poetry, from which poems could be taken. If novelty was no longer a requisite then there is no reason why these volumes should not endlessly have recycled themselves, feeding on volumes of the recent past and such self-styled complete collections of the English poets as had begun to emerge. It would be foolish to imagine that this is not what, to a great extent, went on, as Joseph Ritson, the most prolific literary editor of the later eighteenth century, for one, alleges (*Songs* i-ii). However, there are indications, when we come to look at some of the titles of the volumes of "Beauties", including such works as *Select Beauties ofAncient English Poetry* (1787) and *Beauties of Ancient Poetry* (1794)[12,] that some other source was being tapped. For this period saw the beginnings of the practice of reprinting older poetry, and such poetry began to find its way into various types of poetry-publications, as we have seen with *The Fugitive Miscellany*. As the practice of reprinting older poetry clearly became important to the practice of printing selections of poetry, it will be necessary to enquire briefly into the reasons for this new antiquarianism.

It is by no means obvious why the eighteenth century felt the need for reprints of older poetry; a culture which saw itself as newly arrived at a high-point of civilisation was not necessarily very sympathetic to productions of prior, and less cultivated, periods. In the early part of the period we are considering, there was little older poetry reprinted at all; or, if there was, it was not described as such when reprinted. A series of the 1690s, *Poems on Affairs of State*, reprinted items from the previous generation or so, but its furthest reach backward seems to have been the reign of Charles I and its interests were political and historical. And this sort of publication continued for a long time—the last such title I have found is *A Collection of Loyal Songs Written against the Rump Parliament between 1639 and 1661* (1731). This should provide us with the clue: as with the first "Antiquarian Revival", in Tudor times, a great deal of the interest in older poetry was sparked by a new sense of

nationhood and a desire to illustrate the history of the nation with accounts of and examples of earlier cultural productions (Bonnell 54, 57).[13]

An example of this historical concern is Thomas Warton's enormous *The History of English Poetry* (3 vols, 1774-78). The full title of this work runs: *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are Prefixed Three Dissertations:1. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe, 2. On the Introduction of Learning into England, 3. On the Gesta Romanorum*.[14] Warton's historical method caused him to assimilate poetry to the "progress" of history by abandoning the neo-classical division by Pope (in his manuscript notes for a history of English poetry) of poetry into "Schools", in favour of a chronological treatment of the subject (Warton 5-6). Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (1765) also had an historical purpose, although perhaps rather a personal one: Percy's purpose in the *Reliques* can be seen as a eulogy to the house of Percy, the Earls and Dukes of Northumberland, from which he believed himself descended and to which, more prosaically, he owed his preferment.[15] The historical imperative in its wider sense had become even more marked by the fourth edition of 1794, where, if the "Essay on the Ancient Minstrels of England" (xxi-liv) was virtually unchanged, the Notes accompanying it had swollen vastly and were now twice the length of the Essay (lv-cvi). This increase in the documentation of the book was made necessary by the controversy over the Percy Manuscript, Percy's editorial methods and his theories about the English Minstrels (see for example Ritson *Ancient Songs* i-xxvi). And as part of the controversy this edition carries a rather comic defence of the very existence of the Percy MS, which Ritson had impugned (x-xi). The fourth edition also has to have recourse to the manuscripts again to improve on its historical authenticity; as the Advertisement puts it:

> These volumes are now restored to the Public with such corrections and improvements as have occurred since the former impression, and the Text in particular hath been emended in many passages by recurring to the old copies. (ix)

However, neither this, nor any other publication of the time was wholly single in its motives; Percy, like many another editor, inserts in the Preface his general reasons for editing such a collection (which include literary, historical and philological ones), coupled with the usual apology for the contents of the volume:

> such specimens of poetry have been fetched as either show the gradation of our language, exhibit the progress of popular opinion, display the peculiar customs of former ages, or throw light on our earlier classical poets.... In a polished age

> like the present I am sensible that many of these reliques of antiquity will require great allowances to be made for them. Yet have they, for the most part, a pleasing simplicity, and many artless graces, which in the opinion of no mean Critics [in a footnote he mentions Addison, Dryden, Lord Dorset and Selden] have been thought to compensate for the want of higher beauties, and, if they do not dazzle the imagination, are frequently found to interest the heart. (xv-xvi)

A similar mixed intent is found in Edward Cappel's *Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Antient Poetry* (1760), which seems more concerned that the five pieces reprinted by him should reestablish themselves, or their respective authors, amongst the English poets, than with any overt historicising.[16] But his concern for strict standards of editing is everywhere evident, and no more so than on the title-page:

> *Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Antient Poetry* ... compil'd with the greatest Care from their several originals, and offer'd to the Publick as Specimens of the Integrity that should be found in the Editions of worthy Authors ...

The consequent control these standards might give the editor over the meaning of the text (such as Cappel's extraordinary suggestion that a new mark of punctuation be introduced to denote irony (v)), shares a similar imperative with the antiquarian movement's interest in detailed history: both are concerned with ordering the past, both too are concerned to rectify incompleteness. Another genre which is similar in many ways, including these two, to those we have already discussed is that of self-styled complete collections of the English poets that were appearing at this time (the series for which Dr Johnson wrote his *Lives of the Poets* is only the most famous of several)[17].

But there were other motives too for these publications, and most of these are mentioned in the quotation from Ritson I have used to head this chapter (*Songs* ii), which should function as a warning not to oversimplify the complexities of the various types of poetry-publication. Elsewhere Ritson describes the function of his "peculiar [ie personal] studies" as being for "the information and amusement of society" (*Anthology* vi). And clearly here as elsewhere the recreational and social functions of the eighteenth-century lyric are being united in a generic framework with the historical interests of the antiquarians. Ritson was fond of editing collections of songs and ballads, for when in his *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry* he gives the usual Enlightenment disclaimer of the importance of its contents, it is a very indulgent one:

> [These compositions], it may be true, will have few charms in the critical eye of a cultivated age: but it should always be remembered, that without such efforts, humble as they are, cultivation and refinement would never exist, and barbarism and ignorance be eternal. (vi)

Another passage, towards the end of his introduction, was no doubt penned in a similar mood:

> It is not the editors [sic] inclination to enter more at large into the nature or merits of the poems here collected. The originals have fallen in his way on various occasions, and the pleasing recollection of that happiest period of which most of them were familiar acquaintances, has induced him to give them to the public with a degree of elegance, fidelity and correctness, seldom instanced in republications of greater importance.... Under these circumstances the impression is committed to the patronage of the liberal and the candid, of those whom the artificial refinements of modern taste have not rendered totally insensible to the humble effusions of unpolished nature and the simplicity of old times.... (xii-xiv)

I should like to end this section with a consideration of Ritson's *A Select Collection of English Songs* (1783). This is a very useful and interesting text to consider in relation to Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*: important because there are many superficial similarities between the two texts, but useful because it is a nice demonstration of how two works of similar ostensible purpose, from two different historical periods, can have so little in common. One similarity is in metaphor. Palgrave's work is a treasury; Ritson describes his work as "A NATIONAL REPOSITORY OF MELODY OR SONG" (xvii). And this passage from Ritson may sound very familiar to readers familiar with Palgrave:

> There is not, it may be fairly asserted, any one language in the world possessed of a greater variety of beautiful and elegant pieces of lyric poetry than our own. But, as long as these beauties, this elegance, continued to be scattered abroad, suppressed ... in a multitude of collections, consisting chiefly of compositions of the lowest, and most despicable nature; one or more being annually hashed up (*crambe repetita*) by needy retainers to the press; and the most modern being infinitely the worse.... the greater part of this inestimable possession must, of course, remain altogether unknown to the generality of readers. (i-ii)

But there are subtle differences of vocabulary ("elegance", for example) and of emphasis (Ritson, does not, for example, assume, as Palgrave does, that his readers will already know the works he is presenting) which tell us we are dealing with the eighteenth, not the nineteenth century. Although Ritson's rationale for his volume is, just as much as Palgrave's, inclusiveness, there is no emphasis on intensity with Ritson: his work is a sprawling three volume set, as opposed to Palgrave's slim volume. Moreover we are not very far into the Preface before Ritson begins to define the lyric very strictly indeed, firstly by excluding ballads and other narratives (iii) and secondly in this passage:

> The plan which has been adopted with regard to these [songs], is a division or arrangement under the three heads, or classes, of LOVE, DRINKING and MISCELLANEOUS SONGS, This perhaps is too natural an idea to be a novel one, but it does not appear to have been practiced more than once or twice. (ii-iii)

Furthermore, Ritson's work is prefaced with an Historical Essay of a hundred-odd pages of solid scholarship, tracing the lyric, generically, through history. In comparison Palgrave's notes are, as it were, lyric history, and underline the distinction that must be drawn between Ritson's view of the lyric as a part of the cultural apparatus of an advancing civilisation, and Palgrave's view of the lyric as an index of the progress of the individual spirit, through which the spiritual advance of civilisation can be gauged. Finally we should note the obvious point that since Ritson includes, as his third volume, the tunes to his songs, he clearly intends them to be understood *as songs*, with all the eighteenth century's generic expectations. And this point is underlined by Thomas Park, the editor of the second edition of the work, who in refuting anticipated criticism that he has not, as part of his revisions, included more spiritual pieces, writes:

> The present Editor ... has altogether refrained from any intermixture of 'spiritual songs' with the ensuing series of amatory lyrics, anacreontics, dithyrambics, and popular ballads: not yielding from Mr Plumtree [editor of *A Collection of Songs: Moral, Sentimental, Instructive, and Amusing*] in his desire that all who assemble on any festal occasion should be 'merry and wise'; but from a deliberate apprehension, that the practical attempt to mingle sacred subjects with the vocal conviviality of a feast, might fail to produce either mirth or wisdom: and from conceiving that such unsuitableness might give pain to the serious mind ... since *propriety*, not only in rhetoric, but in all things, seems to constitute the first, second, and third essential requisite. (xcvii)

Before finishing this section I should just like to pause to note, as in the first section, an important function of the lyric in such antiquarian publications. Although there were such volumes wholly devoted to the lyric, like Ritson's *English Song*, yet elsewhere the lyric seems to function as a means of providing variety in a collection of longer poems, as, for example, in Ritson's *The English Anthology* or in Percy's *Reliques*, where it is stated that: "to take off from the tediousness of the longer narratives, they are everywhere intermingled with little elegant pieces of the lyric kind" (xvi).

It is not until the nineteenth century that we come across a selection wholly devoted to lyric poems, which does not, as Ritson's *English Songs* does, treat the lyrics as songs. However, there are indications, around the turn of the century, that collections which included a mixture of kinds were coming to be thought of as eccentric. An example of this is the collection *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769). This was a selection of poetry and prose from the Elizabethan manuscript-book of Sir John Harington and in its first edition included poetry and prose. In the second edition, published in 1804, most of the poetry was excluded on the grounds that antiquarian research subsequent to the first edition had shown such a reprinting to be superfluous:

> much of the former poetry is ... omitted, from having proved on examination to be printed from Tottell's [sic] early assembly of song and sonnet.... As this garland is again preparing for public exhibition by the accomplished hand of Bishop Percy, such omissions become more forcibly authorised. ("Advertisement")

The editor of the second edition of *Nugæ Antiquæ* was the same Thomas Park who edited the second edition of Ritson's *English Songs*. And as in Ritson's work, so here, he provides us with a useful, thoroughly eighteenth-century, explanation for his re-editing, that leaves no space for any definition of intrinsic worth of the literary object in question in the present publication:

> Certain gems that pretend not to more than moderate intrinsic worth, are yet found to acquire additional estimation from diversity of setting: the contents of some books may be presumed to do the same, by an improved transposal of their several parts. Such adventitious value is here attempted to be given to these antiquarian trifles, by a different display of the pieces formerly published by Mr Henry Harington ... ("Advertisement").

He is talking about a mixture of verse and prose, of course, but much the same could no doubt have been said about any collection of older poetry of the same period.

Lyric in Nineteeth-Century Publications

To summarise my argument thus far in the chapter: in the eighteenth century there was a great deal of lyric poetry published, but the lyric was the least regarded of poetic genres and had attached to it generic expectations of mirth, conviviality or sentiment. Amongst its functions was that of providing variety of kind and of seriousness in various contexts.[18] Towards the close of the eighteenth century there were various types of publications in which the lyric could appear; among these were: various volumes of the "Beauties" kind, various editions of the collected-English-poets type, general collections of songs, and antiquarian publications. But most examples of lyric poetry being published included elements of more than one of these types; for example, Ritson's *English Songs* is antiquarian in its historical essay, but is also a collection of unusually ambitious scope and owes to the "Beauties" tradition its emphasis on the elegance and beauty of its contents (i).

After examining the ways in which these and other types of poetry-publication changed and developed in the nineteenth century it will be my argument that *The Golden Treasury* represents another such intersection of types. However Palgrave's collection, in contrast to Ritson's, is one of those rare works which in its new synthesis of generic apparatus embodies and explicates a cultural movement.[19] There were similar anthologies around at the time, notably William Allingham's *Nightingale*

Valley, which strongly influenced Palgrave; but in a number of ways, which I will go on to examine, *The Golden Treasury* is the text which embodies the greatest number of the characteristics of the lyric tradition.

The first thing to note about poetry-publication in the nineteenth century is that many of the earlier types of poetry books continued to be published: "Beauties" continued to be republished, Chalmer's *The Works of the English Poets* (1810) re-produced Johnson's series and supplemented it with more poets[20], antiquarian republications of older poetry continued to be produced, and songs were still published in a variety of publications. However although the *form* of a particular type of publication can persist, and along with the form a number of the intentions that motivate it, the significance of the genre can change dramatically. So we should always be alert to possible occurrences of this sort of change. Take for example the various publications of Ritson and compare them to John Payne Collier's various works of forty to fifty years later, notably his *Lyrical Poems Selected from Musical Publications between the years 1589 and 1600*. Ritson's publication contains poems from a number of sources, and antiquarian research since Ritson's time had clarified what types of poems were written in which periods and the nature of the various sorts of poems, better than it had done in his time. This means that Ritson's volumes read as mixed, jumbled and rather baffling and quaint in comparison with Collier's straightforward reprint of certain of the lyrics to Byrd and Dowland's songs.[21]

Another such replication of the form, and in this case, matter, of an earlier work is Chalmers' republication of *The Works of the English Poets*. His work, as he describes it (Preface vi-vii), is a reprint of Johnson's work, with an addition of earlier poets and poets whom Johnson had neglected. But Chalmers is faced with a problem, and one which would not have occurred in the same terms, or with anything like the same urgency, to Johnson, as it is a symptom of the change in the nature of the production and consumption of poetry that I described in the section above. Chalmers' problem is:

> There are perhaps but two rules by which a collector of English poetry can be guided. He is either to give a series of the BEST poets, or of the most POPULAR, but simple as these rules may appear, they are not without difficulties, for whichever we choose to rely on, the other will be found to interfere. In the first instance, the question will be perpetually recurring "who *are* the best poets?" and ... this will unavoidably involve all the disputed points in poetical criticism, and all the partialities of individual taste.... On the other hand, he will not will not find much more security in popularity, which is a criterion of uncertain duration, sometimes depending on circumstances very remote from taste or judgement.... (v-vi)

Another such change that took place in the nineteenth century, but to an institution, not to a form of publication, was that which occurred to the various antiquarian societies. In the eighteenth century the Society of Antiquaries had provided a largely aristocratic forum for antiquarian discussion, although it had not specifically sponsored any of the sorts of publications we have been examining. Cappel's dedication of his *Prolusions* gives an idea of the sort of function that such aristocratic patronage gave the antiquarian movement:

> To the right honourable the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, a Trustee of the *British* Museum, Vice-president of the royal Society, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, this Book, the honest Intention of which is to do service to Good Letters by setting an Example of Care and Fidelity to Persons who take upon them the Publication of our best Authors, is with great Respect presented by the Honourer of his Lordship's many virtues.

By the time of the early nineteenth century, societies such as the Roxburghe Club had come into being which were still exclusive in their membership. However, this exclusivity was different from that of the eighteenth-century groups as—notably with the Roxburghe Club—they had come into being with the purpose of republishing older poetry for scholarly and historical reasons, but in the form of expensive and finely bound and printed volumes (Benzie 71-72). The Percy Society was less extravagant in its publications, but it was not until Furnivall founded the Early English Text Society that a society existed whose main concern was the content of its volumes. William Benzie, Furnivall's biographer, notes that for Furnivall, literary quality was of no concern in the selection of material for EETS publications: his interest was firstly philological, to provide material for the *Oxford English Dictionary*, then at the planning stage, and secondly historical, influenced by the Christian Socialist vision of the Middle Ages which also influenced William Morris (117). However Benzie does admit later that the EETS's appeal was in effect more mixed: "it was an appeal not only to [the Victorians'] patriotism but to the curious complex of aesthetic, antiquarian, and practical attitudes towards the past which is seen in so many Victorian activities" (121).

There is another, more important, example of the process whereby a type or practice of publication can continue apparently unchanged, but, owing to a shift in ideas, the effect of the type or practice of publication is completely altered. During the early years of the nineteenth century, of course, literary Romanticism arrived, but, as I noted in my first chapter, none of the famous Romantics considered lyric poetry as a major part of their output (the *Lyrical Ballads* notwithstanding). However it is also the case that at the time it was not Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley or Keats who

were the most famous Romantic writers, but Byron and Scott. It is very interesting to look at the function that song and lyric plays in the works of these two writers. The major part of Byron's output is in the satirical mode, and, as has often been noted, harks back to an Augustan world, but in addition Byron included in his work a not inconsiderable number of songs notable for their sentiment, and what is remarkable is that, despite the great success of *Childe Harold* and other of his longer poems, Byron the lyrist outsold Byron the satirist (A.Harvey 125).[22] Similarly Scott, in the poetic part of his career, composed both songs and narratives, as in his collection *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces* of 1806.[23] And later in his career, in his novels, Scott always included a number of songs. With both these writers it is important to realise that their use of the lyric as variety, within their output as a whole and within individual collections and prose works, is similar to the eighteenth century use of the lyric for variety, but now the lyric does not relax the seriousness of the work, or provide relief; *instead it becomes a point of intensity*. For example, the two songs in Scott's *The Antiquary* do not function like, say, the song "When Lovely Women stoops to Folly" in Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*. This lyric provides a pathetic interlude and a chance for the reader to indulge in a little sentimental prurience, and merely underlines the mood at that point in the plot. With the two songs in Scott's novel it is otherwise. The song "Why sit'st thou by that ruin'd wall" sung by Mary, and overheard by Lovel, early on in the book (89), provides a foretaste of the mood and themes of that particular plot. The ballad in Scots "Now haud your tongue, buith wife and carle", sung by Elspeth, towards the end (359ff), provides an almost symmetrical episode, which likewise hastens the plot onwards. Both these songs, it should be noted signify things not yet explicated in the text, and their meaning is only drawn out fully later.[24]

The songs that were published as such in this period differ little, to our way of thinking, from those sentimental songs of the eighteenth century, which they are clearly descended from. I am referring principally to the popular songs of Thomas Moore and Thomas Campbell. However, again, there is a great dissimilarity in spite of the superficial resemblance, such as the fact that these songs were still songs for singing, and this is due to the exclusion from the gamut of subjects proper to the lyric of libertine and convivial subjects. As we can gauge from *The Fugitive Miscellany*, eighteenth-century standards permitted a far greater amount of indecency than did the nineteenth century.[25] With the stricter standards of public and private propriety demanded in the early part of the nineteenth century, it came to be that polite song could be in one mode, and one mode only, that is, the sentimental mode. The

songs of the nineteenth century, if examined, exhibit a very much smaller range of subjects than those of the century before.[26]

There is one further change in publishing practices connected with poetry which I wish to note, before moving on to *The Golden Treasury* itself. An article by Lee Erickson, "The Poet's Corner: The Impact of Technological Changes in Printing on English Poetry 1800-1850", is a useful description of this change. Her argument, briefly, is that the famous poetry boom of the 1810s, from which Byron, Scott and Moore profited and Keats, Clare and Darley did not, was caused by the high price of paper during the Napoleonic Wars. This meant that books were more expensive and poetry books, which were shorter, were cheaper than multi-volume novels; people also bought fewer books and were more inclined to buy poetry books, which could bear repeated reading (894-95). After 1815 paper prices fell and with improvements in printing-technology economies of scale made printing on a large scale for a mass-market highly profitable. "Serious poetry" was driven out of the market by prose fiction and periodicals, which only included a little verse amid their fictional and non-fictional prose (896-98).

One of the results of this change was that by the 1830s there was only one publisher in London, Edward Moxon, who took on poetry on a regular basis and his usual practice was only to undertake to publish poetry if the costs were underwritten by the poet, although poetry-books were not always guaranteed loss-makers. This meant that until Tennyson's popular successes of the 1850s and 60s (Altick 386-87) most of the poetry published was by poets of private means, such as Tennyson and the Brownings, who could guarantee the publisher against such losses. This state of affairs reinforced the Romantic prejudice in favour of the poet's isolation and his or her exclusive control over the texts of the poetry and their publication (903-05).

There are three points that Erickson does not bring out fully in her discussion, which I would like to add. First this example of a boom and then a "bust" in the poetry-publishing industry is the first such example of market-forces playing their part in affecting publishing. Previously poetry had been such a small part of publishing, an élite market of constant, but very small-scale demand, that it was largely unaffected by such questions as the price of paper. Now that the market had become a mass-market it was fully exposed to the operations of supply and demand, working on the largest scale, and this change was exaggerated by the new technologies being introduced into the printing industry at the time. Erickson is wrong to say that

as a result of the changes she documents poetry was forced to go upmarket (893); most types of poetry-publications had never been anything other than up-market until forty years before.

Second the control that the poets who were published had over their works, a control that poets had not been able to exercise before, is entirely new, since the move to the "market" freed poets from the traditional dependence on aristocratic patronage that had been a feature of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. In this sense these changes caused the literal retreat to (financial) self-sufficiency at the same time that the self-sufficiency of the literary object was coming to be celebrated.

Third Erickson points out that it was above all the lyric that continued to be printed in periodicals, albums and keepsakes—often as a convenient way of filling up awkwardly empty column-inches. So from this we might expect that it would have been the lyric that was devalued as a genre (899-900). However Erickson also points out that those poems that were successful in this lean period were those, like *The Ingoldsby Legends*, which gratified the public's taste for "easy, versified narrative and sentimental melodrama" (904). And so it seems that the forms most associated with the poems of the Browning/Tennyson generation were equally devalued, particularly when we remember that the narrative and dramatic poems of this generation were frequently introspective and melancholy, a fact noted and deplored by reviewers and by the poets themselves in some measure too—for example Arnold's disavowal of *Empedocles on Etna*. There is also the consideration that here, as elsewhere, what comes to be accepted as the norm, of, in this case, poetry, is the type which is most familiar—if readers were accustomed to reading poetry as short lyrics in the corners of periodicals, which otherwise consisted mainly of prose, then that is what a common conception of poetry came to be (A.Harvey 120). The process by which lyric poetry came to be that part of a publication which carried the burden of sentiment and intensity probably worked here too.

The Golden Treasury: Value and Unity

After these considerations I will now turn to *The Golden Treasury* and I should like to start by considering its title: why, specifically is there a tautologous insistence on the goldenness of this treasury? William Allingham, in the Preface to his anthology *Nightingale Valley*, which was one of the spurs which persuaded Palgrave to commence work on *his* anthology, uses the metaphor of a rich cluster of jewels: "we

desire to present a jewel, aptly arranged of many stones, various in colour and value, but all precious" (v).[27] On one level Palgrave's more general title seems to have been suggested by the epigram he originally selected for the work, but did not in the end use, from Sappho: "Far sweeter of tone than the harp, more golden than gold" (*GT* 468).[28] On another level, however, Palgrave's more assertive metaphor seems to reflect his more ambitious purpose. Whereas Allingham had been content to note that

> much, it is true, is perforce omitted.... a collection in any sense complete or exhaustive has not been thought of here, but an arrangement of a limited number of short poems, with some eye to grouping and general effect. (v)

Palgrave's boast is that

> This collection differs ... from others in the attempt made to include in it all the best original Lyrical pieces and Songs in our language ... and none beside the best. (5)

And the titles too speak of this difference. Allingham's is *Nightingale Valley: A Collection Including a Great Number of the Choicest Lyrics and Short Poems in the English Language*, whereas Palgrave's is *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language*.

What is the basis for this assertion of value? We have seen that collections that promised to include poems of literary value had been published since the late eighteenth century. I will go on to investigate some of the other criteria of value that *The Golden Treasury* claims in subsequent sections, but here I want to stay with the literal assertion of absolute value that the title seems to promise.

We have already seen that in the early nineteenth century the lyric came to rise miraculously from the bottom to the top of the hierarchy of literary genres. This honorary elevation, however, was not accompanied by any guarantee of popular success in publication. In fact we can say that for poets the great eighteenth-century drama of the Search for Patronage (on which see Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*) was replaced by the greater drama of finding success in publication. We have also seen that, as Lee Erickson argues, the structural and technological changes associated with the move towards a mass-market in books in the early nineteenth century had a great effect on the traditional market for poetry.[29] These changes had several advantageous benefits for poetry and poets: in the period 1800-1820 poetry sold very well, and indeed, despite a few bad patches, it continued to sell through the century (see

the well-known statistics for poetic "Best Sellers" in Altick 386-87); even poets who did not sell so well were able to exercise unprecedented control over the appearance and publication of their texts; and even those poets who failed to find any success could obtain a grim satisfaction from this, and have often been celebrated subsequently for their neglect (Saunders *Profession* 161-73).

However, despite these considerations it remains the case that throughout the century poetry was described by poets and critics as embattled. One opponent which was claimed from later in the century was Science, and I shall be examining the question of to what extent Science was opposed to Poetry in the next chapter. Perhaps a more proximate adversary for poetry was prose fiction, which, from as early as the 1830s (Lantané 161), as a consequence of the development of economies of scale in printing, and as a consequence of the circulating library system, had emerged as the dominant literary form, even if was not to achieve academic respectability until the present century. The aptly titled Supplement to *The Spectator*, "The Circulation of Literature", in June 1863, bears this out. The most published category of books was in fact "Religious Works", with 942 titles published in 1862 (16); poetry held up quite well with 673 titles, although this figure also includes "General Literature", but fiction far outstrips it with 925 titles. As Rhoda Flaxman has argued Dickens and other novelists of the time had appropriated word-painting and other traditional resources of poetry, to create a new, mixed (and very successful) genre (20).

Another anxiety, which is more obvious with Palgrave's project, is the idea that poetry has no constant value, but its value fluctuates with the market. Thus in bad years fewer titles are published and fewer copies sold. Just as we saw with Coleridge in chapter one, critics were prepared to see the value of the literary object increase by its commodification,[30] but also wanted to see this value fixed immutably. Thus in an article, "On Readers in 1760 and 1860", published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in April 1860, when the first seeds of the idea of *The Golden Treasury* had no doubt already been sown in his mind, we find Palgrave deploring the mass-market in books, not for its most obvious features, but because it devalues books, by encouraging the wrong sort of reading:

> it does not seem to me that it is in a marked degree the mere number of new books, or the over-influence of advertisements, which renders good books scarce and good readers almost scarcer. Genius and Industry will not naturally heed the crowd in the market, nor is the difference between their works and the wares of the crowd less than at any former period. The root of the wrong

> appears to be, that people, unless profession or scientific interest influences them, go to books for something almost similar to what they find in social conversation. Reading tends to be only another kind of gossip. Everything is to be read, and everything is read only once; a book is no more a treasure to be kept and studied and known by heart, as the truly charming phrase has it, if deserving that intimacy. (453)

So *The Golden Treasury* was conceived as just this treasure, a perpetual possession of constant value.[31] One of the features that Palgrave stresses to emphasise this innate quality of his work is one I have already mentioned—its completeness, a feature, as we have seen, not stressed at all in the tradition of "beauties"; if this insistence comes from anywhere it comes from the antiquarian tradition. But if now we look at some of these earlier works that Palgrave used as sources for the poems in his collection we can begin to appreciate what a defensive position, in contrast to theirs, *The Golden Treasury* represents.

Palgrave used Chalmers' *Works of the English Poets* as his first resort (*GT* 6) and then went on to supplement Chalmers with lyrics from other sources—one such was Robert Bell's *Songs from the Dramatists* (Tillotson 49, *GT* 445).[32] Chalmers' work we have already met with; Bell's work is part of a series edited and published by him, entitled *The Annotated Edition of the English Poets*. This represents a development from the sort of collection envisaged and produced by Chalmers, as now the criteria of completeness include suitable annotations, as the puff for the series (repeated verbatim from volume to volume) puts it:

> The necessity for a revised and carefully Annotated Edition of the English Poets may be found in the fact that no such publication exists. The only Collections we possess consist of naked and frequently imperfect Texts, put forth without sufficient literary supervision. Independently of other defects, these voluminous collections are incomplete as a whole, from their omission of many Poets whose works are of the highest interest, while the total absence of critical and illustrative Notes renders them comparatively worthless to the Student of our National Literature.

The scope of the Bell Edition, which ran to more than 50 volumes (Palgrave "Growth" 435), was only made possible by the new technology of printing and the new readership of the mass book-market,[33] but this change in readership also demanded a change in the standards of presentation. The nakedness of the text, or worse still, the nakedness of the imperfect text, cannot be allowed to affront the reading public any longer. The attendant "disciplinary" (in the Foucauldian sense) aspects of the puff are too obvious to need labouring.

A further feature of this series is its attempt to supplement prior, "complete" collections with the corpus of lyrical and ballad poetry which they had neglected. I quote the puff again:

> The Edition now proposed will be distinguished from all preceding Editions in many important respects. It will include the works of several Poets entirely omitted from previous Collections, especially of those stores of Lyrical and Ballad Poetry in which our literature is richer than that of any other country and which, independently of their poetical claims, are peculiarly interesting as illustrative of Historical Events and National Customs.[34]

But if Bell's *Annotated Edition* designs to make itself complete by including the lyric resources of English poetry, among others, Palgrave's is very much an attempt to produce a complete treasury in which *only* lyric gold is to be found: it represents a collection which includes the whole of the lyric spirit of English poetry, or, in a different metaphor—from the Preface to later editions of *The Golden Treasury*—the grain, presumably threshed from the sheaf and winnowed to remove the chaff:

> Some poems ... have been added:—either on better acquaintance;—in deference to critical suggestions;—or unknown to the editor when first gathering his harvest. (*GT* 8)

The desire for completeness in his collection is taken further by Palgrave and becomes an insistence on the unity of the poems that he includes. This unity is of several sorts: first the poems must themselves be complete—not for Palgrave the extract, the mainstay of many a prior collection, and roundly condemned, at about this time, by Charles Kingsley: "The Young have been taught to admire the laurels of Parnassus, but only after they have been clipped and pollarded like a Dutch shrubbery" (quoted in Altick 177). Although Palgrave is not above a little discreet pruning himself, this is merely to complete the poem, by excluding strictly those extraneous elements the poet neglected to exclude him/herself:

> The poems are printed entire, except in a very few instances where a stanza or passage has been omitted. These omissions have been risked only when the piece could be thus brought to a closer lyrical unity: and, as essentially opposed to this unity, extracts, obviously such, are excluded. (*GT* 6)

In a more famous passage he enlarges on this conception of the unity of the lyric:

> Lyrical has been here held essentially to imply that each Poem shall turn on some single thought, feeling, or situation. In accordance with this narrative, descriptive, and didactic poems,—unless accompanied by rapidity of movement, brevity and the colouring of human passion,—have been excluded. (*GT* 5)

And a little later when laying down the criteria that determine the quality of a poem

he lists the following:

> That a poem shall be worthy of the writer's genius,—that it shall reach a perfection commensurate with its aim,—that we should require finish in proportion to brevity,—that a few good lines do not make a good poem, that popular estimate is serviceable as a guidepost rather than as a compass,—above all, that excellence should be looked for rather in the whole than in the parts. (*GT* 6)

Also stressed by Palgrave is the rigorous selection procedure that the poems went through before they could be admitted to the anthology, whilst reserving final authority for the editor:

> [The Editor] may ... add that the pieces chosen, and a far larger number rejected, have been carefully and repeatedly considered; and that he has been aided throughout by two friends of independent and exercised judgement, besides the distinguished person addressed in the Dedication. It is hoped that by this procedure the volume has been freed from the one-sidedness which must beset individual decisions:—but for the final choice the editor is alone responsible. (*GT* 6)

Before ending this section I should like to consider briefly a couple of points that this discussion of unity has raised. Firstly in connection with the definition of "lyric disorder". In my last chapter I note and discuss further, in the context of Free Verse, a common view to the effect that *within* the unity of the lyric form the lyric itself could be possessed of its own disorder. Palgrave has a reflection of this in his notes to his *Lyrical Poems by Alfred Lord Tennyson*:

> Great would probably be the gain, if English verse could not only be relieved of the commonplace element which rhyme, more or less, all but inevitably carries with it, but become also capable of reproducing the exquisite endless variety, the inner structural life, if I may so express it, of the ancient metres.[35]

However elsewhere we find Palgrave noting with approval that although the classical metres allow so much scope for variety, in practice there is little variety in the examples that have come down to us (*Visions* xii). For, he implies, a judicious rhythm is essential for the guarantee of unity of a poem; as for English accentual verse in the lyric mode, he continues:

> the irregular, arrythmical [sic] lyric seems to me ever to want this essential purity, this severity of metre: whilst, when the language is accentual, not quantitative, in character, the unrhymed irregular lyric, with its even more unsatisfactory sister, the bastard modern hexameter ... appear to me forms which barely merit the Great Name of Poetry. (xiii)

To return, finally in this section, to *The Golden Treasury*. There is one logical corollary to the claim for unity and completeness that Palgrave, admittedly, does not

disguise, although it is bizarre in the extreme. The epigraph that Palgrave finally chose for his anthology is a choral lyric from one of the fragments of Euripides[36]; translated it runs: "Sitting in the meadow, he picks, one by one, untasted flowers for choice, with a happy heart." It is one of the prime tropes of this work and the criticism of the lyric tradition in general, to hint at the rich, undiscovered treasures of poetry, to offer its readers αγρευμ ανθεον. However, the problem with this idea is that an anthology which is complete cannot, in fact, offer its readers, especially if they are members of the élite group of "good readers" that Palgrave was hoping for in his *Macmillan's Magazine* article, *anything* new, and this Palgrave points out in the very first paragraph of his Preface: "the Editor will regard as his fittest readers those who love poetry so well, that he can offer them nothing not already known and valued" (*GT* 5). And this strange, though logical, admission will be found in many another anthology subsequent to Palgrave's, though these often use *The Golden Treasury* as the standard against which to measure their stature, as we shall see in the section after next.

I hope that these examples demonstrate how the desire for unity, itself sparked by a fear that the collection might lack an absolute standard of quality, is explicit in Palgrave's Preface and in other of his writings. In the next section I should like to consider the search for historical unity in *The Golden Treasury*.

The Historicity of *The Golden Treasury*

In a further passage from the Preface to *The Golden Treasury* Palgrave continues his explication of the unity of the poems in his collection and the collection itself, and begins to construct an historical argument:

> It is hoped that the contents of this Anthology will thus be found to present a certain unity, "as episodes", in the noble language of Shelley, "to that great Poem which all poets, like the co-operating thoughts of one great mind, have built up since the beginning of the world". (7)

At about the same time as *The Golden Treasury* appeared, Palgrave published two articles in the *Quarterly Review* which give a more extended historical argument than the hints to be found in his anthology. The first of these "The Growth of English Poetry" is a fairly predictable paean to the first great age of English poetry, that which ended with Milton, which is coincidental with the first great age of English history:

> What the Lyric poets were to the youthful energies of Asiatic and Insular Hellas, what the great dramatists were to Athens in her glory, the poets from

> Spenser to Milton were to us. In their works we see England, from Elizabeth to Cromwell, interpreted to herself. (452)

A more interesting piece is the second of these essays, "English Poetry from Dryden to Cowper", for here Palgrave encounters difficulties. He finds trouble in characterising an age for which he seems to have little sympathy and yet he cannot simply dismiss the eighteenth century, as this would disrupt the evolutionary scheme that lies behind his writings on poetry.[37] Like Darwin's, Palgrave's is a gradualist evolutionary scheme, and, no doubt influenced by the contemporary debate over *The Origin of Species*, he introduces into his essay a metaphor from palaeontology:

> the difference in manner between Herrick and Sedley ... is like the difference which we often perceived in our Museums, between the fossils of two contiguous strata. Yet, unlike as they may seem, to the geologist's eye they are closely related by links lying perhaps in other regions, or by his knowledge of the physical causes which induced consecutive formations. Turning from the superficial agencies which strike at first sight—what are the larger underlying laws which governed this progress in poetry?—laws in which we shall find the true history of changes not less interesting and important than the transition from the
> Mollusc to the Vertebrate. (149-51)[38]

Palgrave's subject in this evolutionary scheme is nothing less than the Human Spirit, whose progress is found in the progress of poetry[39]:

> For Poetry, under her own peculiar laws, is, more perhaps than any other pursuit of man, the direct reflection of the spirit of every age as it passes. The mirror she holds up is not so much to Nature at large as to Human Nature. (146)

What, then, Palgrave manages to argue for the century which, for him, has no poetry, is that its character is to have invented the "Spirit of Criticism" and thereby assisted the "modern spirit" in poetry to emerge (151-52). The effect of this is described in terms consonant with the lyric project that Palgrave was pursuing elsewhere:

> if the reader now calls to mind the passage in which the love of life is dwelt on in Gray's "Elegy", he will see how vast a gain it has been to our poetry to pass through this critical process, to be compelled to think *clearly and briefly*, to finish accurately.... a more complete form of poetry was only rendered possible by the transit through these successive reactionary stages. (153-54, my italics)

But despite this Palgrave cannot disguise his feeling that criticism is inferior to the creative arts:

> There is, however, a sense in which criticism and inquiry, although the necessary preludes to growth, are themselves rather destructive or stationary than creative. But we feel above all things that creation is the proper sphere of Art. (156)

Specifically, and this is one of Palgrave's most bizarre claims about a century that founded most of the modern sciences as we know them, he claims that it lacked sufficient knowledge of itself and its historical situation:

> But the want of comparative science in history, philosophy, and language—of which we are now only beginning to see that it points to issues not less momentous than those of the *Cinque-cento* itself—rendered the earlier critical scholarship, especially in the matter of Art, premature and partial. (158-59)

The solution to this lack of the proper synthesis of poetic spirit and critical knowledge is to be found, according to the logic of Palgrave's argument, in the lyric tradition of poetry that holds up as his exemplum:

> It is easy to understand why Dryden's "Alexander's Feast" was once held "the finest ode in the language". If compared with Spenser's "Epithalamion" or Milton's "Nativity", it has a condensation, a directness, a clearness in form, a straightforward power of phrase, and a dramatic character, which not only made it a real advance, but, united with its vigour and resonance, concealed its deficiencies in imaginative force, grace, and truth of passion. Let the reader take the poems just named, with Collins' "Passions", Gray's "Bard", Shelley's "Ode to Liberty", Wordsworth's on "Immortality", and mark in these, or similar specimens, the splendid course of our lyric poetry. (156-57)

The seriousness with which Palgrave treats the essential importance of the lyric in the spiritual history of humanity can be gauged by the Preface to his volume of 1889, *The Treasury of Sacred Song*. It might be expected that Palgrave would regard most song as sacred and indeed in this Preface he seems to prefer his own brand of sacred song over the conventional, ecclesiastical sort. For, he argues, "sacred verse can hardly go beyond one province: to expect masterpieces in our field approximately as numerous as those in the secular lyric is unreasonable" (vii).

Precisely how the lyric effects the embodiment of history that Palgrave expects of it is explained in the Preface to a volume of Palgrave's own verse, *The Visions of England*. After noting that "our history is so eminently rich and varied, and at the same time, by the fact of our insular position, so stamped with unity, that from days very remote it has supplied matter for song" (vii), he goes on to deplore the "annalistic" verse that was the medieval attempt to embody history after a brief phase of lyrical historical verse, snuffed out by the Normans (vii). He then announces his intention in the poems of the volume in a long passage which is worth quoting extensively, for it is all to the purpose:

> A nation's history cannot but present many dull or confused periods, many men and things intractable to poetry, though, perhaps, politically effective and

> important, which cannot, however, be excluded from any narrative aiming at consecutiveness.... My attempt has therefore been to revert to the earlier and more natural conditions of poetry, and to offer,—not a continuous narrative; not poems on every critical moment or conspicuous man in our long annals,—but single lyrical pictures of such leading or typical characters, and scenes in English history, and only such, as have seemed to me to be amenable to a strictly poetical treatment. Poetry, not History, has, hence, been my first and last aim; or perhaps I might define it, History for Poetry's sake. (viii-ix)

We have clearly come a long way from the earlier antiquarian view of poetry as illustrative of history; now history is illustrative of poetry. But at the same time Palgrave still insists, here in *The Golden Treasury* (ix) and elsewhere, on the strict historical accuracy of his efforts. In *The Golden Treasury*'s insistence on providing the best texts (6)[40] and the provision of the Summaries of the four books and the notes on the poems is demonstrated the adoption of features of antiquarian poetry-publications but for a radically aestheticised history.[41] For these notes, predicated upon a lyric sameness[42], are, as I noted earlier, lyrical history, and supplement the history of the progress of the human spirit narrated in a lyricised selection of poems.[43]

Furthermore there is often found in Palgrave's writing a distinction between true history, as exemplified in lyric poetry, and the quotidian world of historical chance and change. In "English Poetry from Dryden to Cowper" Palgrave describes some of the characteristics of eighteenth-century verse-production and adds:

> the reader [would not] be thankful for details regarding the vast flood of occasional verse, epistles, satires, epigrams, humorous narrative, and trivial ditties and ballads, which fill our collections with sketches of the time so lively that we should deeply regret to lose to history what is rarely of much value as song. (164)

In the notes to *The Golden Treasury* he writes of a certain type of eighteenth-century verse:

> the union of conventional and of common language, exhibited most conspicuously by Burns, has given a tone to the poetry of that century, which is better explained by reference to its historical origin than by labelling it artificial. (425-26)

Indeed there is often in Palgrave's annotations to his poets and their poems a tension between their historical particularities and the grand narrative in which Palgrave wants to insert them. In his *Songs and Sonnets by William Shakespeare* Palgrave successfully captures the lyric essence of Shakespeare, who figures in the essay "The Growth of English Poetry" as the high point of the first phase of English poetry:

> The object of this collection is to bring the purely lyrical works of Shakespeare, and the lyrical only, within a portable volume. The *Venus* and the *Lucrece*,

> which in modern times have generally accompanied the Sonnets (as belonging rather to the class of lyrical narrative, than lyric pure), are hence omitted, together with a very few sonnets connected closely in subject with the *Venus*, and marked like it, by a warmth of colouring unsuited for the larger audience—compared with that before the Elizabethan Muses—which poetry now addresses. (236)

As I noted above the emphasis on shortness and unity provides Palgrave with an excuse for his censorship; the longer narrative poems of Shakespeare exceed the bounds of the lyrical and have unfortunately seduced away some of the sonnets, but aesthetic generic considerations allow Palgrave to exclude those poems that are not true to their genre, true to themselves.[44] *The Golden Treasury* represents an even greater opportunity for such control over the texts he edits, as Palgrave can choose out of a poet's entire canon such poems as will suit his purposes. But just occasionally the poets are particularly intractable and Palgrave grumbles at them in his notes:

> Sidney's poetry is singularly unequal; his short life, his frequent absorption in public employment, hindered doubtless the development of his genius. His great contemporary fame, second only, it appears, to Spenser's, has hence been obscured. At times he is heavy and even prosaic; his simplicity is rude and bare; his verse unmelodious.... (413-14)

> Perhaps no writer who has given such strong proofs of the poetic nature has left less satisfactory poetry than Thomson. Yet this song, with "Rule Britannia" and a few others, must make us regret that he did not more seriously apply himself to lyrical writing. (429)

I have in this section used my title punningly: the "historicity" of the title refers both to the historical scheme that Palgrave uses, one not unlike Pater's aesthetic historicism, and to my reading of the historical contingencies and imperatives that produced Palgrave's work. Briefly I see these as the prior types of poetry-publication, the collected poets, antiquarian publications and anthologies of beauties that Palgrave took over and used for his own, new project. And his project consists of an insistence on the unity and the value of the poetic tradition and the literary object at a time when its value had been raised by its entering the market, but by that entry, forever debarred from any claim to absolute value, as the subsequent fluctuations in the demand for poetry demonstrated. In the next section I shall examine the influence of *The Golden Treasury* on the subsequent tradition of anthologies and on the popular conception of poetry and argue that the greatest achievement of *The Golden Treasury* has been to naturalise and prioritise the idea of the lyric in the popular conception of poetry.

The Influence of *The GoldenTreasury*

In this and the next section I will describe some of the features of *The Golden Treasury*'s influence and explore the implications of these for the lyric tradition that I am investigating. The first thing to note about *The Golden Treasury* is how outstandingly successful it was. Palgrave, in his Preface, had hoped that "the Poets of England [should be] honoured, wherever the dominant language of the world is spoken" (8) but, whether or not this has occurred, it is certainly the case that wherever the Empire took English so *The Golden Treasury* followed as a sort of dominant poetry-text. Christopher Ricks, in one of the appendices to his edition of *The Golden Treasury* provides these statistics:

> *The Golden Treasury* won not only the field but the world. The four printings in the year of publication, 1861, were succeeded by reprintings in 1862, 1863, 1865, 1870, 1872, 1874, 1875, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1881, 1882, twice in 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1894 and 1896. Until the Second World War, sales then averaged over ten thousand a year, with more than 650,000 copies printed by that time. (444)

And this success is of course due to Palgrave's compiling the right anthology at the right time in terms of the "climate of opinion" with regard not only to poetry, but with regard to the publishing world, which by the 1860s was catering for an ever greater public, and providing more and greater publishing opportunities. Colin Horne unwittingly says as much when he claims that "like Arnold, though more gently, Palgrave sought to convert the Philistine and to enlighten the newly literate masses" (54). With the appearance of *The Oxford Book of English Verse* in 1900 came the first competitor with equal authority. However, like a cartel, together the two formed a bloc, often called "Oxgrave", which completely dominated the market for poetry anthologies, in Britain at any rate, until well after the Second World War.

Palgrave himself produced three further editions of his anthology, in 1883, 1890 and 1891, and since his death *The Golden Treasury*, whilst never out of print[45], has also reinvented itself on several occasions by being re-edited by poets in the public eye, such as Lawrence Binyon and Cecil Day-Lewis. As Christopher Clausen remarks, the effect of *The Golden Treasury* has been such that the idea of a lyric tradition of poetry has been so naturalised that many poets produce lyrics in the same mould, which can then slip easily between the covers of an up-dated edition (81). Indeed Christopher Ricks writes: "*The Golden Treasury* has been profoundly effective just because it at once ministers to and mitigates the ordinary reader's belief that essentially poetry *is* the lyric" (449, see also Horne 63), and David Lindley in his

monograph on the lyric agrees that there is a persistent belief in the twentieth century that the true heart of poetry is the lyric (76). Colin Horne, writing in 1949, gives an extended eulogy of Palgrave's work:

> It was Palgrave's intention to bring together in the *Golden Treasury* the best songs and lyrics of our language "in a form suitable for reading at all times and in all places". In that endeavour he has been admirably successful. Since its appearance in 1861 it has gone through innumerable editions and its popularity has scarcely declined to-day. No book so often used in the classroom is so well beloved outside it, and its influence on the poetic taste of several generations has been incalculable. (54)

Kathleen Tillotson, in a recent article on the work, writes: "No Victorian anthology has had a longer life or a greater influence—more truly educational than anything else that came out of an Education Department" (52).[46] More recently the Penguin Classics edition of the work has elicited a long panegyric on the wholesome influence of *The Golden Treasury* from Brad Leithauser in *The New Yorker*, an example of its transcultural influence.[47]

Another tangible influence of *The Golden Treasury* is the use of the term "Treasury" to denote an anthology of the same type as the parent work; by about 1900 the term had come to be as much a generic one as "Beauties" was a hundred years earlier. Palgrave himself continued his anthologising with *The Treasury of Sacred Song* (for the Clarendon Press) and selections from Shakespeare and Tennyson, as well as *The Golden Treasury: Second Series* of 1897. When we come to examine the advertising pages at the back of *Songs and Sonnets by Shakespeare* we find that by 1879 Macmillan had included in its "Golden Treasury Series" no less than 32 titles; some of these were poetry (eg *the Ballad Book*, edited by William Allingham, *The Song Book*, *La Lyre Française*, *Deutsche Lyrik* and *Scottish Song*) but most were prose, belles-lettres and even single works, such as *Tom Brown's School-days*. This series, which later expanded still further, was doubtless a clever marketing move by Macmillan, but evidence for the extent to which the publishing trade had taken on the Palgravian aesthetic project.

Such was the influence of the work that we find a very common trope in editors' introductions to anthologies is for the editor to wonder whether his work is not superfluous, in that Palgrave has already been there before, but then to find a plausible reason why a new anthology is nonetheless worthwhile. An early example of this is in the Preface to Archbishop Trench's *A Household Book of English Poetry*.[48] Here the Archbishop wonders

> whether Mr Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* had not so occupied the ground that there was no room for one who should come after. The [present] selection is one made with so exact an acquaintance with the sources from which his *Treasury* was to be replenished, with so fine a regard of what was worthy to be admitted there, that this was the conclusion to which I was first disposed to arrive. (v)[49]

But he justifies his collection by recourse to the idea that yet further riches await the knowledgeable and patient anthologist in the strata of English poetry:

> There is so much there which invites citation, and which has never been cited yet in any of our popular anthologies, that it is difficult to think that any one who had himself wandered in this garden of riches would not have carried off some flowers and fruits of his own gathering; instead of offering to us again, as most do, though it may be in somewhat different combinations, what already has been offered by others. (vi)

His work is indeed an early competitor to *The Golden Treasury*, especially when we consider that it was published by Palgrave's own publisher, Macmillan. From the evidence in the *NCBEL* (Watson III 177-78) it seems that for nearly two decades *The Golden Treasury* was virtually unchallenged, but from about 1880, when its influence had been consolidated and its common-sense, straightforward aestheticism had become a major literary mode, the flood-gates opened and a torrent of anthologies of a sub-Palgravian sort poured out. By the 1890s the idea of an anthology of the lyric tradition had become completely naturalised, so that, for example, the Introduction to John Dennis' collection *English Lyrics from Spenser to Milton* spends no time at all justifying itself, but is wholly devoted to talking about the lyrics themselves. Another example of the widespread acceptance of the idea of the lyric as the type of poetry is a series that Dent issued in the 1890s and 1900s entitled *The Lyric Poets*, where similarly, no explanation is offered for the lyric emphasis.[50] Another example is the anonymously edited *A Little Book of Lyrics* (1900) which has no introduction, foreword or preface at all! Palgrave had included sonnets within his wide definition of the lyric, but even those collections of more strict generic definition began to sound like a *Golden Treasury* updated with more recent aesthetic thought, as for example William Sharpe's *Sonnets of This Century* (1887):

> For the concise expression of an isolated poetic thought—an intellectual or seamless "wave" keenly felt, emotionally and rhythmically—the sonnet would seem to be the best medium, the means apparently prescribed by certain radical laws of melody and harmony, in other words, of nature. (xxiii)[51]

Another interesting aspect of the influence of *The Golden Treasury*, is that, while Palgrave relied on antiquarian-type publications for much of the original contents of his anthology, *The Golden Treasury* itself provoked a new wave of antiquarian re-

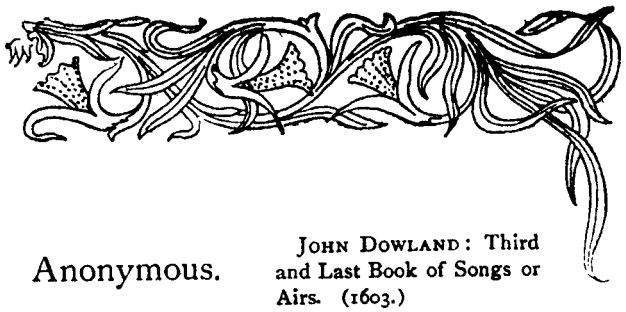
search and publication devoted to the lyric, which it was then able to absorb into its later editions. In his essay "The Growth of English Poetry" Palgrave had written of the importance of the four Elizabethan poetry collections *Tottel's Miscellany*, Edwards' *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, *England's Helicon* and Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, for an understanding of the Elizabethan period.[52] Now his work, or the ideas of the lyric tradition that his work embodied, spurred on A.H.Bullen to a self-imposed task of republishing most of the extant Elizabethan Lyrics. His publications of the period included: *Lyrics from the Song-books of the Elizabethan Age* (1887), *More Lyrics from the Song-books of the Elizabethan Age* (1888), *Lyrics from the Dramatists of the Elizabethan Age* (1889) and *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical from the Romances and Prose-tracts of the Elizabethan Age* (1890), as well as reprints of *England's Helicon* (1887) and Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1890). Bullen's prefaces to these volumes are extremely terse and apart from a few statements of the value of the poems he has republished the only trace of the lyric tradition is in his remorseless insistence on the lyric as a subject for republication.[53]

In later editions of *The Golden Treasury* Palgrave expresses his gratitude to this post-1861 generation of scholars:

> For aid in these after-gleanings he is especially indebted to the excellent reprints of early verse given us by Dr.Hannah, Dr.Grosart, Mr.Arber, Mr Bullen, and others.... (8)[54]

Palgrave acknowledges Bullen specifically in his notes (413) as he does also W.J.Linton's *Rare Poems* (1883) and O.Shipley's *Carmina Mariana* (1893) (414, 423). Such was Palgrave's indebtedness to this generation of scholars that the original 61 poems of *The Golden Treasury*'sfirst book had increased in number to 84 in subsequent editions (Horne 59). A final example of this sort of influence we might mention here is F.A.Cox's *English Madrigals in the Time of Shakespeare*, a scholarly work which in its historical introduction has hardly a trace of Palgravian or aesthetic influence, but the pages of which are adorned with "aesthetic" wood-cuts (see **figure two**, opposite).

By the time Arthur Quiller-Couch came to edit *The Oxford Book of English Verse* he no longer needed to feel intimidated by *The Golden Treasury*, then thirty-nine years old, and although the parent anthology, now the parent of a large and expanding family. In his Preface Quiller-Couch speaks amicably of Palgrave's work and of others more recent:



Anonymous. JOHN DOWLAND: Third and Last Book of Songs or Airs. (1603.)

WEEP you no more, sad fountains:
What need you flow so fast?
Look how the snowy mountains
Heaven's sun doth gently waste!
But my sun's heavenly eyes
View not your weeping,
That now lies sleeping
Softly, now softly lies
Sleeping.

Sleep is a reconciling,
A rest that peace begets:—
Doth not the sun rise smiling,
When fair at even he sets?
—Rest you, then, rest, sad eyes!
Melt not in weeping!
While she lies sleeping
Softly, now softly lies
Sleeping!

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Figure 2: a page from F.A.Cox's *English Madrigals*

> Few of my contemporaries can erase—or would wish to erase—the dye their minds took from the late Mr Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*: and he who has returned to it again and again with an affection born of companionship on many journeys must remember not only what the *Golden Treasury* includes, but the moment when this or that poem appealed to him, and even how it lies on the page. To Mr Bullen's *Lyrics from the Elizabethan Song Books* and his other treasuries I own a more advised debt. Nor am I free of obligation to anthologies even more recent—to Archbishop Trench's *Household Book of Poetry*, Mr Locker-Lampson's *Lyra Elegantarium*, Mr Miles' *Poets and Poetry of the Century*, Mr Beeching's *Paradise of English Poetry*, Mr Henley's *English Lyrics*, Mrs Sharp's *Lyra Celtica*, Mr Yeats' *Book of Irish Verse*, and Mr Churton Collins' *Treasury of Minor British Poetry*.... (ix-x)

Meanwhile, in 1897, shortly before his death, Palgrave had published *The Golden Treasury: Second Series*. *The Golden Treasury* of 1861 had excluded the works of poets then living, and although Palgrave later explained this as due to the difficulty of choosing before Time itself had chosen from amongst the poems (*GT: Second Series*

ii), his search, in his other editorial work, for the Timeless Poem undermines this argument. For if lyric is of the same essence and type at all times, as the critical presuppositions lying behind his anthologies seem to suggest, why is there any need to wait for Time to make its choice?

In *The Golden Treasury: Second Series* of 1897 Palgrave attempted to supplement his canon of lyric poetry by including the poetry of more recent poets—at long last Tennyson's poetry made its appearance in a *Golden Treasury*, with a selection of his poems instead of the dedication alone, as in *The Golden Treasury* of 1861[55]; along with Tennyson, other leading Victorian poets gained their recognition. But this supplement functions very much as the Derridean *supplement*: it is a collection designed to augment the inclusiveness of *The Golden Treasury*, but instead undermines the completeness of the earlier collection by demonstrating the need for a supplement. Palgrave's Preface to the later work acknowledges this by firstly re-stating the category of the lyric, then describing how the genre has escaped from itself:

> A decided preference for Lyrical poetry—to which in all ages the perplexed or overburdened heart has fled for relief and confession—has shown itself for sixty years or more; an impulse traceable in large measure to the *subjective* temper of the age, and indeed already in different phases foreshown by Shelley and by Wordsworth. For this preference (whilst the national or commemorative Ode has become rare), followed a vast extension in length of our lyrics: their work is apt to be less concentrated than that of their best predecessors, classical or English: whilst, concurrently, they have at the same time often taken a dramatic character... (i)

This retreat from the strictness of his earlier definitions affects Palgrave's editing too—in the Notes he gives a rationale in very much the same words as in the earlier *Golden Treasury* but adds a second clause:

> In this and a certain number of other poems portions, large or small, have been omitted... where the piece could be thus brought, it is hoped, to a closer lyrical unity: or where the immensely increased length of the Victorian lyrics (as stated in the Preface) outran the limited space. (256)

The Preface abandons too the idea of inclusiveness:

> despite this whole volume dedicated to a harvest of song more copious than even that famed Elizabethan outflowering [sic], it has not been possible to renew the attempt made in the former book, wherein with but three or four exceptions on the ground of length, all our best lyrics (so far as I could judge) were gathered... (ii)

This paradoxical supplementarity of *The Golden Treasury: Second Series* is demonstrated too in the history of its reception. The volume never attained the

popularity of the earlier *Treasury*, perhaps because so many *Treasury*-clones had already appeared to cover the same ground, and was never reprinted. On the other hand *The Golden Treasury: Second Series* is frequently not distinguished, by bibliographers and librarians, from reprinted editions of the original *Golden Treasury* (for example Watson III 545).

However, despite this wavering of lyric faith on Palgrave's part, Quiller-Couch, for his part, has no doubts in the Preface of *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, his attempt to out-Palgrave Palgrave. The tone of this piece, backed by the cultural authority of Oxford, is magisterial:

> For this Anthology I have tried to range over the whole field of English Verse from the beginning, or from the Thirteenth Century to this closing year of the Nineteenth, and to choose the best. (vii)

But Quiller-Couch continues the metaphor of treasure in his subsequent remarks, referring to the contents he has selected as "spoils" (vii). If his preface reads in a very familiar way, this is because Quiller-Couch makes many of the same rhetorical moves as Palgrave did in his preface, forty years earlier.[56] There is, for example, the same strategic hesitation over the definition of the "lyrical", coupled with an insistence on its value:

> The numbers chosen are either lyrical or epigrammatic. Indeed I am mistaken if a single epigram included fails to preserve at least some faint thrill of emotion through which it had to pass before the Muse's lips let it fall [sic], with however exquisite deliberation. But the lyrical spirit is volatile and notoriously hard to bind with definitions; and seems to grow wilder with the years. (ix)

And as Palgrave has his Greek quotation, so Quiller-Couch has his, two hexameters from Theocritus. But in contrast to Palgrave's epigraph, which had stressed the qualities of the poetry he had selected, rather than the anthologist, "Q" seem to refer to his task as that of a modern-day rhapsode: "If I am not called I will stay at home, but if I am called I will take heart and go with the Muses to the house where I am summoned".

By the time of the 1939 edition, however, the tone of the additional Preface has become very different and we find Quiller-Couch in a much less confident, more nervously jokey, mood; his selection has now become a bulwark against the disenchanted voices of the post First World War generation of poets, which the terminal date of the new *OBEV* (1918) was presumably designed to exclude:

> I am at a loss what to do with a fashion of morose disparagement; of sneering at things long by catholic consent accounted beautiful; of scorning at 'Man's unconquerable mind' and hanging up (without benefit of laundry) our common humanity as a rag on a clothes-line. Be it allowed that the present times are dark. Yet what are our poets of use [sic]—what are they *for*—if they cannot hearten the crew with auspices of daylight? ... The reader, turning the pages of this book, will find this note of valiancy—of the old Roman 'virtue' mated with cheerfulness—dominant throughout, if in many curious moods. (xiii)

The Twentieth-Century Influence of *The Golden Treasury* and Conclusion

It may be that there is a danger in continuing to chart the influence of *The Golden Treasury* into the twentieth century, the danger being that of taking the work's overwhelming emphasis on the lyric at face value, and ending up with a reading of its influence which reads its own estimation of the value of the lyric into the twentieth century. My final chapter will, I hope, substantiate my claims for the influence of the lyric tradition on British criticism in the twentieth century and meanwhile, as we have seen in Quiller-Couch's Preface to the second edition of the *OBEV*, anthologies in the Palgrave mode continued to replicate themselves well into the next century.[57]

The influence of Palgrave will be obvious enough in such aesthetic hang-overs as George Moore's *Anthology of Pure Poetry* (1924) where we find the same imperative to include only complete poems, although here this imperative has been transformed by subsequent aesthetic doctrine so that "complete" comes to be defined as exclusive of any subjective elements (34). The idea of an anthology which is itself "complete" is stressed too, for this is to be "an anthology of pure poetry, the only one that is lacking on the book-stalls" (34) and later in the Preface, which is in the form of a conversation between Moore, Walter de la Mare and John Freeman, de la Mare says: "We have come down to Modern times, and it behooves us to make sure that we have not overlooked anybody of the first importance" (40).

There is also quite a genre in the twentieth century of anthologies which exist to provide poems not in Oxgrave, such as Norman Ault's *A Treasury of Unfamiliar Lyrics* (1938), which is almost entirely free of the aesthetic baggage of Moore's anthology, and contains all the assurance of scholarship and learning that the *OBEV* does, as when Ault makes a point of signing himself off, at the end of his Preface, as from "Oxford". Even less aesthetic, and almost overpoweringly reasonable, is James Reeves' and Martin Seymour-Smith's anthology *A New Canon of English Poetry* (1967). The editors' task, as set for themselves in the Introduction, is more modest than their

title:

> We have tried ... to concentrate on the *unaccountably* neglected—the poems which Oxgrave ought to have known about and admired.... We do not deny that there are certain poets, notably Scott and Byron, whom we consider earlier editors to have over-valued; at the same time, we must insist that there is no part of our purpose to supplant the canon they laid down.
> We wish simply to modify, supplement and extend it. (xvii-iii)

And their project is simply to tinker with the canon, to provide, for example, a "reliable text" of Raleigh's "Cynthia" (xvi), to add a little American poetry (Emily Dickinson and Trumbull Stickney) and to commend certain previously uncommended English poets such as Daniel Defoe and Hartley Coleridge (xvii). They do, however, have an interesting insight into the way in which the Oxgrave canon has the effect of keeping certain poems current, but also how this can be a reductive process:

> Many tend to forget or ignore what is not in Oxgrave; it passes out of currency. So also do those poems in the standard anthologies which, with the passing of time, turn out to be inferior. Little that is new is added to replace the casualties, with the result that the reader tends to enjoy a contracting canon of classical poetry. (xv)

Another influence is the popular vocabulary of worth applied to poems, specifically lyric poems, and the continuing myth, if I may use the term, of the rich treasury of undiscovered poetry still accruing interest against the day of its discovery, as in the Introduction to Norman Ault's *Elizabethan Lyrics from Original Texts*:

> To carry out my plan I felt compelled to undertake a fresh survey at first hand of the whole field of Elizabethan verse, entailing a careful search through upwards of two thousand printed books, and nearly three hundred manuscripts of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Out of a preliminary selection of 2300 lyrics I have chosen 640, which seem in some special way to be illustrative, either of the lyric movement of the period as a whole, or of its highest achievement. In such a selection, while the best-known poets are necessarily represented by those miracles of song which no familiarity can stale, many less well-known but no less exquisite examples of their work find a place. But my researches also brought to light numerous unexpected treasures by other poets little known, long since forgotten, or anonymous,—poets whose whole work has not in a few instances come down to us in a single copy.... Wherever practicable I have gone back to the original MSS, and not infrequently I have been rewarded by the discovery of older versions or better texts of poems already known to the literary world. I found, too, that the searcher in old music books and other MSS of the period may still occasionally light upon poems of genuine merit.... (ix-x)

Which will no doubt read in a very familiar manner, as composed almost exclusively of the ideas, metaphors and tropes I have been discussing.

What I also want to insist on, almost finally, is the complete success of *The Golden Treasury* and cognate works in naturalising the lyric as a literary object to be prized and valued in a special way—despite the fact that there is no antecedent for such a cult of the lyric, on its own, or in the context of this mode of anthology-publication. The lineal descendants of eighteenth-century collections of songs were, in the early years of this century, the latest music-halls hits, later, the latest Cole Porter songs and later still, as I have pointed out, the latest rock-hits. Forms are not essential, nor are they fixed, so there is nothing inherently wrong with a new genre of publication, such as the Palgravian anthology. But the lyric tradition, whilst relying on a new genre of publication, exists in a tradition that insists that such forms *are* essential and in this it lays itself open to the charge of having hijacked the significance of one mode of publication to use as the heritage of another, wholly new form.[58] This is the process I have been attempting to untangle in this chapter.

Finally, I should like to consider an oddity, an attack on anthologies launched from the sort of English common-sense aesthetic position of which Palgrave is such a wonderful example. Robert Graves' and Laura Riding's pamphlet *Anthologies* falls into two parts; the second is a witty and devastating attack on the sort of poem that the authors consider is produced and preserved by the tradition of anthologies. This category includes W.B.Yeats' "The Lake Isle of Innisfree", Walter de la Mare's "Arabia" and John Masefield's "Cargoes". These are examples of "the perfect modern lyric" (185), which, according to the authors, has to possess certain characteristics:

> It must be fairly regular in form and easily memorized, it must be a new combination of absolutely worn-out material, it must have a certain unhealthy vigour or languor, and it must start engagingly with a simple sentimental statement. Somewhere a daring pseudo-poetical image must be included....If possible it must echo a familiar Biblical text. (185-86)

However, we have to wait a long time, to the very end of the piece in fact, for the definition of the true poem, which the decencies of argument necessitate. And when it appears it is in these familiar terms of unity and completeness:

> each element in a poem must be alive and reconciled to its neighbours; analogies must work out precisely; its events must have so complete an interdependence that a single idle or false word would spoil the poem's conclusion. (195)

This saving of the definition of the true poem until the end is a strategic one, for in the first part of the pamphlet no definition of the true poem appears either, although the logic of the argument, concerned with the correct way of presenting unauthored poetry, seems to demand one. The definition therefore remains conveniently absent,

and the true nature of poetry functions in the text as something which cannot be spoken.

In the first part of their pamphlet Graves and Riding allow that two sorts of anthology can exist. The first sort is the anthology of the type of Child's *Ballads* or Meleager's *Garland* (184-85, 169), that is, an anthology of material which would otherwise be difficult of access, or which would otherwise get lost. The second sort of legitimate anthologies would be those which are purely private, preferably handwritten, collections which must only be passed around amongst friends and never published (173, 177), a strange sort of middle-class *samizdat* literature. Later they imply that an anthology can have a useful function, to aid "the intelligent but unread reader who wishes to find out which poets he would like to know better" (183-84). But their arguments fail to help this unfortunate reader who is left, by implication, to face the independent and autonomous existence of hundreds of poetic texts entirely without editorial aid. Moreover their assertions that anthologies have a homogenizing tendency are couched in terms very reminiscent of Archbishop Trench, amongst others: "The popular anthologist always prefers the most commonplace to the most poetic version of a poem" (180-81). Finally, as already noted, if true poetry remains absent from the tradition of anthologies, in their reading, it is also absent from their text:

> But as with the brisking up of journalism, so with the anthologies: they have improved themselves with regard to everything but the one thing, poetry—as the newspapers with regard to everything but truth. (183)

****

In the first part of the thesis I have been examining several texts, notably the *Biographia Literaria* and *The Golden Treasury* closely to determine the features of them which make them significant in nineteenth century lyric poetics. In the following chapters I will be examining more texts, but in less detail, taking the features of lyric poetics as read, and instead attempting to delineate the wider field of lyric poetics and its influence. I shall be arguing that a lyrical poetics is the dominant form of criticism for both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Britain, just as lyric is the temporality of modernity. I hope that these two remaining chapters will be inclusive enough and at the same time specific enough to prove my argument.

Notes:

[1] I should make it clear that in this section, unless otherwise stated, all inferences are based on the titles of the books, rather than an examination of them. I realise the dangers of judging a book by its title, but I hope that as many of the points I shall be making are general ones, this is acceptable. But it is also the case that the title of a book, regardless of whether the contents of the volume are in strict accordance with it, is itself significant, as indicating the way in which the wants of prospective customers were anticipated by publishers and book-sellers.

[2] I should say at once that many of the things I have done with these data are unsophisticated from the point-of-view of statistical practice. However, my intention has been only to obtain approximate results to support general points. I should say that my categories are not always mutually exclusive, that is, that one volume could have been entered under categories 1, 3, 5 and 6, for example (though in practice few will be entered in more than two). Categories 1 and 2 are pretty well mutually exclusive, however. Finally, I should say that of the three statistics for each category the least useful is the third, the average number of volumes of that category published per year between 1660 and 1800. This is because no category was published in a consistent way for the whole period; there were periods where certain genres of poetry books were more popular than others. I shall be describing some of these changes in publishing practice later in this section.

[3] That is from the eighteenth century definition of the "literary", not the nineteenth's. In fact it is probably the case that "the literary", in the sense that we understand it, only emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century.

[4] To say nothing, of course, about the oral creation and transmission of song and ballad, which is wholly outside their province.

[5] I take Crawford's figure to represent approximately 25 songs per volume, assuming that he is using the same number of volumes of Scottish Song as I have gleaned from the *NCBEL*. I then multiply this by the number of volumes in my category 1, plus half the total of categories 2 and 3. I hope the reason for this will be apparent from my previous and subsequent discussion of my methods and inferences.

[6] It is my inference from Johnson's entry that he is disapproving of the mixing, of kind (as in his famous criticism of *Lycidas*), authorship and quality; in this case, when the mixing of kinds was involved in the genre of the miscellany. But it is difficult to say for certain; Cobbett once noted that Johnson's is a style in which is it impossible to tell the truth—but the truth for Cobbett, and for ourselves, is very different from the truths that Johnson dealt with.

[7] This is a very nice demonstration of the way in which a literary work and its contents take a great deal of meaning from the way in which they are published, which, if changed subsequently, changes the meaning of the work significantly.

[8] This title is not in the *NCBEL* and is outside Case's period; it is mentioned, however, by Ritson (*English Songs* ii).

[9] Campbell's description of the different criteria of value and ways of establishing this value is that modern, Romantic, bourgeois hedonism's control of individual pleasure is:

> unlike traditional [aristocratic] hedonism ... [in that it] is not gained solely, or even primarily, through the manipulation of objects and events in the world, but through a degree of control over their meaning (76).

[10] Goldsmith's specification of a male readership is surprising in view of the fact that female readership was very important for such publications of this period and subsequently.

[11] As well as the editor's comments we might note the physical appearance of this book. If Goldsmith's volume represents a reaction to the first opening up of the publishing market in the 1760s, then this volume shows the results of the new technology that was making mass-production of books possible by the 1820s (Erickson 894). It is a thoroughly modern-looking and feeling book, the paper is machine made and very smooth, the printing is even, scarcely impressed in the paper, presumably it is hot-metal type that was used, the printing is well-centred on each page, and the pages are evenly guillotined and trimmed.

Finally the book boasts eleven engravings, to illustrate Poets' Corner on the title-page, and the most notable of the poems thereafter.

[12] "Ancient" in this context probably means "seventeenth century".

[13] One of the earliest of these was Elizabeth Cooper's *The Muses Library* (1737), which claimed to be "a general collection of all the old valuable poetry extant, now so industriously enquir'd after, tho' rarely to be found, but in the studies of the curious" (quoted in Saunders *Profession* 98).

[14] A typical chapter heading of this book runs:

> Examination and specimens of the metrical romance of Richard I. Greek Fire. Military machines used in the Crusades. Musical instruments of the Saracen armies. Ignorance of Geography in the Dark Ages. (Contents Page)

By the second edition the work had expanded to four volumes and was described on the title page as: "Carefully revised with numerous additional notes by the late Mr Ritson, the late Dr Ashby, Mr Douce, Mr Park and other eminent Antiquaries, and by the Editor."

[15] This can be seen in the dedication of the work to the Duchess of Northumberland, his commencing the work with "The Ballad of Chevy Chase", and his inclusion of many pieces relating to the Percys.

[16] The pieces are the anonymous "The Ballad of the Nut-Browne Mayde", Sackville's "Induction" to *A Mirror for Magistrates*, Sir Thomas Overbury's *Wife*, *Edward III*, "thought to be writ by SHAKESPEARE" and "Nosce Teipsum" by Sir John Davies.

[17] Three such collections were: *Bell's Edition: The Poets of Great Britain Complete from Chaucer to Churchill* (1776-83) in 109 volumes, *A Collection of the English Poets* (1776-71) in 20 volumes and Johnson's *Works of the English Poets* (1779-81) in 68 volumes (*Watson* II 435-36).

[18] It might be helpful here to think of the role of song in drama.

[19] Or perhaps *The Golden Treasury* is exposed and interpreted by the cultural movement. This certainly was the case in my own investigations, where I had been studying the lyric tradition for some time before looking at *The Golden Treasury*. But that another researcher could experience the process the other way round is entirely possible and indicates that the question of the priority of the text or the cultural movement is another "chicken and egg" paradox. I use the word "synthesis" advisedly, for *The Golden Treasury*, in my view, attempts to transcend its historical situation, and lay claim to "naturalness" in a way that Ritson, for example, would not have wished to claim for any of his works.

[20] This series was to be a major quarrying ground for Palgrave in assembling *The Golden Treasury* (*GT* 439, Tillotson 50).

[21] That Collier was a literary forger—although most of his activity was confined to Shakespeare—and Ritson was not goes to show that a more modern forger may still appear to better advantage than an older non-forger, and perhaps proves that the content of a scholarly publication is less important in evaluating it subsequently than its *mode* and procedures, for, as Anthony Grafton argues, criticism and forgery are not mutually exclusive processes, but go hand in hand in many periods (124-27).

[22] In the quotation which the *OED* has under **Lyric** from *Don Juan*, Byron speaks of "high lyric".

[23] For Scott, one of the first collectors of oral ballads, the ballad would have meant a narrative poem, usually historical.

[24] An example of a song in a narrative poem which shows the characteristics of the new lyric is Ellen's "Ave Maria" from *The Lady of the Lake*.

[25] *The Fugitive Miscellany* is still aiming at a male, upper-class audience. Publications which were appealing to a middle-class readership had to more careful: Percy, for example, took care that nothing "immoral or indecent" should be found in the *Reliques* (xx), and Ritson's *Ancient Song* excluded libertine verse, though including a certain sort of determinedly genteel drinking-song.

[26] Several songs were excluded from *The Golden Treasury* on the grounds of indecency and

several more were very nearly excluded (Tillotson 52). Palgrave's most famous suppression was Spenser's *Epithalamion* on the grounds that it was "not in harmony with modern manners" (*GT* 442), despite his professed regard for it elsewhere ("Growth" 446). In later editions this note itself was suppressed and replaced with this note:

> The genius of Spenser, like Chaucer's, does itself justice only in poems of some length. Hence it is impossible to represent it in this volume by other pieces of equal merit, but of impractical dimensions. (*GT* 417)

The collocation of shortness and "safety" is a significant one; no doubt many of Chaucer's works would also have exceeded the bounds set for Palgrave by "modern manners". Needless to say Spenser's *Prothalamion* was printed by Palgrave.

[27] Although there is a definite emphasis on value here there is also a recognition in the metaphor of the construction of that value, as in Thomas Park's notes on value in his edition of *Nugæ Antiquæ*, quoted above. A treasury, on the other hand, is filled with natural wealth, principally gold. Palgrave is laying claim to this idea of natural value in a big way.

[28] I cite the recent Penguin Edition which is a variorum edition of the four editions of *The Golden Treasury* of Palgrave's lifetime coupled with a useful anthology of criticism and information, such as Christopher Ricks' essay "The Making of *The Golden Treasury*" (437-450), some notes (467-512), Palgrave's essay "On Readers in 1760 and 1860" (451-454) and other contemporary pieces.

[29] Joan Sutherland sees the Publishing Crash of 1826 as the break between the older and the newer temporalities of publication (151).

[30] This commodification is easiest to see in the *antiquarian* book-trade. For example the number of sales of books per year at Sotheby's increases from 4 in 1760, to 47 in 1900, and the number of sales per year, whilst the trend is generally upward, fluctuates according to the economic climate; thus in bad years (1825, 1840, 1870, 1885) the number dips dramatically (*Catalogue of Sales* Parts I & II).

[31] Ironically, as Saunders points out, *The Golden Treasury has* entered the small category of perpetual best-sellers, alongside the Bible and editions of Shakespeare (*Profession* 203).

[32] Throughout this chapter I am using "Palgrave" to stand for the editorial processes and discourses of *The Golden Treasury*. The true situation seems to have been that the initial idea for the work was Palgrave's, inspired by Allingham's *Nightingale Valley*. This received strong encouragement from Tennyson, Palgrave's friend and Palgrave then began work. He provided the bulk of the copy and this was subsequently worked over and winnowed by an informal panel of Palgrave, Tennyson and two friends, Thomas Woolner and George Miller (Ricks 438-440). I also use Palgrave's other critical writings to illuminate the nature of *The Golden Treasury*. I believe that this is justified insofar as Palgrave seems to have held remarkably consistent views throughout his life, but as I am, by implication, criticising Palgrave's assumptions of unity, I must acknowledge my own.

[33] The puff goes on to promise the "features of research, typographical elegance, and economy of price, which the present age demands". Despite the new "disciplinary" aspects of the series it also promises choice and convenience to its public: the puff makes clear that one novel feature of the series is that the individual volumes are complete in themselves and consequently the reader can buy as many or as few as desired (though presumably the series was much cheaper complete by subscription).

[34] Amongst such volumes the series included, of this kind of poetry: Robert Bell's *Songs from the Dramatists* (1854), his *Early Ballads, illustrative of History, Tradition and Customs* (1856) and his re-editing of John Dixon's 1846 Percy Society volume *Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England* (1857).

[35] We might perhaps remember that Tennyson was very interested in reviving classical metres in English, and Palgrave may well be deferring here to his friend's noted interests. Certainly *The Golden Treasury* is not devoted to unrhyming verse; only two of the 300-odd poems do not rhyme (Leithauser 99).

[36] Is it too far-fetched to wonder whether the fact that this lyric does not come from one of the Euripedean dramas which have survived complete might have recommended it to Palgrave?

[37] The similarities between Pater's historicism, discussed in chapter four, and Palgrave's views are marked.

[38] An entire history of English poetry written within such an evolutionary scheme is W.J.Courthorpe's six-volume *A History of English Poetry*, published between 1895 and 1910. Although at one point he criticises Pater's and Symonds' aesthetic history (I xxi), elsewhere his scheme seems indistinguishable from theirs, if a little more strident; this, for example, from the closing pages:

> If my narrative has enabled any reader to conceive "more distinctly" the gradual and majestic growth of the British Empire out of the institutions of the Middle Ages, or if it should suggest to any poet of our day fresh ideas wherein [sic] to show the active "age and body of time his form and pressure", these pages will not have been written in vain. (VI 450)

[39] Palgrave's debt to Arnold in this essay is obvious.

[40] Though these are defined as "the most poetic version" of whichever poem (*GT* 6).

[41] It is as an historical work that a reviewer in *Fraser's Magazine* understands Palgrave's anthology. After describing it as "the most precious casket that ever accompanied traveller in his roamings, or laid [sic] beside the pillow, or on the table at home", he goes on to distinguish the work from "common volume[s] of 'Beauties' or 'Elegant Extracts'" and later notes that "with a view to illustrate the successive developments of English poetry in the most authentic manner, the contents of this rich treasure-house have been garnered up in four distinct chambers" (Quoted in *GT* 459).

[42] "[A] comparative absence of extreme or temporary phases in style, a similarity of tone and manner, will be found throughout:—something neither modern nor ancient, but true and speaking to the heart of man alike through the ages" (412).

[43] Palgrave's construction of this lyric stream of poetry leaves behind all generic distinctions. A few of the non-lyric poems, strictly speaking, in *The Golden Treasury* are: Spenser's "Prothalamion" (62), Milton's "Lycidas" (91), "L'Allegro" (146) and "Il Penseroso" (150) and Gray's "Elegy" (208). The dubiously lyric poems are particularly prominent in books two and three of the anthology, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And this all-inclusiveness of the lyrical soon became a critical commonplace, as for example with John Dennis, who cites Palgrave and then goes on:

> the lyric blossoms and may be equally beautiful under a variety of forms. The kind of inspiration that prompts it, is to be found in the Ode and in the Song, in the Elegy and in the Ballad" ("Lyrical Poetry" 288).

[44] Another means by which Palgrave exercises control over his poems is in his infamous habit of supplying them with titles, in *The Golden Treasury* and here, where "It was a Lover and his Lass" becomes "It Ver et Venus" and "Two loves have I, of comfort and despair" becomes "Eros et Anteros".

[45] When copyright expired in 1947 the work was published simultaneously by several publishers, including Everyman's Library.

[46] Palgrave was employed by the Department of Education for most of his career.

[47] Another example of the influence of *The Golden Treasury* on the literary world of the United States is Gerald Bullett's *The English Galaxy of Shorter Poems* (1934), which describes Palgrave's work and *The Oxford Book of English Verse* as "cardinal events in our literary history" (vii) and takes as a principle of selection "to prefer the lyrical to the merely reflective or descriptive, and *ceteris paribus* the short to the not so short, bearing in mind, however, that the quality we call lyrical is not confined to the lyric...." (viii).

[48] Is it going too far to point out that this title takes Palgrave's emphasis on unity and completeness one stage further? Now, not only are the poems that make up the volume a complete whole, but no-one can read it unless they possess a household.

[49] Either the Archbishop is being a little immodest about his editorial finesse, or his second sentence is supposed to mean something other than it does.

[50] The volume in this series which I have examined is *The Lyric Poems of Sir Philip Sydney*, edited by Ernest Rhys.

[51] Sharpe may unwittingly have given the clue to a more quotidian reason for the popularity of short poems and sonnets in another passage from the Introduction:

> The stirring of the poetic impulse is very markedly at work among us at present, and there is no more remarkable sign of the times than the steadily growing public appreciation of the sonnet as a poetic vehicle. For one thing, its conciseness is an immense boon in these days when books multiply like gossamer-flies in June. (xxv)

[52] In compiling his work he had used nineteenth-century reprints of *England's Helicon* (1600, 1812) and Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602, 1826) (Tillotson 54). Horne lists various other works he was indebted to for the original work, including:

> Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Poets*, Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*, the various anthologies in which Ritson had so ably preceded him, Percy's *Reliques* and, of course, Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. (55)

Note Horne's assumption that Ritson was constructing the same type of anthology as Palgrave.

[53] Bullen is also generally credited with having rediscovered the songs of Thomas Campion. Campion is certainly the "star" of Bullen's volume of reprinted lectures from the 1880s and 90s, *Elizabethans*; whereas other writers and poets come in for sparing and judicious praise, Bullen loses his reticence and devotes by far the longest and most eulogistic essay to Campion.

[54] Not all these scholars of course belonged exclusively to the strict lyric tradition. Arber's principal work, *An English Garner*, for example, which appeared after Palgrave's death, is a strange and voluminous survival of the eighteenth-century grab-bag antiquarian publication; it reprints poetry and prose of historical and literary interest of the Elizabethan and later eras in no discernible order and with no apparent sorting out into types, but perhaps simply to get the items into print.

[55] Palgrave had published a selection of Tennyson's lyrics in 1885, which was a part of Macmillan's "Golden Treasury Series", but Tennyson's belated appearance in *The Golden Treasury: Second Series* was his first appearance in a *Golden Treasury per se*.

[56] And there is a strong similarity between the contents of the two volumes—Quiller-Couch's adherence to the lyric-tradition is only slightly compromised by the necessity of producing a representative collection of English poetry of all periods. One further resource that Quiller-Couch does avail himself of is a small number of mediaeval poems, lyrics of course, which post-Palgravian literary scholarship had uncovered.

[57] One avenue I have not explored is the school-anthology. After the Education Act of 1870 a demand sprang up for school-anthologies; W.E.Henley published his *Lyra Heroica* to fill just this niche (McCormick 211). It is my feeling that the average school-anthology would be far less committed to the lyric than the "Oxgrave" kind, instead perhaps preferring the narrative poem, as for example the famous *Dragon Book of Verse* (ed Wilkinsons). On the other hand the extent to which Oxgrave anthologies were used in higher forms would need to be investigated.

[58] When we come across a publication of the early twentieth century which is explicitly devoted to "singable songs", Edmonstoune Duncan's *Lyrics from the Old Song-Books* it is entirely of the Palgrave kind, minus the unsingable, although to judge by some of the pieces that Duncan includes the composers of his day were trying their best with some pretty unlyrical pieces ("To be or not to be" for example!). (Duncan does not provide the music, but indicates, for each piece, where the music is to be found).