launched by this title that its publisher, caring so little about how people actually use bibliographies, should be capable of sabotaging a potentially powerful research tool? Now, alas, having this labour of love in hand is rather like being granted stack privileges in a great library only to be denied all access to its catalogue.

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Wayne G. Hammond with the assistance of Douglas A. Anderson. 


In 1936 Rayner Unwin, the ten-year-old son of the publisher Stanley Unwin, earned a shilling for his report on a typescript his father had asked him to read:

Bilbo Baggins was a hobbit who lived in his hobbit-hole and never went for adventures, at least Gandalf the wizard and his dwarves persuaded him to go. He had a very exciting time fighting goblins and wargs. At last they got to the lonely mountain; Smaug, the dragon who guarded it, is killed and after a terrific battle with the goblins he returned home — rich!

This book, with the help of maps, does not need any illustrations it is good and should appeal to all children between the ages of 5 and 9.

The Tolkien phenomenon was under way. Fifty-seven years later, Rayner Unwin has written the foreword to Wayne Hammond's Tolkien bibliography. He describes Hammond's work as 'a sort of database of all the decisions and indecisions; mistakes and belated corrections of mistakes; marketing wheezes and failures; compromises and conciliations (at least possible expense) with author or printer, that have been the stock-in-trade of a working publisher's life.' For someone who published only ten books in his lifetime, Tolkien's publishing history is remarkably complex — 206 pages for those ten. The rest of section A has another nineteen posthumous books; section B, twenty-nine contributions to other books in his lifetime, with six more after his death; section C, Contributions to Periodicals, is short — thirty-nine entries in less than four pages; section D is Published Letters, all after 1981; E, Art by Tolkien; F, Miscellanea, including audio recordings, printed interviews, and manuscripts; and G, Translations of Tolkien's works into thirty-four languages. Anyone who thought that the Tolkien canon was established at the time of his death must still be reeling from the shock of still more new Tolkien works: Hammond records the first American edition of Sauron Defeated, the ninth volume of 'The History of Middle-earth,' as late as October 1992.
John Ronald Reuel Tolkien was born in 1892 in the Orange Free State where his father worked for the Bank of Africa. By 1904 Ronald and his brother were in England, both parents dead. This, the Roman Catholic Church, and a promising academic career were the important aspects of his youth. In 1911 he went up to Oxford where, with interruptions for military service at the Somme from 1916, and three years in Bournemouth before his wife's death in 1917, he lived until his death in 1973. Rereading Humphrey Carpenter's biography of Tolkien, albeit from the sanctuary of an academic institution, I was struck by the ordinariness of his life as a scholar, as a teacher, as a writer, and as a man. And yet from what many of us would see as common circumstances emerged books of literally fantastic depth, which spawned a cult and inspired a generation, making a celebrity of the most unlikely of men.

It is the untangling of the publishing and textual histories which distinguishes this bibliography, and, without devaluing either the rest of Tolkien's work or Hammond's broad and scrupulous scholarship, it seems fair to say that at its heart is the detailed study of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, sixty-eight and ninety-five bibliography pages respectively. Hammond notes that the history of the writing of *The Hobbit* is outlined by Carpenter and will be fully told in John D. Rateliff's forthcoming book; meanwhile it is useful to have in one place a narrative of the genesis on the blank leaf of a school examination paper, evolution as a story told to Tolkien's sons, through typescript, difficulties over illustrations, maps and runes, to the publication of the first edition in September 1937 and the numerous subsequent editions and reissues, many with Tolkien's revisions. Hammond quotes extensively from contemporary correspondence between Tolkien and Stanley Unwin. It clearly shows Tolkien's insistence on being involved in the whole publication process, far beyond concerns for an accurate text. He wanted, but was not always given, a particular paper, at a specific place in the book: 'a piece of parchment rather like a map' tipped in at its first mention in the text; 'magic runes . . . moon letters' on a map, printed in mirror images and read correctly when held up to the light; black and red as opposed to blue and red endpapers. Pity his poor publisher after the change had been made:

the change from blue to red on end-paper 2 is detrimental. I wonder if it would not be better . . . to substitute blue for red in end-paper 1? This would entail a change in text from red to blue in 2 places on page 30.

followed by an afterthought, 'On second & last thought — I think not.' And so on through type, jacket design, cloth, covers, samples, dummies and delaying changes: 'the wavy lines at edges and (especially) under title is bad. None or straight? A small design would be an improvement. I suppose it must be in black blocked in or thick outline. I will try one at once.'

*The Lord of the Rings*, the book for which readers and publishers were avid, was not published until 1954-55, although Tolkien had made a start on it in 1937 within four months of the publication of *The Hobbit*. Stanley Unwin wanted another hobbit book: Tolkien wanted to publish *The Silmarillion* which, he believed, was essential background to an understanding of Middle-earth mythologies. When Allen & Unwin rejected *The Silmarillion*, Tolkien was happy to
renegotiate the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* with Collins who were willing to take both books. Hammond's detailed study of the publishing history of *The Lord of the Rings* is fascinating. It is clearly presented, as well it need be given the complexities, and yet, as he says, the full story needs a book to itself and, I suggest, the dedication of a team of scholars with the strength of a bibliographical Hercules. It is difficult here to do justice to Hammond's work, but I select as exemplary, not quite at random, the first paperback edition, an unauthorized edition published in New York by Ace Books in 1965. For each of the three volumes there are title-page transcriptions, collations, detailed contents, notes on illustrations, paper, jackets and bindings, publication details including price and numbers of copies printed, and a note on errors and corrections in subsequent printings. There follows an account of the circumstances which led to the Ace publication, before the United States had joined the international copyright convention. Ace claimed that the book had fallen into the public domain because too large a proportion of the sales from Houghton Mifflin (the official publishers) were of books printed in England. While Ballantine Books, the authorized American paperback publishers, pressed Tolkien for speedy revisions in order to get their book into print, Ace produced 150,000 copies of a 75 cent edition. It took Tolkien's personal intervention and his growing band of American fans to win the 'War over Middle-earth,' a victory sealed with an Ace news release and a royalty agreement. Tolkien-enthusiasm spread across American university campuses and around the world. Hammond notes that in 1971 Methuen, Toronto, published a three-volume paperback with, on the cover, Tolkien's signature and the statement 'I welcome the publication in Canada of this edition of *The Lord of the Rings*'; but then why would he not?

Given the thoroughness of the rest of his research, I find it a little coy that Hammond omits details of Tolkien's income from his writings. The royalties presumably continue to flow from books, audio recordings, dramatizations, movies, calendars, jigsaw puzzles, maps, mugs, buttons and the like; but how much? Hammond does note that some publishers chose not to give him information, and that some records have been lost or were never kept, but did Tolkien not keep accounts? A statement about earnings would have been interesting.

First editions of Tolkien's major books are not beyond the means of the average collector, selling for hundreds rather than thousands of dollars. Even so, according to Book Auction Records (vol. 89), a three-volume first edition of *The Lord of the Rings* from the Richard Manney collection, with a two-line inscription by Tolkien, sold at Sotheby's in 1991 for $20,000 U.S., the commonness of the undistinguished perhaps elevating the status of the unusual. The bibliography reproduces the inscription, but not the price. Again, I would like the sordid detail.

Given the fame and the fortune, whatever it was, that his popular books brought, it is easy to overlook Tolkien's academic distinction and publications. Hammond's chronology records that at Oxford, Tolkien was Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon for twenty years and later Merton Professor of English Language and Literature. Among his work is *A Middle English Vocabulary* [1992]; with the Canadian E.V. Gordon, an edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* [1925]; *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics* [1937]; *Beowulf and the
Finnesburg Fragment (1940); an edition of Acrene Wisse (1961); and several collections for the English Association. There are relatively few contributions to periodicals, and yet, aside from entries in his school magazine, most may be labelled serious — i.e. academic — and would be more than respectable on any English professor's curriculum vitae. Hammond also outlines work not included in the bibliography: collaborations with students at Oxford which Tolkien was delighted to see published under their names; work on a 1966 Jerusalem Bible, including a draft of the Book of Jonah and establishing the text of the Book of Job; and staff work on the Oxford English Dictionary from 1918 to 1920, notably on words beginning with W — wag, walrus, wampum, warm, wasp, water, wick, and winter.

Tolkien was excited by language. As a philologist and a poet he not only studied words but used them poetically, often in languages of his own intention. There's a richness and a beauty in these poems which it's possible to appreciate without understanding a word of them. C.S. Lewis wrote in the Times obituary of Tolkien's insight 'into the language of poetry and into the poetry of language,' adding 'He had been inside language.' He might have produced more had he not been so excruciatingly painstaking, researching, revising, and rewriting in his concern for accuracy. He would invent a word in one of his private languages and use it in his writing, and then stop and begin to trace its roots, just how it came to be the word it was, and where its meaning lay. Perfectionism slowed him down as a writer, but so did the rest of his life — lecturing, supervising students, university administration, marking examinations for other universities in order to supplement his income, friends, family life with a wife and four children, a house, and a garden.

In random checks of books and articles I am unable to fault Hammond's thoroughness and accuracy. This is a fine bibliography. It is bibliography, not biography, and yet Hammond adds immeasurably to the existing picture of Tolkien the man, drawing together the various aspects of his life. As Hammond clearly shows, there can be no real divisions made between Tolkien's scholarly writing and his imaginative work.

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The monastic press has a venerable ancestry going back to the era of the scriptorium when monks laboured intensively in copying and illustrating manu-