THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH LITERARY ANNUAL

A Genre's Journey from Nineteenth-Century Popularity

To Twenty-First Century Re-Presentation

by

Katherine D. Harris

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2005

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Abstract

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH LITERARY ANNUAL
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In this dissertation, I argue for and re-present a genre's importance to nineteenth-century British literary studies. The genre, literary annuals (also identified as gift books), is generally criticized as a benign form of popular culture from the early nineteenth century. With its seasonal dissemination of popular poetry, prose and engravings, nineteenth-century critics accused the three-inch by five-inch moderately-priced and decoratively-bound annual of usurping the public's attention away from valid poetic genius as well as continuing the insipid distribution of fiction. I argue that both nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics evaluate the genre based on a normative literary aesthetic that is not valid. With the premise that the book is a body and is part of the textual condition, much of this dissertation deals with the creation and evolution of the annual as a literary genre, popular phenomenon in print culture, powerful feminine form and cultural marker of early nineteenth-century England. After establishing the socio-cultural context of the annual, I examine it as a Foucauldian archive and compare it to my digitization of the first British-published annual, the *Forget Me Not* (1823-1847). Because the genre's form has been emulated, mimicked and re-presented during the late nineteenth century through the early twenty-first century, I also explore the relationship between annuals, as nineteenth-century archives, and our contemporary digital archives, including inquiries about textuality, hypertextuality and digital representations of self.

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Acknowledgments

I feel like I've been in graduate school for a very long time. During those years, everyone in my life has played some role in this game, from the obvious academics to the quietly distracting rock climbing community. I write them down so they will not be forgotten.

The members of my committee, David Greetham, Patricia Clough, Gerhard Joseph and Joshua Wilner, have provided endless conversation and support during this long process. I could not have even begun this dissertation without the guidance and theoretical education that David Greetham offered to me when I arrived at The Graduate Center. The writing of this tome specifically uses a literary historian's voice, a technique which I'm thankful that Marilyn Gaull taught me. The invaluable discussions generated at academic conferences forced me to establish, clarify and focus my arguments regarding literary annuals and digital culture; for that community, I'm grateful. The amazingly diverse faculty at The Graduate Center has been a boon to my education and professional development; I specifically thank Anne Humpherys, Scott Westrem and Joan Richardson for their overwhelming dedication to our program and to my advancement.

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doctoral candidates who were pioneers in studying the annuals provided me with the confidence to begin (and finish) this project: Kathryn Ledbetter, Matthew Kutcher, Vanessa Warne and (most recently) Harry Hootman. From one collector to another, a special thanks to Paula Feldman for her enduring support of literary annual scholarship. An enthusiastic thank you to Laura Mandell for encouraging, including and supporting the hypertextual archive; I look forward to working together on the *Poetess Archive*. And, to the community of textual scholars, though we may be small, we are strong.

I am particularly grateful to Patricia Clough for establishing a student-centered environment at the Women's Studies Certificate Program. Without her help, the hypertextual archive would never have seen live Web space. Her professional and personal friendship created a community in which I felt welcomed. To both Jamie Skye Bianco and Adrian Wisnicki, everything that I can say is encompassed in this: I'm glad I went to graduate school with you! And, finally, to my father, thank you for all of the intellectual debates and the initial impetus to attend graduate school.

My dissertation is dedicated to Henry, who has always offered an ear, a shoulder, a belay and a comfort to this weary New Yorker. I inscribe this to you. **"Forget me not! Forget me never!"**

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Introduction

> The Annuals created a *craze*, the craze denoted some *insanity* in the public mind of the period; and much of this insanity is apparent within the curious circle of prolific writers, from which the general contributions were obtained. . . . This Annual was ephemeral not because it was effeminate; but because it was *unequal*, with a bias towards the trivial. It was one of the "*cakes*" of literature, not the bread. And even cakes become distasteful, when they provide only two or three currants each, notwithstanding that the surface is liberally endowed with *sugar*. (90, 97; emphasis added)
>
> 1902, "The 'Forget Me Not,'" Tallent-Bateman

Literary annuals are generally criticized as the ugly ducklings of the early nineteenth century. As a mode of production and dissemination of popular poetry, prose and engravings, the annuals have been blamed for usurping the public's attention away from valid poetic genius and continuing the insipid distribution of fiction – comments from nineteenth-century critics. Annuals bridge a gap between the Romantic and Victorian era, including such authors as William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Thackeray and Charles Dickens. The annual's history, though long and varied, provides an integral view of public desire, literary development and authorial consciousness. Their form has been emulated, mimicked and re-presented from the late nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century. Literary annuals (also identified as gift books) have been studied for their canonical authors, women poets and steel plate engravings. However, very few critical studies take into consideration the annual's "textuality." In my dissertation, I create a full literary history of the annuals and their textuality.

My obsession with this "craze" grew from my 1998 discovery of several literary annuals in the long-waiting "to-be-catalogued" wing of a rare book library – found

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because of my privileged access as a student archivist. Prior to this employment, I had read about the annuals in Angela Leighton's introduction to *Victorian Women Poets: An Anthology.* I spotted examples of the diminutive volumes on a display table and was immediately curious about the objects and their history. Soon after, I became a student archivist in the collection and was given the task of cataloguing some books in the wing of uncatalogued holdings. While walking through those stacks, I recognized more literary annual titles and began to construct a list, glancing through their contents.

These volumes have only recently been recorded on both the library's main catalogue and the shared WORLDCAT reference catalogue. Both the American and British volumes are rare examples of the physical packaging inherent to the annuals, including such rare volumes as the 1827 *Friendship's Offering*, which is an early British literary annual that was distributed in ornate paper boards.[1] The annuals suffer from an institutional invisibility because they have not been as heavily studied as incunabula or James Joyce. Curators are only now becoming aware of the genre's importance, but they still do not have a complete literary history of annuals. Those pockets of scholars who are aware of the annuals do not have access to the diverse literature and artwork contained within because of this invisibility. Typically each volume contains well over fifty entries by authors, artists and editors and is a beautifully-bound rendering of fiction, non-fiction, travel narratives, scenes, histories, poetry and artwork from many (popular and unpopular) authors and artists of the early nineteenth-century. A majority of these

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[1] Very few libraries own this annual in its original form, and even fewer copies of this volume have appeared on the rare book market. In fact, none of the six volumes of *Friendship's Offering* published before 1830 have surfaced in the last six years.

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authors were women who are now being re-inscribed into literary history through a feminist recovery movement, including Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Felicia Hemans and Mary Russell Mitford.

In addition to their institutional invisibility, the legacy of the annual battles against the aesthetic invisibility first assigned by nineteenth-century critics and later reiterated by twentieth-century literary critics. The criticism began in earnest during the early 1830s and has yet to subside[2]: In an 1837 article for *Fraser's Magazine*, Thackeray anonymously lambasts the annuals, though the genre is still too close for him to adequately evaluate its use. *The Bookseller* publishes an article, "The Annuals of Former Days," in 1858 that signals the death, and hence historicity, of the annuals. 1902 brings Tallent-Bateman's mis-guided chronicle of the *Forget Me Not* with Frederick Faxon's indispensable bibliographical index[3] being published shortly thereafter in 1912, both of which signal a resistant acceptance of the genre. In 1929, Lachèvre indexes the French versions of annuals (1823-1848) in *Bibliographie Sommaire*. On the American side, Ralph Thompson publishes a concise analysis of the anti-slavery American annual, *The Liberty Bell*, in 1934. Shortly thereafter, he introduces his bibliographical index of American annuals (complete with table of contents from each volume) in 1936, which is re-published in 1967 along with Andrew Boyle's index of British annual contributors –

---

[2] At every presentation, conference meeting or interview over the last five years, I have consistently received either a scoffing query as to why I am wasting my time on "those things" or a request to justify the aesthetic value of the literary annual's contents.

[3] This bibliographical index includes only physical descriptions of every American and British annual that Faxon (and his team) could visually inspect – in all, approximately 2,000 British annuals.

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both publications coinciding with Earl Hutchinson's *Journalism Quarterly* article which questions the communicative effect of the literary form. Prior to these, and before the upswing interest in annuals, the publishers Cobden-Sanderson publish and re-present in 1929, 1930 and 1931 three annuals based on the form, contents and purpose of the original *Forget Me Not*. During this time, Amy Cruse contemplates gendered space and literary annuals in her 1930 monograph, *The Englishman and His Books in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Bradford Booth's *Cabinet of Gems* appears in 1938, dedicating itself to anthologizing contributions from nineteenth-century annuals. A. Bose's 1953 article, "The Verse in the English Annuals," bridges scholars in either quarter of the twentieth century, prior to the feminist liberation of literature and before the Thompson and Boyle indexes appear. Anne Renier publishes her often-cited "Friendship's Offering: An Essay on the Annuals . . ." in 1964 and begins a trend to produce illuminating examination of the annuals. Faxon's index of British contributors is re-printed in 1973, followed shortly with E. Bruce Kirkham's index of American contributors published in 1975.

Through the first half of the twentieth century, these mild blips in the British annual's critical history mimic the disdain expressed by the nineteenth-century British critical press. (The American annuals have a completely different evolution, history and reception – an avenue of inquiry that will not be addressed in this dissertation.) In the *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club,* Chas. Tallent-Bateman asks "The history of the 'Forget-me-Not' Annual has never been written. May I be her historian and commentator?" (78). He follows this earnest request with an immediate evaluation of the British annual's literary aesthetic: "My subject is not a section of 'high literature'" (78). The historicizing continues throughout the article, crediting Rudolf Ackermann

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with the overwhelming success of the first British-published literary annual (the 1823 *Forget Me Not*) and chronicling Ackermann's contributions to the genre. However, Tallent-Bateman spends much of the article critiquing the literary annuals with these domestic and diseased images – two interesting metaphors that associate this feminine genre with both caring and destruction.

The annuals also suffer being labeled dilettantes and debutantes, to signal their supposedly banal, unsophisticated and eternally feminine intentions; the annuals, according to many of their critics, paralleled that middle class bourgeois sex that was afflicted with too much leisure and a desire to appear fashionable, intellectual or sophisticated. But, the British annuals signaled a new class of readers who were empowered through both their own economic demand and an alternative view of femininity – not to mention the space afforded the female author's variant voice.

In the 1973 re-print of Frederick W. Faxon's 1912 *Literary Annuals and Gift Books, A Bibliography*, Eleanore Jamieson and Ian Bain preface the volume by anticipating the renewed interest in literary annuals and gift books. They append insightful and textually accurate studies of the annuals while retaining Faxon's original mixed assessment of the genre. This re-print supposedly signals a burgeoning scholarly interest in these early nineteenth-century British texts ([5]) that were deemed "nothing else but a craze" by Tallent-Bateman; Faxon's editors predicted that

> Although at the beginning of this century there was clearly a strong enough interest in the Annuals to warrant the publication of Faxon's work, the interest waned and for many years the material available to the collector was both cheap and abundant, and it was

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> possible to put together a substantial collection for very little money. But within the last few years the situation has very much changed and it is the growing interest in the 19th-century book that has prompted the decision to reissue this little known but extensive bibliography. ([5])

The editors suggest that the scholarly interest is tied to the antiquarian market for literary annuals, a suggest that reflects Faxon's original motives: Faxon, interested in his father's library of annuals, began keeping a list of literary annuals and the various national library holdings. Out of interest for collectors, Faxon published his bibliography in 1912 shortly after several critical articles on the annuals appeared in print.

Other than these early scholarly inquiries (prior to the re-print of Faxon's work), the annual lived in textual and literary obscurity until the 1970s when scholarly interest emerged in earnest, though no complete monograph on the genre has ever been published.[4] However, the annual did not enjoy the renewed scholarly enthusiasm professed in Bain and Jamieson's preface. Studies of these texts, their female audience and women authors fell under the newly enfranchised Women's Studies discipline as recovery projects. Even with this developing scholarship by Women's Studies scholars, most investigations and mentions of the annuals still centered around the canonical (male) authors who published within them.

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[4] Being judged through a normative literary aesthetic (defined in conjunction with Romantic and Victorian era authors), the annuals were relegated to a backburner of literary criticism until the 1990s when literary critics and doctoral students began exploring their relevance not in terms of the normative aesthetic, but as alternative representations of nineteenth-century culture.

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Even current seminal studies on publishing, book history and annuals have elided the annual's significance. Lee Erickson, in *The Economy of Literary Form* (1996), proclaims that annuals were the downfall of poetic standards and the economic success of single-volume poetry: The genre provided a public space for the "left-handed work of great authors" and the not-so-Great Authors (31). The most cited historian of the annuals, Andrew Boyle, suggests that well-known authors "offered the sweepings of their desks – the worst poems of the best authors" and were ashamed of their involvement with the sentimental object (iv). Boyle calls the annuals saccharine "toy-books" in his "Author's Preface" and claims that their novelty relied on the steel-plate engravings (iv). Though the contributors were restricted by length and editorial control, most authors produced poetry and prose that was more than discarded scraps. Judith Pascoe suggests that Mary Shelley's contributions to the 1831 *Keepsake* were not "aesthetically indifferent" as is suggested by Sonia Hofkosh and Judith Pike; Shelley copied her *Keepsake* poem, "The Dirge," into a letter, "calling it 'the best thing [she] ever wrote'" and identified the annuals as "suitable sites of publication" – definitely not a sweeping of her desk (Pascoe 178, 179, 180).

Stephen Colclough suggests that poet John Clare used the annuals to create an authorial existence during a time which "without access to these texts his work would not have been available to a national audience" (468). So too, Tennyson's contributions to the annuals "provided much needed exposure to a burgeoning new middle-class readership which included a growing number of female readers," as noted by Kathryn Ledbetter ("BeGemmed" 236). While Clare published at least thirty-nine poems in some of the most successful British annuals 1826-1844 (most prolifically between1826

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and1830[5]), Tennyson contributed only eight poems 1831-1851, including "St. Agnes" in the 1837 *Keepsake*. Even the Ettrick Shepherd (James Hogg) acquired a devoted audience that gave him "the opportunity of extending his periodical range while taking his literary reputation to a wider audience," notes Janette Currie. Between 1825 and 1835, Hogg produced forty-five prose and poetry pieces for a variety of British annuals, including *Forget Me Not*, *Friendship's Offering* and *Literary Souvenir* (three of the genre's best sellers). The *Anniversary*'s editor, Allan Cunningham, gushed at Hogg's contributions: "'Your poem is excellent–your tales capital . . . I hardly think you ever wrote aught better than some of what you sent me" (qtd. in Currie 89) – again, evidence that an author did not contribute the remainders of his creative imagination but contributes consistently in a style that suits the genre.

Because literary annuals were sites of "women's writing," they were largely dismissed as intellectually inferior, "popular," sentimental publications during the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, as is the fate of "popular" literature, the genre suffered a dismissal from literary studies primarily because the poetry was considered aesthetically inferior when compared to canonical Romantic and Victorian poets. In his 1953 article, A. Bose applauds the annuals for their range but criticizes them for their "sentimental piety" and the fact that they supposedly provided "'relief with a pleasurable excitement, without any great expense of thought.' The stuff of their poetry is feeling, feeling that never presumes to well up from disturbing depths of the soul. They

---

[5] Clare's poems were published in the following annuals: *Forget Me Not, Friendship's Offering, Literary Souvenir, Amulet, Anniversary, Gem, Pledge of Friendship, Juvenile Forget Me Not* and *Ackermann's Juvenile Forget Me Not.*

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are just what the 'generality of men may read – the millions'" (40, 50). According to Bose, the range of contributions exists but their "expression is in a minor key" (51). In the late twentieth century, Isobel Armstrong associates these women poets with heightened domesticity and claim that they accept and reflect "the dominant views concerning how, what and why a woman wrote," as cited by Harriet Jump (16). In fact, these authors, including Letitia Landon and Felicia Hemans, subvert this domesticity "to problematize both her own self-presentation and the conventional demands of readers" (Jump 16).

***

Several scholarly articles and dissertations gloss the literary annual's history and reputation by quoting Boyle's claim or regurgitating prior scholarly intimations of the genre's feminine, and hence inferior, quality. For example, in his prefatory remarks, Boyle suggests that authors' names did not accompany their works published in the annuals because they were either ashamed of their appearances in the annuals (which is the predominant sentiment among current literary critics) or that anonymity was a marketing tactic to convince audiences that the annuals were filled with a large variety of writings from various authors. Often, authors' names were replaced with "By the Author of" or were not signed at all. Boyle is partially correct in his assumptions; however, research by Paula Feldman shows that authors were not ashamed of their contributions but chose anonymity for a variety of reasons (usually imposed by the publisher).[6] Well-known authors to a nineteenth-century audience were most likely popular authors who

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[6] For a discussion of authorial anonymity, see Susan Eilenberg's article on Mary Shelley's anonymity and the production of *Frankenstein*.

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have fallen out of our twentieth and twenty-first century anthologies. In addition, the canonical authors often contributed works that were not dross.

To redress the lack of access, scholars and editors of individual Romantic or Victorian era authors have begun to produce collections containing (or separately categorize) these contributions to the annuals. In a recent collection of Felicia Hemans' work, editor Susan J. Wolfson created a separate category of Hemans' poetry published in annuals – a distinction that includes the poem's provenance and provides readers with a glimpse of the material value of Hemans' name during the annual phenomenon. Jannette Currie and Gillian Hughes planned a unique volume for Hogg, *Contributions to Literary Annuals*, that highlights his career as a popular poet. Similar to these examples, most scholars study the annuals through a major literary figure, e.g., Morton Paley's study of "Coleridge and the Annuals."

In the current literary climate, literary annuals are being mined once again for their undiscovered poetry and their unique relationship with women readers. However, without a study of the bibliographical and sociological history of the literary annuals, scholars have relied on the historical scholarship presented in both Faxon and Boyle, which both present a negative judgment of the annuals based on a prejudicial literary aesthetic. The annual has been studied as a vehicle for transmission of patriarchal ideals or a fantasy of social control, but none of these studies deal in depth with the annual's textuality or sociology. My dissertation addresses editors, publishers, readers and authors of the annuals in connection with the text itself – a text that is never forgotten.

***

For purposes of this project, I have limited my review to British literary annuals

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that achieved economic success through their continued publication: *Forget Me Not, Keepsake, Comic Annual, Friendship's Offering, Literary Souvenir, The Gem, Keepsake,* etc. Though Ackermann's *Forget Me Not* sparked the entire phenomenon, most scholars study Alaric Watts' *Literary Souvenir* (for its genre-altering format) or Charles Heath's *Keepsake* (for the canonical authors/contributors). My research begins with the first literary annual, the *Forget Me Not,* introduced by Rudolf Ackermann in November 1822. The annuals lived a long life until their demise in 1856 when the last was published and the ladies' magazines became the predominant media defining domesticity, feminine and the Victorian woman. My study of the literary annual focuses on the first decade of the annual's popularity, with brief forays into the late 1830s and 1840s to provide evidence of the public's desire and fascination with the phenomenon. After 1830, the annual's format altered, its purpose became much more complicated and the themes became multi-faceted. Femininity became the sole selling point for some annuals, but for others it did not (e.g., religious annuals); in addition, women became the dominant contributors (according to Harry Hootman's research) and would soon become the editors of annuals. Though valuable to introduce the topic of literary annuals to a wider scholarly audience, many scholars consider only a single literary document, engraving or volume of literary annuals, which is myopic at best and cannot qualify the range and variants inherent to the genre, including its form and content shifts. For these reasons, it is very difficult to generalize about the genre after 1830. Instead, each annual published after 1830 needs to be addressed on an individual basis in conjunction with its intended theme.

My study of the literary history of the genre focuses on its bibliographic genesis as well as its use in a fantasy of social control over women. Other studies (but still too

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few) focus on these later evolutions of the genre and account for the annual's place in nineteenth-century media.[7] Chapters One through Seven study the creation and evolution of the literary annual as a literary genre, as a part of print culture, as a popular phenomenon in print culture and as a cultural marker of early nineteenth-century England. I have extensively documented this cultural history using the actual contents of various literary annuals through 1835, as well as publishers' letters, authors' journals, reviewers' criticisms, etc. This history stands to correct past inconsistencies, to clarify certain aspects about the literary annual genre and to insert its history into a cultural and sociological continuum.

I constructed this literary history as a reference for Chapters Eight and Nine which depart from literary history and instead theorize aspects of annuals, e.g., reproducing aura (in the artwork), witnessing and authorizing texts and images, gendering book formats, textuality's creation of a community and text as archive (and being archived). Chapter Nine specifically delves into the twentieth and twenty-first century re-presentations of annuals, finally evaluating my own construction of a hypertextual archive, the "*Forget Me Not*: A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Literary Annual" (listed as Chapter Ten).[8] The discussion is based on the

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[7] Scholars who have considerable knowledge of the overall field (and of a literary aesthetic beyond the norm) include Paula Feldman, Laura Mandell, Margaret Linley, Ann Hawkins, Kathryn Ledbetter and Terrence Hoagwood. Several up and coming graduate students have focused their work on the annuals as well, including Harry Hootman (USC; dissertation filed October 2004) and Jill Rappoport (UVA).

[8] The archive is currently live on the Web and will be filed with my dissertation as a CD-Rom (Chapter Ten). However, readers may not be able to obtain a copy of the CD-Rom when ordering from UMI. In the interest of open-access, I will continue adding content from Ackermann's *Forget Me Not* to this archive well beyond the conclusion of

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premise that each (both the annual and its digital re-presentation) is an "archive," an accumulation of knowledge *seemingly* absent of any editorial hand (theories discussed and contradicted in several chapters). The two archives are brought together in my dissertation to reveal how an archive functions and to discuss the authorization of a new medium, scholarly hypertextual archives.

Both archives are important to literary studies and hypertextual studies because they force the re-evaluation of authors included in the traditionally male canon and re-organize the relationship among readers, authors and textual presentation. In addition, the feminization of the literary annual genre is intertwined with the professionalization of the woman author and is therefore integral to the study of women's role in the production of literature. The hypertextual archive allows this study at the same time that it questions the criteria for creating each archive.

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my dissertation project. A general Web search for "forget me not" and "Ackermann" will reveal the site's URL.

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Chapter One:
Literary Annuals: A General Description

"Forget me not!"

"Forget me never!"

These emphatic demands capture the sentiment of an entire genre popularized in Britain in the early half of the nineteenth century. This genre, the literary annual, was introduced to the British public in November 1822 with the publication of Rudolf Ackermann's *Forget Me Not*.

Literary annuals are early nineteenth-century British texts published yearly from 1822 to 1856 primarily intended for a middle class audience (due to its moderate retail cost). Initially published in octavo[1] (3.5" x 5.5", see **Figure 1.1:** 1831 *Forget Me Not*), the decoratively bound volumes – filled with steel plate engravings of nationally recognized artwork and sentimental poetry and prose – exuded a feminine delicacy that attracted a primarily female readership. They were published in November and sold for the following year, which made the genre an ideal Christmas gift, lover's present or token of friendship. "'The Annuals,' wrote Southey in 1828, 'are now the only books bought for presents to young ladies, in which way poems formerly had their chief vent.' And the young ladies found them much more to their liking than the manuals of conduct" (qtd. in Renier and Erickson 30). Though the volume of reading material was immense

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[1] This term refers to the codex format and "is used to indicate the size of a volume in terms of the number of times the original printed sheet has been folded to form its constituent leaves. Thus in a folio each sheet has been folded once, in a quarto twice, in an *octavo three times*; the size being thus respectively a half, a quarter and an eighth that of the original sheet" (Carter 106). In response to public demand, in 1828 some literary annuals were published in the larger *quarto* form – an alteration that will be discussed later in this chapter.

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at the introduction of the literary annuals, these materials were predominantly periodicals, journals and cheap twopenny newspapers.[2] An annual did not cavort in daily life like these publications. Instead, the volume's contents and physical appearance pursued a different standard of propriety and morality than even the temperance pamphlets. In addition, the annuals' predominant separation from other genres comes from its preparation, production and packaging of the literary, artistic and beautiful in such a way that it is transported and translated away from daily life – topics of many of the periodicals and newspapers of the day.

Aside from the literary aesthetic differences between the genres, the annuals were considered "literature" in terms of their material stability. Lee Erickson, in *The Economy of Literary Form*, argues that literature is "the art of writing something that will be read twice" and journalism is "what will be grasped at once" (10). Because the daily, weekly or even monthly production schedule of newspapers, magazines and journals requires, even invokes, a hasty printing, the materials used to produce these periodicals was meant to withstand only enough handling by patrons until the next issue was produced. In addition, the materials used in the production of magazines, periodicals and newspapers were not sturdy enough to withstand multiple re-readings; the content was filled with consumable material that was expended once it had been read once. Erickson concludes that early nineteenth-century audiences "prefer a work in a literary form which will provide the most pleasure upon rereading and has the most satisfying verbal texture. Conversely, when the cost of books is low, readers will care less about the pleasure of

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[2] For a discussion of the twopenny newspaper's cultural capital, see Brian E. Maidment's article, "'Penny' Wise, 'Penny' Foolish?: Popular Periodicals and the 'March of Intellect' in the 1820s and 1830s."

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prospective rereadings and prefer a work in a genre that gives the most immediate pleasure" (10). By contrast, an annual – produced as a small, portable volume with paper or leather boards and gilt edges – was marketed as a decadent object because of its rigid boards and material stability and as an object to be desired, re-read, memorized, memorialized and treasured for its internal and external beauty.

The annuals were so prolific that reviewer Jane Wilde (along with many other previous critics) declared the genre an "epidemic." Writing in 1855 retrospectively of the annual's phenomenon, Wilde refers both to the early proliferation of titles and the "sickness" that caused readers to overwhelmingly desire, own, read and receive annuals. Though pummeled in the British critical press to the point that a "modern literary lady's maid [would raise] her eyes from deep melodrame of the *Family Herald* to sneer at the Annuals," the genre nevertheless served a larger purpose of exposing a burgeoning audience of women and girls to "very many of the best lyrical poems of nearly all our most popular contemporary writers appeared in the first instance in their pages" (494) as is noted in the 1858 *Bookseller* article, "The Annual of Former Days." Even Thackeray's maid, Fifine, in *Vanity Fair* (1847) recognizes their value as she absconds with "six gilt Albums, Keepsakes and Books of Beauty" along with "four richly gilt Louis Quatorze candlesticks . . . a gold enamelled snuffbox . . . and the sweetest little ink-stand and mother-of-pearl blotting book" (Chapter 20).[3] By November 1829, the number climbed to forty-three separate titles published in Britain alone. Though the genre suffered ridicule and harsh criticism by 1831, the literary annual in Britain did not die until 1856;

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[3] I am indebted to Amy Cruse's 1930 work on drawing-room books for this reference.

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the genre carried on, separating into sub-genres, including comic, religious, musical, landscape and juvenile annuals. The genre gained even more popularity in the United States and on the Continent until the turn of the century.

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What made these literary annuals so popular in a period when reading materials flooded the market and at a time when young women were deluged with conduct manuals and calls to propriety? The annuals, materially, represented a luxury and, ideologically, an idealized femininity. But, annuals also held another promise that was actualized by the reader, consumer or recipient: Each annual was produced as a memory, bought with the promise of including a unique memory (in the gift-giving act) and retained in family libraries with opportunities for future memories. The literary annuals represent a technological and literary moment in which audiences were requested to "forget me not" with the pronoun "me" being defined on multiple levels:

The exclamation to "forget me not" is echoed in the titles, emblems and mottos of many of the literary annuals. The title of Ackermann's annual, *Forget Me Not,* demands that its readers remember, savor and appreciate the poetry, prose and "useful information" between its covers, an act that reminds readers that the phrase is a consumable and the book is economically valuable.[4] It also reminds readers of the sentimental value of this phrase. Ackermann's editor, Frederic Shoberl, reminds readers of the versatility of this phrase in his 1844 Preface:

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[4] The paratextual (from Genette's *Paratext*) implications of authorial prefaces will be fully discussed in the chapter on femininity and the literary annual.

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> FORGET ME NOT! whispers the lover, when obliged to quit the object of his heart's fondest adoration. FORGET ME NOT! exclaims the friend, at parting, to the friend who has been to him as another self. FORGET ME NOT! murmurs the expiring father to the agonized partner of his life and their sobbing children. FORGET ME NOT stimulates the efforts of the patriot and the hero, the poet and the philosopher, the man of science and the projector, who are each cheered in their labours by the confident hope that they shall live in their glorious deeds, in the creations of their minds, in their beneficent inventions, in their splendid discoveries, and not be forgotten when they "go hence and are no more seen." FORGET ME NOT, in short, is a desire implanted by the God of Nature himself in the human breast, and, if I mistake not, of kindred origin to that "longing after immortality," which is the parent of the sublimest virtues, of the highest and holiest emotions. Obdurate, indeed, and thoroughly depraved must be that heart, which is sensible of no claim and conceives no wish to be remembered in absence or in death by those who are left behind! (3-4)

In each of these vignettes of expiration, Shoberl admonishes his readers to celebrate a person's request to be remembered and commends the departing individual's desire to be preserved. Memory resonates throughout these requests to be immortalized and applies to not only the book and its contents, but also to the literary and material value of the annual itself. In a sense, Shoberl vindicates his own request for readers to remember the

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annual, *Forget Me Not*. And, since the annual is an object, the most beneficial method of remembering it is to ***own*** it so that it may be preserved and saved from "being forgotten" (1844 Preface 4).

The emblematic poems[5] in the first three volumes of the *Forget Me Not* resonate with this act of remembering and expand its sentimental value: (1) a request to "keep my gift, though the gift be small" (l 37 "Poetical Address," 1823) referring to the giver and the book[6]; (2) a spiritual "forget me not" to remember "Our Lord" (l 56, Barton "The Heart's Motto," 1824); (3) a memorializing of the dead with the forget me not flower "entwind [r]ound Friendship's or Affection's shrine" (ll 46-47, Barton "To the Flower Forget Me Not" 1825); and (4) declarations of romantic love, jubilant or sobbing, the most frequent use of the "forget me not" motto:

> Forget not, oh! Forget not me,
> I ne'er shall cease to think of thee,
> Oh, never, never!
> ***
> Forget not love–forget not truth–
> And plighted vows of earliest youth–
> Oh, never, never!
> A heart that fondly trusted thee,
> Blessings breathed oft and fervently,
> Thoughts ever studious thine to please,
> And folded hands, and bended knees,
> Forget not, oh! Forget not these,
> No! never–never!
> (ll 1-3 and ll 19-27, Neele "Forget Me Not" 1825)

Inspired by the same sentiment, other annuals were titled with a plea, like *Remember Me*,

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[5] Emblems were a sixteenth and seventeenth popular form of poetry that included a motto, a picture and a short verse on moral meditation. I discuss the relationship between literary annuals and these precursors later.

[6] "Small" refers to the actual size of the book as well as a self-deprecating comment about the sentimental value of the gift.

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or the purpose of the book, *Friendship's Offering, Keepsake* and *Hommage aux Dames.* (See **Figure 1.2**: Chronological Index of Titles)

By 1827, Ackermann (and other publishers) began declaring this sentiment on the title pages of their annuals in the form of mottos such as:

> Appealing, by the magic of its name,
> To gentle feelings and affections, kept
> Within the heart like gold.

This motto, written by the popular nineteenth-century poet, Letitia Elizabeth Landon ("L.E.L."), became the permanent entreaty on the title pages of all the *Forget Me Not* volumes until its demise in 1847 and provides a consistency missing in most other annuals. Frequently, lines were requested from literati to characterize a particular annual's purpose. In one instance, the motto was the result of a contest. Publisher George Murray Smith offered £5.5*s* in 1828 "for some lines to serve as a motto for the title page. The prize was won by Mr. Thompson, who pursued the unpoetical trade of a seedsman in Fenchurch Street" (*Recollections* 9). Mr. Thompson's four lines first appeared on the 1829 title page of *Friendship's Offering*:

> This is affection's tribute, friendship's offering.
> Whose silent eloquence, more rich than words,
> Tells of the giver's faith, and truth in absence,
> And says – forget me not.

Editor Alaric A. Watts bought a few lines from Sir Walter Scott for his annual, *Literary Souvenir*:

> I have song of war for knight;
> Lay of love for lady bright;
> Fairy tale to lull the heir;
> Goblin grim the maids to scare. (1826 Title Page)

The motto represents the miscellaneous collection of poetry, fiction, non-fiction and

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travel accounts that Watts accumulated to present in the *Literary Souvenir.* In comparing the two mottos, the *Literary Souvenir* seems less sentimental than the *Forget Me Not.* This does not prove true, however. The literary annuals, as a genre, were predominantly filled with sentimental poems.[7] But, as the genre grew in popularity, its contents evolved to include some politically driven poetry and prose. These volumes, despite their immense popularity, their concomitant focus on the intonations of romantic love and their demand to "forget them not!", were "forgotten" in twentieth-century criticism until feminist recovery movements re-introduced the genre to scholarship. Annuals are now mentioned regularly in anthology introductions on nineteenth-century women writers and appear as cultural filler in well-known Victorian novels.[8]

In George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1872) set in the late 1820s, Ned Plymdale arrives to court the fickle Rosamund Vincy. He offers her a gift: a book that was a "gorgeous watered-silk publication which marked modern progress at that time" (263). Like many people of Britain during the late 1820s/early 1830s, Rosamund and Plymdale pored over its contents:

> . . . he considered himself very fortunate that he could be the first to look over it with her, dwelling on the ladies and gentlemen with shiny copper-plate cheeks and copper-plate smiles and pointing to comic verses as capital and sentimental stories as interesting. Rosamund was gracious and

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[7] In later chapters, I challenge this pejorative accusation that the annuals were simply sentimental (meaning too emotional) and feminine (meaning unsophisticated and non-literary).

[8] Ironically, though I argue that "textuality" does not afford "canonical" or "non-canonical," "primary" or "secondary" texts, I introduce the annuals by way of their appearance in the well-studied novel by George Eliot, deemed a "canonical" text.

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> Mr. Ned was satisfied that he had the very best thing in art and literature a medium for "paying addresses" – ***the very thing to please a nice girl.*** (263, emphasis added)

With this scene, Eliot critiques both the character of this rising leisure class and the aesthetic quality of a literary genre which was made popular by this class – a class increasingly privileged with leisure-time so that it could literally consume the annuals.[9] On display in a woman's drawing room, the annuals became an indication of propriety, education and wealth, a complement to the social definition of a "lady" at the time.[10] The first annual, *Forget Me Not*, caught the eye of several editors and publishers, many of whom altered the format and helped in the creation of a publishing phenomenon. (See **Figure 1.3**: Index of Editors & Publishers) By 1828, 100,000 copies of fifteen separate annuals earned an aggregate retail value of over £70,000 (including the *Keepsake*, the annual given to Rosamund Vincy) (Altick 362).

The literary annual phenomenon overtook Britain in an explosion of publications. This success was a result of socio-cultural, economic and technological influences,

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[9] Plymdale enjoyed showing off the latest fashions, however ephemeral those fashions might be. Rosamund, a member of the upper middle class like Plymdale, was careful to *appear* conscientious of moral standards in concert with her desire to live extravagantly. Rosamund acts as a foil to the benevolent and very wealthy Dorothea Brooke who would gladly eschew wealth to benefit social progress.

[10] This definition infers that middle class (and higher) women lived in a restricted existence that was proscribed by social mores and propriety. The typically lady did not move outside these boundaries for fear of being shunned or castigated. Letitia Elizabeth Landon and Mary Wollstonecraft, both penning women, were deemed unladylike for their personal relationships. This proper lady would have been required to keep company in a socially ordained arena – typically, the drawing room. Her character was formed through a middle class (and hence limited) education, proper speech and conduct and a high level of morality – certainly not the "angel of the house" of the Victorian era, but bordering on it.

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including advancements in engraving and mass production techniques and an increasingly literate leisure-class female audience. All of these elements are important considerations in a literary history of the genre. Essentially, I have merged the material/textual object with its cultural domain, creating a "sociology of the text" – a system of evaluation that links all elements of a text's life and allows a text to remain open to new meanings instead of closed at the point of printing, a theory suggested by bibliographer and textual critic, D.F. McKenzie, in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. In other words, the "book," a textual and material object, is a living entity, amassing layers of meaning with each level of construction, production, dissemination and reception. A history of literary annuals must include the bibliographic (physical description of the book), cultural (economic and social influences) and literary (poetry, prose and engravings) to understand the success of the "popular" genre.

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Chapter Two:
Defining "Textuality"

> FORGET ME NOT! – how universal and how deep-rooted the feeling which this name expresses! In every corner of the world, at last wherever the dwelling of civilized man is to be found, this sentiment has a home. . . . [¶] From the commencement of this work, it has been my ambition to make its tendency correspond with its expressive title, to procure for it an intrinsic merit that may preserve it from being forgotten, and to exclude from its pages whatever is unworthy of being remembered.
>
> Frederic Shoberl, Editor, *Forget Me Not* 1844 (Preface 3-4)

> [T]he Proprietor is induced to hope that his book will not be a mere fleeting production, to *die* with the season of its birth, but *live*, a reputed and standard work in every well-selected library.
>
> Frederic Mansel Reynolds, Editor, *Keepsake* 1829 (Preface iii-iv)

Life, death and memory – this describes the living text – not just the paper between covers, but the inherent relationship that intertwines a text, its bibliographic architects, creative imaginations, readers, consumers, audience, critics, authorial progeny and later literary gatekeepers. A text acts as a memory, an historical representation of a particular fixed moment, and a vessel which preserves potentially ephemeral moments for the future. But that is not all. A text is also always becoming, evolving and being re-born much like memories.

In "A Note on the 'Mystic Writing Pad,'" Freud describes memories as permanent traces of an original act. In order to avoid distorting that memory, people use writing as a mnemic apparatus, a simulated memory. Freud points out that memories lose their importance over time and are occasionally jettisoned from the perceptual apparatus of the mind, meaning that we voluntarily forget (or purge the hard drive). The physical manifestation of a memory through writing allows us to replicate the mind's attempt to preserve original acts. However, the simultaneous permanence of writing and limitations of a medium (i.e., a sheet of paper) does not allow us to forget. Or, conversely, if written

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upon a chalk board, which is completely ephemeral, the memory will become completely lost upon erasing the chalkboard. Freud is searching for a model which allows "an unlimited receptive capacity for new perceptions and [an apparatus which] lays down permanent – even though not unalterable – memory-traces of them" (176). He finds a model to proximate memory in a child's toy, the "Mystic Writing-Pad": "an ever-ready receptive surface and permanent traces of notes that have been made upon it" (177). Emotion, creativity and humanity are expressed through written language and deposited as symbolic codes on a sheet. When that sheet is lifted, the writing disappears (much like the child's toy). Though the markings have been erased – the visual manifestation of language and all its symbolic content – the impression (or indentation) of the writing remains. More writing is then composed on the same sheet, entangling what was written and its impressions with what is being written and its symbolic meaning (i.e., language).

The Mystic Writing-Pad represents symbolic negotiation between impression and expression much the same as memory and life co-exist in a book[1] allowing an historical text to contain a memory of its original birth (including authorship, creative imagination, literary value, printing, binding, selling, material value as an object, readers, ownership – its contemporary performance), a re-enactment of that moment as a historical object and a re-birth not as an object, but as an interaction with a future audience (what Jerome McGann calls a "human act" in the "textual condition"). Unlike the Mystic Writing-Pad, a book consists not only of writing, but of relationships necessary to the creation and survival of the book itself. The book is a community of influences that continues to

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[1] The definitions of book, codex, text and work will be discussed in a few pages (bear with me).

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acquire meaning. Each entity imbuing meaning is like a permanent trace on the Writing Pad, not necessarily made use of for, as Freud points out, "it is enough that they are present" (179).

Frederic Mansel Reynolds, quoted above, imbues life on his creation, the *Keepsake*, much the same as Dr. Frankenstein did for his monster or Mary Shelley did for her own "hideous progeny," *Frankenstein.* Unlike Dr. Frankenstein, though, Reynolds claims his creation, animates the *Keepsake* and hopes for its institutionalization, longevity and prestige, i.e., beyond a mere object meant to be used up after it has been consumed/read. Reynolds' *Keepsake* lived and continues to live as a part of the human exchange of creative imagination. The other editor, Frederic Shoberl, declares himself a gatekeeper of memories, including only the best memories in his literary annual, the *Forget Me Not*, which memories will in turn create a series of good memories for those who interact with the book. This annual especially is intended as a mnemic apparatus (as Freud put it) begging its audience not to forget (the poetry, the book-object, the person giving the object). And, apparently, the audience did not forget them (as will be discussed later). There does not need to be physical evidence of the annuals' handling. The evidence comes from the reviews in nineteenth newspapers and magazines, the references made by other authors to the poetry within an annual, the influence of an annual on other writers/authors – this is our physical evidence of the perceptual apparatus and its cultural/social role in the nineteenth century and beyond.

These literary annuals represent a negotiation between living memory and contemporary acts. Both of these literary annuals not only constitute a unique historical, social and cultural moment in early nineteenth-century England, but also act as Writing

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Pads acquiring further memories with each viewing, reading or use of the object itself. These annuals illustrate that the "book" – any given book – is not static but is imbued with permanent traces. This dissertation project traces the meaning of these texts in the social, cultural and literary under the premise that texts/books/works are living bodies that continue to accumulate meaning over time.

***

As a point of definition, the differences among **codex**, **book**, **text** and **work** need to be differentiated in order to fully discuss this intersection between material object and culture. "Codex" is an exact (scientific) bibliographic term used to describe a format for organizing written material. Essentially, the codex is a bound and stitched form of the "book," which became the standard book format that we know today. Before the invention of the codex, written material was produced on rolls, or single sheets (usually made from papyrus[3]) – a medium that allowed writing only on one side. With this limited space for use, the numbers of sheets and/or rolls became cumbersome to store/preserve because they required dedicated space for each roll. For reference purposes, this medium proves impossible to cite from because long written records

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[3] Papyrus, made from plants, is the precursor to paper; its function was limited however: only one side could be used for writing, which in turn wasted materials and space. Papyrus was effective as a roll, but as a brittle substance, it was difficult to bend and sew into bindings. Parchment, made from animal skin, was more expensive, but more efficient for writing and as binding material. In addition, parchment was recyclable: "Parchment had the added advantage of being capable of re-use, with a rescraping of the surface to produce a palimpsest. The text on papyrus could be rewritten while the ink was still wet, when a rag could remove any errors, but as the ink dried, it became more difficult to alter the text. And papyrus could certainly not take the harsh scraping that was necessary to produce a genuine palimpsest" (Greetham *Textual Scholarship* 60, 61).

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spanned many sheets, absent of paragraph references. The practice of stitching (essentially binding) parchment or papyrus into one cohesive container that was flat with an articulated seam essentially bound information into a singular referential source that was easy to access. The codex became common practice by the third century and, though evolved, remains the preferred format today – a testament to the practicality of this form.[4] Accordingly, I use the term, **codex**, to describe physical form.

The second term, "book," refers to a manuscript or printed record "issued as an individual unit between its own covers" (Carter 48). The term, codex, actually refers to the stitched form. The term, book, however, refers to the form and function of the information contained within. According to David Greetham, a "book" can "refer to almost any portable material with handwriting on it: metal, stone, wax, clay, potsherds, or official articles like coins and seals" (47). However, here, I refer to a "book" as a *literary* object in codex format.[5]

The book contains both "bibliographic codes" and "linguistic codes": The bibliographic code is distinguished from the content or the semantic construction of language within a text (linguistic code) by the following elements: "features of a page

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[4] In *Textual Scholarship*, David Greetham enumerates the benefits of the codex form: "First, a text written in codex could be easily cited, a convenience quickly realized by Christian authors and scribes, who perhaps took over the codex form under the influence of Roman lawyers: ease of reference was important to both legal and patristic scholarship. Second, the codex could receive writing on both sides of the leaf. Third, it was compact and could therefore store much longer texts. Fourth, it was more easily storable, requiring only shelves, not the elaborate system of boxes or pigeonholes needs for rolls" (59-60).

[5] For my dissertation project and in terms of textuality, *literary* refers specifically to poetry, prose, fiction and non-fiction writing that employs the use of imagination and creative ability for composition.

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layout, book design, ink and paper, and typeface . . . publisher, print run, price or audience. . . . [Bibliographic codes] might also include the other contents of the book or periodical in which the work appears, as well as prefaces, notes, or dedications that affect the reception and interpretation of the work" (Bornstein "How to Read a Page" 30, 31). Linguistic codes are specifically the words. Also within the book are paratextual elements that do not necessarily fall under the bibliographic or linguistic codes. Gerard Genette defines these as extraneous "liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside the book that form the complex mediation between book, author, publisher and reader" ([i]). Paratexts are not generally the linguistic codes embedded within a work, but constitute title pages, dedications, inscriptions, adverts, forewords, etc., that implicate "a book's private and public history" ([i]).[6]

The third and fourth terms, "text" and "work," are hotly debated issues in bibliographic and textual scholarship. My arguments align with Jerome McGann in his study, *A Critique of Modern Criticism,* in which he defines a "work" as a series of specific "texts," a series of specific acts of production, and the entire process which both of these series constitute. ***The "text" is a component in the production of a "work."*** This distinction (and debate) is important because it highlights the sociological aspects of producing a piece of writing and places responsibility for production beyond the singular author's creative imagination – this singular authority stemming from an ideal advanced

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[6] A discussion of various forms of paratexts will pop up on occasion throughout this dissertation.

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with the Romantic-era author.[7]

In order to integrate the physical description of books with its sociological meaning, I turn to an integrated theoretical stance of bibliography (the science of books) and textual criticism (the theory of books). I meld bibliography with textual criticism in order to account for the variables that created the literary annuals' phenomenal, yet ephemeral, place in both literary history and social memory/history – for neither discipline fully accounts for the success of the book and its "cultural capital."

Bibliography, "the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception" (McKenzie 12), attempts to logically order the information presented by the actual material book form. The literary annual, with its specific visual presentation, requires a scientific evaluation of its form using the elements of bibliography. However, a study of the codex itself will not render an adequate living history of the literary annual genre; its "textuality" must also be studied. David Greetham, in *Theories of the Text*, offers a definition of textuality that integrates economic, psychological and political theoretical styles with literary criticism:

> It is, on the one hand, a place of fixed, determinable, concrete signs, a material artefact, and yet, on the other, an ineffable location of immaterial concepts, not dependent at all on

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[7] Here, I am purposefully reductive in my discussion of textual theory. My work relies on the various schools of thought: bibliography, textual materialism, social textual criticism and *l'histoire du livre* (a French tradition of book history). For a complete discussion of these various schools of thought, see "Society and Culture in the Text" (367) in David Greetham's *Theories of the Text*. In this dissertation, "text" refers to the characters on a printed page and "work" refers to McGann's sociological product.

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> performance transmission. It is, on the one hand, a weighty authority with direct access to originary meaning, and, on the other, a slowly accumulating, socially derived series of meanings, each at war with the other for prominence and acceptance. It is a place inhabited only by a sole, creative author who unwillingly releases control to social transmission, and it is also a place constructed wholly out of social negotiations over transmission and reception. (63)

Studying the social, cultural, economic, theoretical and physical elements of a text/work, necessitates, according to D.F. McKenzie in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, showing "that forms effect meanings" (13). This methodology insists that the content of any given literary work is influenced by its packaging. In addition, the theoretical apparatus allows

> us to describe not only the technical but the social processes of [a literary work's] transmission. . . . it accounts for non-book texts, their physical forms, textual versions, technical transmission, institutional control, their perceived meanings, and social effects. It accounts for a history of the book and, indeed, of all printed forms including all textual ephemera as a record of cultural change, whether in mass civilization or minority culture. (13)

McKenzie refers to a "sociology of the texts," which discards bibliography's restrictive scientific study of the book – a study that "worked only from the physical evidence of books themselves" (15). Instead, McKenzie works from "textual criticism," which is

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concerned with

> getting the right words in the right order; on the semiotics of print and the role of typography in forming meaning; on the critical theories of authorial intention and reader response; on the relation between the past meanings and present uses of verbal texts. It offers an illustration of the transmission of texts as the creation of the new versions which form, in turn, the new books, the products of later printers, and the stuff of subsequent bibliographical control. (21)

Textual criticism considers the material object in conjunction with the creativity in its production. Accordingly, institutions as well as individuals create meaning in forms and forms from meaning. Neither the reader nor the publisher is solely responsible for textuality; nor is the author the sole agent in creative production. See **Figure 2.1:** "Sociology of the Text" from Robert Darnton's "Communications Circuit," which diagrams the institutions involved in textual exchange. With each individual and each institution, the text/work accumulates information, communications and meanings. Darnton diagrams that flow as uni-directional, which is not necessarily the case with textuality. Deirdre Phelps points out that Darnton's model does not contain the most important element, the book itself, and cannot account for relationships between the object and the institutions:

> Darnton's formulation does not account for the reader's response to the binding, which he or she will certainly always see, nor even to the binder as supplier (to whom the reader could presumably appeal for a different

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> style of binding), but only to the binder as bookseller, theoretically allowing consideration of the reader's response to whether a book could or could not be bought from that binder but not whether it could be different in style. (84)

She proposes, instead, using an "Interactive Socio-Textual Model" which can establish "a place for the interaction of the object and its parts with other agents" (76).

McKenzie proposes a system of evaluation that links all elements of a text's life and allows a work to remain "open" to new meanings instead of closed at the point of printing. Where bibliographers view a text (the writing produced by an author) as a closed object, denied further meaning, textual critics like Jerome McGann and David Greetham allow the text to remain open to accumulate meaning – essentially becoming a "work" (form and content as it is defined and re-defined in the processes of production, dissemination, reception and reproduction). The work is a form of cultural and social meaning as well as a marker of cultural and political capital and social history/memory.

Because this system of evaluation calls for an open work that continues to provide meaning, the evaluations "are themselves contingent, and contingent upon their proponent' opportunity and ability to articulate and defend them, an opportunity derived directly from the social matrix in which the theories are embedded" as is pointed out by Greetham in *Theories* (402). Though the system of evaluation can be contaminated by the evaluator, this introduces new meaning to an already-layered work. The evaluator's commentary adds to the "archive."

The material object is traditionally defined as closed once it is produced. But, it is my contention (aligned with Derrida) that the textual object, the physical book is also

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an archive of creation, memories, moments – especially the literary annual which was intended to represent memories. In *Archive Fever*, Derrida suggests that the moments of archivization are infinite throughout the life of the artifact: "The archivization produces as much as it records the event" (*Archive Fever* 17). Archiving occurs at the moment that the previous representation is overwritten by a new "saved" document. Traces of the old document exist, but cannot be differentiated from the new. At the moment an archivist sits down to actively preserve and store and catalogue the objects, the archiving is once again contaminated with a process. This, according to Derrida, "produces more archive, and that is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future" (Derrida 68). Literary works become archives not only in their bibliographic and linguistic codes, but also in their social interactions yet to occur. It is the re-engagement with the work that adds to an archive and that continues the archiving itself beyond the physical object.

For instance, the narrator of *Middlemarch* creates a conflated temporal moment with the gift-giving scene between Ned Plymdale and Rosamund Vincy. The "publication which marked modern progress *at that time*" differentiates the narratorial moment (mid-Victorian era) from the moment of the literary annuals' popularity (late-Romantic era before the ascension of Queen Victoria). George Eliot refers to the literary annual, *Keepsake*, in her 1871 novel, fifteen years after the popularity of the genre completely disintegrated. Eliot recapitulates the history of the reception of annuals as well as the conflicting desires surrounding their popularity. The conversation among Plymdale, Rosamund and Lydgate reflects the importance of consumer exchange (in the form of gift-giving) and the material object's (the annual's) importance in the negotiation between popular and intellectual culture. Eliot thought the exchange important enough

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to include in her historically-based novel and uses the instance to demonstrate a piece of culture as well as to assign humanistic roles to her characters:

Plymdale followed the fashions closely being "one of the good matches in Middlemarch, though not one of its leading minds" (263) – a critique not only of Ned Plymdale and Rosamund Vincy, but also of the intellectual quality of his gift. Plymdale is the non-intellectual fop because of his fascination with the annuals; Lydgate is the scientific man of self-professed high morals who disdains the sentimentality of the *Keepsake*'s contents; and Rosamund is the leisure-class woman who secretly cherishes the fashionable object but fears accusations of being influenced by fashion and popular culture.

The genre's detractor in the novel, Dr. Lydgate, represents social responsibility and critiques the genre as filled with "sugared inventions." However, he will eventually become a copper-plated man – a caricature of his former self. The literary annuals, their contents, reception, success and eventual ridicule represent the success and eventual failure of Lydgate's career and character. Eliot seems to tease her readers for desiring this sentimental piece of popular culture. However, Eliot's realism points to the annuals as a more complicated and perhaps genuine art form than early nineteenth-century critics recognized. With this scene in *Middlemarch*, Eliot records the distorted social memory of the annuals and comments upon their essential role in the literary world, i.e., she allows the annuals to reappear in a different social (Victorian) moment. Because of Eliot's reference and the narrator's temporal discernment, the meaning of the literary annual becomes conflated with its re-appearance in fictional literature. The physical occurrence of the annual within the narration and its ideological representation in the

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Victorian period novel adds to the genre's "textuality." The literary annual, as a work, is a marker of a particular nineteenth-century moment at the same time that it becomes written over with meaning from later cultural, social and historical moments.

Indeed, across the ocean, American authors add to the ideological archive associated with the British literary annuals: Mark Twain lets Huck Finn fondle a copy of *Friendship's Offering* literally displayed on a coffee table along with *Pilgrim's Progress*, the family Bible, hymn books and other politely religious, beautifully bound literature "piled up perfectly exact on each corner of the table" (104). Huck notes that the annual is full of "beautiful stuff and poetry" but does not read any of the poetry – a commentary on the initial superior quality of the engravings in American literary annuals versus their poetic contents. Published in 1884, the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* reflects the social and cultural temperature of the American 1830s, including a time rife with literary annual volumes, both British and American. The British-published *Friendship's Offering* enjoyed success in the U.S. as did the later 1840s American-published *Friendship's Offering*. (Twain might be referring to either publication in his novel. However, American literary annuals moved away from the literary miscellany format to include political essays [on temperance, slavery, women's rights, etc.] thinly veiled by the literary annual's binding.[8])

Considering all of these elements of textuality and the archive in conjunction with the literary annual as a genre that bloomed as a result of early nineteenth-century popular culture, a study of the genre must conclude that neither the material object nor its literary

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[8] For further reading on an annual focusing on slavery issues, see Ralph Thompson's article, "The Liberty Bell and Other Anti-Slavery Gift-Books."

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contents are wholly responsible for its popularity and success. In fact, Jerome McGann emphasizes that we need to study the "object" and the concrete bibliographic codes that are re-historicized with every generation. According to McGann, texts are not messengers of culture, which would indicate that they are merely channels of transmission (fixed and empty), but instead "represent–are in themselves–certain kinds of human acts" (*Textual Condition* 4). McGann, here, moves away from the authority of the singular author and denies that the creative impulse is the sole initiator of the work. For McGann, that authorial creative imagination is merely a part of the entire sociological process of creating a work; the work is not rooted in the author, nor does it whither as soon as it is communicated (or written) as Percy Shelley argues in *Defense*: "when composition begins, inspiration is already on the decline, and the most glorious poetry that has ever been communicated to the world is probably a feeble shadow of the original conception of the poet" (504). By vivifying texts, purportedly dormant objects according to bibliographers, McGann intertwines textuality with the human condition:

> Both the practice and the study of human culture comprise a network of symbolic exchanges. Because human beings are not angels, these exchanges always involve material negotiations. Even in their most complex and advanced forms – when the negotiations are carried out as textual events – the intercourse that is being human is materially executed: as spoken texts or scripted forms. To participate in these exchanges is to have entered what I wish to call here "the textual condition." (3)

Textuality is a holistic study of the codex, book, text and work, which is not limited by bifurcating form from content, bibliographic code from linguistic code. The

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text/work is a body that is not exclusively bibliographic or linguistic, much like the physical, emotional and mental form of a human being, and textuality is the social condition of various times, places and persons. The entire "work" (i.e., each literary annual) functions like a human body: each part contributes to the survival of the individual. If extremities are lost, the body, the person is altered. *The book itself is like this body.* For instance, the cover contributes to the socio-cultural meaning of the content, in a similar fashion as the publisher or author.[9] Without the cover, the initial presentation of the work is altered, hence its meaning is re-constructed. And, with the annuals, each volume is unique (much like a body) with each variant binding or owner's inscriptions.

Each "body" is influenced by several "literary institutions," roles that contribute to the production of texts/works: author, editor, illustrator, publisher, printer and distributor. Each contributes to the meaning: "[L]iterary works are only material things to a degree that they are social projects which seek to adapt and modify themselves circumstantially; [i]n cultural products like literary works the location of authority necessarily becomes dispersed beyond the author" (McGann *Critique* 102 & 84). And, each institution is influenced by its socio-cultural surroundings – a process that allows a book to be a constantly evolving "work."

With the definition of text/work and textuality in mind, the study of literary

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[9] The book as a body has long been an idea advanced by early modern scholars. The page itself was initially prepared from animal skin, a representation of the body itself. See Jesse Gellrich's *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology and Fiction* (Cornell, 1985). The concept of the book, page, text and work as a *feminized* body will be discussed later.

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annuals requires a social and cultural contextualization that discusses its "body" in relationship to the surrounding culture and social history of late Romanticism and early Victorianism. What follows is a socio-cultural history of the rise, appropriation, fall and re-appropriation of the literary annual.

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Chapter Three:
Locating the Annuals in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture

During the parlor interlude among Eliot's characters, the literary annual stands for "modern progress" not only in literary tastes but also in consumer demand for reading materials. The literary annual made its British debut at a moment in print culture when innovative technological advances, literacy rates, demand for reading materials and publishing/bookselling practices increased the production of printed materials.

Stereotype (1802), machine printing (steam press, 1814)[1] and paper tenacity (Fourdrinier machine, 1807) were new technologies that increased the production rates and numbers of reading materials available to the increasingly literate British population. In *The Evolution of the Book*, Frederick Kilgour describes stereotyping as "[a] process for producing a metal printing plate by infusing a plaster mold of typeset text with lead-rich type metal to produce an exact reproduction of the original type [which] is useful for printing newspapers, as well as books for which reprinting is anticipated" (106). Allan C. Dooley, in *Author and Printer in Victorian England*, suggests that stereotyping influenced the canon by offering authors the opportunity to reprint their works. However, authors were hesitant to commit to stereotyping because the plates would effectively seal the text from future revisions:

> The prospect of stereotyping, then, prompted Victorian authors to think deeply about the state a text was in. If a work had been revised, either before or after its first appearance, to a point where major rewriting was

[1] Though the steam press became standard operating machinery in the production of newspapers and was a catalyst for dailies' and weeklies' lower retail prices, it did not replace the more expensive hand labor in book printing until the 1830s (Altick 277).

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> no longer likely, the casting of plates promised the elimination or substantial reduction of proofreading for subsequent printings; furthermore, the author's profits on later impressions would be greater, and a book need never be unavailable as long as the plates or paper matrices were kept. (78)

In *The Evolution of the Book*, Frederick Kilgour reports that "[t]he population in England and Wales doubled, from approximately nine million in 1801 to eighteen million in 1851. . . . From 1750 to 1840 in England and Wales the literacy rate of men went from 63 to 68 percent, and that of women from 36 to 52 percent" (99). Evangelicalism, according to Richard Altick in *The English Common Reader*, contributed to this increase in literacy: The movement inspired the mass production of Bibles all over England and encouraged the "working class"[2] to become literate: "proselytizing religion, the distribution of Bibles and didactic literature became a large industry" (100). Printing technology improved just as substantial book orders were submitted, and the British working classes were ready to become more literate through reading these free pamphlets:

> Simply by making the printed word more available, the religious literature societies stimulated the spread of literacy. If one had

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[2] Altick describes the "working class" as lower-middle and lower classes who were "ranks of unskilled labor" as opposed to the "old-established middle class (merchants and bankers, large employers of labor, superior members of professions" (82). With the movement from cottage industries to mechanized labor, more people were moving to urban areas during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The result was a newly established "working class" who became a vital part of the social, economic and cultural surroundings in urban areas.

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> nothing to read, there was no particular point in becoming literate; but when Manchester hovels and Hampshire cottages began to have a few stray tracts or pious songs on the premises, there was a psychological incentive to do so. Some people were content to have the words spelled out to them by the scholar of the family, but many more wanted to be able to read on their own account. In addition, tracts offered a means by which the reading faculty, once learned, could be exercised and improved. Until the development of cheap secular periodicals the productions of the Religious Tract Society, the SPCK and their sister agencies kept literacy alive among large numbers of the poor who otherwise had little contact with the printed word. (103-104)

Altick also attributes increase in literacy to inventions in reading apparatus, including low-cost spectacles, oil and paraffin lamps, low-cost candles and peaceful locales outside the home (91-94).

E.P. Thompson cautions against homogenizing the "reading public" in the working class. In his study of class consciousness in *The Making of the Working Class*, Thompson differentiates these publics based on different principles: commercial public (for-profit ventures), organized publics (churches or Mechanic's Institutes), passive public (targeted by the evangelical and improvement movements) and the "active, Radical public which organized itself in the face of the Six Acts and the taxes on knowledge" (719). In addition to the didactic pamphlets that were widespread, these reading publics were exposed to a variety of burgeoning genres of reading material

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during the early nineteenth century, including fiction (Radcliffe, Scott's *Waverley*, 1814), serialized fiction (Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*, 1836, and *Master Humphrey's Clock*, 1840), silver-fork novels (Lister's *Granby*),[3] poetry volumes (Charlotte Smith, Hannah More, Scott, Byron, Landon, Hemans), non-fiction personal accounts (Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*, 1789, Wollstonecraft and Williams' *Letters*), juvenile literature (Barbauld and Wollstonecraft), conduct manuals (Wollstonecraft), textbooks and reference works (Cobbett's *Grammar of the English Language*, 1818), twopenny and threepenny weekly and daily newspapers (Limbird's *Mirror of Literature*, 1822, *Penny Magazine*, 1832, *Nic Nacs*, *Diorama*, *Freebooters*, *Batatelles* and sixty others), monthly and quarterly magazines (*Town and Country Magazine* and *Fraser's Magazine*), review periodicals (*Quarterly Review* [six shillings], *Analytical Review*, *The Literary Gazette*, *Monthly Review*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*), art periodicals (Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*), women's periodicals (*The Ladies Diary*, *Lady's Monthly Museum* and *The Lady's Magazine*), literary annuals (*Forget Me Not*, 1823), juvenile literature, comics, class re-prints (*The Family Shakespeare* [expurgated], 1818, Shakespeare's plays [twelve

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[3] This long-lasting genre focused particularly on the eccentricities of upper-class lifestyle. Tamara Wagner labels the genre both escapist and censorious of the "frivolities and often supercilious emphasis on the aesthetic rather than the moral that characterised aristocratic high society" (Paragraph 1). According to Wagner, the genre lasted throughout the nineteenth century but was popular during late 1820s and 1830s because of publisher Henry Colburn's advertising and recruiting skills. Hazlitt (who coined the term), Thackeray and Carlyle criticized the silver fork society and the itinerant novels in various works, including *Vanity Fair* and *Sartor Resartus*. (Wagner Paragraphs 1-2). For further reading on silver-fork society and literature, see Alison Adburgham's *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814-1840*.

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shillings], 1825), theatrical journalism and temperance periodicals.[4] Book production alone (excluding periodicals and newspapers) "in the nineteenth century exceeded that of the eighteenth by 440 percent," which Frederick Kilgour attributes to printed materials becoming less labor intensive (in setting type, creating paper or printing multiple copies) and the division of bookselling from printing (112).

Although technology increased the *availability* of voluminous pages of reading materials, the social conditions of the early nineteenth century dictated *access* to these materials. The working class, as the largest-growing consumer class during that time, was a heterogeneous mixture of reading publics as well as economic levels – with their income, some in this class could be grouped with the lower middle class, a working class of literate and skilled laborers. The reading materials in demand depended heavily upon the income of these skilled laborers. Altick notes that the increase in reading materials coincided with this newly established working class,

> people who benefitted from the spread of elementary education and whose occupations required not only that they be literate but that they keep their reading faculty in repair. And because these people shared more in the century's prosperity than did the unskilled laborers, they were in a somewhat better position to buy cheap books and periodicals as these became available. (83)

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[4] These authors, titles and dates were amassed from primary research of newspapers, periodicals and printed materials 1789-1860. Some references were taken from J.R. de J. Jackson's enumerative bibliography, *Romantic Poetry by Women*, Richard Altick's appendices in *The English Common Reader* (381-96) and "On Cheap Periodical Literature" in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1825 (483-86).

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"Cheap books and periodicals" were less costly to produce and more effective in rapid production. In "On Cheap Periodical Literature" published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* June 1825, the author observes the quantity and quality of the voluminous amounts of publications: "This is the golden age of literary and commercial enterprise. Never was the press more actively employed, or ampler scope allowed for the diffusion of every species of information, than at the present period . . . Never were publications so numerous, or of such varied character" (483). Consumers and readers had a choice, and the expense of the material marked the class of the consumer. A majority of the contents in the most prolific materials, periodicals, consisted of sensational news and hurriedly-written fiction – definitely not the literary and aesthetic qualities espoused by the literary annuals. In addition, the literary annuals were priced out of the range of a moderate income middle class family. Altick's research concludes that a middle-class family (an economic stratum slightly higher than the industrial worker), earned a modest weekly income of "48*s*., or roughly £125 a year; a beneficed clergyman lived well, if hardly in splendor, on £300 to £400; an officer of the line could marry on £200 to £400" (276). Both the working and middle classes could afford only a few *books* a year. However, the increased availability and cheap price of newspapers afforded an opportunity for the lower working classes (unskilled laborers) to access reading materials – whether as the original consumer or as the tenth reader.

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Retail Prices of Reading Materials, 1814-1835[5]

Cheap Weekly Magazines	1.5*d.*-6*d.* (*Mirror of Literature*, 1822)
Political tracts	2*d.*
Cheap Non-Fiction	6*d.* per part
	4*s.*6*d.* per complete volume (1827)
Weekly Magazine	6*d.*-1*s.*
Daily Newspapers	7*d.*
Recycled	1*d.*-3*d.* Illegally hired/lent to multiple readers
Re-prints (Literature)	1*s*-12*s.*(Shakespeare's plays)
Critical Periodicals	2*s.* (*Fraser's*)
Monthly Magazines	2*s.*6*d.*-4*s.*
Numbered Series (Fiction)	2*s.*-5*s.* per weekly installment[6]
Poetry Volume	5*s.*
Review Periodicals	6*s.* (*Quarterly Review*, *Edinburgh*)
Literary Annual	**8s.-£3**
3 Volume Novel	15-21*s.* (1814-1823)
Serialized Novel	20*s.* total for parts
	21*s.* complete vol. (*Pickwick Papers*, 1836)
Scott Novel	31*s.*6*d.* (1820)
Circulating Library	35*s.* (per year for unlimited access)

[Note: *d* = pence]

Between 1814 and1823, a three-volume novel, the more expensive reading, was sold at a retail price of between fifteen and twenty-one shillings (a guinea). (Sir Walter Scott's novels sold at the higher end and eventually reached a retail price of thirty-one shillings sixpence by 1820). As a result of this exorbitant price (caused by the

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[5] Amassed from Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader* (260-293; 318-347).

[6] However, as Altick points out, the total cost by the conclusion of the numbered series was not as cheap as the consumer could have wished. For instance, a Bible issued in 173 numbers cost in total £5.15*s.*: "We can assume that few of the purchasers who endured to the end of a serial issue counted up what they had spent; or, if they did, they failed to reflect that by determinedly saving sixpence or a shilling a week, rather than giving it to the canvasser, they might have had their completed book sooner and much more cheaply" (265).

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booksellers' collusion, the high price of paper and the cost of hand labor [Altick 262]), fiction readers accessed the circulating libraries for a shared copy of popular novels; here, readers could leisurely pore over all of the latest fiction at thirty-five shillings *per year* (Altick 263). Between 1827 and 1832, the remainders or re-print business also thrived in competition with the expensive novels; non-copyrighted works were available as "number publications and classic re-print series" (Altick 264). In numbered publications, the subscribers paid weekly for the installment of fiction or non-fiction literature.

The lower end of the working class (usually unskilled laborers) typically did not enjoy the benefits of the circulating library. The high cost of living and low wages during the early nineteenth century precluded them from obtaining a spare five shillings (which would buy five pounds of butter or ten pounds of meat [Altick 276]). These re-prints and numbered publications were, in effect, still priced out of the range of the average factory worker regardless of the materials intended to be the "economy book" for them. The middle and lower middle classes enjoyed these economy books and benefitted from the cheap form of entertainment more than any other literate class. However, the cheaper reading materials suffered from sensationalism, which left this set of people without "wholesome literature" with which to educate themselves. As a result, a relatively small number of consumers enjoyed "literature" of the "higher" quality.

In addition to income, not only did readers have to consider the expense of reading materials but also how much time they could allot to reading (and not working). Retail tradespeople, skilled and unskilled laborers, small employers and overseers were still required to maintain long working hours and were, therefore, unable to spend much

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time reading. Middle class merchants, bankers, professional men and manufacturers "could spend full evenings with their families and their books" (Altick 86). Regardless of the increase in disposable income for some working (i.e., lower middle class) readers, the true "leisure" reader came from the middle class in the early nineteenth century. In the reading community, leisure became a commodity and a targeted marketing group to which literary annuals could be directed.

This leisured audience had already been exposed to volumes of poetry: The standard for publishing poetry and accumulating an audience had been established by publishing single-author volumes of poetry on either the patronage or subscription model. However, the genre peaked in 1820, according to Lee Erickson, when poetry titles began a slow decline (*Economy* 28):

Year	No. of Titles[7]	No. of First Editions
1815-19	225 /year	155
1820	320	200
1821-24	205 /year	145
1825	205	110
1826	127	91
1832	110	77

Because of these declining sales, publishers (including Smith Elder, John Taylor, Longman and John Murray) refused to publish new poetry as well as second editions of major poets, including P.B. Shelley, Keats and Byron, regardless of their respective

[7] Erickson's reference to titles being produced refers to the various titles that were produced and not the numbers of volumes printed for each title.

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posthumous fame (33). In the event of the few volumes that were published during the late 1820s and early 1830s, publishers often asked a poet to underwrite her or his volume's publication in order to guarantee against unprofitable sales. Erickson further argues that "despite lower printing costs, publishers found that most poetry appealed to an increasingly smaller portion of the reading public and so kept its price high," selling for approximately five shillings for over one hundred years (35). However, the single-author volume's demise does not account for the literary annual's success. Quite possibly, at twelve shillings (and more), the annual's variety of authors, genres and engravings appeased a broader audience than a single-author volume of poetry.

Not every poet suffered lack of sales during the initial popularity of the annuals. In fact, Felicia Hemans gained a significant audience from her contributions to annuals and was able to command one thousand prints of her 1828 volume, *Records of Woman*, from publisher William Blackwood. Due to "the present state of sales for poetry," instead of advance payment as Hemans requested, Blackwood offered to "take on myself the expenses of paper & printing" and arranged to share the profits with Hemans (Blackwood to Hemans; Wolfson FN2 497). The poet agreed to the plan stating that "hope of profit" did not motivate this publication; instead, it was motivated because she had "expressed more of [her] own personal feelings than in any thing [she had] ever before written" (March 1828 letter to Blackwood; Wolfson 497). Blackwood's gamble on Hemans' poetry produced £300 in profits by late 1830 for *Records of Woman*; in addition, Hemans' volumes sold consistently with profits ranging between £100 and £300 through 1835 for second and third editions (Wolfson *Felicia Hemans* 444).

The twelve-shilling annual fell between the sensational cheap reading materials

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and the expensive "corrupting" novels. They did not contain the indoctrinating evangelical preachings like many printed materials in the early nineteenth century, but they were marketed as "wholesome literature" for the entire family. Claims to propriety, education and utility were often mentioned in their editorial prefaces,[8] a claim that shaped the purpose of the genre itself. In the initial *Forget Me Not*, Ackermann's editor writes: "The Publisher flatters himself that as well from the nature of the literary department, in which it has been his aim to unite the agreeable with the useful, as from the execution of the graphic embellishments, this first volume of the Forget-Me-Not will be deemed not unworthy of the purpose for which it is intended" (v). This initial annual contained useful information, including "Genealogy of the European Sovereigns and Living Members of their Families," "Population of Britain According to the Census of 1821" and "Historical Chronicle for 1822" – almanac-type features that soon disappeared from the genre with the example set by the editorial decisions of Alaric Watts in his November 1824 publication of the *Literary Souvenir*, a new and subsequently successful annual. Typically, the volumes contained vignettes of fiction, non-fiction and poetry in concert with re-presentations of well-known paintings.

With more than fifty contributions per volume, the limited space (approximately 300-400 pages) would not allow any one piece of fiction or non-fiction to exceed thirty pages, as Frederic Shoberl shows in his editorial preface to the 1826 *Forget Me Not*:

> In our last volume we had occasion to apologise for the absence of the conclusion of the Memoir of Ferdinand Franck, in consequence

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[8] Prefaces as paratextual elements will be discussed fully in the chapter on femininity and textuality.

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> of the destruction of the manuscript. We intimated, at the same time, the probability of being furnished with another copy of it for the present year by the author; but, possessing nothing more than a few general notes from which to work up his subject a second time, he found that when finished, *this last portion had extended to a length which rendered it impossible to insert the whole in a single volume*, without sacrificing that variety which is deemed essential to the interest of our annual offering. Equally unwilling to disappoint the curiosity and fatigue the patience of the reader by a further division of that article, the Publisher has printed it in a separate form, as the best means of accommodating both those who possess the early, and those who have only the later volumes of the "FORGET-ME-NOT." (ii-iii)

The editors of the annuals avoided allowing any one piece of writing to overwhelm the miscellany. And, with good reason: although the length of this fiction was not the quick entertainment of a broadside or a daily, it certainly did not require the time commitment of reading novels. The retail price of an annual was beyond the means of a working class reader, and the leisure-time required to admire the writing and engravings was certainly well beyond that of any working class individual. However, the contents of the annuals appealed to that small class of readers and book buyers with *limited* leisure – a class growing exponentially in British society.

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Chapter Four:
The Textual Object:
"Borrowing," Altering and Perfecting the Literary Annual Form
or, What the Annual Is Not

Because the literary annual combined elements of various genres (as well as solidifying another, the gift book), it is often mistakenly identified with other genres. This causes a problem when locating the volumes in libraries or acquiring them from rare book dealers. For instance, the New York Public Library lists 375 catalog entries for literary annuals, catalogued inconsistently in the subject index as: "annual," "gift book," "gift-book," "gift books – 19th Century," "miscellany" and "anthology." In addition, scholars refer to literary annuals in various inconsistencies, including gift annuals (in a 1993 article by Ethel Simpson).

The major rare book and special collections in North America include the University of Carolina's extensive collection of over 300 British and American holdings searchable under "gift books," the Library of Congress' American holdings searchable under "[gift books]," the American Antiquarian Society's American holdings extending through 1876 (but catalogued only through 1830) searchable as "annuals," Miami University, Ohio's collection of over 200 American and British holdings searchable as "gift books" and Brown University's Harris Collection of over 400 British and American holdings searchable as "gift books."

In England, the University of Liverpool's collection of 200 British volumes (searchable as "Spec annuals") is rivaled only by the British Library's massive collection (searchable only by individual volume title). The University of Edinburgh has a moderate number of literary annual holdings but the catalog is not organized with subject headings

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and is therefore searchable only by individual volume title. This frustrating and confusing dilemma will be difficult to rectify because "gift book" has been institutionalized, primarily by the Library of Congress and its standardized search phrase.[1]

The literary annual, as a hybridized genre, experienced an explosion in England that was unique and separate from the production and selling of emblems, almanacs, pocket-books, anthologies, albums, commonplace books, and gift books. For this reason, defining the "literary annual" as a distinct genre is important to this project as well as to the literary history of the nineteenth century. The standard criteria defining a literary annual were presented in Ackermann's first *Forget Me Not* volume, published November 1822:

- Purpose: Annuals are "expressly designed to serve as annual tokens of friendship or affection" (Advertisement at conclusion of 1823 *FMN*). Ackermann establishes not only the purpose of the volume but also its sentiment and gift-giving status.
- Publication Time Frame: "It is intended that the Forget-Me-Not shall be ready for delivery every year, early in November" (Advertisement/Preface to 1823 *FMN* vii). As will be seen later, critics adhered to this criteria and lambast any

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[1] Even the Poetess Archive, under which the *Forget Me Not* Hypertextual Archive will be housed refers to literary annuals as gift books. In order to become part of the project and the National Endowment for the Humanities grant, I required the project manager to insert a paragraph into the grant application specifying the difference between the two genres and explaining that the term gift book was used throughout the application because it was standardized – an adequate concession but still frustrating for her and I both.

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publication that is published outside the holiday time frame (November through January) yet still claims to be of the literary annual genre.

- Continual Evolution: "[T]he Publisher has no doubt that, in the prosecution of his plan, he shall be enabled, by experience, to introduce improvements into the succeeding volumes" (vii). Each editor hereafter uses the preface to proclaim improvements to his/her title for each succeeding year. This promise suggests a continued longevity to the title and asks readers to look for a better product the following year.
- Authorship: "[H]e shall neglect no means to secure the contributions of the most eminent writers, both at home and abroad" (vii). Ackermann establishes the literary annual as more than an anthology with this promise; the authors are generally contemporary figures of the time period instead of the classic greats.
- Originality: "To convey an idea of the nature of the pieces which compose the bulk of this volume, it will be sufficient to state that they will consist chiefly of original and interesting Tales and Poetry" (Advertisement at conclusion of 1823 *FMN*). This claim of originality will plague the editors of the annuals through the 1830s, but most continue the declarations of originality that Ackermann set up in this initial advertisement for the 1823 *Forget Me Not.*
- Engravings: "[W]hile his long and extensive connexion with the Arts, and the credit with which he has acquitted himself in his various undertakings in that line, will, he trusts, be a satisfactory pledge that his best exertions shall not be wanting to give to this Work in a decided superiority in regard to its embellishments, over every other existing publication of the kind" (Advertisement/Preface to 1823

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FMN vii-viii). Though this is a standard claim of superiority, Ackermann means to use his experience and established audience to create visual entertainment in addition to the literary. An annual must carry both in order to be considered within the family.

- Useful Information: "The third portion comprises a Chronicle of Remarkable Events during the past year: a Genealogy of the Reigning Sovereigns of Europe and their Families; a List of Ambassadors resident at the different Courts; and a variety of other particulars extremely useful for reference to persons of all classes" (Advertisement at conclusion of 1823 *FMN*). Ackermann attempts to establish the literary annual genre as referential and useful across class boundaries. However, it is assumed that the working or lower classes are not included in this declaration because of the cost (twelve shillings). Because it is mere information, this element of Ackermann's proposed genre was eventually discarded in favor of more creative contributions.
- Exterior Format: "The Forget Me Not is done up in a case for the pocket, and its external decorations display corresponding elegance and taste with the general execution of the interior" (Advertisement at conclusion of 1823 *FMN*). The diminutive size (3.5" x 5.5") represents a particular form of femininity that is portable in the pocket or the hand – specifically of a lady. The embellished boards that contain the annual mark the decadence of the entire genre and will be continued through its lifetime (even in the re-bindings).

Each of these elements comprises the definitive literary annual. Any straying from them automatically disqualifies a volume from the genre's family. Even editors who discount

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Ackermann's role in creating the literary annual adhere to these criteria. With this definition in mind, I turn to the genealogy of the genre with Ackermann as its "father."

The literary annual, though unique to the nineteenth century in its particular form, developed from a long tradition of both European and British literary works,[2] including the sixteenth-century emblem: a popular form that combined a picture, a motto and a poem to illustrate a moral lesson or meditation (*OED* 2nd ed. 1989). Italian Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (*Book of Emblems*) "had enormous popularity and influence in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is a collection of 212 Latin emblem poems, each consisting of a motto (a proverb or other short enigmatic expression), a picture, and an epigrammatic text" (*Memorial Web Edition*). First published in 1531, Alciato's emblems primarily consisted of translations of lyrics and epigrammatic poems from the *Greek Anthology*. Alciato's work evolved into ekphrastic poems when editors and publishers of the first printed (and unauthorized) edition added crude illustrations to accompany each poem. The author improved on the illustrations for the 1534 Paris edition, arranging each emblem into a more cohesive representation of the verse and adding a motto to each

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[2] French and German scholars have evaluated and indexed the impact of the almanac and pocket-book on literary annuals published in various countries. The French studies include John Grand-Carteret's *Les Almanachs Français* (1896), B.H. Gausseron's *Les Keepsakes et les Annuaires Illustrés de l'Époque Romantique* (1896), Frédéric Lachèvre's *Bibliographie Sommaire des Keepsakes et Autres Receuils Collectifs 1823-1848* (1929) and *Bibliographie Sommaire de l'Almanach des Muses (1765-1833)* (1928). The German studies include Paul Merker's *Reallexikon de Deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (1926-1928), Hans Köhring's *Bibliographie der Almanache, Kalender and Taschenbücher 1750-1860* (1929), R. Pissin's *Almanache der Romantik* (1910), Hans Grantzow's *Geschichte des Göttinger und des Vossischen Musenalmanachs* (1909), Wolfgang Seyffert's *Schiller's Musenalmanache* (1913). V.A. Wien has created a list of European annuals in *Almanache, Kalender, Taschenücher, Anthologien* (Ralph Thompson 165-66).

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page. (See **Figure 4.1**: Emblem 27, Aliciati's *Book of Emblems*) However, as Bernhard F. Scholz points outs, the typographical arrangement at first unauthorized by the author himself, became tied to the composition of the text itself. Scholz suggests that the emblem form was really an "emergent rather than an ideally distinct form," emergent because it is a "continuing movement toward form kept in check by the constraints of the poetics of *imitatio*" (157).

Emblematum Liber was published in 171 editions from 1531 through the late seventeenth century. The book's popularity waned in the eighteenth century with only five editions printed. The genre, however, had caught the public's attention in the eighteenth century: two other emblem volumes, each by George Wither and Francis Quarles, also won favor with the public. However, Wither and Quarles' volumes were religiously oriented and have been described by David Greetham as "collections of quotations from Scripture or other 'improving' literature with accompanying woodcuts and doggerel verses as moral" (*Textual Scholarship* 109).

Similar to the ekphrastic representation of Alciato's emblems, the literary annual reproduces the format but divides the emblematic elements and process: the motto is included on the title page and represents the tenor of the entire volume; the illustration is first engraved and then verbally rendered. Initially, the annual was intended to offer instruction in morality and propriety, allowing readers to meditate on the visual and literary. And, like the *Emblematum Liber*, the early annual's pocket-sized delicacy allowed the book to be a portable reference of morality and propriety as well as an indicator of education, wealth, friendship or leisure. The beautiful binding found a home in the lady's drawing room and on her bookshelf once the year had expired or the volume

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had been read – intended as a permanent object that enhanced a collection or represented a memory. The annual encompasses a conflated representation of ownership much more so than the emblem. However, its format pays homage to the emblem's original ekphrastic format.[3]

Boyle and Thompson trace the literary annual's lineage from the Parisian *Almanach des Muses* (1765-1833) and the German imitation *Musenalmanach* (1770) (Thompson 3). Charles T. Tallent-Bateman, in a 1902 article, also cites the German *Minerva* (1809-1833 Leipzig, Ernst Fleischer) as a precursor. British influences include Southey's *Annual Anthology*, published in two volumes 1799 and 1780, *The Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry*, published 1801-1811, and *Angelica's Ladies Library, or Parents and Guardians Present*, published in 1794 (Thompson165). But the British literary annual tradition begun by Rudolf Ackermann carved a niche and format that was unique and separate from the almanac or these poetry anthologies.

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As a German émigré, Ackermann established a printing shop in the middle of London's printing district in 1795. During his life (and prior to the *Forget Me Not*'s introduction), Ackermann advanced the technology and the marketability of what we now refer to as "coffee-table books" – visually decorative volumes filled with lavish illustrations. Using wood-cut and intaglio engraving processes,[4] Ackermann earned his

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[3] For a discussion of the relationship between ekphrasis and literary annuals, see Vanessa K. Warne's dissertation, "'Purport and Design': Print Culture and Gender Politics in Early Victorian Literary Annuals."

[4] See the next chapter for a comparison of woodcut and steel plate engravings.

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reputation for the beautiful color plates and aquatints that he produced in his magazine, *Repository of Arts*, among others. The color plates required hand coloring, but the aquatints, a more laborious method, allowed "gradations of tone [to be] produced on the plate by the progressive etching through and stopping out of a porous ground, usually made by allowing a solution of resin in spirit to dry out and craze on the surface of the plate," as is defined by Philip Gaskell (158). These volumes of printed illustrations were very expensive to produce and even more difficult to sell because of their higher retail price. After his success in reproducing artwork and creating aquatint color-plates, Ackermann envisioned a volume that would capitalize on this expertise as well as the growing leisure-class of women readers, the predominant consumer base for many of his volumes.

Prior to his experiment with the *Forget Me Not*, Ackermann ran a successful London printing shop opened in 1795 (surviving until 1973 as Arthur Ackermann and Son) and is credited with establishing lithography as a fine art in England (*Dictionary* 58).[5] His business maintained a loyal consumer base with his periodical, *Repository of Arts and Fashions*, an "elegant and fashionable periodical Work contain[ing] upwards of 500 coloured Engravings, and forms a Library of itself; it presents entertainment and

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[5] Ackermann was also a prolific inventor: He patented a process for creating waterproof paper, cloth and other substances in 1801 (Patent No. 2491); he was among the first businessmen to use gas to light his workshop; 1818-1820, he worked on a patent for movable carriage axles (Patent No. 4212); he created Lord Nelson's funeral car in 1805 (*Dictionary* 1917, 58; "The London Book Trades" online). For an in-depth view of Ackermann's business, see John Ford's article "Ackermann Imprints and Publications." For a discussion which locates Ackermann in larger nineteenth-century history, see Matthew Kutcher's first dissertation chapter, "Rudolf Ackermann and the Politics of a British Culture Industry."

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information to every taste, and will serve as a mirror of the times, and a work of reference to future ages" (Ad, 1824 *Forget Me Not*). Mimicking the very popular *Lady's Magazine*, which began in 1770 and ceased publication in 1837, Ackermann's magazine contained plates of the latest fashionable dresses and hats, detailed descriptions of the fabrics and design and the occasional fabric sample. (See **Figure 4.2:** Dress from *Repository of Arts*) At a price of three shillings, six pence this magazine accumulated 3,000 subscribers in its first year (1809) and appeared regularly until 1828. By its conclusion the magazine had seen forty volumes produced in monthly parts (*Dictionary* 1917, 59).

The Repository of Arts was also an actual place; the Repository held a tea room for fashionable ladies where lectures took place (Ford *Ackermann*) and is described by Judith Thompson as "the multilevel cultural emporium . . . with a spacious Library and tea-room, decorated with classic busts, draperies and urns, where he also held the evening 'conversations' of his dilettanti society, intended 'for a select number of gentlemen, professors and lovers of literature and the fine arts'" (182). Thompson also points out that Ackermann's shop brought in £30,000 a year (182). (See **Figure 4.3**: Cut-out model of Ackermann's shop originally published in 1809 *Repository of Arts*) The audience who supported both the periodical and the tea room was primarily the same audience who would later demand his *Forget Me Not*, middle class women readers (Ford *Ackermann* 64).

Having been born in Stolberg, Saxony and resided in Schneeberg and Paris, Ackermann was aware of the cultural clashes caused by national boundaries and their effects on a British market. He often downplayed his own German and European

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influences and highlighted the superiority of Britain, applying to the nationalist sentiments of the time. In this ad for lithographic works, Ackermann acknowledges the foreign origins of a printing process, but assigns its triumphant achievement to English ingenuity:

> Lithography, that delightful art, by means of which the genuine feeling and touches of the Painter are rendered with the utmost fidelity, so that each impression may justly be said to become an original of the Master, was transplanted but a few years since from a foreign soil to this country. Here it has not only taken root, but, from assiduous care bestowed on its cultivation, and the exercise of British ingenuity, it has acquired such vigour and perfection, that its productions rival and bid fair soon to surpass all those of exotic growth. (Ad, 1824 *Forget Me Not*)

Ackermann again admits to European influences when he introduces the first *Forget Me Not*, and again applauds British superiority when he confesses to borrowing and improving on the genres. With these rhetorical moves, Ackermann both acknowledges the benefits of Continental invention (and his own knowledge of it) and markets national pride in British enterprise. Alaric Watts, editor of the successful *Literary Souvenir* annual, adopts the same stance as Ackermann and debuts his annual in November 1824 (for 1825) with a nod specifically towards the German almanacs. The Continental influence is passingly mentioned but only in reference to the artistic exchange of ideas between Britain and Europe: "[T]hey borrow so many useful hints from English literature, that we have an undoubted right to make reprisals whenever we meet with any

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suggestions of theirs *at all worthy of our adoption*" (iv, emphasis added). Watts, like Ackermann, defends the "borrowed" format, but Watts' defense invokes a right to retaliate against the European's repeated thefts by incorporating an idea that barely meets the minimum standard of British artistry – a remark that draws decidedly nationalistic boundaries and a sentiment that will be echoed in other literary annuals.

With this established printing house and consumer base, Ackermann created a system of printing that yielded a higher production rate. Because of this, consumers of the *Forget Me Not* (and later annuals) did not subscribe to the publication – a practice where consumers pre-order the book and the publisher creates only as many copies as are ordered. Instead, in some years, Ackermann printed upwards of 20,000 copies in a year from a quarter of a million plates per edition (Ford *Ackermann* 64-5). Ackermann's higher production rate increased the volume, which increased availability and demand; he created a demand based on his inventory, not the lack of it. In addition, his improved methods for printmaking were implemented to create the engravings for the *Forget Me Not*, a method which resulted in better sales for the annual as well as a demand for larger prints.

After the first fairly simple and rather dull *Forget Me Not*,[6] containing Edward Burney's twelve vignettes of the months and accompanying verses by William Coombe, Ackermann hired Frederick Shoberl, his editor for the *Repository of Arts.* (See **Figures 4.4 & 4.5:** Title page and woodcut-engraving from 1823 *Forget Me Not*) The first volume's pages contained tiny, smudged type that lacked the later decadence of blank

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[6] The frontispiece is the only detailed engraving included in the 1823 *Forget Me Not*. All other engravings were simple, woodcut engravings.

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marginal space which appeared under Shoberl's hand. With this editor, the *Forget Me Not*'s success continued until 1847, outliving Ackermann himself (d.1834).[7] (For these reasons, I focus my research on the *Forget Me Not* in its initial years of success as opposed to the format-altering *Literary Souvenir* or the "cult of beauty" *Keepsake*.[8])

In the first *Forget Me Not* Preface, aware of his popularity and success, Ackermann calls on his audience and reputation to advertise for him (writing in the third

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[7] The progress of Ackermann's business can be witnessed on the title pages of the *Forget Me Not*. The 1823-1829 volumes consistently advertise "R. Ackermann" as the publisher. With the 1828 volume, it is evident that Ackermann has partnered with the American publishers Carey, Lea and Carey, whose names appear on the 1828 title page. Carey, Lea were large distributors of the literary annuals and were in business with many London publishers to expand the consumer base for the genre. However, Carey, Lea do not appear on any other title page, which leads me to believe that either variant title pages were produced for the British and American audiences or the partnership was severed after the 1829 volume. In addition, Carey, Lea & Carey held that title 1827-1829 only, changing to Carey & Lea after Edward Carey's departure (Gassan).

Ackermann expands his business at home in 1829, as evidenced by the 1830 title page which names "R. Ackermann & Co." as its publisher. The 1831 and 1832 volumes return to simply "R. Ackermann." But, the 1834 volume indicates a potentially huge discrepancy: The 1834 volume that I inspected lists the publisher (on the title page) as "Ackerman & Co.," leaving off the second *n* in Ackermann's name. This volume, published and distributed in November 1833, continues the trend of Ackermann's vacillating public name, but it may also signal: 1) illegal printed editions of the 1834 volume, 2) the further evolution of Ackermann's business or his loss of control (considering he dies in 1834), or 3) a serious mistake by printers that was not caught by the detail-oriented Ackermann (again perhaps because of his eminent death).

The variations on Ackermann's name are present even today in many Internet spellings; the original spelling, however, is Ackermann, with two *n*'s.

[8] The 1829 volume of the *Keepsake*, the subject of many scholarly articles and a dissertation by Kathryn Ledbetter, contained a large number of literati including Percy B. Shelley (posthumously), Mary Shelley, William Wordsworth, S.T. Coleridge and Sir Walter Scott. Letitia Elizabeth Landon was also a major contributor to the 1829 *Keepsake* – she and Wordsworth's contributions being specifically treated by Kathryn Ledbetter and Terry Hoagwood in the 2002 *Romantic Circles* hypertext, *"The Keepsake* for 1829: A Hypertext Edition."

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person):[9]

> while his [Ackermann's] long and extensive connexion with the Arts, and the credit with which he has acquitted himself in his various undertakings in that line, will, he trusts, be a satisfactory pledge that his best exertions shall not be wanting to give to this Work a decided superiority in regard to its embellishments, over every other existing publication of the kind. ("Advertisement," *Forget Me Not* 1823, vii-viii)

By referring to this audience and his long-standing reputation in the printing industry, Ackermann invites his regular consumers to embrace this new endeavor while at the same time assuring a wider audience of the quality (both artistically and morally) of his product. Ackerman's assurances were not misplaced when introducing his improved product. Middle-class consumers, even though they were the new leisure class, were still hesitant to purchase such a luxury item, especially one that might lose value the more it was read. Ackermann and Shoberl anticipate the public's short attention span and include more literary contributions and detailed engravings in the 1824 volume. (For comparison see **Figure 4.6**: Frontispiece [steel plate engraving] in detail from *Forget Me Not* 1824) Not only was the reader to peruse the engravings but also to pore over the twenty to thirty pieces of prose and poetry in the volume.

Ackermann and Shoberl also rely on a growing reputation to attract even more

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[9] It is unclear in any evidence whether poet William Coombe wrote the Preface or Ackermann did himself. Conflicting reports mention both as the authors, though Coombe did author the dull poems of this first volume. For argument's sake, I will assume that Ackermann himself shaped the Preface if not completely drafted it.

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popular authors: "the Publisher . . . confidently trusts, that, as the plan of the Forget Me Not becomes better known, many more of our eminent and popular writers will be induced to lend the powerful aid of their talents" (iv 1824 Preface). Using the Preface to assure readers and future contributors of the volume's eminence, Ackermann and Shoberl effectively advertise to both sets. Again, in the 1825 Preface, the editor uses the space to attract prominent authors and at the same time entices readers for the following year: "and we trust, that the eminent and respectable names embraced in this volume . . . will enduce many more of the votaries of literature and the muse to lend their aid" (iv). And, indeed, they did: In the 1823 volume, only author Augustus von Kotzebue is named in the Table of Contents' list of twenty-two literary contributors. In 1824, Bernard Barton, James Montgomery, H. Clauren, Kotzebue, J.H. Wiffen, J.B. Papworth and Henry Neele are identified as twelve of the thirty-nine contributors. In the next volume, twenty-nine of the forty-seven contributions are attributed in the Table of Contents, with Letitia Landon and Mary Russell Mitford signing their initials in the text. Each year, not only do the authors reveal themselves, but the quantity of literature increases by one-third. The 1823 volume contains four hundred pages, one hundred pages of which are charts and information. The 1824 volume also contains almost four hundred pages, but only two of which are charts. The 1825 volume contains no information or charts in its approximately four hundred pages. The number of pages does not shift, but the contents become more sophisticated. Unlike a newspaper, religious tract, conduct manual or textbook, this volume was meant to lightly entertain but demanded rapt attention to understand the mildly instructive sentiments and appreciate the volume's visually stimulating beauty.

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Ackermann wanted to instill beauty in the form as well as in its content. The resultant product, the *Forget Me Not*, encapsulated elements from already successful genres, including the French literary "almanach," German "Taschenbuch" (pocket-book), "album" and informational "almanac." Ackermann acknowledges these predecessors in the preface to the first *Forget Me Not*:

> The British Public is here presented with the *first attempt to rival the numerous and elegant publications of the Continent*, expressly designed to serve as tokens of remembrance, friendship, or affection, at that season of the year which ancient custom has particularly consecrated to the interchange of such memorials. The Publisher flatters himself that as well from the nature of the literary department, in which ***it has been his aim to unite the agreeable with the useful***, as from the execution of the graphic embellishments, this first volume of the Forget-Me-Not will be deemed not unworthy of the purpose for which it is intended. . . .
>
> . . . [A]mong the documents introduced into the concluding sheets, the Publisher begs leave to direct the Reader's attention to the important Tables exhibiting the results of the late Census, compiled from the returns of the Population of Great Britain, just printed by order of the House of Commons. For some of the other useful articles of reference in this part of the volume, he professes his obligations to the *Gotha Almanac*, a work of acknowledged accuracy and of high reputation on the Continent. (v, vii)

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Focusing on the utility of the first *Forget Me Not* and pointing to the tables and charts, Ackermann authorizes the information with the stamp of the British government and European information. (See **Figure 4.7**: Chart from 1824 *Friendship's Offering*) Mention of the "Continent" lends the annual a cosmopolitan reputation, which is intended to draw in an audience interested in European and British information – an attempt to interest an international audience. Ackermann erases the boundaries between Britain and Europe in an early advertisement/ announcement of the upcoming 1823 volume:

> In submitting to the Public that plan of the work here announced, the Projector candidly acknowledges that he is influenced by the honest ambition of rivalling at least, if not surpassing the many elegant and tasteful productions of the Continent, expressly designed to serve as annual tokens of friendship or affection.

After offering the purpose of the book, interjecting it with a European ancestry and declaring it superior to that ancestry, Ackermann turns to describing the object itself: "The Forget Me Not will be done up in a case for the pocket, and its external decorations will display corresponding elegance and taste with the general execution of the Interior." The beauty of the object will rival the beauty of its contents which thereby creates a parallel between the textual object and its literary qualities. In creating the *Forget Me Not*, Ackermann appropriates the almanac style that was popular during this time, including fixed information that was useful. Banker's rates, post office addresses, population statistics were all included in Ackermann's original venture. Leigh Hunt sarcastically refers to the original almanac-style of literary annuals when mentioning

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their portability and useful information in his article included in the first *Keepsake* (1828): "and lastly, the hackney-coach fares, so very useful, that every body resolved to lug them out and convict the coachman on the spot; which he never does, because he knows it will be to no purpose" (9). By removing the useful information, Ackermann abandons the German-style pocket-book and succumbs to the public's pressure for more literary luxury and less hard facts.

Before this alteration, though, Ackermann mimicked the common almanac form that had served publishers and consumers alike for several centuries. The earliest, *Almanach des Muses*, published in France 1765 through 1833, does not present its literary and informational data as a beautiful object: the original covers are flimsy paper (with no board to support), it contains only one engraving, the inferior paper and pressed printing allow the type to interrupt text, and no gilt edges or stamped binding provide a sense of delicacy. The size, however, is that of a pocket-book, like the literary annuals.

Charles Malo's *Hommage aux Dames* is the closest older sibling to Ackermann's literary annual format (see **Figure 4.8**: *Hommage* c.1815 boards, title page & preface), published 1813 through 1830 by Chez Janet in Paris – a traditional almanac as defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

> an annual table, or (more usually) a book of tables, containing a calendar of months and days, with astronomical data and calculations, ecclesiastical and other anniversaries, besides other useful information, and, in former days, astrological and astrometeorological forecasts. (*OED* 2nd edition 1989, CD-Rom)

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The French 1815 *Hommage aux Dames* is filled with the traditional factual information expected of an almanac, including monthly astronomical data in the first pages after the title page and blank pages for monthly entries in its last few pages. This French volume, though, extends beyond the traditional almanac style to include 148 pages of poetry, prose and a dramatic scene and forty-four unpaginated pages to open the volume (which pages include all six engravings of the volume and their accompanying pieces). Here, the useful information of an almanac has been paired with the aesthetic tastes of its consumers, women, as is seen in the Preface to the 1815 volume:

Préface aux Dames Air: Je ne suis plus de ces Vainqueurs	Preface to Women[10] Melody: I am no longer of these Victors.
Quand vingt peuples de l'Univers	When twenty nations of the universe,
Quelques soient leurs mœurs, leur langage	Whatever their customs, their language,
Depuis mille ans, en prose, en vers	For one thousand years in prose, in verse,
Vous offrent partout leur *Hommage*;	Pay their tribute to you
Quand vous soumettez a vos loix	When everything that breathes on earth
Tout ce qui respire sur terre:	Submits to your laws
Le Français, ingrat une fois	Can the French, ungrateful,
Peut-il admirer . . .! Et se taire.	Admire, for once... and remain silent.

Though this poem concludes with a reprimand of the French, its complete message refers to the tradition of worshiping women and their femininity. *Hommage aux Dames* encourages the tradition: its literature is dedicated to women; its diminutive size (3 ½" x 4 ¾") and delicate presence are contrasted against the universal laws of femininity; and its engravings and glazed paper boards reflect a leisure class who will appreciate the rich attire of the volume's presentation, similar to Ackermann's impending British production.

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[10] Translated by Christophe Pouchot (March 5, 2004), c/o Matt Gold.

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While there are similarities between this almanac form and Ackermann's literary annual form, their differences distinguish the annual genre as a unique phenomenon. Internally, the arrangement and pagination differ from Ackermann's final product: In the *Hommage aux Dames*, the six engravings (with their accompanying prose and poetry pieces) are included in the unpaginated first forty pages of the volume; the pagination begins with a poem entitled "Hommage aux Dames"; the Table of Contents, alphabetically arranged by author, appears after the last piece of writing and is followed by blank monthly pages. Many of these features do not seem to follow a logical progression of information. The table of contents privileges the authors rather than the content, and the unpaginated engravings, poems and prose could be excised in the re-binding of the volume. And, obviously, the engravings are not privileged in this volume (as they are in the literary annuals); instead, the writing, both by the contributors and the owners/audience, holds the attention of the readers.

The blank pages are preceded by a "Souvenir" title page, which allows readers to incorporate their memories into the volume. Since the almanac was meant to be kept throughout the year, as is intimated by the monthly astronomical data and the monthly diary pages, the *Hommage aux Dames* serves as a souvenir of a particular moment, "a remembrance, a memory" (*OED* 2nd ed. 1989, CD-Rom). By incorporating herself into the volume, the reader becomes part of the work – ownership to be read alongside the printed material.

In a tradition adopted by editors of British literary annuals, on a prefatory page, Charles Malo invites contributors to submit prose and poetry for publication in his *Hommage aux Dames*. In essence, Malo creates fuzzy boundaries between author and

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audience – a marketing tactic that encourages the purchase of volumes not just for their aesthetic beauty but also for authorial vanity. This practice of including the reader in the creation of a volume (both as author and diarist) encourages continued consumption (through memory, reading, poetic/prose contributions, diary entries, factual/referential information). Accordingly, this almanac, *Hommage aux Dames*, is not a complete product; it waits for its readers to finish it.[11]

The 1819, 1823 and 1829 *Hommage* volumes were sold with half and three-quarter slipcases that were completely covered with the same paper boards as the volume itself (as opposed to Ackermann's practice of covering only the front and back of his slipcases). The boards for these volumes of the *Hommage*, however, are consistently the same throughout the years: blue-green paper boards with a lyre on both front and back boards. With the *Forget Me Not*, Ackermann varies the designs on his paper boards from year to year and never produces a volume with the same image on both the front and back boards. However, Ackermann's green paper boards are similar in tone and hue – perhaps an indication that Ackermann borrowed more than the style from the French *Hommage*. In Ackermann's defense, though, a lyre does not appear on his boards until the 1830 volume. (See **Figure 4.9**: 1819 *Hommage* & 1830 *Forget Me Not* boards)[12] (Interestingly, the first American literary annual, *The Atlantic Souvenir* published in

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[11] This concept will be further explored in the chapter on feminizing the text.

[12] This figure compares the 1830 *Forget Me Not* with the 1819 *Hommage aux Dames*. However, due to fading and inaccurate digital re-presentations (no Photoshopping manipulation here other than contrast and brightness), the colors of each volume look dissimilar. However, physical inspection of the 1819, 1823 and 1828 volumes bears witness to the color similarities between the *Forget Me Not* and the *Hommage's* paper boards.

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1826, also used green glazed paper boards and a slipcase with the same image. Publishers Carey & Lea sold this annual to another publisher in 1832, who, in turn merged the title with *The Token* for the 1833 volume.)[13]

True to its almanac-style, the *Hommage* calendar still introduces each volume. But the publisher improved upon the format in subsequent years by including only three to five interspersed engravings in each volume and paginating the prose and poetry. The author's name is still privileged in the table of contents, which remains at the conclusion of each volume. The 1823 volume encourages "pensees" (thought) as well as souvenirs to be inscribed onto the final blank pages, but the 1828 volume discourages this inscription by excising the blank pages altogether (perhaps in a move to mimic the British literary annuals' successful style). These two titles (*Forget Me Not* and *Hommage aux Dames*), seem to be in communication, jumping geographical boundaries with mimicked format, and more: In a move that unites the nationality of each country under the literary annual style, the 1828 *Hommage* volume opens with the engraving, "La Contemplation," a painting by Westall rendered into engraving by Leconte.[14] This engraving is published two years *after* Ackermann has already introduced Richard Westall's painting as the frontispiece to his 1826 *Forget Me Not* (engraved by E. Finden). (See both engravings in **Figure 4.10**: "The Contemplation") As was common practice,

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[13] The Thomas Cooper Library at the University of South Carolina holds 1827 and 1829 volumes of *The Atlantic Souvenir*, each with glazed green paper boards. The American Antiquarian Society holds the 1826-1828 volumes with the same glazed boards. These volumes, in their original bindings, are difficult to find. Apparently, the urge to re-bind volumes was as rampant in America as it was in England.

[14] See the following chapter for a discussion of artists and engravers.

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the *Forget Me Not*'s steel plate of "The Contemplation" could have been sold to and reproduced by these Parisian publishers. However, minor details around the setting sun in each engraving contradict this assumption. Though Westall was popular during the 1820s, this replication of his work (both images situated at the beginning of each volume) implies a conversation, a community, between textual objects that is not predicated on representations of national community.

Hoping to capitalize on Ackermann's stylized almanac and in a dedication to the earlier *Hommage aux Dames*, John Setts, Jr. published an 1825 British version of the *Hommage aux Dames*. Completely independent of the Parisian publication (Faxon 98), Setts pays his own homage to the French volume by mimicking its layout: it contained several blank pages for notes and some music – similar to the almanac style. However, this literary annual suffered the fate of many other titles and failed to appear the following year.

Though Ackermann borrowed from the French form, he most likely was very familiar with the traditional almanac form that was popular in England, especially London, during the early nineteenth century. *Simpson's Gentleman's Alamanack and Pocket Journal* (published in London) exemplifies this traditional definition and is filled with information about the stock market, public holidays, interest rates, taxes, weather, post office rates, government, royal lineage and bankers. (See **Figure 4.11**: Sample table) It also contains one hundred twelve ruled pages for memorandums, appointments and cash accounts. The 1816 volume of this almanac is only 4" x 6" and bound with a soft cover. The small size and soft binding allow for portability and heavy use, i.e., a soft binding will not crack from daily openings. The 1823 *Forget Me Not*, with its paper

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boards, delicate binding and charts, including British Consuls abroad, Genealogy of European Sovereigns and detailed Population of England, could not withstand more than ten to fifteen openings – a limited use at best. With Simpson's almanac, its ruled pages invite the user not only to reference the information but also to record data himself (much like the 1824 and 1825 volumes of *Friendship's Offering*, another very successful literary annual). The ruled pages are not an invitation, however, to include creative writings – simply because of lack of space and the interference of astronomical data, holidays and important dates on the page. (See **Figure 4.12**: Almanac Ruled Pages) In this volume, readers are allowed the luxury of only one completely blank leaf (recto and verso/front and back) on which to write. (See **Figure 4.13**: Almanac Memorandum Pages)[15]

The format of Ackermann's first two volumes of the *Forget Me Not* mirror the almanac-style in form and very quietly in purpose: He intended the *Forget Me Not* to serve as a reference text that would become valuable and therefore constantly opened and retained throughout the years by its owner. It is the third volume, published in November 1824 (for 1825), that abandons the factual for the memorable. Regardless of Ackermann and Shoberl's surrender of the almanac form, other editors and publishers noticed the quiet purpose of the first *Forget Me Not* and published their own versions of almanac-style literary annuals.

With the rise of reading materials, the literary annual might be lost in the review journals of the early nineteenth century. But, as will be discussed later, the annuals were

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[15] In the 1816 volume that I reviewed these two pages are the only two marked in the text, and they contain brief notes and the dates of a priest's ordainment.

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immensely popular and were constantly reviewed within established journals. And this British press was very aware of distinctions between genres: one reviewer attacks a pretender among the literary annuals and declares the *Janus or the Edinburgh Literary Almanack* for 1826 a duplicitous title because the volume fails to deliver any of the literary annual or almanac elements:

> A "literary almanack" has, in title at least, the semblance of family-commodities for all ages and conditions: poetry and sentiment for the young ladies; astrological predictions of political wonder and national woe, set into marvellous proper verse, for their grandams; and for the travelling, agricultural, and professional animals of our own sex [men], sure prognostics of foul and fair weather, of terms and returns, of full moons and eclipses. (Feb. 1826 *Monthly Review* 169)

From this review, it is apparent that almanacs were in common use before and during the popularity of literary annuals. This article evidences the self-awareness of the British press (and, hence, public) of its popular products. It is also an example of the converging elements of annual and almanac.

Ackermann also admittedly borrowed from the German tradition of the "Taschenbuch,"[16] or pocket-book, "a small book, adapted to be conveniently carried in

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[16] Ackermann, and subsequent literary historians, capitalizes and italicizes the word "taschenbuch" when writing about its influence on the *Forget Me Not*. In English, this grammatical structure infers that the word is a title. In German, though, all nouns are capitalized. I, and I imagine other scholars without knowledge of German, have been searching for a specific prototype of the *Forget Me Not*, entitled *Taschenbuch*, instead of (continued...)

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the pocket" (*OED* 2nd ed. 1989, CD-Rom), which focuses less on "useful information" and more on literature. Ackermann did not publically admit that he was "borrowing" more than just the format of this German tradition: the title of the popular German pocket-book, *Vergissmeinnicht*, literally translates to *Forget Me Not* – the very title of Ackermann's experimental volume. As a German émigré with professional ties to Leipzig, the origin of the *Vergissmeinnicht*, Ackermann would have seen copies of this German pocket-book.[17]

Ackermann maintained further connections with his German homeland by recognizing its national literature in the 1824 *Forget Me Not*: He re-publishes "Mimili," a German short story by H. Clauren (Karl Heun) that was overwhelmingly successful in 1815 Germany and had been translated by 1824 in several countries.[18] In the *Forget Me*

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[16] (...continued)
searching for a genre.

[17] Todd Kontje, in "Male Fantasies," suggests that 1770 marks the establishment of a German culture, including a national literature, distinct from any other nations' influence and just five years before Ackermann sets up shop in London's printing district (131).

[18] The young shepherdess, Mimili, represents the story of ultimate propriety and chastity. A foreign traveler (a young man) approaches her home and is welcomed by her father. The young man falls in love with Mimili and offers descriptions of her voluptuousness for the reader. He makes several advances and is rebuffed. By the time he must leave, he begs Mimili's father for permission to marry her. Her father, not wanting to be hasty and acknowledging that this young man is the first that Mimili has encountered, asks him to return in a year to see if the passion still burns between them. During this year, the young man joins the military and disappears after a long battle. When Mimili receives a friend's letter informing her of her young man's fate, she mourns endlessly until the moment when the young man miraculously appears, having been wounded and survived the battle. They are married as evidence of their fortitude and genuine love. Ackermann's translation follows the same didactic path as the German original, including the more lascivious tests of Mimili's chastity.

(continued...)

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Not, two images of a pastoral maid accompany the fiction – both created by E.F. Burney and committed to woodcut engraving by W.I. Fry.[19]

In 1825, Heun sued publisher Frankh for allowing German writer, Wilhelm Hauff, to use his *nom de plume* to publish a parodied "Mimili" which supposedly critiqued the Clauren style but more likely capitalized on the well-known name. Because of Clauren's success and the subsequent lawsuit, British readers (especially in London) would have been familiar with Clauren's name. In addition, Clauren was the epitome of the literary annual writer: prolific, popular and profitable (Kontje 136). As it turns out, H. Clauren also edited the very successful *Vergissmeinnicht* – a tangible link between Ackermann and the German nationalism that he attempted to downplay while introducing the *Forget Me Not*.[20]

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[18] (...continued)
For a discussion of "Mimili" as it relates to German nationalism, authorial control and German parodies, see Todd Kontje's "Male Fantasies, Female Readers: Fictions of the Nation in the Early Restoration."

[19] See the next chapter for a discussion of engravers and artistry.

[20] I discovered this link between Ackermann and H. Clauren because of the indexes that I created in my hypertextual archive (the last chapter of this dissertation). I list both titles of engravings and titles of prose pieces from the 1823-1830 volumes. Without this indexing, this type of connection can easily be lost in the pages of any literary annual specifically because authors, titles and engravings are not indexed in any published searchable archive. Although, a recent dissertation [filed October 2004] by Harry Hootman attempts to resolve this dilemma with an index of British literary annuals that parallels Kirkham's index to the American annuals. Hootman compiled his data in Microsoft Excel, which can be indexed in a variety of categories. However, his UMI-filed dissertation contains only a sample of the index and does not include access to the digital files. However, Hootman's work is limited in scope, as he admits in his Introduction: his work is not a survey of every British literary annual; it is limited to the economically successful annuals, e.g., *Keepsake, Friendship's Offering, Forget Me Not*, etc.

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The *Vergissmeinnicht*, initially published in 1818 in duodecimo, contains only poetry and prose. The format evolved to include a series of unpaginated poems which were accompanied by engravings interspersed among these first twenty-five pages; the more significant number of remaining pages contains only prose pieces. In addition, the 1821 volume opens with an emblematic sonnet, similar in topic, tone and poetic focus to the 1823 *Forget Me Not*.

Sonnet[21]

Modestly, I bloom along the streams
Whose little ripples refresh me
What glares from out my eye, however,
Will speak to you in confident timbre.

"Do you wish to tear me from the little stem?
Am I simply to be plucked for the lady-love?
[or] For the boyfriend, who, constantly clasps hands with you?
At all events, on account of fragile weakness of the heart?"

So the little flower – An emblem of its image
Is found in this little book, and it [book] echoes its [flower's] words.
Ah! A heart rich only in feelings:
May it reach its kindred heart.
Then every leaf will proclaim it widely/openly,
That – Forget-me-not – should be its motto.

In the last stanza of the *Vergissmeinnicht*'s opening sonnet, the flower encourages an invisible listener (and potential flower-picker) to equate the sentimental flower with its namesake book and "pluck" from the book instead of the flower from the stream's bank. With this book, the romantic feelings inspired by the flower will be transmitted to the recipient of the book. This person will then "forget me not" – "me" being the

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[21] Translated by Professor Scott Westrem, CUNY Graduate Center. See a second translation by Professor Gerhard Joseph as well as the original poem from the *Vergissmeinnicht*. (See **Figures 4.14 & 4.15**: *Vergissmeinnicht* sonnet & translations)

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listener, the book and the flower – a motto echoed in Ackermann's *Forget Me Not* and many other literary annuals.

With flowers referenced in British literary annual titles (e.g., *Iris*, *Blossoms at Christmas*, *First Flowers*, *Amaranth*), poetry meditating on flowers and engravings reproducing bouquets of flowers (see **Figure 4.16**: Bouquet), the literary annual could be a metaphorical bouquet of poetry and prose – an "anthology" of sorts, which is traditionally defined as "a collection of the flowers of verse, i.e., small choice poems, especially epigrams, by various authors; originally applied to the Greek collections so called" and, alternatively, "with some reference to the original meaning (in Greek) of a flower-gathering" (*OED* 2nd ed. 1989, CD-Rom). While the literary annuals are collections of metaphorical flowers, the genre differs from a traditional anthology because of its intended audience (women), engravings, annual publication and purpose (gift-giving). Andrew Boyle claims that Robert Southey's *Annual Anthology*, printed in 1799 and 1800, is a precursor to the literary annuals (iii). While Southey's volumes contain original poetry from authors of the Romantic period, the volumes did not rival the beauty of the annuals nor did they include any engravings. In addition, anthologies collect both previously published and unpublished works for printing. Even in Ackermann's initial forays, the literary annual format was heralded to contain previously unpublished, original works – a claim vociferously defended by its editors.

Editors of the annuals spent paragraphs in their prefaces answering the critics and defending the originality of the pieces published in their volumes. In response to such criticism and to add competing value to their own annuals, editors established a common practice of claiming originality in the preface: "such a list of authors has been obtained

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as perhaps never before graced the pages of any one volume of *original* contributions" (Reynolds 1829 *Keepsake* iv).

Editor Thomas Pringle apologizes to his audience and warns them of previously printed materials in the 1833 *Friendship's Offering*: "In one slight point we have in the present volume not adhered strictly to our usual practice. We have admitted three little pieces that had previously been in print. These are, the pleasant prose article entitled 'Old Maids,' and two scraps of verse, 'The Tornado,' and a "Sonnet by Alfred Tennyson;'" (vii). Pringle diminishes the act by referring to them as "little" and "scraps." He continues in the Preface by citing the original publication site and rendering an mini-eulogy for the periodical's demise: "all originally inserted in the 'Englishman's Magazine' for August, 1831 – a clever periodical, which amidst the 'chance and change' of the times and 'the trade,' was consigned, after the publication of a few numbers, to premature extinction" (vii) – almost as if he is unwilling to speak ill of the "dead."

Though this Preface was published in the second generation of annuals (after 1830), the habit of defending originality extends from the prior generation of annuals, an accusation that was not taken lightly by editors. In defending the inclusion and exclusion of pieces in the 1826 *Literary Souvenir*, editor Alaric Watts insists that "[t]he literary contents of the following pages . . . have . . . been supplied, at my instigation, by a host of the most distinguished writers of the age" (vi). In the same Preface, Watts assures his readers that "[t]he embellishments, too, have been executed . . . by the most eminent engravers, from *original* paintings and drawings by the first artists of the day" (vi).

Watts had a habit of answering criticism in his prefaces that was defensive and incongruous with the polite literary goals of his miscellany. However, these declarations

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do not appear in the *Literary Souvenir*'s Preface unprovoked. In reviewing the 1828 volume of the *Literary Souvenir*, a critic scolds Watts and condemns the volume for Watts "illiberal" prefatory remarks (regarding a competitor) and its unoriginal content:

> . . . when the editor of a literary work complains of the vain-glorious puffs[22] of his rivals in the same line, he ought to be pretty well assured before hand, that his own wares will bear, at least as severe a scrutiny as that, to which he wishes those of his opponents to be subjected. . . . [¶] It wold be the mere empty sound of adulation, if we were to say, that Mr. Watts is at the present moment in any such condition. Had not the authenticity of the new Souvenir been unquestionable, we should have at once suspected that the title had been pirated, and that the book now before us was but an imitation and a very poor imitation, of the beautiful productions which, in preceding years, have attracted our attention, and have justified the applause we so willingly bestowed upon them. We should be equally happy to speak in terms of praise of each, succeeding work of the same nature; but this, of course, we can only do when it is equally deserving. (519-20 *Monthly Review* Dec 1827)

Even though this review critiques a later volume of the *Literary Souvenir*, the originality

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[22] "Puffs" are pieces published in periodicals, magazines and journals that produce false interest in an author or publication. Publishers often planted social gossip or favorable reviews in magazines about their own publications or authors in order to create public interest and sales. This practice is discussed later in the chapter on reviews.

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issue included an accusation leveled at editors since the initial production of annuals. Defending originality previously in the 1826 Preface, Watts answers just such a criticism (most likely from a review of the 1825 *Literary Souvenir* during the prior year):

> With regard to the literary portion of this volume, *I would wish it to be clearly understood that it is what it professes to be, original.* I am led to dwell upon this feature of my plan thus particularly, in consequence of having observed that more than one of the literary friends who have contributed anonymously to my pages, and of whose names I should have been extremely happy to have availed myself, had they permitted me so to do, have been publicly announced as the "contributors" to a work professor similar objects with the *Literary Souvenir*, not only against their consent, but without their having furnished a single line for its pages. As I perceive the names of other of my friends attached to productions, in the announcements of the work in question, which have already appeared repeatedly in print, it is not unfair to infer that they, too, have been pressed into the service of the parties in the same manner. Of course, a selection might, upon such a principle, include *all* the poets and novelists of the age, not excepting those recently deceased, for "dead men tell no tales." (xi-x, 1826 Preface, emphasis added)

Watts did not accept unsolicited prose or poetry for his annual with the intent that the *Literary Souvenir* would be a tightly controlled product of quality literature and artwork.

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He separates the *Literary Souvenir* from other reading materials and annuals by vociferously claiming originality in its contents and denouncing any disingenuous claims to authenticity. In the same volume in a postscript, Watts directly addresses accusations of re-publishing:

> Mr. Montgomery mentions in his Sheffield Iris, that the "Lines on leaving a scene in Bavaria," by Mr. Campbell in the L.S. for 1825, were originally published, about twenty years ago, in an obscure newspaper, long since defunct, entitled "The Alfred." Mr. M. considers the poem one of the most powerful compositions of its author. The little piece, from the same pen, inserted in the present volume, may, it is possible, have appeared under similar circumstances. I am not, however, aware that it has. The same remark will apply to the little epigram by Mr. Coleridge. Neither of these poems was furnished by their authors. The song ascribed to Sheridan was presented to me as original, by a distinguished living poet." ([412])

However, this addendum undermines Watts' earlier defense against re-publishing literary material. Like Pringle, Watts uses language to diminish the affront: "obscure newspaper," "little piece" and "little epigram." In addition, he absolves the poets themselves of responsibility. He maintains his integrity, with concessions, by begrudgingly admitting the possibility of a re-published poem. But, Watts' acceptance of a second-hand poem from persons other than the authors smacks of the same surreptitious borrowing practice that Watts condemns in his Preface! Interestingly, this

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postscript is almost completely buried at the end of the volume and is printed in the same fashion as an advertisement – something a reader might overlook.

Authors were not as ethical or as informed as Watts seems to be. In a January 1827 *Monthly Review* article, the critic accuses editor and popular poet T.K. Hervey (also editor of *Friendship's Offering*) of plagiarizing from the tale, "Agatha," which immediately precedes his "Address to Floranthe" in the 1827 *Friendship's Offering:* "The lines . . . are evidently a plagiarism from the following sentence in the tale . . . which precedes this poem, and which Mr. Hervey must have had an opportunity, of course, of reading in the manuscript . . . There are other plagiarisms in the poem, which it is not worth our while to specify as they must be obvious to every literary person" (89). This accusation, while serious, does not preclude the reviewer from recommending the volume to readers with a wish that more of Hervey's poetry would have appeared in the volume. This particular volume's contents are very plump and offer the consumer a larger selection of contents than other annuals – which may have been the cause of duplicating lines in order to fill more pages.

The issue of originality (whether in the face of re-published or plagiarized material) is an ethical debate waged between editors and critics that did not hinder the retail sales of annuals. In fact, because of the lucrative remuneration afforded literati for their contributions to annuals, authors (including Wordsworth) sold their writing to literary annuals and magazines or were the victims of unauthorized publication. In the Preface to the 1828 *Literary Souvenir*, Watts admonishes Coleridge for publishing his poem "Youth and Age" in both his annual and William Pickering's *Bijou* (xvi). Watts may have been hasty in this judgment: Coleridge's dual publication may have been the

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result of an unauthorized submission. Wordsworth, in a letter to Alaric Watts regarding the 1832 *Literary Souvenir*, offers a poem for inclusion in the 1833 volume but warns that

> it has been sent to Sir Walter Scott and one or two of my other friends; so that you had best not print it till towards the latter sheets of your volume, lest it should steal by chance into publication, for which I have given no permissions. Should that happen I will send you some other piece. (Watts 2:189-90)

Other authors, like Felicia Hemans, re-printed their contributions to the annuals in their own volumes of poetry: "Evening Prayer at a Girls' School" appeared not only in the 1826 *Forget Me Not*, but also in two of Hemans' poetry volumes: *The League of the Alps Etc.* (1826) and *Forest Sanctuary Etc.* (1829) (Wolfson *Felicia Hemans* 437). By the late 1830s, the number of titles had grown so large that editors rarely defended the originality of contributors' writing. They simply acknowledged it in the preface or in a postscript: "It is proper to mention, that the beautiful address to Mrs. Siddons, by Joanna Baillie, is reprinted from a collection of Poems, edited by that lady" (*Literary Souvenir* 1830 [365]).

By 1830, editors of the annuals were very well aware that they could not control authors nor could they request them to abstain from earning money by multiply publishing their works. Watts finds a middle ground by publishing a (more visible) Postscript in his 1830 *Literary Souvenir* defending the intended originality of its contents:

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> In consequence of his having seen a song in the newspapers, from the pen of Mr. T.H. Bayly, entitled, "The Last Man," the Editor considers it due to the author of the sketch, entitled, "The Last Man in Town," in the present volume, to mention that it was in the types several months before the appearance of the Poem in question, and that it was written upwards of four years ago. ([365])

With this Postscript, Watts not only defends his right to claim original work, but he also differentiates publishing and printing processes among literary annuals, periodicals, journals and magazines. The literary annual is a work that is maneuvered through a year-long (at least) process of acquisition, editing, printing and distribution, whereas the other formats a very brief and quick acquisition, editing and publishing process.

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The final two categories, the "gift book" and the "album" were traditional books preceding, succeeding and incorporating the literary annual phenomenon. In "Creating a World of Books," Cindy Dickinson corrects a misconception regarding gift books and literary annuals: "The distinction between annuals and gift books is a technical one. Unlike annuals, true 'gift books,' which developed out of the annuals genre, were published only once. However, these two genres seem to have been indistinguishable for gift-giving purposes, and the two terms were usually used interchangeably" (54). Though some literary annuals were published only once and may be mistaken for a "gift book," the original intention was to publish the title the following year. They usually disappeared for lack of sales or by being subsumed into another annual.

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Literary annuals, like pocket-books, almanacs and albums, contained blank pages in the early publications. "Albums" (also referred to as commonplace books[23]) were nothing but blank pages bound decoratively and used to collect autographs, writings and mementos (i.e., a scrap book). A scrap book, much like an album, is intended as an informal receptacle of unassociated and impromptu clumps of words and images. A scrap book may entertain different moments (or memories) or may be a snapshot of a life. The annuals adopted many elements of the scrap book, including an accumulation of seemingly disparate information that formed an intellectual moment. In the 1832 *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, Landon offers a collection of engravings (landscape scenes, portraits and events), their poetic illustrations and any thoughts or historical facts that inspired the poems. For instance, the engraving entitled "Lismore Castle" is accompanied by a four-stanza poem of the same title. In the notes, Landon introduces the inspiration for the poem, citing *O'Driscol's History of Ireland*, Spenser's *Fairy Queen* and Henry II's rule over Ireland. To verbally illustrate "Blarney Castle," she declines from offering a poetic illustration and instead tells her readers that "it is impossible better to illustrate Blarney Castle, than by compositions which embody its very spirit" (45). She includes brief verse from Voltaire, Marmontel and Marie Antoinette and a few paragraphs of reflections on the same.

By inserting notes, Landon subscribes to "a local detour or a momentary fork in the text," as Gerard Genette points out in *Paratext* (328). These "original notes" are

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[23] For a discussion of commonplace books and their relationship with memory and intimacy, see Peter Beal's "Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book."

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undefinable as either text or paratext, according to Genette. The notes, sometimes thought to "disorder the text," in fact do not interrupt the text's effect. Instead, they act as an extension of the text, allowing the author a "second level of discourse" (328). With this second level, Landon provides another level of information for her readers – essentially an insight into the creative process as well as the work's historical impetus. She creates a printed (as opposed to handwritten) layering of information much the same as a scrap book. In the 1833 volume, this creative process will be revealed in the actual work itself without the use of notes.[24]

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book completely deviates from the standard pocket-size of annuals. While most publishers issued their volumes in both a smaller octavo and a larger quarto, *Fisher's* was issued only as 9" x ll" quarto. In issuing an octavo and a quarto, most publishers used the same plates which means that the larger quarto pages contained more margin than did the octavo, but the text and engravings were the same size. By publishing *Fisher's* in quarto only, the printers had to prepare only one set of plates which were appropriately larger than the octavo of any other annual (and still maintained a one and a half inch margin on each page of text). Hence, the engravings in *Fisher's* were 6.5" x 9.5" – a decadent size by comparison. This title, though officially demarcated as a literary annual, deviates from the original format and is evidence of the genre's evolution into a second generation.

In his article for the inaugural volume of the *Keepsake* (1828), Leigh Hunt interchanges almanac and pocket-book but defines their use synonymously:

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[24] See the chapter on engravings in which Landon's creativity is taxed by having to verbally illustrate *another* urban scene of foreign structures.

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> We remember a series of pocket-books in a great drawer, that, in addition to their natural size, seemed all to have grown corpulent in consequence of being fed with receipts, and copies of verses, and cuttings out of newspapers. The hook o the clasp had got from eyelet to eyelet, till it could unbuckle no further. These books, in the printed part, contained acrostics and rebuses, household receipts for various purposes, and a list of public events. There was love, politics and eating. It is a pity the readers could not grow as corpulent as their pocket-books, with as little harm. (7)

An album or pocket-book captured the printed press' daily influence on this grandmotherly figure of whom Hunt writes. Hunt imbues this book object with a responsibility for retaining memories, privacy, home and such other domesticities that normally are not printed. Each pocket-book or album represents an importance that is conflated with public and private. The literary annual, though mostly printed, adopts this conflation.

The owners were generally young women who carried the albums with them in hopes of receiving a line or two from admirers or local literati. The more well-established authors (including Hemans, Wordsworth, Tennyson and Lamb) complained vociferously about this practice. Felicia Hemans, while visiting William Wordsworth at Dove Cottage in 1830, writes to John Lodge that her privacy and seclusion were interrupted by American tourists who had discovered that she was visiting the area. Because of their association with a colleague of Hemans', she could not refuse seeing them. She becomes annoyed not only with the intrusion, but also with their requests:

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"The young ladies, as I feared, brought an Album concealed in their shawls, and it was levelled at me like a pocket-pistol before all was over" (Wolfson *Felicia Hemans* 510). Hemans describes the encounter with violent images, as if she is being robbed. She is doubly annoyed by the duplicitous hidden agenda concealed by their clothing. However, for the remainder of her visit, she was bothered with these requests only twice and was able to shirk "the dust of celebrity" (511). Being asked to contribute to an album was a sign of fame and marker of credibility. Authors who grumbled also recognized their own fame and begrudgingly contributed a few lines to savor (even if mildly) this fact.

Though authors complained of the deluge of requests to pen a verse for some young lady's album, they not only contributed but also requested verses from other literati as favors for family and friends. In his letters, Charles Lamb frequently called an album request an intrusion when asked of him but in the same letter would ask his friends, including Wordsworth, Bernard Barton, B.W. Procter,[25] Hazlitt or Southey, to contribute something to a friend's album. In a January 19, 1829 letter, he gives explicit instructions to B.W. Procter:

> I had another favour to beg, which is the beggarliest of beggings. . . . [¶] A few lines of verse for a young friend's album (six will be enough). M. Burney will tell you who she is I want 'em for. A girl of gold. Six lines – make 'em eight – signed Barry C------. They need not be very good, as I chiefly want 'em as a foil to mine. But I shall be seriously obliged by any *refuse scrap*. . . .

---

[25] Bernard Barton and B.W. Procter (writing under the pseudonym, Barry Cornwall) were both prolific contributors to the annuals.

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> M.B. will tell you the sort of girl I request the ten lines for. Somewhat of a pensive cast, what you admire. (*Letters* 5:152-3, emphasis added)

In a January 22, 1829 letter, Lamb offers further description of the young lady to guide Procter in creating her personalized poem:

> Don't trouble yourself about the verses. Take 'em cooly as they come. Any day between this and midsummer will do. Ten lines the extreme. There is no mystery in my incognita. She has often seen you, though you may not have observed a silent brown girl, who for the last twelve years has run wild about our house in her Christmas holidays. She is Italian by name and extraction. Ten lines about the blue sky of her country will do, as it's her foible to be proud of it. But they must not be over-courtly or lady-fied, as she is with a lady who says t her "go and she goeth; come and she cometh." Item, I have made her a tolerable Latinist. The verses should be moral too, as for a clergyman's family. She is called Emma Isola. (154-5)

Lamb's resistance is marked in his sarcasm throughout these instructions. In addition, his request is filled with thinly-veiled comments regarding the girl's mental acumen and nationality (and Lamb's prejudice towards it) – she is "dark," "wild," obedient, proud and intellectually simple.[26] In directing Procter's creativity, Lamb offers Emma a record

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[26] In another letter to B.W. Procter (dated 1829 but sent after the letter with the (continued...)

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of her character flaws as well as a correction to those flaws (with the Latin and the morality).

Despite the request and in-between these instructions, Lamb laments the "albumean persecution":

> We are in the last ages of the world, when St. Paul prophesied that women should be "headstrong, lovers of their own wills, having albums." I fled hither to escape the albumean persecution, and had not been in my new house twenty-four hours, when the daughter of the next house came in with a friend's album to beg a contribution, and the following day intimated she had one of her own. Two more have sprung up since. If I take the wings of the morning and fly until the uttermost parts of the earth, there will albums be. . . . Why, by dabbling in those accursed albums, I have become a byword of infamy all over the kingdom. I have sicken'd decent women for asking me to write in albums. There be "dark jests" abroad, Master Cornwall; and some riddles may live to be clear'd up. (153-4)

Lamb, a master of punning verses, apparently contributed to several albums with

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[26] (...continued)
album request/instructions), Lamb reveals his suspicion about Emma Isola's lineage: "What I told you, dear Procter, about my young friend was nothing but the exact truth. But I sunk the circumstance that her mother was a negro, or half-caste . . . Mary corrects me, and will have it that the lady's mother was a Hindostanee half-caste, and no negress, but was I to send you wool-gathering over the vast plains watered by the Ganges, or the more bewildering wilds of Timbuctoo, to search for images?" (157-8).

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dripping sarcasm that was not recognized by the album's owner. By writing these scandalous verses, Lamb tinges his own legacy with indelicate memories recorded in random albums that, once they leave his hands, were beyond his control (i.e., his verses could be copied to any other album or sold to periodicals or annuals without his consent). Lamb's sarcasm in the letter *hints* (not by much) at mild regret for writings that will survive him and could influence a future public's opinion of him.

Despite his resistance, Lamb concedes that "the age is to be complied with" (153) – a fact that William Wordsworth also believed. When he was inundated with these types of requests, Wordsworth turned to another author: "Mr. W[ordsworth] tells me [Felicia Hemans] that when he was more troubled with those importunities than he is at present, he found it convenient to administer the same line to all patients. The one he selected for the purpose, and adhered to a considerable time, was 'The proper study of mankind, is man.' Think of this in the midst of the butterfly-winged cupids and roses of a young lady's Album!" (Wolfson *Felicia Hemans* 511). Wordsworth borrows the quote from Pope's *Essay on Man: Epistle II* (1733) (FN2 511). Hemans passingly refers to the fewer requests suffered by Wordsworth, but these diminished requests signal an author's decreasing popularity – not necessarily a desired effect. Hemans also couches her rhetoric in medicinal language, as if Wordworth's album tidbits provided a poetic salve that was more like a mild enema or diuretic intended to purge the debilitating and cloying sentiments.

The daily deluge of requests were foisted onto everyone, including those that were not so poetically inclined: In an early treatment of drawing-room books, Amy Cruse notes that Lord Chesterton in T.H. Lister's *Granby* (1827) cannot escape Lady

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Harriet Duncan's request for a few lines. This character refuses not because of indignation but because he was fearful of suffering the "agonies of inspiration" (Cruse 285) – a reference to forcing creative genius.

Throughout his letters, Lamb constantly applies to other authors for "refuse scraps" for an album. In essence, these young women, with the help of the authors, are creating a highly personalized literary miscellany – though the authors are contributing verses based upon their views of appropriate femininity (i.e., Lamb's description of Emma both castigates her wild self and observes her burgeoning intellectual self). The blank album requires its owner to create a pastiche of memories and memorable writing that does not necessarily originate with the owner. The album, then, is a scrap book of miscellany generated by others but motivated by its female owner. An album without any content is just a beautifully bound book of blank pages. It is the owner's responsibility to create or acquire content. A woman's ownership of an album forces her to publicize (to contributors) her wants and desires (albeit a desire for ownership of writing, but nonetheless a desire) in order to fulfill the purpose of the album. The fulfilled album becomes a feminized space that represents her identity — a process that is mimicked intellectually instead of physically in the literary annual.

The blank pages offered in the 1823 and 1824 literary annuals were used as "albums" with owners creating notations, writing poems and requesting autographs to fill the space. During the height of popularity, Leigh Hunt identifies the literary annual format as part of the new category of pocket-books that are "books for the pocket, without implying that they are to be written in. . . . The bindings are seldom very costly, but they are more so than ordinary, sufficient to render the present graceful; and they are

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generally in good taste. . . . and omitting the barren or blank part, and being entirely original, produce such a pocket-book as had not been yet seen" (10, 11). Writing in 1827, Hunt had already seen the disappearance of the blank apparatus in the annual form and describes the successful format that was to become the standard. When this feature disappeared from the annual's format, owners would request autographs on the one or two blank pages at the beginning of the volume. The remainder of the volume was usually left pristine without any marginalia or annotations – most likely because the literary annual was a valuable object.[27] Albums were the less-formal cousin to the literary annual and were filled up in emulation of annuals' contents. Later, that emulation was reversed.

The impromptu writing in albums soon became the printed materials in literary annuals, almost as if the albums provided an intermediary space in which authors could practice their poetry before submitting it to editors. Or, poetry spontaneously produced for an album was surreptitiously borrowed without the author's permission and submitted to the annuals anonymously. In the 1829 *Forget Me Not,* James Montgomery contributes the poem, "Epitaph on a Gnat, found crushed on the leaf of a Lady's Album, and written

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[27] The literary annual volumes that I have inspected lack any marginalia – not even an errant pencil mark. Cindy Dickinson notes that the Free Library of Philadelphia has in its collection an 1854 American gift book, *The Floral Forget Me Not,* which contains extensive marginalia made by Lizzie S. Turner over the course of nine years (53, 61). Typically, antiquarian collectors (both private and institutional) trade on the condition of a book; any text with marginalia (unless proved important) would decrease the book's value. Because of this industry standard, literary annuals sold through antiquarian dealers most likely do not contain marginalia – a situation that creates hardship in studying the reception of annuals in the general reading public. While not a literary annual, *The Floral Forget Me Not* gift book is rare evidence of the interactive relationship between reader and textual object.

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(with a different reading in the last line) in lead pencil beneath it"

> Lie there, embalm'd from age to age!
> This is the album's noblest page,
> Though every glowing leaf be fraught
> With painting, poesy, and thought;
> Where tracks of mortal hands are seen,
> A hand invisible hath been,
> And left this autograph behind,
> This image from th' eternal mind;
> A work of skill surpassing sense,
> A labour of Omnipotence!
>
> Though frail as dust it meet the eye,
> He form'd this gnat who built the sky;
> Stop – lest it vanish at they breath –
> This speck had life, and suffer'd death. (67)

In this poem, the author speculates on the circumstances of the gnat's demise as well as its place in a book of memories. Another poem pilfered from an album and published in the 1829 *Keepsake* addresses more serious topics:

LINES

Written in the Album of Elliot Cresson of Philadelphia.
By the Author of Lorenzo De'Medici [William Roscoe]

> From distant climes the stranger came
> With friendly view and social aim,
> The various tribes of earth to scan
> As friend to friend–as man to man.
>
> No glittering stones the stranger brought;
> No arts profess'd, no wealth he sought;
> His every wish one view confined,
> The interchange of mind with mind.
>
> What he the richest prize would deem,
> Was friendship, kindness, and esteem;
> What he could in return impart –
> The same warm feelings of the heart.

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Not his with selfish views alone
To trace his course from zone to zone;
His hope–to stretch affection's chain
From land to land–from main to main,

The various powers and virtues tell
In human heads and hearts that dwell;
In bounds of love, the race to bind,
And make one people of mankind. (312)

The inclusion of these poems in the literary annual serves to differentiate albums from annuals: by lifting a poem from veritable obscurity in a personal album and printing it in the public space of a literary annual, the poem is removed from the private and offered for public consumption. Albums were not normally published and distributed for a mass audience; they were distinct remembrances for a single audience member. "Borrowing" a poem from an album creates a palimpsest of authorial identity and removes authority from the original writer.

Authors could not wholly control their writings. Instead, the owner of a piece became the person who possessed it. With this conviction, benefactors often gifted items (not of their own pen) to annuals' editors. Many editors admitted this gift in the preface, a footnote or postscript, essentially excusing themselves of responsibility for the poems originality (as can be seen above with Alaric Watts' 1826 Postscript). In the 1829 *Keepsake*, editor Frederic Mansel Reynolds notes just such a gift: "Neither is it necessary to particularize any of their contributions except two; one of which, as posthumous, and the other, as the gift of an individual, not its author: allusion is made to an Essay and Fragments by Percy Bysshe Shelley, for the possession of which, the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Author of Frankenstein [Mary Shelley]" (iv). The gifts extend to private letters as well: Editor of the *Forget Me Not*, Frederic Shoberl, included a private

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letter from Lord Byron to James Hogg in the 1844 volume. The letter was offered for publication by D.L. Moir (a frequent contributor to the annuals under the pseudonym, Delta) with an appropriate footnote establishing ownership: "This letter, with two other letters of the Noble Bard's to Hogg, was lost at the time of the publication of Mr. Moore's Journals and Correspondence of Lord Byron. The original is now in my possession, and was last year presented to me by a lady, who had found it among the papers of her brother, the late Major A____n, an intimate acquaintance of the Shepherd [James Hogg]" (FN1 353). The footnote claims not only valid ownership by Delta but also impresses the volume with an intellectual quality not expected of annuals: by publishing the lost correspondence of a national hero, Delta attempts to help complete the picture of Byron. However, the letter itself seems unimportant in its content and was published to fan the ever-present Byron-mania[28]:

13, Terrace, Piccadilly,
March 1st, 1816.

Dear Sir,

I never was offended with you, and never had cause. At the time I received your last letters, I was "marrying, and being given in marriage," and since that period have been occupied or indolent; and am at best a very ungracious or ungrateful correspondent–hardly ever writing letters but by fits and starts.

At this moment my conscience smites me with an

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[28] *The Mirror of Literature*, Vol. 16, No. 474 Supplementary Number (January 1831) is dedicated to excerpts from Thomas Moore's 823 page tome on Lord Byron, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron with Notices of His Life.*

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unanswered letter of Mr. W. Scott's, on a subject which may seem to him to require an answer–as it was on something relative to a friend of his, for whose talents I have a sincere admiration.

My family, about three months ago, was increased by a little girl, who is reckoned a fine child, I believe, though I feel loth to trust to my own partialities. She is now in the country.

I will mention your wishes on the score of collection and publication to Murray, but I have not much weight with him; what I have I will use. As far as my approval of your intention may please you, you have it; and I should think Mr. Scott's liking to your plan very ominous if its success.

The objections you mention to the two things of mine lately published are very just and true; not only with regard to them, but to all their predecessors, some more and some less. With regard to the quarter from which you anticipate a probably and public censure, on such points I can only say, that I am very sure there will be no severity but what is deserved: and, were there ever so much, it could not obliterate a particle of the obligation which I am already too much under to that journal and its conductors, (as the grocer says to his customers) "for past favours."

And so you want to come to London? It is a d—d place, to be sure, but the only one in the world, (at least in the English

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world,) for fun. Though I have seen parts of the globe that I like better, still, upon the whole, it the completest either to help one in the feeling one's self alive–or forgetting that one is so.

I am interrupted, but will write you against soon.

Yours very truly,
Byron

P.S. I forgot to thank you for liking, &c. &c.–but am much obliged to you, as well as for a former compliment in the inscription of your "Pilgrims of the Sun." (353-4)

Publishing a private letter signifies that the intention/purpose of annuals as repositories of memories had expanded to somewhere between an album collection of autographs and a scholarly exercise in editing.

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The gift book, a broadly defined and vague category, generally refers to a book that was produced to mark a specific occasion, including Christmas, the New Year and birthdays. Ackermann, Watts and other editors and publishers marketed literary annuals under this category and sparked a public frenzy to commodify sentiment. Literary annuals appeared on booksellers' shelves around November for the holiday season, with January being the latest seasonal entrance a genuine literary annual could make. During the 1840s, annual titles began to appear in the Spring and Summer months and were often accused of being pretenders because of their disregard for seasonal requirement.

With the November 1824 publication of the *Literary Souvenir*, the format became the popularized "literary annual" that achieved great success. The invitation to owners to

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mark their volumes became severely truncated by 1825 with the disappearance of utility and information, two decidedly almanac-style qualities. The blank spaces – the space intended for notation and thought by its reader – were converted into printed poetry and prose, denying the reader's pen.

According to Alaric Watts' biography, the editor had dreamed of a literary miscellany that would appeal to the burgeoning reading class of women. In it, he wished to include engravings, poetry and prose that would be educational in nature. However, Watts' publishers, Hurst Robinson & Co., were already committed to publishing another literary annual, *The Graces or Literary Souvenir*,[29] with Reverend George Croly as editor. Because Watts and Croly were friends, Watts withdrew his offer to produce a new literary annual that would compete directly with *The Graces* (Watts 1:168-9). With the public failure of this annual, Croly stepped down and the publishers asked Watts to assume the position (170). Watts expanded the pocket-book and created the common literary annual format with his newly published *Literary Souvenir* in November 1824.

One of the alterations popularized by the *Literary Souvenir* mimicked elements of the "album" genre. The *Literary Souvenir* included printed facsimiles of authors' signatures in the last three to six pages of the book. (See **Figure 4.17**: *Literary Souvenir* autographs) Though the autographs are intended to "authorize" the annual's literary contents with the imprimatur of its famous contributors, in effect the tactic closes the owner's written influence on the work. No blank pages or calendars or memos are

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[29] This title was most likely inspired by the long-running French publication, *Almanach des Muses*, published 1767-1833 in Paris. A similar German title appeared in 1830, *Musenalmanach*, with earlier derivations on this title as early as 1796 in Germany.

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provided for scribbling like in an album, which was filled by its owner. The *Literary Souvenir*'s signatures were authorized, authentic and part of a mass-produced attempt at intimacy. This inclusion of authors' signatures completed the literary annual volume for its reader – printed with memories already included. (Or, at least memories depicted by authorized signatures.) The *Literary Souvenir* could be used in place of the album, especially considering that a majority of the signatures were from popular (and canonical) literary figures. Authors, then, would not be bothered for a line or two from unknown people. Consumers apparently wanted a completed product, a *souvenir* of the moment in which the consumer was removed.

The graphic appearance of the typography, ample margins and less cluttered table of contents (for Watts published fewer pieces in his annual than Ackermann), lent the *Literary Souvenir* more than a moment's glance. Readers of this annual were expected to gain more than a souvenir of the gift exchange; they were expected to relish the delicately ornate volume and read through the poetry and prose at a leisurely pace. The uncrowded pages encourage readers to do just this as opposed to the crammed pages of the *Forget Me Not*. For Watts, quantity of writing was sacrificed for quality of type and blank space. All other annuals abandoned their blank pages, useful information and memorandums in favor of Watts' literary format. With these changes after 1825, the genre became a best-selling mainstay.

The British literary annuals were originally published in octavo and duodecimo with glazed paper boards and a similar slipcase. (See **Figure 4.18:** 1831 *Forget Me Not* and **Figure 4.19**: Slipcase for 1825 *Forget Me Not*) According to Gaskell, "paper boards with lettering and typographic decoration printed on the spine and covers began to appear

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at the end of the eighteenth century, and became increasingly common during the succeeding decades" (248). Accordingly, "cloth as a covering material . . . was stronger and more durable than paper, cheaper and more abundant than leather, and was regular and predictable in quality" (Gaskell 231).[30] In 1821, William Pickering, publisher of the annual *The Bijou* (1828-30) and *The Carcanet* (1828, 1830), was among the few publishers producing volumes in a dyed cotton cloth binding with a printed label on the spine (Keynes 13).

The annuals were bound in a variety of styles.[31] (See **Figure 4.20**: Leather Boards) Some even retained their paper boards.[32] However, "paper boards were neither very durable nor much cheaper than trade leather, and a considerable portion of books (whether or not they had first been put into paper boards by the publisher) were trade-bound in leather by the retailer as before; often the leather cover was simply stuck on top of the paper boards" (Gaskell 231). At twelve shillings to three pounds, the literary annual was a gift that suggested additional binding to complete its beauty – a cost

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[30] The cost of covering books in cloth became more expensive in the mid-nineteenth century during the American Civil War when Britain experienced a "cloth famine." Publishers returned once again to paper boards (Gaskell 248).

[31] Of the duplicate volumes that I have viewed, a majority had unique leather boards.

[32] Many of the *Forget Me Not* volumes that I have inspected are bound in their original glazed paper boards. Watts' *Literary Souvenir*, begun in 1825, was originally published with leather boards. However, *Friendship's Offering*, begun just a year after the *Forget Me Not*, was originally published in paper boards. Because of the lack of comprehensive descriptions of each annual, it is difficult to discern which annual was originally bound in leather, paper or cloth and which were bound by the booksellers (who often re-bound volumes in their own distinct covers). The exception: The *Forget Me Not* was published with paper boards through 1830.

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shouldered by either the presenter or recipient.[33]

When the *Literary Souvenir* first appeared in 1825 the editor, Alaric Watts, had a larger octavo edition printed (4¾ x 7¾) (in contrast to the smaller octavo [3½ x 5½]). Though the *Literary Souvenir* was published in this larger paper, only the margins increased, not the typeface or the font. This indicates that the publisher recycled the already-set plates used for the primary smaller octavo edition. Consumers paid a higher retail price (usually a pound more than for the smaller octavo edition) for larger sheets of uncut paper and more blank space on each page, not more writing or a re-setting of the type and re-casting of the plates. The lavish two-inch margins in the larger paper affords a white space not otherwise provided in cheaper reading materials. Watts continued this dual printing until the 1835 when the final volume of this title was published as a quarto.

Assigning more value to a larger volume is economically feasible due to the cost of large sheets of paper and the number of folds required in that sheet. (Fewer folds equate to using more sheets of paper.) Beginning in the 1820s, paper was mass-produced from linen by a paper-making machine, the Fourdrinier (Gaskell 221).[34] The literary

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[33] Philip Gaskell points out that marking the spine of a cloth book was initially problematic because printers typically used paper labels on the spine. In 1832, a method was introduced and popularized for impressing words onto the spine and then embossing them. Gaskell passingly (FN9a) refers to William Pickering's 1830 experiment in gold-blocking the cloth spine and emphasizes that it was an experiment that was not repeated (235). However, *The Keepsake* for both 1828 and 1829 are covered in silk (a type of cloth) and have their titles, etc., marked on the spine. These two volumes, from separate private collections, may have been embossed after 1832, but the font, spacing and style of the embossing is identical. Hence, Reynolds and his publishers and printers used embossed cloth spines earlier than 1832 – an important development in printing history for which the literary annual may stake a claim.

[34] From 1820-1850, many printers were experimenting with mechanizing their

(continued...)

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annuals were typically produced on machine-made paper (which can be determined by the lack of watermarks or chain marks from the paper molds), hence reducing the overhead of producing such a volume and increasing – only slightly – the profit margin.

In a continuing tradition of artistic printing, editors and publishers were aware of the value of external and internal presentation of their products. It was not enough that the boards were ornately decorated or covered in the finest materials. The bibliographical elements of printing were also considered (as was not the case with the cheaper cheap reading materials, which offered little by way of aesthetic quality in printing). But the reading experience, influenced by the organization of the literary information, became indebted to these types of small bibliographical alterations.

Friendship's Offering, a very successful annual, suffered through many administrative and publishing changes until settling with the publisher Smith Elder. The first title, published 1824 immediately following the 1823 *Forget Me Not*, was more mimicry of the *Forget Me Not*'s form than an original work. The first volume contained landscape descriptions with engravings, a lump of prose pieces and a lump of poetry. The editor's Preface does not declare anything rich or new, but does hope to create a work that is better than a pocket-book, useful and only mildly literary. Editor Thomas K. Hervey declares in the 1825 Preface that his annual is a "justice to the public," as if production serves the community. The 1824 volume contains fifty-three weekly calendar

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[34] (...continued)
binding processes, including paper-making, creating boards and gathering, sewing and binding the quires (Gaskell 229).

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pages, five informational charts[35] at its conclusion and five other information pieces between the poems, including a printed inscription, "Pauperism in Europe," "Compendious Weather Guide," General Observations on Weather" and "The Four Seasons." The authors' names are absent from their contributions (in both the table of contents and on the pieces themselves) until the 1827 volume. This annual, like the early *Forget Me Not*, does not pay attention to organization and tonal flow of the entire volume, and does not provide running heads. Genette refers to these intertitles in *Paratexts*:

> In theory they are only reminders, handy when one is reading and consulting the text, but sometimes running heads transcend this role and play their own part, by surreptitiously giving a title to a chapter that is in theory untitled, or by highlighting details that change from page to page . . . or by playing a tune that differs from that of the chapter's official intertitle. (316)

Genette refers to running heads as markers of intertitles within a novel; however, the reference applies with the literary annuals as well. The running head reminds the reader of her place within the annual's three hundred or more pages by printing the title of the poem or prose piece flush to the right margin (similar to my running titles through this dissertation). The running head signals the change in literary pieces and creates a reference embedded with the text. Without these intertitles, the reader must inconveniently return to the starting point of the piece to be reminded of her reading

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[35] Including "Transfer Days at the Bank," charades instructions, "Hackney Coach Fares," Rates of Watermen" and holidays.

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point, a lack that seems to disregard the reader. Not until the 1826 volume does *Friendship's Offering* alter its form to include their authors, running heads and a specific ordering of the volume's contributions. The informational charts and sheet music disappear from the 1826 volume never to return to *Friendship's Offering*. The *Forget Me Not* and *Literary Souvenir* volumes always included these running titles and authors' names (with the exclusion of the 1823 *Forget Me Not*). *Friendship's Offering* seems to be a title which mimicked the literary annual genre, admitting this in the 1827 Preface that "ours is the rivalry of emulation, not of envy" (B.E.P. iii-vii). Instead, the title really represents a diary and resource, not a leisure experience.

In his 1826 Preface, Alaric Watts emphasizes the importance of both the linguistic and bibliographic elements of his *Literary Souvenir* and urges readers to consider the "mechanical part of the work" in addition to its contents: "I would not have the beautiful typography of the present volume escape notice altogether. In order that the mechanical part of the work should not be unworthy of the matter and illustrations, it has been printed from an entirely new font of type" (Preface *Literary Souvenir* 1826 viii). Watts points to marriage of form and content in this prefatory side note, well aware of the marketing of literary *and* visual aesthetics. Frederic Reynolds, too, recognizes his audience's yen for beautiful products and assures them in his 1829 *Keepsake* Preface that

> The Engravings have been considerably augmented in size, and, it is presumed, in value; no exertion having been spared to render them superior even to those of last year. The type, too, has been altered, and the binding and gilding materially improved; in fact, as before stated, every effort has been made to render the

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> Keepsake *perfect* in all its departments. (Preface *The Keepsake* 1829 iv-v)

The larger engravings allow readers to linger even longer over the various details.

With the 1828 *Keepsake*, annuals were introduced to the public in a larger, more luxurious 6" x 9" volume. However, the margins increased instead of the text, which gave readers the illusion of increased space (and therefore more value). (See **Figure 4.21**: 1828 *Keepsake* margins) Later volumes edited by the Countess of Blessington were produced with less margin and more textual coverage, which gave the volumes an air of more – more poetry, more prose and larger engravings. (See **Figure 4.22**: 1848 *Keepsake* margins) In the *Keepsake*, consumers invested in a promise of more entertainment value due solely to the better use of space.

Leigh Hunt, writing for the 1828 *Keepsake*, assuages readers and consumers by assuring them "not [to] be deterred by a size like that of the present one from taking it into fields and gardens; and in the house the size gives it an advantage over miniature publications, having more to show for itself, and to be adorned with; not to mention that we can make presents of it to our grandmothers, without insulting their venerable eyesight" (16). Even with Hunt's reassurances, the increased size was not conducive to portability, especially considering that the annual was a valuable object that conveyed delicacy and intimacy. Owners would have a difficult time carrying their precious object into the elements outside the drawing room. Nonetheless, Hunt assures owners, readers and consumers of the annual's durability in pastoral settings, places that are not filled

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with urban trappings and are inviting to visit (but not to stay).[36]

The *Keepsake*'s advantage in the annuals market was that they produced only the quarto volume and did not have to market the volume in various sizes. In contrast to the cheaper reading materials, such as *The Penny Magazine* which contained smudged type, truncated margins, closely printed text and poor quality engravings on thin, low-quality paper (see **Figure 4.23**: *The Penny Magazine* 1833), the annuals were decadent.

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In the tradition of prefaces appended to the literary annuals, the editor (the self-proclaimed guardian of morality and propriety) typically declares the current volume to be the best production in annuals with the most improvements. If there were no improvements in the cover or size, the binding would be improved or the engravings enlarged or the type altered. Both Reynolds (in the 1829 *Keepsake* Preface) and Watts (in the 1826 *Literary Souvenir* Preface) mention that the overflowing amount of engravings and writings that caused them to add sheets of letter-press to the volumes to accommodate the readers' demand for "more" created a literary miscellany that was "more" fulfilling in both literature and beauty than ever before. This alteration in size and increase in letter-press convince consumers that they will receive "more" (content, engravings, value) for the same price[37] – as if the literary annual volume is an investment instead of an indulgence that does not accumulate value. Instead, these increases

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[36] See Matthew Kutcher's dissertation regarding polite culture and urban settings.

[37] At the behest of Alaric Watts, the *Literary Souvenir* (in octavo) was sold for twelve shillings 1825-1835 despite the increase in engraving quality and the number of written pieces – a fact that he points out in several of his Prefaces, definitely a move that positions him as benefactor to his readers.

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enhance the value (both financially and emotionally) of the annuals and are beautiful typography intended to increase an owner's/reader's emotional attachment to the volume. This, in turn, solidifies the annual as a commodity that is not to be thrown away but to be treasured and kept within the family.

These bibliographic alterations are in the same spirit as Ackermann's original intentions: the volume acted as a reference with valuable information relevant throughout the year. Ackermann intended his readers to keep the volume until the following year when another would add to it – both an advertisement for the next year's *Forget Me Not* and a reliance on a product. Watts and Reynolds also created a commodity that could be collected year after year as a memento or memory of the year, never to be thrown away.

Successful at "home," the literary annual became one of Britain's most flourishing printed exports. The genre became popular in the United States and the Continent (France, Spain, Germany, Italy[38]). (See **Figures 4.24 and 4.25**: *Keepsake Francais* and American *Forget Me Not*) Publishers were not bound by national boundaries, however, as was evidenced earlier by Ackermann's partnership with Carey, Lea. The *Keepsake Francais* was printed by Hurst, Chance, the publisher of the British (and English-written) *Keepsake*. Even Ackermann was well-renowned for his trade in

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[38] Two Spanish-language annuals include *Aguinaldo Puerto-Riqueño, Colleccion de Producciones Orijinales en Prosa y Verso* published in Puerto Rico, 1843, and *Aguinaldo Matanzero* edited by Jose Victoriano Betancourt published in 1847. The Canadians also picked up on the popular format and published *The Christian Remembrancer for 1832, The Canadian Forget Me Not for 1837* and *The Maple-Leaf or Canadian Annual* issued 1847-49 (Thompson 166).

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Spanish annuals, including a translation of the *Forget Me Not.*[39] Thomas Hood's *Comic Annual* was well-received in America in 1830 and sold between one thousand and fifteen hundred copies with a readership "of at least several times that number" because of the family audience (Clubbe *Victorian* 75) and the practice of sharing books. Publishing houses were branching out to the Continent, not necessarily confining their literary annual business to their shores. However, the British-published 1830 French *Keepsake* (the first of this title) is written entirely in French and uses only one recognizable British author, Sir Walter Scott. (Victor Hugo contributed a piece to this volume as well). (See **Figure 4.26**: Table of Contents of 1830 French *Keepsake*) The first American literary annual appeared in 1826 with the publication of several different titles, including *Atlantic Souvenir* (the most popular), *Philadelphia Souvenir*, *Souvenir*, and *Wreath*, and remained viable commodities until 1902 when the last annual, *Book of Beauty*, was published. In addition, the Americans created a hybrid nationalism in their annual industry. But, they were not as self-conscious about their borrowing as the British. Editor S.G. Goodrich writes in the *Token*'s 1838 Preface that in emulation of the British annuals, "[t]he present volume is therefore enlarged [rising to quarto size, 5" x 7 ¾, from duodecimo or octavo]", and an attempt has been made to bring the graphic illustrations, as nearly as may be, to the standard of the London annuals" (iii). The topic of the

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[39] Ackermann's publishing and printing success stems from more than the popular English and Spanish-translation of the *Forget Me Not*: His publishing house "dominated the export of British books in Spanish to the former colonies in the 1820s." Eugenia Roldán Vera's study, *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence: Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective*, "discusses the ways in which the printed form of these publications affected the knowledge conveyed by them."

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American engravings differed greatly from the British annuals: The American publishers included images not of pastoral life or proper ladies, but scenes from the American landscape, including images of the Wild West and Native Americans. (These were the Americans' images of savagery and *colonial* conquest.) American publishers further complicated the annual's national boundaries by claiming British volumes as their own, canceling title pages and tipping in another which altered the year and the publisher – all without indicating that it was a reissue.[40]

Because Britain and America had no copyright agreement, many British authors did not receive income from the sale of their books in America. It was not until the 1842 Copyright Act, championed by Dickens, Wordsworth and Hood himself, that British authors began to collect income from these sales.[41] Hood's influence on the Act was through correspondence with Talfourd (a former member of the House of Commons and original proposer of the 1837 amendments to the law) and his letters to the *Atheneum* on "Copyright and Copywrong," published June 1842. The 1842 Act provided copyright protection for forty-two years or the life of the author, a change from twenty-eight years in the prior law (Clubbe *Victorian* 118), and was significantly authored by William

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[40] In comparison to the British annuals, the printing quality of the American volumes seems to have degenerated. For instance, in this 1838 *Token*, the engravings were printed directly onto the page instead of being printed on India paper and glued onto the page. In addition, the images are not printed using intaglio methods (apparent because the ink sits on the paper and feels raised when touched). Because of these elements, *The Token* seems to move away from Ackermann's prescribed elements of a literary annual, a move that is indicative of the American annuals across the board.

[41] In this same year, Mudie's Circulating Library was founded, allowing for wide-spread commercialization of a novelist's name as well as popularizing the extended three-volume novel.

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Wordsworth himself – giving new meaning to the author as national treasure.[42]

The American literary annual phenomenon followed its own developmental path, differentiating itself from the British annual with content derived from local authors and political/cultural intonations of a post-revolutionary and pre-Civil war United States. Many of their annuals became politically centered or more accessible to working class citizens as opposed to the decidedly middle-class nature of the British-published literary annuals. The business of annuals differed greatly, too, in the United States and eventually suffered from the rise of ladies' books and magazines.[43]

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[42] See Jacqueline Rhodes' "Copyright, Authorship and the Professional Writer: The Case of William Wordsworth," Chris R. Vanden Bossche's history of literary authors and copyright, "The Value of Literature: Representations of Print Culture in the Copyright Debate of 1837-1842" and Mark Rose's comprehensive work, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright.*

[43] See Ralph Thompson's *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books 1825-1865* (1936) for a description of the American literary annual phenomenon, Cindy Dickinson's article, "Creating a World of Books, Friends and Flowers," which explores the relationship between gift-giving and inscription in American gift books and E. Bruce Kirkham's index of contributors, authors, printers and publishers in *Indices to American Literary Annuals and Gift Books 1825-1865* (1975). In a brief 1942 article, "Taste in the Annuals," Bradford Allen Booth laments that he'll never finish his index of contributors to American annuals and offers his research to anyone who'll take on the project; to attract scholars, Booth produces a list of major contributors in the article and categorizes the popularity of authors based on their contributions. Earl Hutchison's article on the American literary debt to gift books (more appropriately categorized as literary annuals) claims that "journalism histories ignore the gift book phenomenon" until his 1967 article, "Giftbooks and Literary Annuals: Mass Communications Ornaments." See also Richard Gassan's online project detailing the life of the American publisher, Carey and Lea: "Carey & Lea: Printer and Publisher." Thompson, Hutchison and Gassan's studies detail the financial impact of the American literary annual genre. See also Isabella Lehuu's *Carnival on the Page* (2000) which suggests that the during the American pre-Civil War decades, all new reading materials (including annuals) "shared a festive and somewhat transgressive quality."

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With the development of the *Literary Souvenir* and other less popular annuals, Ackermann's vision from the first *Forget Me Not* of function and utility disappears and is replaced by the cult of "beauty." The *Keepsake* carried this cult of beauty to its height, offering an initial publication in 1828 in quarto and covered in red silk. The author of the Preface[44] acknowledges the competitive market for literary annuals, but describes its entry as a "debutante" in a "family":

> A Preface is often like a trump card, of which the most is made when the hand is weakest. Ours shall be brief, from the presumed strength, not weakness, of our hand; and because, *unlike* a trump card, a diffuse and cringing preface rarely gains a trick. It must not, however, be dispensed with: to commence our course by sailing against the stream would only be defective policy.
>
> We therefore introduce the Keepsake as a claimant for some portion of the protection freely awarded to other individuals of the family, of which our *debutant* is the youngest, and, we trust, not the least deserving member.
>
> It is unnecessary to dwell on the design and scope of the present work, the leading features of the class to which it belongs being too generally known to require even an allusion.

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[44] There has been much speculation about the editor (Charles Heath, the proprietor?, or Frederic Mansel Reynolds, the 1829 editor?), and consequently the author of the Preface, of the first *Keepsake* but no decided conclusion — hence my ambiguous reference to the "author of the Preface."

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> Competition, the parent of excellence, has already given birth to a crowd of literary annuals, the number of which is still increasing. The deserved popularity of these volumes, united to a persuasion, that an addition to their number, on a similar but enlarged plan, would not be unacceptable to the public, suggested the idea of this new undertaking; the principal object of which will be, to render the union of literary merit with all the beauty of art as complete as possible. (v-vi)

The editor of this volume accepts that the number of annuals by 1828 (fifteen in total) has proved the marketability of such a literary product and does not propose in his Preface that he will strike upon something new. This literary annual will, instead, borrow from the tradition already established and improve upon it – the format has been borrowed and altered for the purpose of capitalizing on a trend. The *Keepsake*'s "newness" stems from its higher retail price: The *Keepsake* was the first annual to sell for a guinea[45] as opposed to the twelve shillings for Watts' *Literary Souvenir*. The targeted consumers of the literary annual were middle-class families; the lower middle-class families were excluded from the "cult of beauty" with the introduction of this guinea annual, which was later carried on by *Heath's Book of Beauty*, first published in 1833 and written/edited solely by Letitia Elizabeth Landon. L.E.L. being at the forefront of this "cult of beauty," it was only appropriate that she lead the annuals into a different generation, a second generation which was pre-occupied with beauty.

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[45] A guinea equals twenty-one shillings or one pound and one shilling.

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To increase sales, by 1830 publishers separated the literary annual into sub-genres, including the comic annual, religious annual, musical annual, landscape annual and juvenile annual. (See **Figures 4.27 and 4.28:** Christian gift book and American *Forget Me Not*) Of notable popularity were the Christian annuals and gift books, especially those edited by Mrs. Sigourney, deemed "The Mrs. Hemans of America" by Bradford Booth ("Taste" 300). In 1830 several musical annuals appeared, including *Apollo's Gift or the Musical Souvenir, Musical Bijou, Musical Forget Me Not, Musical Gem, Musical Souvenir.* The *Musical Bijou,* published in 9" x 11.5" quarto form in blue paper boards (with at least three inch margins for the poetry and prose pieces), appears to be the size of sheet music rather than the normal pocket-size of most annuals and includes twenty-seven poetry and prose pieces, five engravings and seventeen pieces of sheet music (setting its poems to music). This *Bijou* provides an evening's entertainment complete with literature to read, scenes to admire, songs to perform, music to play, even verses to translate from French. (See **Figures 4.29 & 4.30**: *Musical Bijou* sheet music and poem) The annual acts as an educational experience, a place to inspire memories in its audience as opposed to simply chronicling memories for them. I. Pocock[46] addressed the much-used sentiment of the genre in his poetic illustration of "The Parting," echoing Ackermann's original words:

> "Forget me not,–forget me not!
> How often I have heard,
> The lads and lasses wanton wi'
> That sad and solemn word:–
> They picture too, the pretty flower,

---

[46] The Table of Contents indicates a "J. Pocock"; however, the printed name accompanying the poem text is "I. Pocock."

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And posies make for rings;
And rhyme it in their album books,
And twenty other things. (123)

"Forget me not,–forget me not!"
I've often heard them say,
To those who thought they were beloved,
Yet loved as light as they.–
Ne'er thinking, silly heartless things,
Should only *one* be true,
How bitterly–how awfully!
Those words might make 'em rue. (123)

These opening stanzas refer to the flower, albums, poetry within the annuals and eventually the failure of romantic love – all subjects of many of the works within literary annuals. Though it is associated with the genre, the *Musical Bijou* is evidence of the genre's evolution and its move away from being pocket-sized gifts. Instead, this annual is obviously to be enjoyed by more than one person at a time. The gift continues to give as a musician plays the notes for others to witness the music, the engraving and the poetry. This experiment in musical annuals proves to be short-lived: some disappeared altogether by 1833 and others were published sporadically through 1849.

The juvenile annuals made a spotty appearance on the market 1828-1835 with Mrs. Watts' *New Year's Gift*, Mrs. S.C. Hall's *Juvenile Forget Me Not* and Thomas Roscoe's *Juvenile Keepsake*. Apparently, the youth of England were in further need of instruction and moral guidance than what was offered in the typical literary annual. Alaric Watts' son and biographer notes that in constructing the *New Year's Gift*, Mrs. Watts believed that youth needed to "cultivate reason, . . . morality and Christian principles. . . . Religion, purely doctrinal, she left to other agencies" (1:312). However, imagination was suppressed in favor of reason: "She excluded, therefore, from the

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subjects of her little book all apocryphal personages, giants and fairies, in all of which children of that age were quite capable of believing to their prejudice, and not to their profit" (313).

In 1830 , Thomas Hood published the first of the comedic annuals (with Charles Tilt of Fleet Street), *The Comic Annual or The Anniversary of the Literary Fun.* Hood first produced the magazine *Whims and Oddities* in 1826 (published by Lupton Relfe, also the first publisher of *Friendship's Offering* through 1827) which established him as a "leading comic poet" (Morgan 68; Clubbe *Selected Poems* 14). In answer to the public's request, Hood produced a second issue entitled *Whims and Oddities, Second Series* in 1827. The reference in the Preface to the 1830 *Comic Annual* as a third series in *Whims and Oddities* calls on an audience already familiar with Hood's reputation as a comic and allows Hood to capitalize on his prior success – much the same as Ackermann with his *Forget Me Not* and *Repository of Arts*. It also highlights the association between Relfe and Hood: Before Relfe published *Whims and Oddities*, he solicited Hood for contributions to *Friendship's Offering* – the relationship bears mentioning because it is an example of the small circle of writers and publishers in London during the 1820s and 1830s who traded favors. Hood had a relationship with the publisher Edward Moxon (Morgan 74), the poet Letitia Landon and the writer Charles Lamb long before he ventured into the literary annual business. And, much like all of his colleagues, he imposed on these relationships when compiling his annuals.

In his first volume, Hood strikes upon the ultimate parody of the annual and mimics the opening traditional proclamations resident in every annual's preface:

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[I]t is my humble hope and aim to contribute towards the laughter and lustiness of my fellow-creatures, by the production of The Comic Annual,–a work not equivocating between Mirth and Melancholy, but exclusively devoted to the Humorous–in plain French, not an "Ambigu," but an "Opera Comique." Christmas, indeed, seems a Tide more adapted for rowing in the Gig or the Jolly, than tugging in the Barge or the Galley, and accordingly I have built my craft. The kind friends who may patronise the present launch, are assured that it will be acknowledged by a renewed exertion, and that I seriously intend to come before them next year with "A braver Bark, and an increasing sail."

The materials which were in preparation for a Third Series of "Whims and Oddities," have been thrown into the present volume–that work may, therefore, be still considered as going on, thought its particular name is not exhibited–but it is a partner in the Comic Firm. Each future Series will in the same manner be associated with the whims and oddities of other authors;–and it will be my endeavour to feed every succeeding volume with the choicest morsels that can be procured. In short, the work will be pamper'd – like Captain Head. In the meantime, many little defects, incidental to a first attempt, will be observed and pointed out by the judicious critics; –to whom, consciously and respectfully, I bow, like Norval,–"with bended bow and quiver full

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> of errors;" merely hoping, timidly, that as second thoughts are allowed to be best,–they will deal mildly with my first ones.
>
> In my illustrations, as usual, preferring Wood to Copper or Steel, I have taken to *Box* as the medium for making hits. For some of the Designs, I am indebted to private Friends, and in particular to one highly talented young Lady, who has liberally allowed me to draw upon her drawings, and with an unusual zeal for my woodcuts, has, I may say, devoted her head to the block. It is difficult to return thanks for such deeds, but I feel deeply indebted to the kindness by which her pencil was led.
>
> . . . The Literary Critics are requested to look upon the letter-press in the same spirit, and to remember, before killing "The Comic," that it is as the late Giraffe, "the only one of its kind in England." The work, indeed, at present, is like the celebrated Elephant that had no rival but himself. If, however, others of the kind should sprint up, all the Editor wishes for is an open field and fair play. (vi-x)

As noted before, the Preface for each literary annual was a space for the editor to applaud the engravings and writings as the "best," defend against the annual's critics and reassure its readers of the next yearly installment. In this Preface, Hood parodies the traditional preface, inserting silly wordplay ("pencil was led"), declarations of the originality of his humorous endeavor and metaphors of ship-building. In the typical explanation of the illustrations or engravings, Hood moves backward in technology and uses a simplified

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woodcut engraving (taken from a crude line drawing) for these volumes, which serves the sentiment of the volume. (See **Figure 4.31**: Engraving "Single Blessedness") The engravings appear to be of no higher quality than a line drawing and misrepresent the artistry required to produce a woodcut engraving by reducing it to a parody of the materials. And the practice of borrowing or renting artwork from its owners to re-cast it as a steel or copper plate engraving is lampooned as a "Lady" subjects her drawings to be re-drawn and over-drawn by Hood's own pencil.[47]

Published in paper boards and a leather spine – deceptively similar to many other "family" members in the genre – this first *Comic Annual* contains eighty-two engravings, a number which greatly out-numbers the thirty-eight pieces of prose and poetry. This unusual abundance of engravings is interspersed among the poem and prose pieces, most of which were written by Hood himself. Common practice in the early and contemporary annuals dictates that engravings are created first and passed on to authors for a verbal rendering – essentially extensions of the engravings.[48] Hood reverses this and uses engravings to articulate a punch line and "head and tail pieces"[49] to book-end a work. The significance of this practice lies in the production cost of engravings; more engravings typically inflated the cost of a volume. But, using original cuts by the engraver and woodcut engravings (as opposed to steel) not only reduced Hood's costs but

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[47] See chapters on engravers and editorial profits for discussions of engraving's cost to the literary annual.

[48] See later chapter on engravings and engravers.

[49] These are engravings which signal the start and conclusion of a piece of writing. Usually, they were positioned on the same page as the last in the writing. They were not full page images.

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also allowed for critique on the fetishizing of engravings in annuals.

"A True Story," included in this first *Comic Annual*, concerns a Colonel Case and his servant Pompey, a "jaundiced black." Pompey learns that he and his master are packing for Ireland, a turbulent and violent land that Pompey has been reading about. Running to his master and begging him not to go, Pompey offers this explanation to the jaundiced Colonel Case: "'O Massa' – (so the explanation ran) / 'Massa be killed–'cause Massa *Orange Man*, / And Pompey killed–'cause Pompey not a *White Boy*!" (48). The subjects of this satire include the British empire, African servants and their "broken English," Irish-English relations and current literature.

This last subject becomes apparent when we see the engraving concluding the poem, "She Walks in Beauty, Like the Night" (see **Figure 4.32**: "She Walks in Beauty" engraving) – a parody of Lord Byron's famous poem. Byron, dead for six years already, was the focus of a severe amount of literary mania. Hood's parodic use of the line mocks Byron and his fans, but really highlights England's racist treatment of African cultures. In the simple woodcut engraving, an African woman is drawn to literally represent darkness. Her dark skin is "like the night." She walks fanning herself with a banana leaf as the sun shines upon her face. The shadow cast behind her indicates that she *is* the night, further separating this woman from Byron's lady who walks *in beauty*. For Byron, references to a woman, the night and beauty are contained in a single complex line: "She walks in beauty, like the night" (line 1). The simile modifies "beauty," not the woman. The woman walks surrounded by beauty in the same way that darkness would envelope her if she were to walk through the night. In Hood's parody, Byron's line is represented as "She is like the night." Though a parody, the image exposes England's racism and the

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British colonies' abhorrent treatment of other cultures. The dark African with large lips and a beaming smile seems happy to represent night and all of its contingent tropes of darkness (e.g., savagery, evil, deception). Vanessa Warne suggests that Hood specifically parodies "the female body as grotesque and align[s] femininity with deceptiveness" (10). While this image is not necessarily grotesque, it is an over-exaggerated image of an African woman exposing herself willingly. She tilts her head almost coquettishly and carries a fan in mimicry of a lady's umbrella. She plays at being white or British (though still wearing bangled jewelry around her ankles, ears and wrists) – a slur on the proper British lady who supposedly read this genre. Presented in 1830, this parody is an early rendering of the sexually transgressive "Hottentot" who will fascinate later Victorians.[50]

Hood mocks the genre from a position of knowledge, though: he was a contributor to many of the earlier annuals (including *Forget Me Not*, *Friendship's Offering* and *Literary Souvenir*) and an editor of *The Gem* (1829-1832). Hood's annual, with a second edition during its first year, continued through 1839 and was published each year (4" x 6 ½") with the same image on paper boards, lending a familiarity and consistency to that volume that was not always standard to other titles in the genre. (see **Figure 4.33**: 1833 *Comic Annual* boards)[51] Hood's parody eventually became more political satire (as he points out in his 1837 "Preface") than parody of the literary annual. The advertisements for the 1837 volume (published in British monthly, quarterly and

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[50] See Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather* for a concise and authoritative discussion of the Hottentot figure in nineteenth-century England.

[51] All volumes were issued with the same image on the front board; however, the image on the back board differed with every year.

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weekly magazines) promised that the 1837 volume would contain "political pepper and spice" (v). However, because he was residing in Germany during the 1830s (to escape his creditors), Hood informs his readers that *The Times* was delivered well beyond the time when social and political issues had been resolved. In an attempt to keep the *Comic Annual* contemporaneous with current issues, he excised a majority of the political satire that filled the volume – at least he claims this in his Preface. In actuality, Hood did not use the *Comic Annual* as a podium for political bullying; instead, he was more concerned with the working class and could be classified as merely socially aware rather than an advocate.[52] Despite this classification, by comparison to all other polite and heavily moderated annuals, the *Comic Annual* was as politically motivated as the American *Liberty Bell*, which championed the abolition of slavery.

Hood's irreverent and satirical entre into the literary annuals market encouraged other parodies of the genre, including imitators of the parody: In 1831, the *New Comic Annual*, a separate publication, made its debut (and disappearance) in the family as did the *Comic Offering or Ladies Melange of Literary Mirth*, which lasted through 1835 when the *Comic Almanac* appeared and was a fixture until 1853. The title page of the *New Comic Annual* attributes the writing to Sir John Falstaff, the infamous comic butt of Shakespeare's "The Merry Wives of Windsor." In a nod to its original reference, the annual is specifically dedicated "to the Lovers of Gaiety and Glee, from the high-born Peer, to the low-born Peasant; and, especially to the '*better half*' of men – Their Merry Wives" (iii). Using puns to gain the easiest humor, the author irreverently parodies

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[52] See the Introduction to *Selected Poems of Thomas Hood* in which editor John Clubbe offers evidence of Hood's "neutrality in politics" (22).

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Hood's *Comic Annual* in both its appearance and contents. The preface is peppered with verbal puns that characterize a begging dog, the figure/plate that opens the annual's preface (see **Figure 4.34**: 1831 *New Comic Annual [Falstaff's]* opening engraving):

> Your Humble Petitioner Sheweth, that deeply impressed with that first law of nature, "*take care of No 1,*" he prays, that this his first Annual, may be well seconded in *succeeding* Numbers. In so novel a position before the public, your petitioner feels that he assumes one which he cannot long uphold, unless by your encouragement upheld; neither, in thus raising himself in cur-ious mood to a New Title, wherein he stands alone, does he expect, however *upright* his appeal, to support that title long, unless by you supported in his waggish tale and doggrel verse.
>
> Taking, therefore, the above stand, if not with cap in hand, his *mouth* bespeaks the world's charity and the critic's mercy.
>
> Your Petitioner further sheweth, that full of faith in the one, and hope in the other, to his latest day, even on his *last* legs, shall his *great full tale* appear in graceful *lay* unfolded.
>
> Your Petitioner humbly conceives, that he does not trust to a fragile reed, or rest upon a false staff, in thus ushering into the world his first Number by the merry title of–
>
> **FALSTAFF'S ANNUAL;**
>
> the joyous harbinger of "genial laughs," or glad contributor of social mirth; ripe for all seasons– the winter's hearth or summer's

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> shade. But, should his bantling fade and fall with the autumnal leaf, still may future evergreens be his never-fading laurels; his broad merry face laughing sour crabs (who seek the fruit and look beyond the *bark* into sweet *countenance*–of his Annual, as worthier of the Wreath of Comus, than the Wrath of Critics.
>
> If, however, your petitioner shall appear to have set out with a "frail bark," he must, nevertheless, trust to his present canvass, and hope for a future better sail! for, remember, my brother *cynics*, it is "ONLY ONCE A YEAR!" (v-viii)

(The annual must have met with enmity or poor sales because it never appeared again.)

The standard entreaties that often punctuate an annual's preface here are reduced to a mongrel begging for scraps – much the same as the annuals' editors were reduced to doing to gain an audience in the 1831 saturated market. "Falstaff," in a long opening song entitled "Falstaff's Festival, or the power of Mirth An Ode In Honor of Comus," recounts the creation of the *New Comic Annual* in which Hood plays a prominent role. After proving his comic worth and that "sublime on nothing could he write" (2), Falstaff retired to St. Paul's Churchyard

> [a]nd there pour'd out his comic soul;
> Then from his waistcoat pocket took,
> A full-length image of himself, the Falstaff of this Book.
> Hurst, Chance & Co. approve his lofty air;
> A Falstaff's Annual! they shout, is here;
> A Falstaff's Annual! again re-echoes there.
> Delighted quite,
> The merry Knight,
> In laughing mood
> Assumes the Hood,
> And laughs with all his might. (3)

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Falstaff nods to Hood's introduction of the comic genre but declares that his annual can be sold alongside Hood's:

> Now here, at least, "too many Cooks
> Spoil *not* the broth;" no more than many books
> Pall the taste. How few soups savour,
> To palates fresh, of the same sort of flavour.
> ***
> Behold, behold, Sir Falstaff cries,
> Other Comics arise!
> For our brother last year,
> Hood, himself, did appear
> Siam's Elephant, *(tho' small his size)*
> Without a rival one,
> "Clear stage and favour none."
> Like the Siam Youths, that by nature are twain,
> Let us remain;
> United in our plan,
> Upon an "open field"
> Mutual "fair play" yield;
> *He* to the Tilt[53] of his fair enterprize,
> To our game *we*, of glorious Chance,[54]
> Our equal fame and fortune to advance.
> Two faces disdains the *Old Comic* to wear
> 'Neath one Hood–so the *New*; as in Knighthood,
> both are
> In one golden fight
> Of pun and fun; the Knight
> Seeks not from others their own *liveli*-hood to bar. (7-8)

Falstaff recounts an evening of frivolity in which he separates from his group and records his humorous musings in the middle of London's publishing district. The act of creating a new comic annual is compared to the original endeavor by Thomas Hood. However, these last few lines indicate (through puns, of course) that Hood and Falstaff are united

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[53] Using a play on words here, the author refers to Charles Tilt, the publisher of *Comic Annual.*

[54] Again using his favorite device, the author refers to the publishers Hurst, Chance & Co, publishers of *[Falstaff's] New Comic Annual.*

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not only under a unified comic knighthood, but also under the same "hood" which refers to their the battle against a common foe instead of each other. Though the rhetoric in Falstaff's Preface is primarily directed to the public and critics, the puns in this ode are a request to Hood and a celebration of diversity within the comic sub-genre – a request for cooperation in the name of "brotherhood" (an interesting reference to fraternity considering that the annual was definitely meant for the sisterhood of readers – see later discussions of femininity and the annuals).

In the 1831 *Comic Annual* Preface, Hood answers these queries and makes a few suggestions regarding the sudden appearance of both the *Comic Offering* (edited by Louisa Sheridan) and this *New Comic Annual*. (The Preface bears quoting at length both for these answers and for the parody of himself and the genre that Hood commits.)

> Now, I do not intend, like some votaries of freedom, to cast mud on the muddy, or dirt on the dirty, – but, while I am on the hustings, I will ask the Committee of that Uncandid Candidate, "The New Comic," whether it was quite honest to canvass against me under my own colours, and to pass off the enemy's poll-book as mine? The Code of Honour should be a kind of Coade's Cement between man and man, – but, to speak technically, some seem bound by it and some unbound. Mr. Hurst gave me his word, and shook hands thereon, that the delusive title should be altered; – and yet that bad title to a good name, "The New Comic," is still retained. Surely he feels both the brand and the blush in what Byron calls "that red right hand."
>
> Were there no other and fitter labels extant than such close

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parodies of mine? . . . [¶] The coupling, in advertisement, "The New Comic" with a volume really mine, is a trick that smacks of the neighbourhood. There is as little difference as distance between the plying of 65, St. Paul's Churchyard, and the plying of the Fulhams and Brenfords close at hand.

The Editor of the Edinburgh Literary Journal, was actually induced to swallow what Izaak Walton would call the *Cad*-bait, – and after a jolt in the "New" concern, was induced to criticise it as a ride in the old.

Fain would I drop here the Steel Pen for a softer quill, to speak of an Editress who – distinguishing fair from unfair – has acted the perfect brunette towards me, and has brought a heavy charge against me "for work done." In the Announcement of "The Comic Offering" – a little book chiefly remarkable for a coast of damson cheese, seeming equally fit, like Sheridan's poor Peruvians, for "covering and devouring," – it is insinuated that I am an author unfit for female perusal: – I, who have never that respect infringed which, with me, dwells, "like fringe upon a petticoat." Miss Sheridan and modesty compel me to declare, that, many Ladies have deigned to request for their albums, some little proof of "the versatility" or prosatility of my pen: – yet what says the Announcement, or rather Denouncement: "But shall we permit a Clown or Pantaloon to enter the Drawing-room or Boudoir – no, *not even under a Hood!*" . . . I confess, besides, that on being so attached by a perfect stranger, I did at first think it rather hard of her; but having now seen her book, I think it

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rather soft of her, and shall say no more. (v-ix)

Hood posits himself not as the protectorate of his readers (inevitably women), but as the entertainer and freely admits entering not only the publically private drawing room but also the very private dressing room. Louisa Sheridan's objections are obviously that Hood's parodic annual is too coarse for a lady's viewing and offers her annual as a remedy to include women in the jocularity. Hood's acerbic wit in just this Preface smacks of the immediate competition caused by his successful title – a competition that certainly mirrors the furor among "legitimate" titles as well.[55]

In 1832, the genre reached an apex in England with sixty-three titles being offered. The landscape and geographical annuals, including *Heath's Picturesque Annual*, *Turner's Annual Tour* and *Geographical Annual,*[56] increased the British public's interest in landscape art and foreign vistas. The *Bengal* and *Oriental Annual* (both initially published in 1830) were produced and published in Calcutta, India, extending the boundaries of home to Britain's colonial empire. *Young Gentleman's Annual* (1834) and *A Father's Present to His Son* (1831 and 1833) were published specifically to allow men to participate in the consumerism and gift exchange created by the annuals. Some annuals took the opportunity not just to instruct young women but also to expose the

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[55] In fact, Sheridan's *Comic Offering* is published by Smith, Elder, publishers of the very successful and popular *Friendship's Offering*.

[56] The *Geographical Annual* actually contained no literary material, only maps. The intention was to re-publish an updated collection of these maps yearly as new discoveries were made. One reviewer classifies this annual as "a perennial rather than an annual" and removes the *Geographical Annual* from any membership in the lurid class of literary annuals that were epidemic on bookstore shelves (*The Monthly Review* Dec. 1831, 549) – by 1831, the annuals were becoming more and more despised in trade criticism.

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readers to long treatises on political issues. And, though annuals were not originally intended as a political platform, many snuck through (despite reviewers' protests): A religious annual, *The Amulet* (1826-36), often included articles on the abolition of slavery. Another annual published in 1834 also addressed this political issue in a commemorative volume: *Bow in the Cloud, or the Memorial: A Collection of Original Contributions in Prose and Verse, Illustrative of the Evils of Slavery and Commemorative of its Abolition in the British Colonies* (London: Jackson & Wallford).

By 1840, the number fell to thirty-five with a slow, general decline each year until 1857 when only three British titles were published. Ironically, as the British annuals lost their foothold in the consumer marketplace, the American titles began to thrive: In 1831, the Americans published only thirteen annuals. It was not until 1842 that the American annuals equaled the British numbers. By 1846, fifty-six different annuals had been published in the United States compared to the sixteen titles published in Britain. (Of these sixteen, some early literary annuals continued successful production, including the *Forget Me Not*, *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook*, and *Keepsake* [Faxon 129-140].)

Whatever the evolution of literary annuals in the 1830s, Hood's humorous poke at a product of popular culture came because the literary annual genre was already being harshly criticized by reviewers and literati throughout the English press (a disdain that will be discussed later). With this criticism and parody committed from within the "family" itself, the genre suffered such damaging criticism that its contents have been derided by many nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics and, consequently, ignored by literary critics and book historians alike until the late twentieth century.

Though the early twentieth century saw three volumes attempting to imitate the

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earlier annuals, these were but reminders of the popular phenomenon that once struck England. W.J. Burke, writing in 1935, describes the nineteenth-century annual as a fad and continues deriding them:

> Today they amuse us, and if we stop to read them seriously as they were meant to be read, fatigue us, for they contain some fo the worst poetry in the English language. They were calculated to pull the heart strings and bring tears to the eyes, to awaken noble sentiments and inspire kindly thoughts and deeds. (25)

Though trade criticism in the nineteenth century did not sustain the phenomenon (and mangled its validity in the twentieth century), its readers and consumers insisted on new publications each year and continuously fueled the production of these gems, amulets and keepsakes. During the 1830s, the audience seems to have ignored the reviews and were purchasing volumes in advance sales. Some of the more popular annuals evolved to accommodate the market and were rewarded with longevity and re-creation during the late nineteenth-century (in anthologies of the best works from literary annuals) and new incarnations in the twentieth century (in "new" keepsakes and forget me nots that borrowed the original format).

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Chapter Five:
Disseminating and Discriminating:
The Artistic Influence of the Annual's Engraving "Copyists"

Engravings in the literary annuals were an integral element contributing to the initial success of the genre (and are necessarily element in distinguishing a literary annual). Rudolf Ackermann's expertise in reproducing illustrations provided a foundation from which to create the first literary annual: the engravings would anchor the entire volume. In general, the annuals favored landscape paintings and portraits, exposing massive numbers of readers to artwork that they potentially would have never seen. The artwork was cut on a wood or metal plate, printed on the proof sheets and passed on to a poet to create a verbal illustration of the print.

Privileged over the writing and authorship, the engravings became the star not only of Ackermann's volumes but also later of their own sub-genres. Publishers used a separate printer for the text and the engravings, usually sending the engravings to be printed on India[1] paper for the final product. The engravings were then glued to the verso[2] of a page with the following recto page remaining blank – a time-consuming and laborious practice for printers and a costly necessity for publishers and editors. This thinner paper provided a more porous medium and resulted in a crisper image – another

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[1] India paper can be distinguished from other papers by running a finger around the edge and picking up the corner of a very thin sheet affixed to the page. It seems that most engravings that I have run across in my research have been printed on India paper: "A confusing abbreviation for *India Proof Paper*, which is identical with China paper used for proofs of engravings; hence, India paper proofs or India proofs" (Carter 125).

[2] The verso is the right-hand page of an open book. The recto is the left side.

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element that added to the high quality expected of annuals.[3] This blank recto page also created a fetishized object surrounding the engraving. Because there was the luxury of blank space on its reverse side, the engravings could be removed without destroying the text; they became portable artwork that could be transported out of the original work and used for decoration.

When the genre began its quick ascent to popularity, the engravings originated from illustrations or paintings created by two entities. But only one was considered a true "artist," especially in the eyes of the Royal Academy:

> To the Royal Academy, founded on hierarchical values which placed history painting at the summit, the engravers were only *copyists*, lacking originality and thus excluded from the highest honours. However, many engravers though conceding their work was not foremost in the orders of design, believed it was a distinct language of art with its own terms. (Fox qtd. in Ledbetter "Copper and Steel" 28-9, emphasis added)

In the annuals, membership in the Royal Academy is indicated by "R.A." following a name. This abbreviation never followed an engraver's name but quite often accompanied a painter/illustrator's name – a mark of the institutional validation of imagination.

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[3] The exception is the *Comic Annual*, an annual that parodied the genre with both its literature and its woodcut engravings. Woodcut engravings could be included with text during the printing process and were in Hood's *Comic Annual*.

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According to Kathryn Ledbetter, engravers "made art possible for the masses, thereby causing an increased demand for art" (29). She cites an 1838 *Monthly Review* article that celebrates the engraver's artistry and applauds the annual's dissemination of art:

> As regards the important interests both of literature and the arts it must be allowed that the Annuals have had a manifest influence. . . . never before had such pictures as have filled the Annuals been published at so cheap a rate, although they cost the proprietors of them very large sums; never before had admiration been so awakened to pictorial embellishments; and never before were artists, proprietors, and purchasers so generally and multitudinously pleased; and thus all interests reciprocating and repaying one another produced, though it was at one time thought a mere transient fashion, a great and, we have no doubt, a permanently beneficial result in the history of true refinement. (qtd. in Ledbetter 22-3)

Engravers, deemed "copyists," were accused of lacking originality and the ever-important concept of imagination that saturated the Romantic era. In reproducing these paintings, engravers attempt to either reproduce or re-present the "aura" of a particular work. Walter Benjamin qualifies "aura" as "the authenticity of a thing [that] is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced"; it is the "quality of its presence . . . in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be"

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(220, 221). In the annuals, then, what is authentic? The original painting or the engraving? If left to the Royal Academy, engravers are merely mechanically reproducing art in an apparatus that is inadequate. The engravers, however, produce a steel plate that will, in turn, mechanically reproduce the image for a mass audience. Benjamin declares that this mechanical reproduction is an attempt by the masses

> to bring things "closer" spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as their bent toward overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction. Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction. . . . To pry an object from its shell, to destroy its aura, is the mark of a perception whose "sense of the universal equality of things" has increased to such a degree that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction. (223)

To Benjamin, the aura of artwork is not reproducible by mechanical means: "[T]he technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition" (221). The piece of art that is created specifically for reproduction no longer holds authenticity, or aura. The piece of art then represents not ritual (or tradition, as he specifies) but politics. Melding Benjamin with textual theory, however, yields a new authenticity with each copy that is then re-presented multiple times and in multiple layers with each social interaction. The literary annuals specifically are living palimpsests, created through the production of artwork (painter, illustrator, engraver, printer) that is expressible in meaning as readers interact with the reproduction.

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shifts only slightly with the darkening sky pushed further to the right side and minor elements altered to render the engraving more Egyptian than Roman. (See **Figures 5.1 & 5.2**: Martin's Original & Le Keux's "Copy") In Martin's oil painting, the central facet is a cross illuminated by the opening in the dark clouds. In skewing the cloud's light and dark rotation, Le Keux re-focuses the scene on Moses who is stationed in the left foreground. Le Keux adds an Egyptian obelisk in place of a beveled building which is highlighted by the light sky closing in it. The building in the original cluttered the scene while Le Keux's rendering opens the space to symbolize the darkness descending on non-Christian relics. In addition, Le Keux excises an integral moment in the scene by removing the progressively smaller pyramids in the background. This directs attention toward the largest pyramid that now has a lightening bolt cracking down from the swirling sky. The color and depth are rendered in exaggerated lines and the suffering crowd of onlookers have been dispersed to but a few with detailed expressions in the engraving. Otherwise, the engraving captures the terror and fury of the moment from Martin's oil painting.

Several engravers and illustrators regularly featured in literary annuals include Henry and John Le Keux, George and Henry Corbould, Edward Francis Burney, S. Prout (referenced above as lending his artwork), Richard and William Westall and Charles Heath. Edward Burney, cousin to novelist Francis Burney, illustrated *Evelina*. Richard Westall, painter and illustrator, often worked with his brother, William. The Corboulds worked together as artist and engraver to create original illustrations for the annuals – a family business inherited from their father (a landscape specialist) and continued to a son Richard Henry Corbould, who illustrated for nineteenth-century novels. Similarly, the Le

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Keux brothers conducted family business as engravers:

> John Le Keux (1783-1846) and his younger brother Henry Le Keux (1787-1868) were apprenticed to the architectural engraver James Basire, and both produced a wide variety of architectural and views engravings for various publications, including works by Neale, Pugin, and J. M. W. Turner. Henry Le Keux abandoned engraving work for the crape manufacturing business in 1838, but John continued to execute commissions until shortly before his death in 1846. John's eldest son, John Henry Le Keux (1812-1896), also became an architectural engraver; his works include plates in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851) and *Modern Painters* (1888).[5]

Interestingly, artists, illustrators and engravers did not gain as much press as their engravings, or annuals' authors. In fact, engravings met with abbreviated criticism in reviews and were referred to only by title and artist's last name. Though most literary annuals published engraver and illustrator names in the Table of Engravings and alongside the engravings themselves, it was the literary contents that gained most of the periodicals' negative and positive attention: "'The Bower Scene,' and 'The Coquette,' by C. Heath; 'The Brigand Chief and his Wife,' and 'The Contadina,' by W. Humphreys; and 'The View of the Castle of Monaco,' by E. Finden, are merely respectable as works

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[5] This family description originates from the Le Keux Correspondence collection at Beinecke Library, Yale University, which also contains valuable correspondence between the Le Keuxs, publisher Rudolf Ackermann and editor Alaric Watts.

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of art. The real charms of the volume are to be found in its literature." (Review of 1827 *Friendship's Offering*, *Monthly Review* Jan. 1827 87). Ironically, engravings were privileged in the production process of annuals and anchored the genre in its popularity. But, the spectacle, and not the production, of engravings fascinated readers and consumers of annuals – a fascination which inevitably veils the engraving artists from the public.

Ackermann, and other publishers of literary annuals (except Thomas Hood), used woodcut engravings until Charles Heath popularized (but did not invent)[6] the more efficient and detailed intaglio steel engraving in 1825.[7] Ackermann, ever diligent about producing high quality artwork, switched to steel plate engravings finding that "small prints with high quality detail could be produced on steel and in much greater quantities than by the traditional soft copper plates" (Ford *Ackermann* 65). Though a technical detail in the production of literary annuals, the move from woodcut to steel plate engravings is significant in nineteenth-century book history and the production costs of literary annuals.

Philip Gaskell points out that the intaglio plates "were printed separately from the type, often on a different paper from the ordinary sheets, and show little or no impression

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[6] Steel-plate engravings were patented in 1819 by American Jacob Perkins (Bain 19).

[7] Instead of lending his artistic abilities to every literary annual, Heath aligned himself with only a few, including the *Amulet*, *Literary Souvenir*, *Landscape Annual* and *Forget Me Not*. After 1828, he engraved very little, focusing instead on promoting his own productions, including the *Keepsake*, *Heath's Picturesque Annual* and *Heath's Book of Beauty*. His sons, Frederick and Alfred, executed a majority of the requests for engravings during this time.

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on the version . . . Intaglio plate marks were seldom allowed to show, but there is often a slight roughness to be felt on the surface of a picture printed from copper or steel" (272). The artistic skill required for steel plate intaglio engravings paralleled that of the woodcut:

> Strictly speaking, a wood-*cut* is cut with a knife along the plank, while a wood-*engraving* is cut with a graver or burin on the cross-section, usually of a piece of box-wood. The latter makes for harder wood and therefore permits a much greater delicacy in the design. But the terms are used indiscriminately by most cataloguers (and many other people) for any illustrations printed from wood as distinct from metal. Both, indeed, are often used to describe illustrations which (as frequently since the 1860s) were printed from electrotype metal blocks taken from the original (but less durable) wood blocks; for it is often impossible to tell these from impressions of the original wood. (Carter 221).

Intaglio differs from wood-cut and wood-engravings by the negative and positive images created: "The engraving processes in which the image is incised into the plate, as opposed to those where the surface is cut away leaving the image in relief" (Carter 127). When printing, "the lines of the design are filled with ink, the rest of the surface being wiped clean, and damp paper is pressed hard on to the surface so that it lifts the ink out of the engraved lines. The technique of engraving the plate is similar to that of cutting a negative wood block, allowing the use of very fine lines and cross-hatched tones, but it gives a positive not a negative result" (Gaskell 156). (See **Figure 5.3**: Comparison of

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woodcut and steel plate/intaglio process) The steel plates did not disintegrate as quickly as the wood engravings, which allowed printers to render thousands of imprints before retiring a steel plate. Copper plates, the traditional method of printing engravings, could withstand only about one hundred impressions before the artwork was compromised by the plate printers' wiping of canvasses (and not the printing pressure). This new printing invention, in turn, decreased publishers' production costs (Bain 19).

By distributing such massive numbers of prints, the annual engaged audiences "in popularising the public instruction in art" and reinforced the burgeoning movement to establish national art institutes. Anthony Dyson suggests that many factors "converged to contribute to the spread of a popular interest in art in Britain," including the literary annual and

> the example of the upper classes; the proliferation of art institutes and exhibitions; the growth of the provincial cities and their competitive spirit; the campaigning of the artists themselves; the proselytising of enthusiastic newspaper editors and the enterprise of publishers of magazines and annuals: the rise of the art unions; important public projects such as the building of the new National Gallery and the Houses of Parliament; and Government sponsorship of public art education in response to commercial pressure from overseas. (qtd. in Ledbetter "Copper" 29)

At the downturn of the annual's critical success, a reviewer in the November 1831 *The Monthly Review* suggests that though the annuals may not have contained the highest quality literature, the engravings at least introduced artistic standards:

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> They do, and have done, much for the diffusion of *sound principles of art*, by the exquisite engravings which they have been the means of presenting to the public, at a much more moderate rate than could have been possibly expected some twenty years ago. (371)

In his autobiography, S.C. Hall, editor of *The Amulet*, points toward these engravings as vehicles to educate the nation's middle class and as a much more appealing sight than the ill-printed and colored prints that were sold for decoration: "They were displaced by engravings after the choicest works of our British painters, executed in such a manner as to educate the eye and give employment to the mind" (178).

In order to attract their readers, publishers paid exorbitant prices to "borrow" original paintings and have them rendered as engravings. A single portrait required anywhere between twenty and two hundred guineas[8] for borrowing fees and up to two hundred guineas for the engraver's fees (Hall 177). The engravings in one volume of *The Amulet* (a religious annual edited by S.C. Hall, 1826-1836) cost one thousand two hundred guineas (Hall 178).[9] In addition to the fees, editors demonstrated their gratitude by including an owner's name in the preface while all other contributors and artists were acknowledged in a general mention: "and to George Morant, Esq. their particular thanks are due, for the loan of Prout's admirable picture of Vicenza, which has furnished the subject of one of the engravings" (Shoberl *FMN* 1829 v). Artists frequently loaned their

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[8] A guinea equals twenty-one shillings or one pound and one shilling. Fees in pounds are between £21 and £210.

[9] A guinea equals twenty-one shillings or one pound and one shilling: £1,260.

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own artwork and received not only public gratitude but free advertising for their work which in turn increased the value of their paintings as well as their names.

Often, painters did not share the Royal Academy's disdain for engravings or reviewers' disgust for the annual phenomenon. Painters frequently loaned their art to be "copied" for a larger audience. Lawrence, Wilkie, Stothard, Leslie, Turner, Collins, Uwin, Stanfirled, Danby, Stuart, Newton and Roberts were a small number of respected artists who leant their work to the popular form. These and other artists happily acknowledged their affiliation with the annuals and were grateful to be made "household words to thousands of persons who had never before heard of them" ("Annuals" 495). The anonymous author of the 1858 *Bookseller* essay, "The Annuals of Former Days," provides evidence of the increase in the sale and collecting of art in relationship with the annuals:

> Previous to the appearance of the Annuals, there were few, if any, collectors of modern pictures in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, or Leeds, and there is now scarcely a gentleman of wealth in any one of those cities who has not a gallery of modern works of art, many of them by the best masters; whilst the prices of our English painters have done on increasing with the demand until they have reached, in many instances, six times the amount they used to ask for their works. In the sale of the effects of the late Mr. Rogers, a sketch by Leslie, for which the poet had given £40, produced £1,000; and another sketch, also by Leslie, purchased in 1824 for £10 was sold no great while ago, by Christie & Manson, for £350. (495)

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Alaric Watts' son notes that the artwork published in the 1826 *Literary Souvenir* were indeed in demand:

> These works, then engraved for the first time, became so popular that larger engravings were subsequently made from them, as was the case with other subjects first introduced to the public in this work. As an illustration of the technical beauty of the engravings in this volume, I may mention that another subject by Stewart Newton, entitled 'The Forsaken,' engraved by Charles Heath, was so highly valued by *connoisseurs* for the engraver's work,—it possessed, I think, little other value,—that proofs of it, before letters, were purchased in this very year by Messrs. Colnaghi, the print-sellers, at a public sale, at an uniform price of 19s. each. (218)

This information comes directly from the footnote in the 1827 Preface in which Alaric Watts professes that a single engraving "fetches a price considerably larger than that of the entire volume" (xii). Recognizing the boon to the art world, painters of great standing fostered exclusive relationships with annual editors; Charles Heath, proprietor of several annuals, was regularly entrusted with producing volumes (and actually committing to engraving) many of J.M.W. Turner's works.

Because of the long production process and the yearly publication schedule, owners and artists sometimes lent their paintings to more than one literary annual. Unfortunately, owners, concerned mainly for the fees, were not obliged to inform editors and publishers of their multiple indiscretions. In a review of the 1827 *Friendship's*

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Offering with Thomas K. Hervey as its editor, the critic notes that the painting, "Alexander and Diogenes," has been rendered as an engraving for both *Friendship's Offering* and Alaric Watts' *Literary Souvenir*. In addition, the same engraver, "E. Finden," has rendered the painting for both literary annuals. Edward Finden, much like many other engravers, participated in a family industry including his brother William Finden, and would have employed their apprentices to create engravings (*1911 Online Encyclopedia*). Eventually, because of the high demand and increased production rate, the Findens would come to rely more on their assistants, all of which inevitably decreased the quality of their work. The same review notes that "Strange to say, the *name* of the same engraver Mr. E. Finden, is subscribed to both plates; but it is evident that one of them is the work of the master – the other of some of his pupils" (87).

Both Finden and Charles Heath employed a large number of the available engravers during the 1830s and 1840s. Both men created a factory-type creative process and divided the work on one engraving among several men. John Heath notes that an engraving of Mrs. Peel in the 1829 *Keepsake* bears Charles Heath's signature but was produced by a choir of assistants: "Lane reduced, Goodyear etchd [sic] figure, Webb etchd fur and feathers, J.H. Watt draper and hat, Rhodes worked up hat feathers, D. Smith background, and C. Heath flesh" (qtd. in Ledbetter "Copper" 26). Ledbetter notes that "Heath and Finden supported a burgeoning industry of skilled artists" which "helped to bring art and literature together for the masses" and enabled "the characteristic pictorial nature of Victorian culture" (26, 29).

Because of its use in literary annuals and the phenomenal reception and sales of literary annuals, Ian Bain notes that the popular engravers were accused of over-

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saturating the public with steel plate engravings and over-producing the style to a point of "mechanical debasement" (25). Steel plates were used in printing illustrations until the 1860s, at which time, publishers returned to woodcut engravings for their publications.

American publishers, unable to withstand the financial burden of commissioning new illustrations or paying substantial borrowing fees, "used only engravings which had appeared in British gift books" as is noted by Ralph Thompson in his study of the American literary annual vogue (42). The large literary annual publishing house of Carey & Hart sometimes bought the actual British plates or duplicates; at other times they bought the impressions at eight pounds per thousand impression (42). Though the American literary annual tradition differed from the British phenomenon, the dilemma of financing and producing the engravings was equally burdensome on both sides of the Atlantic. Thompson notes that two plates in British the *Keepsake* for 1828 (founded by engraver, Charles Heath and publisher, William Ainsworth) were originally published in *Ten Epistles of Ovid*, translated by the Rev. William W. Fitzthomas (London, C. and R. Baldwin, 1807). This surreptitious borrowing is not surprising considering that this inaugural volume of the *Keepsake* cost publishers over eleven thousand guineas (Preface *Keepsake* 1829).[10]

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After the acquisition and engraving process, editors then committed to further reproduction of the original painting by requesting a poetic verbal rendering – a request

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[10] A guinea equals twenty-one shillings or one pound and one shilling: £11,550.

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that created competition among authors and forced (and perhaps limited) the creative process. Editor Frederic Shoberl had apparently solicited more than one poet to illustrate "Constancy," a painting by P. Stephanoff. Both James Bird and Charles Swain submitted poems entitled "Constancy" to support the engraving (see **Figures 5.4 & 5.5**: Engraving of "Constancy," Bird's poem and Swain's poem), and because they were both of fine quality, Shoberl included them in the 1829 *Forget Me Not* immediately following the engraving, explaining with a footnote:

> [This and the following poem were written expressly to illustrate the engraving inscribed Constancy; and, the subject being so differently treated by the gifted authors, it has been deemed right to introduce the compositions of both. Editor.] (161)

In this case, the authors compete against each other for space in a popular annual – a move which inevitably pits their poetic abilities against each other.

Behind the public scene, authors often approached artists to request permission to verbally illustrate a work – leaving final approval with the artist. In a letter to William Bernard Cooke (engraver of maritime views who did much work for Turner), Thomas Hood solicits Cooke for just such a "favor": "I cannot help regretting that your descriptive part of the work on Brighton is engaged – I am so fond of the coast, that any writing of that sort would be quite to my taste. I only mean by saying this – to place myself in your way in the event of any similar undertaking being proposed hereafter. If any verses should occur to me you shall have them" (Morgan 95). Apparently, Cooke had approval rights of the verses that would accompany his illustration.

The annuals, though constantly derided for their sentimental writing, was a source

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of artistic community among the genre's consumers. The engravings themselves became the focus for increasing the size of the books to accommodate a larger image; consumers constantly requested that the size be increased so they could see more details. In many cases, the engravings were excised from the book by owners and framed as a representation of the master artistry.

During the 1830s, consumers became increasingly fond of the engravings to the point that some annuals were filled with more engravings and less literature. In fact, the *Landscape Annual,* appearing in 1830, consisted of two volumes: one with the literature and the other with only the engravings. By 1830, because of the public clamor for more engravings and larger prints, the literary annual format began to change – again. In 1832, Letitia Elizabeth Landon and publisher Fisher, Son, and Jackson created a faux scrap book based on the annual format.[11] It consists of thirty-six engravings, named in a List of Plates, and their accompanying "poetical illustrations" each only two pages long. However, *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* does not contain a Table of Contents – an element of the work that is essentially an advertisement for the contents in hand.[12]

The "scrap book" designation in the title creates a false sense of the personal unlike the album, commonplace book or scrap book as they are defined in the previous chapter. This work is a pre-printed, mass-produced work that focuses almost exclusively and quite self-consciously on the engravings. Each poem is specifically tailored to the

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[11] Landon continued writing and editing this annual up until her death in 1839. Afterwards, various women wrote and edited *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* through 1854, including Caroline Norton.

[12] Interestingly, for Genette the table of contents is not paratextual (and is not included in *Paratexts*).

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engraving, as was normal practice among the annuals. And, because the entire contents were under Landon's control, she added footnotes to each poem that explain the historical significance, "legend and train of reflection" (3) of the engraving and/or poem. She offers more than the poetic beauty celebrated by other annuals; with her additional notes,[13] Landon offers a well-rounded illustration of the engraving and does not leave the reader to guess at a particular word's meaning or the origin of the scene – converse to the meaning behind the annual's title: *scrap book.*

By 1830, authors began to resent this practice of forced versifying. In *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1832, Landon writes in the Preface: "the ideas that seem at first so delightful are grown common, by passing through the familiarizing process of writing, printing, and correcting" (3). Even Landon in this same Preface acknowledges that this type of commercialized poetics of "mere description is certainly not the most popular species of composition." Catherine Boyle and Zachary Leader, in *Romantic Period Writings,* suggest that this relationship between print and poetic product "hints at this 'familiarization' process by drawing attention to the poem as product, the result less of inspiration than of the contingencies of commerce and labor" (187). In *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1833, an exasperated Landon throws up her hands in the first three lines of a poem accompanying the engraving, "Macao, China":

> Good Heaven! whatever shall I do?
> I must write something for my readers:
> What has become of my ideas?
> Of all the places in the world,
> To fix upon a port in China;
> Celestial empire, how I wish

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[13] See prior discussion (in chapter on the textual object) regarding notes.

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I had been christened Celestina!
The wish however's served for rhyme,
And here again, invention falters:
Had it but been a town in Greece;
I might have raved about its altars,
And talked of liberty and mass,
Of tyrants and Romaic dances,
Of Athens with a German king,
And fifty thousand other chances:
Or had it only been in Spain;
* * *
Or Italy, the land of song;
* * *
Or France, which, like an invalid
* * *
Or had it only been Madeira;
* * *
I'm like a sailor sent to sea,
Sent with "no, nothing" for his sea-hoard;
What on earth can I find to say,
Of a pagoda or a tea-board?
No love, no murder, no description,
Their only "old association"
Is with the willow-pattern plates,
That on the dresser have their station.
I give it up in pure despair;
But well the muse may turn refractory,
When all her inspiration is –
A Chinese Town, and an English Factory.
(Leader 208-9)

The poem does anything but illustrate the engraving. Landon's exasperation was most likely due to the fact that she provided the text for every *Fisher's* until her death in 1839. However, this poem comes in 1833, only the second year of the annual's publication. Already, Landon was stretching for ideas in the forced labor community of poet-for-hire, as was apparent when in the poem following "Macao," Landon directs readers away from the engraving, "The Chinese Pagoda," and registers her regret in producing a poem with a forced subject.

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Now, I who thought the first vexatious[14]
Despaired and knew now what to do,
Abused the stars, called fate ungracious –
Here is a second Chinese view!

I sent to Messr.s Fisher, saying
The simple fact – I could not write;
What was the use of my inveighing? –
Back came the fatal scroll that night.

"But, madam, such a fine engraving,
The country, too, so little known!"
One's publisher there is no braving –
The plate was work'd, "the dye was thrown."

* * *

O Captain Elliot, what could make you
Forsake the Indian fanes of yore?
And what in mercy's name could take you
To this most stupid Chinese shore?
(Leader 210-11)

Not only does she expose the labor of writing, but she also laments her distance (both emotionally and creatively) from the Chinese landscape. This poem resonates with the poet instead of the subject. In Landon's effort to fill space, she has exposed herself to public view and has voiced discontent (and rebellion) with the practice of privileging the engraving over authorial creativity. Though she submits to her publisher's wishes, in the end she subversively avoids their demand for a verbal illustration and rebels against the notion that poetry is decorative. Since her publishers allowed these poetic entries into the annual, they seem to have mounted the poems only as filler to each engraving's visual spectacle.

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[14] Here, Landon refers to the previous poem and engraving, "Macao."

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Other editors (and many authors) depended primarily on their income from literary annuals in order to survive, including Thomas Hood. In 1835, Hood moved to Germany to escape debtors[15] but continued to write most of the text for his *Comic Annual* as well as design the woodcut engravings. His was a forced labor dependent upon popular success, as is pointed out by John Clubbe in his brief biography of Hood (*Selected Poems* 17).

Later, Alaric Watts even converted his *Literary Souvenir* into a repository of artwork in 1835 with the *Literary Souvenir and Cabinet of Modern Art.* The following year, "literary souvenir" lost dominance in the title and was usurped by the new primary function of the *Cabinet of Modern Art and Literary Souvenir*, an annual filled with engravings. The literary had finally lost to the visual in this groundbreaking annual title.

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[15] See Clubbe's brief account of Hood's financial situation in the Introduction to *Selected Poems of Thomas Hood* (19).

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Chapter Six:
A Lucrative Miscellany:
Printers', Booksellers' & Publishers' Profits

According to John Ford, Rudolf Ackermann printed 20,000 volumes of the *Forget Me Not* in some years and used a quarter of a million plates per edition (*Ackermann* 64-5). *Friendship's Offering*, another popular and long-running annual, provided publisher George Murray Smith with a substantial fortune: "The annual *Friendship's Offering* first published in [November] 1823 – a type of literature upon which much ridicule has been expended – was a very successful enterprise on the part of the firm. It had a circulation of from eight to ten thousand copies, and was sold at the price of 12s" (*Recollections* 9).[1] In the Preface to the 1826 *Literary Souvenir* (the second in this title), editor Alaric Watts proudly declares the success of the initial publishing of his literary annual:

> The sale of six thousand copies of the *Literary Souvenir* for 1825, under disadvantages of no ordinary nature, and the flattering testimony borne to its merits by nearly the whole of the periodical press, whilst they have afforded gratifying proofs of the correctness of my anticipations as to the probable success of such

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[1] Actual circulation numbers and expenses have been incredibly difficult to locate. Publishers' records have been lost, destroyed or compiled erroneously over the years. At the University of Edinburgh, Centre for the History of the Book, Director Bill Bell has reviewed the unpublished manuscript of the younger George Smith's memoirs, *Recollections of a Long and Busy Life*. In his article, "The Secret History of Smith Elder," Bell points out that Smith's version of the publishing house's history is myopic at best in an attempt to a construct public face for the firm (167). According to Bell, Leonard Huxley's *The House of Smith Elder* (1923) is the most authoritative and "thorough account of the firm's history to date" (168). Bell claims that even the more recent history by Jennifer Glynn, *Prince of Publishers* (1986), fails to note the skewed history presented in Smith's *Recollections* (178 EN 3).

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> a publication, have also had the effect of stimulating my publishers and myself to produce, in the present volume, a work calculated to deserve, if not to secure, a still more extended degree of patronage.
>
> (v)

In 1828, 12,000 copies of Charles Heath's *Keepsake* (his first venture into the literary annual market) disappeared from booksellers' shelves in a few weeks ("Annuals" 497). The following year, 20,000 copies of the 1829 volume sold in less than a month (498).

The printed numbers and expected circulation of annuals seems to indicate that this genre was an incredibly lucrative venture for publishers and editors. In fact, Richard Altick, in studying the genre in relation to the Victorian Period, found that "in one season, 1828, it was estimated that 100,000 copies were produced [of various literary annuals], at a retail value of over £70,000 [in the aggregate for the genre]" (362). While specific costs and circulation numbers were not recorded by a majority of the publishers, a few kept track of and published their costs. Below is a table of some early figures on overall cost and circulation numbers.

Title & Year	**Cost**	**Circulation**	**Price**
Forget Me Not[2]	—	20,000	12*s*
Friendship's Offering (1824)	—	8,000-10,000	12*s*
Literary Souvenir[3] (1824-37)	£50,000	—	12*s*
1825	—	6,000	12*s*

[2] Unspecified year; John Ford's history of Ackermann's publishing house (65).

[3] From A. Bose's 1953 article.

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1826	£2,000	—	12*s*
1827[4]	£2,620	10,700	12*s*
Keepsake (1828)	£10,550	12,000	£1.1*s*
Keepsake (1829)	£11,550	20,000	£1.1*s*
Literature only[5]	£2,000	—	£1.1*s*
Keepsake & Picturesque Annual (1832)[6]	£9,487	—	£1.1*s*

Between 1823-1835, literary annuals retailed between twelve shillings and three pounds. A. Bose speculates that if a twelve shilling annual "sold less than 8,000 copies, the sale proceeds would barely equal the expenditure," and a guinea annual "must sell at least 12,000 copies" (51). In calculating payment to authors for the most lavish annual in 1829, Kathryn Ledbetter notes that Charles Heath and editor Frederic Mansel Reynolds "paid Scott £500 for each of his contributions, Southey 50 guineas [£52.5], Wordsworth 100 guineas [£105], and Coleridge £50, with 29 other contributors garnering fees unknown. . . . 'In total, the various financial inducements handed out in the course of this extraordinary promotion during 1828 amounted to some 1600 guineas [£1680]'" ("'White Vellum'" 39). Leonard Huxley, in a history of *Friendship's Offering*'s publisher Smith Elder, notes that this annual was a "profitable venture" (12) but offers no figures to support the claim. Smith himself describes the elation felt at the completion of

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[4] From Watts' biography.

[5] From Ledbetter's article, "'White Vellum'."

[6] Ledbetter retrieved these figures from the Longman archives and notes them in her article "'White Vellum'." Charles Heath is the proprietor of both of these annuals.

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the first printing in late 1823:

> The actual publishing of "Friendship's Offering" was a notable event. For two or three days before the day of its appearance everybody remained, after the shop had closed. Tables were set out, and we sealed up each copy in a wrapper. When the work was all over we were regaled with wine and cake, and sang songs. (*Recollections* 10).

Alaric Watts and Longman publishers are one of the few to have kept records of retail sales. For the *Literary Souvenir*, retail booksellers subscribed or pre-ordered the volumes which were then presented in November. A senior partner at Longman records these subscription orders from various booksellers for the 1827 *Literary Souvenir* (Watts 1:248, 249):

	Small	**Large**
Longman, Rees, and Co.	3,500	100
Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy	600	12
Simpkin and Marshall	200	6
George B. Whittaker	150	
Sherwood and Co.	150	4
James Duncan	50	
Rivingtons	25	
Smith, Elder, and Co.	50	
T.M. Richardson	80	
Lupton Relfe	75	
Harrison and Co.	25	
J.A. Hessey	25	3
Charles Tilt	25	2
R. Ackermann	50	2
Thomas Tegg	25	
Robert Jennings	25	4
F.G. Moon	25	6
Sampson Low	25	6
W. Pickering	6	
Hatchard and Son	25	
TOTAL	**6,433**	**201**

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The total number actually printed was 10,697 with the actual following sales: 10,169 small paper copies, 335 of which were presentation copies, 700 were sent for sale to America and 7,712 were sold in England between November 1, 1826 and April 1827; 528 large paper copies were sold during the same time period out of the 750 printed (Watts 1:250). For the 1827 *Literary Souvenir*, costs increased only £620 from the previous year, but circulation numbers almost doubled from the initial 1825 volume.

Because of the annual's immediate success, editors improved on the product without altering the price. Editor Watts reminds his readers in the 1826 Preface to the *Literary Souvenir* that twelve shillings for this volume is relatively low considering the expense of obtaining the high quality work:

> I need scarcely remind my readers that if, instead of such illustrations as these, from original paintings and drawings, most of which have been procured with very great expense, I had chosen to introduce inferior plates, perhaps pleasing enough to persons possessing no great refinement of taste, taken from published prints, or obtained from cheap sources, more than double the number might have been given, at precisely the same cost. And when it is remembered that ten engravings, executed in the most finished style of the art, and upwards of four hundred pages of closely printed original Tales, Sketches, and Poems, by about forty of the most popular writers of the day, are supplied to the public at the cost of *twelve shillings*, I shall readily be believed when I affirm that many thousand copies must be sold before the

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> proprietors can be even reimbursed for the expenses of such work. (viii-ix)

Watts almost shames his readers into their luxury; he proclaims that the annual is worth well beyond twelve shillings for the excellent literary and artistic contents provided within. If Watts comes across as a scolding patriarch, then Frederic Shoberl writes himself as a benevolent contributor for the common good. In the 1835 *Forget Me Not* Preface, he writes that

> by using paper of larger size than heretofore, which admits of a proportionate increase in the dimensions of the plates, and by adopting a more substantial binding instead of the frailer materials hitherto employed, they have incurred an additional expense, for which, as the price of the work continues to be the same, they can look to nothing but the public patronage for remuneration. (4)

In other words, Shoberl professes that public's continued consumer sponsorship is all the thanks they need for creating a better package – a self-aggrandizing move that Shoberl hopes will endear his literary annual to the public. These declarations of bigger, better and grander by many of the literary annuals' editors are an attempt to attract consumers in a market that is saturated with annuals. Watts made this move in 1826, Shoberl in 1835 – a ten-year gap between improvements in format. Watts offered more when the annuals were coming to prominence; Shoberl offers more as the format alters once again to include more engravings and less literature, as was the public's desire.

Since the early circulation numbers supported the literary annual's future, an industry was born and encouraged with their production:

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> [The annuals] afforded employment in many ways to the industrious classes, at a period when it was perhaps of all others the most acceptable, – to those engaged in the manufacture of paper, to compositors, type-founders pressmen, binders, to literary men, painters, engravers, booksellers, and others, these annuals have been a source of profitable occupation, during that very season of the year, which, heretofore, was the most apt to fall heavy upon those numerous and useful members of the community. (Nov. 1831 *The Monthly Review* 371)

A Cornhill retail bookseller reports selling "from a thousand to fifteen hundred of these attractive little volumes; netting . . . some four shillings (the twenty-fifth copy included) on every twelve-shilling and seven shillings on every guinea book" ("Annuals" 493). When volumes outlived their season, they ended up in a street bookstall being sold for six pence as opposed to their twelve shilling price. With this move, the annual became literary product for a completely different class of reader. The bookstalls allowed people like George Eliot's Bob Jakin (*Mill on the Floss*) to purchase a *Keepsake* and several volumes of the *Portrait Gallery* without taxing his income. An annual's move into a bookstall was a sign of failure to many publishers and editors. However, the annual became reinvigorated through a new working class audience, a new meaning being written onto the palimpsestic surface.

S.C. Hall, editor of the successful religious literary annual *The Amulet*, reported in the *Art Journal* that overall proceeds in 1829 topped £90,000 ("Annuals" 493). Twenty-five separate literary annual titles captured the public's eye and pocketbooks for

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1829, including:

Title	**Editor**	**Publisher**
Affections Offering		
Amulet	Ed. Hall	
Anniversary	Ed. Cunningham	
Bijou		Publ. William Pickering
Cabinet of Curiosities		
Casket		Publ. John Murray
Christian Forget Me Not		Publ. Thomas Holmes
Christmas Box	Ed. Croker	Publ. Ainsworth
First Flowers		Publ. Poole
Forget Me Not	Ed. Shoberl	Publ. Ackermann
Friendship's Offering	Ed. Pringle	Publ. Smith, Elder
Gem	Ed. Hood	Publ. Marshall
Juvenile Forget Me Not	Ed. Mrs. Hall	Publ. Hailes
Juvenile Keepsake	Ed. Roscoe	Publ. Hurst, Chance
Keepsake	Ed. Reynolds	Publ. Hurst, Chance
Literary Souvenir	Ed. Watts	Publ. Longman
Musical Gem	Eds. N. Mori & W. Ball	
Nautilus		
New Year's Gift	Ed. Mrs. Watts	Publ. Longman
Offering	Ed. Rev. Dale	
Poetical Album	Ed. Watts	Publ. Hurst
Souvenir Litteraire	Ed. Watts	Publ. Longman
Times Telescope		Publ. Sherwood
Winter's Wreath		Publ. Smith & Whittaker
Young Ladies Book	Ed. Harvey	

Alaric Watts and his wife, S.C. Hall and his wife, Longman publishers and Hurst Chance publishers all appear more than once on this list and were the more prolific editors and publishers of the annuals during this year, which would indicate that they shared in a majority of the £90,000 earned for the 1829 season. However, the industry of craftsmen divided the majority of the proceeds, leaving only £10,000 for publisher's profits and £30,000 for retail booksellers ("Annuals" 493):

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Authors and Editors	£6,000
Painters for Pictures or Copyrights	3,000
Engravers	12,000
Copper-plate Printers	5,000
Letter-press Printers	5,000
Paper Manufacturers	6,000
Book-binders	9,000
Silk Manufacturers and Leather Sellers	500
Advertisements	2,000
Incidental Expenses	1,500
TOTAL	**£50,000**

The production costs, acquisition spending and eventual glut of the literary annual market would cause the indebtedness and even bankruptcy of a few speculators. Despite these phenomenal numbers, producing a literary annual proved chaotic and difficult at best. However, even with the hindsight of failed productions, many authors reached for the opportunity to edit an annual, including John Gibson Lockhart[7] (*Janus*), Thomas Campbell, Thomas Hood (*Gem, Comic Annual*), Dr. Croly (*The Graces*), T.K. Hervey (*Friendship's Offering, Amaranth*), Thomas Dale (*Offering, Iris*) , Thomas Pringle (*Friendship's Offering*), Allan Cunningham (*Anniversary*), Mary Russell Mitford (*Finden's Tableaux*), Caroline Norton (*Keepsake, Drawing Room Scrap Book*), L.E. Landon (*Heath's Book of Beauty, Drawing Room Scrap Book*), Crofton Croker (*Christmas Box*), Leitch Ritchie (*Friendship's Offering, Picturesque Annuals*), Alaric Watts (*Literary Souvenir*), Agnes Strickland (*Juvenile Scrapbook*), Mary Howitt (*Drawing Room Scrap Book*), S.C. Hall (*Amulet*), Anna Maria Hall (*Juvenile Forget Me Not, Finden's Tableaux, Drawing Room Scrap Book*), W. Harrison Ainsworth

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[7] Lockhart is also attributed with assigning John Keats to the Cockney poetasters in an August 1818 vituperous article published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. In the article, Lockhart comments that "Mr. Keats is still a smaller poet, and he is only a boy of pretty abilities, which he has done every thing in his power to spoil" (160).

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(*Keepsake*) and Thomas Roscoe (*Juvenile Keepsake, Remembrance, Landscape Annual*) ("Annuals" 494).

Though each editor followed a different plan, many were responsible for constructing the overall tone of the volume, including obtaining the artwork. Alaric Watts, editor of the *Literary Souvenir*, began work on the first volume July, 1824 and went to publication in November. By the time Hurst Robinson contacted him, they had already selected and contracted the artwork for the volume; that left only the contents for Watts. Editing the volume took only five months, which is an incredibly short amount of time to amass works from various authors – especially considering the geographical diversity of all authors and the rate of postal delivery (Watts Vol. I, Chp. 15).

Because of the year-long labor "to get together one hundred contributions in prose and verse from popular authors" (Watts 1:254), editors were able to shape the reputation and visibility of many literary figures, including Wordsworth, Tennyson and Clare, often seducing them with ego rather than money:

> Thomas Hood to James Hogg, April 22, 1828
>
> Sir
>
> It is my pleasant duty to address you on behalf of a New Annual [*The Gem*] which has been placed under my care – to obtain, if I may, your valuable name & assistance for its pages. – In the absence of all claim upon you for such a service, I can only make this request as for a personal favour & obligation which I shall be most happy in any way to acknowledge. It is my *earnest* wish to see you numbered with the Contributors who grace my list

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> – already a goodly company – & the very respect & value I attach to their names make me the more desirous of your own in the association. (Morgan 99)

In the same month, Hood imposes on his friendship with John Clare for a piece of writing, hoping to "gather all those known to use of old in *the 'London'* – so pray let me have some of your best verses, *and I will take care that they shall be properly acknowledged*" (Morgan 100, emphasis added). Felicia Hemans, a poet who had proved herself marketable in the literary annual genre, was also a target of Hood's request:

> [June 21, 1828]
>
> Madam.
>
> I had the pleasure of addressing you some time since, but the letter, I fear, never reached its destination. The purport was to bespeak your valuable assistance, for a new Annual [*The Gem*] which has been placed under my Editorship: –for I am very anxious to place you amongst my poetical contributors. Sir Walter Scott I am proud to say, heads the list, –& if you will so far oblige me, as I request, it will be a personal favour which I shall be most happy to acknowledge. (Morgan 106)

Hood uses literary names in order to acquire further literary names for his first annual. Unfortunately, Hemans never contributed to *The Gem*; Hogg contributed only one poem for the 1830 volume; and Clare contributed one poem for each 1829 and 1830 volume. Much like Alaric Watts, Hood was well-connected in London literary circles due to his early employment as an apprentice engraver under Le Keux (a featured artist in *The Gem*,

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etc., discussed in the chapter on engravings) and shortly thereafter with the *London Magazine*[8] (Clubbe *Selected Poems* 4-6); with his editing and engraving experience, he was able to convince many well-known poets (including Tennyson) and artists (including Turner) to contribute to *The Gem.*

With this position, though, editors were taxed with the diplomatic refusal of at least five hundred contributions "that were offered and were not suitable" (Watts 1:254). The effort required labor and expense on the part of the editor. With the annuals being so popular and having a reputation for publishing veritable neophytes, mailed entries were sent to editors begging for some entry into the latest volume. Eventually, because of the deluge of mail, editors publically requested that no unsolicited poems, stories and articles be sent to their attention:

> The very great increase of the correspondence of the "Literary Souvenir," and the expense and trouble to which the Editor [Alaric Watts] has been put, by the transmission to him of unsolicited communications for his Work, and subsequent and repeated applications respecting them, have rendered it necessary for him to announce, that no letters or parcels that do not appear to come from known correspondents, will be received, unless their carriage be paid; and that he cannot undertake to preserve and to return short pieces, whether or prose or verse, from anonymous or

---

[8] Among the *London Magazine* contributors with whom Hood became friendly are John Clare, "Barry Cornwall" (a.k.a. Bryan Waller Procter), Thomas DeQuincey, Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Frederic Mansel Reynolds (editor the *Keepsake*) and Allan Cunningham (Clubbe *Selected Poems* 6).

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unsolicited contributors. (1830 *Literary Souvenir* [364])

This request seems to indicate that editors were loathe to sift through the mounds of amateur writing that were continuously submitted; however, hopeful poets typically sent their entries through the postal system – a system that required *recipients* to pay the postage.

An editor's position, seemingly rife with power, held the empty promise of financial remuneration. Many editors received little or no compensation for their year-long efforts — or worse. During the initial popularity of annuals, a financial panic struck 1825-26 that temporarily crippled major publishers, including William Pickering (publisher of the *Bijou* and *Carcanet*) and Hurst Robinson & Co. (publisher of *The Graces* and *Literary Souvenir*). In November 1825, Watts' biographer reports that "the number of bankruptcies in England had doubled those of the preceding January; and these were again to be doubled in the following month" (219). In a two-month span (November-December 1825), seventy to eighty banks were included in the tally. The book trade suffered business losses due to the use of bills of exchange. According to Bernard Warrington, "before the use of cheques became significant, this chaotic and unwieldy system of accepting, discounting and renewing bills has often been noted as a symptom of the failure of financial institutions to keep pace with business activity" (7). Apparently, Warrington notes, "members of the trade were constantly accepting and discounting each other's paper" (7). In January 1826, Edinburgh publishers Constable & Co. folded leaving their London agents, Hurst, Robinson & Co., vulnerable to bankruptcy. To save themselves, Hurst and Robinson ceased payment on all of their outstanding accounts and closed their doors (Watts 1:222).

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The collapse and dissolution of Hurst Robinson & Co. caused a ripple-effect in the industry: In 1826, it forced editor Alaric Watts to take his 1827 *Literary Souvenir* to Longman. Publisher Hurst revived himself in the book trade in various forms, though, including Hurst & Co. and Hurst Chance & Co., the last of which was the publisher for Heath's *Keepsake* until it too was lost to Longman in 1831. Longman became publisher for *Heath's Book of Beauty* (1833), *New Year's Gift* (1829), *Souvenir Litteraire de France* (1829) and *Young Gentleman's Library* (1829). Though Watts was able to secure a new publisher for his *Literary Souvenir*, his financial reputation was blackened with a debt to Hurst Robinson — a debt that he was never able to repay and that continued to accrue interest throughout his lifetime (1:224). In addition, Watts experienced trouble with debt from his *Literary Souvenir* days (beginning in 1836) that was to plague him until 1850. The editor fronted much money and borrowed from his publishers at Longman, amassing more debt than he could recoup in profits from the annuals and the illustrated poetry books (2:275). The Preface to the 1827 *Literary Souvenir* spends eleven pages re-assuring readers of the *Literary Souvenir*'s presence and continuation. Watts expresses concern that booksellers on the outermost borders of London would believe the rumors that publisher Hurst had forbidden Watts from publishing under the *Literary Souvenir* title or that the annual would crumble along with the dissolution of the publishing firm. Watts iterates his dedication to the volume and promises (both readers and booksellers) that the contents and title are controlled not by a publisher, but him, the editor – a move that reveals his creative and editorial control of the annual, exposing the business of annuals to the public.

Heath *contracted* the printing and distribution of the *Keepsake* with newly formed

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publisher Hurst, Chance & Co. instead of relying on the them for foundational capital. For the *Keepsake*, Heath bore the expense of acquisition – a costly endeavor considering that the first *Keepsake* cost £10,500 and the second £11,550. With the introduction of the *Keepsake*, the competition for "known" contributors became fierce. The £11,550 was dispensed primarily in payment to the authors (or their estates) who contributed to the 1829 volume, including William Wordsworth, Percy Bysshe Shelley (posthumously), Mary Shelley, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Sir Walter Scott and Robert Southey (some of whom contributed more than one piece). (See **Figure 6.1:** Table of Contents from 1829 *Keepsake*) The bulk of those funds was used to acquire "original" poems and prose from authors like Scott, who was rumored to have been offered £800 to edit (and declined) and another £400-500 for his contributions to the 1829 *Keepsake*.[9] Reynolds began a new trend in acquisitions for literary annuals which held true through the 1860s with Thackeray's spending on *The Cornhill Magazine* (by Smith & Elder, publishers of the successful literary annual, *Friendship's Offering*).

Unlike other editors, Charles Heath gambled his own money for the *Keepsake*'s success. And, in order to corner the annual market with well-known names, Heath guaranteed their contributions by offering exorbitant fees; he could do this because he had assumed the responsibility for paying authors, illustrators and engravers — a fiduciary duty commonly borne by the publisher.[10] These expenses, eventually curtailed

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[9] Judith Pascoe and Andrew Boyle offer varying sums in their accounts of Scott's offer: It was either£400 or £500 for his involvement with the *Keepsake* (Pascoe 173; Boyle iv).

[10] Several authors, including Tennyson and Clare, detail their problems with

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by new publisher Longman, did not seem to phase Heath's industry, though. He continued to speculate in the field with several other literary annuals, gift books and illustration books, including *The Belle of the Season*, *Flowers of Loveliness*, *Gems of Beauty*, *Book of Beauty*, *Turner's Annual*, *Pictorial Annual*, *Children of Nobility*, and *Turner's Rivers of France*. His financial disarray was never communicated to his editors and was consequently a surprise when his business declared bankruptcy. According to Jane Wilde, the Countess of Blessington, an editor of Heath's 1840s gift books and literary annuals, earned approximately £2000 per year by the annuals (342), but was forced to sell her furniture and her magnificent mansion, Gore House, with Heath's failure. She died in 1848 following the strain.

Even after the 1825-26 Panic, editors became partners in literary annual ventures, waived a salary and assumed partial financial responsibility in the hope that profits would pay them exceedingly well. But bankruptcy continued to plague their positions. S.C. Hall, editor of *The Amulet*, received no profit as editor of *The Amulet* (1826-1837) for its ten-year run. The first two years, Baynes & Son published the annual; when Westley & Davis acquired the venture, Hall contracted to receive profits instead of a salary and was later saddled with burdensome debt when Westley & Davis collapsed in 1837, a responsibility that he was unaware of when he committed to the contract.

Another source that taxed the income of British editors and publishers was the American export or, more justly framed, the American pilfering. Though British annuals

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[10] (...continued)
obtaining payment from the publishers. See Stephen Colclough's discussion of an unpublished Clare letter that addresses this topic.

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achieved great success in America, British publishers, editors and authors rarely received any income from those sales because there was no international copyright law in place (until 1842) and no economical way to enforce any such laws.[11] Though Thomas Hood's *Comic Annual* sold well in America, he rarely controlled its reprinting (Marchand 52). Some magazines, like *Knickerbocker's Magazine* in New York, would request the early proof sheets from which they would re-set the text and print excerpts. Re-printing the engravings was another dilemma altogether: generally engravings were woodcuts or steel plates and could not easily be reproduced by American artists from a proof sheet alone.

Frederick Faxon points out that the Americans (but apparently not the British) had a practice of removing the title page, printing and tipping in a new title page with a different year so that the booksellers could sell the leftover stock from the previous year or take already published work and re-publish it (xiii). In addition, according to Faxon, many of the American volumes were published without a date (xvii). This absence of a demarcating year allowed publishers to produce a fluid stock that was not limited by a date and, consequently, could always be sold as contemporary, "new" or of the latest fashion – the very reason for buying a new volume each year. In the 1893 *Atlantic Monthly*, a contributor highlights this yearly newness:

> These books were not to be resold; a last year's Annual was not to be thought of as a present however attractive in itself. Its dates betrayed it. They were gifts, and often treasured up as the faded rose and the ivory Malbone miniature of her bridal days are

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[11] See previous discussion of copyright in chapter on the textual object.

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> treasured in the matron's cabinet, because they were haunted with the secret and subtle fragrance of bygone memories. (qtd. in Faxon xxvii)

Faxon cites the sloppy work of re-sellers for this discovery. Apparently, when the title was no longer offered, publishers would buy the stereotyped plates, reproduce the volume, include a new title page or perhaps replace the engravings. However, the re-published copies often had the former title in the preface or the original title page just after the new one. In changing the plates, a new list of engravings was not inserted. Faxon calls these "spurious" volumes and claims that Leavitt & Allen and Cornish, Lamport & Co. did most of this re-publishing (xviii). The *Amaranth* (1849), *Garland* (1850), *Keepsake of Friendship* (1851), *Magnolia* (1852), *Token of Friendship* (1853), *Casket* (1854) and *Memory's Gift* (1869) were all American literary annuals that contained the same contents but dissimilar editors: Emily Percival, G.S. Monroe and Clara Arnold. Faxon assumes that these editors, all of whom were successful editors of previous volumes of these titles, were unaware that their names were being co-opted by the spurious volumes (xix).

Apparently, this practice was not confined to America and was prolific on the Continent. This meant that British publishers and editors did not receive remuneration for their expansion into the New World or the Continent and were left with counting income (and readership) only from Britain.

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By 1830, the market had become saturated with the *Gems*, *Literary Souvenirs*, *Irises*, and *Amulets* and reached a total of forty-three titles. In an 1828 essay that

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anticipates this glut, Leigh Hunt celebrates the competition, calling it a "contest of sunbeams which shall produce the finest gems; *whose* tree, or *whose* parterre, shall burst out into a flush of more splendid blossoms" ("Pocket-Books" 11).[12] This year also introduced the first parody from within the family (as discussed above): Thomas Hood's *Comic Annual* which was filled with gentle ribbing instead of the caustic criticism offered by review periodicals. Several flattering imitations appeared in the following year to capitalize on Hood's successful venture: *New Comic Annual* (1831) published by Hurst, Chance with an unknown writer/editor; *Comic Offering* (1831-1835) edited by Louisa Sheridan, published by Smith, Elder (publisher of the popular annual, *Friendship's Offering)*. In 1834, Hood moved his *Comic Annual* to publishers A.H. Baily and Co. due to discrepancies and payment for sales in America. (Hood's enmity towards Tilt turned into a lengthy lawsuit which Hood conducted from his residence in Germany.) Tilt issued the *Comic Almanac* (1835-1853) in direct competition with Hood's *Comic Annual* and employed George Cruickshank as its illustrator, which most likely accounts for the imitator's long run. The business of literary annuals was such that publishers would not hesitate to "borrow" the format from former volumes, nor would they hesitate to produce separate titles to compete against one another in the literary annual market.

By issuing the volumes in various sizes or collecting only the engravings in a single volume, publishers, editors and printers struck upon a product that could be manipulated, formatted and re-sold as a more decadent product – regardless of the fact that they did not alter its contents. A volume of the engravings alone could be bought by

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[12] The market will reach its apex in 1832 with sixty-three titles vying for seasonal attention.

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consumers who enjoyed the artistic work over the literary. In an advertisement at the conclusion of the 1832 *Landscape Annual*, the publishers offer two Royal[13] octavo volumes each bound in Morocco (leather) at a price of a guinea (£1.1*s*) – one volume contained the writing and the other the engravings.[14] The India proofs could be had for £2.12*s*.6*d*. – only a slightly higher cost for the engravings alone than the two volumes of both text and engravings. (However, a volume advertised as India proofs would have been considered higher-quality printing.)

Even the simplistic woodcut engravings in Hood's *Comic Annual* were printed in large sheets and sold separately for six pence per large sheet (Advert. 1835 *Comic Annual*). Publisher Longman in the 1830 *Literary Souvenir* advertises various forms of the volume as well as its contents: Large paper sets containing all contents of the 1825-1829 volumes and decadent India Proofs of the plates sold for £6 or each year separately for £1.4s. Consumers are urged to complete their sets of the small paper volumes for twelve shillings each, with the exception of the 1825 volume at fifteen shillings, and warn readers that "two volumes are already out of print, and are not likely ever to be re-printed." Individual proofs and sets of proofs in various formats, including Imperial Quarto, Octavo India, Imperial India Proofs after letters and Prints, cost between three shillings and seven pounds – a large selection which allowed consumers to mount their

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[13] "Royal" indicates the paper size used for printing. In this case, "royal" refers to a mid-size sheet, 25" x 20" (Gaskell 224).

[14] I haven't had the opportunity to inspect the engraving volume of a *Landscape Annual*, but I'm assuming that the engravings went through the same printing process as other annuals: printed intaglio with steel plates onto India paper and then glued onto the page.

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favorite artwork and further rendered the *Literary Souvenir* indispensable in the household.

Charles Heath, ever the entrepreneur, capitalized on the public's fascination with Scott's novels and the easily-obtainable artwork popularized by the annuals. In an undated volume,[15] Heath commissioned a volume of excerpts of *The Waverley Album* combined with fifty-one line engravings by Heath himself, Finden, Rolls and other prominent engravers. The volume, encased in embossed silk covers, sold for a guinea — a deliberate similarity to Heath's red-silked *Keepsake*. Even before the decadence of the annuals, Scott's novels sold for £1.10s. and were incredibly popular. With this volume, Heath combines the popularity of form and content, excising the only element which would have marred the volume's longevity — a date. Without a year indicated on the title page, Scott's novels and Heath's engravings seem timeless, unlike the seasonal annuals that were considered expired by April of the following year.

Hood, likewise, capitalized on his successful humorous annual and re-formatted the product to create a new object that lacked any altered content. Physically exhausted from producing all of the *Comic Annual*'s contents (engravings included), Hood ceased production in 1839 and re-published particular pieces in *Hood's Magazine*. The magazine, while not claiming to be original, garnered Hood a livable income because of his recognizable name and the popularity of the *Comic Annual*. The genre, while still present in popular culture (and thriving in America), was broken down and sold

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[15] Though undated, the volume's publisher, format and binding indicate that it was published after 1831, circa 1838. (Heath's primary publisher after 1831 was Longman, the publisher of this volume.)

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piecemeal, literally: the woodcuts from the *Comic Annual* (designed by Hood himself) were so popular that the publishers issued a separate volume.

In addition, publishers were re-printing selections from various annuals in a premature retrospective salute to the genre, beginning in 1834 with the American publication, *The Beauties of the English Annuals for 1835*, published in New York by Wallis & Newel.[16] Publisher Moxon re-issued the *Comic Annual* as *Hood's Own* in monthly shilling parts during the 1870s to resurrect the success of the original. A few monthly magazines misrepresent themselves as literary annuals but are in actuality a year's worth of numbers bound to mimic (and capitalize on) the literary annual style. They expose themselves with an irregular pagination of two or more series of pages in a single bound volume, each series beginning with an Arabic one (1) instead of using small Roman numerals for prefatory material and continuing with Arabic numbering for the contents (Faxon xv).

Kathryn Ledbetter and Patricia Pulham argue that annuals were eventually replaced by popular Victorian periodicals, including the *Academy, Westminster Gazette* and *Macmillan's Magazine* (Pulham 31), during the 1850s when they were finally forced out of publication.[17] Ledbetter notes that "[p]eriodicals such as *Cornhill Magazine* and

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[16] Publishers were most likely capitalizing on the popularity of the literary annual's contributors. After the annuals phenomenon swept through most drawing-rooms, authors of all abilities became well-known and a commodity in any publishing house.

[17] For a discussion of Victorian women's magazines, see Margaret Beetham's *A Magazine of Her Own* and the 2001 anthology edited by Beetham; see also Jennifer Phegley's *Educating the Proper Woman Reader* and Alison Adburgham's *Women in Print*.

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New Monthly Magazine offered original poetry and fiction at greatly reduced costs and the middle classes were seeking the three-decker novel at Mudie's [Circulating Library]" ("'BeGemmed'" 244), which opened in 1842 at a subscription rate of three guineas per year (i.e., thirty-three shillings).[18] Vanessa Warne proposes that "the rapid decline of the annuals . . . is linked to the changing cultural appetites and interests of the middle classes" (10), especially those related to the visual arts.

The legacy of the annuals continued, though, as seen in S.C. Hall's autobiography in which he nostalgically applauds the literary annuals and their popular influence: In the late nineteenth century when magazines, serialized fiction and novels dominated the public's attention, "no such engravings as [the annuals] contained are now produced; while the literary contents, principally tales and poems, are as pure gold compared with the tinsel of the modern magazine" (179).

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[18] For a history of Mudie's circulating library, see Guinevere Griest's *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (1970).

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Chapter Seven:
Reviews and "Puffery":
Influencing Public Response

By 1830, the trade in annuals had become so popular that various titles emerged with hopes and promises of continuing a yearly publication. But with titles like *Olive Branch* and *Zoölogical Keepsake* appearing and vanishing in a single year, more often than not, that promise was broken. Many factors lent to the success or demise of a particular title – external appearance, engraving quality, literary contents, popular authors, editorial arrangement, marketing and reviews. This last element provided an introduction and public face to each annual by recommending, denouncing or simply excerpting its contents.

Review periodicals, abundant throughout the life of this popular phenomenon, include the *New Monthly Magazine, Blackwood's Magazine, Eclectic Review, Monthly Review, Literary Gazette, The Mirror, Gentleman's Magazine, British Critic* and the *Atheneum*, among others. Critics writing these review articles considered themselves, like editors of the annuals, protectors of public literary tastes. One reviewer describes the duty of critic as knight-errant protecting the public against bad literature: "If the legitimate object of periodical criticism is to recommend to the public such works as deserve its patronage, and expose folly and false taste, we may, in the discharge of the first of these offices, be allowed to criticise the [1825] *Literary Souvenir*" (*British Critic* quoted in 1826 *Literary Souvenir*).[1] In their public duty, the critics initially applauded

[1] This review was appended to the 1826 *Literary Souvenir* as a testimonial to the annual's superiority in a growing field of titles (only one in 1823, nine by 1825). After attesting to the periodical's legitimacy, the review continues in glowing praise of the

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literary annuals, especially the *Forget Me Not* and *Literary Souvenir*, because they possessed "a tone of romance, which, set off as it has been by poetry of a very high order, can have no other possible tendency, than to purify the imagination and the heart" (Nov. 1826 *Monthly Review* 274)[2] – a purity that echoes Wordsworth's poetic imagination and the intention of the sublime.[3] The poetry was intended to stimulate the reader's sentiments, educate their intellect and christen their creativity. According to the critic's edict, reviewers were required to protect the public from bad literary choices or corrupting printed materials – treating readers and consumers like children: "We feel justified in pronouncing the [1828] Souvenir for the new year a failure, as compared with its predecessors" (Dec. 1827 *Monthly Review* 525). From the consumer's point of view,

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[1] (...continued)
annual: "The leading character of the articles is superior, the design is excellent, and, if rightly prosecuted, the *Literary Souvenir* may take the highest rank among periodical publications. The most eminent literary characters of the day are among its contributors. With such writers, and published annually, the work has every chance of attaining to steady excellence and enduring reputation. The limitations of our work will not allow us to quote a sixth part of what we could, otherwise, dwell on with great pleasure: there is much that is beautiful in the longer tales. The engravings which accompany the *Literary Souvenir* are extremely beautiful."

[2] *The Monthly Review*, a London monthly magazine published 1826-1845, was publicized as a gentler review periodical compared with the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*. Published by Charles Knight during 1826, the periodical was more dedicated to summary and quotation (Waterloo 716; *Waterloo Directory* online). However, this gentler nature does not seem the case with many of the reviews cited herein.

[3] Admittedly, these Wordsworthian elements were reserved for the poet/prophet who acted as Nature's interpreter for the common man. I contend here, though, that the Wordsworthian imagination incorporated a childlike imagination that needed to be protected – whether in the poet or in the common man. I have given Wordsworth's imagination to the common man/general public and equated them all with his innocent children.

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the review provides a shelter against poorly produced consumer products. After all, the cost of an annual (starting at twelve shillings and going up to three pounds) was a tremendous expense that required sound investment advice. Consumers and readers were anxious to know if the current year's *Forget Me Not*, *Keepsake* or *Literary Souvenir* merited its purchase price.

With the public's literary and economic welfare in mind, critics anonymously[4] commented upon the negative and positive aspects of each annual, offering both praise and condemnation in the same review. Each annual was typically judged on several categories: the artistic merit of the engravings, quality of the literature and arrangement and flow of its contents. Because an annual consisted of thirty to fifty literary pieces on varying subjects and tones, the ordering of contents was especially important to propel the reader forward. One critic notes that the organization of the 1826 *Friendship's Offering*'s pieces read like a funereal procession instead of an uplifting and leisurely experience:

> Altogether, we should judge of the poetry of this volume, that it is in too mournful a strain. The proportion of elegiac stanzas is very great: with reflections on death the volume opens, with these it teems in the middle, and with these it concludes. Was it as a *memento mori* to royalty, that the opening piece, entitled "A Monarch's Death-Bed," was made to follow immediately after the

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[4] Contributors to *The Monthly Review* were not identified (nor the periodical even indexed) in *The Wellesley Index* or the *Curran Index* (an online update to *Wellesley*). As a consequence, the inevitable relationship between reviewers and editors, publishers and authors cannot be fully disclosed here.

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> dedication to His Majesty? This is a curious piece of editorial bad taste in arrangement. (Feb. 1826 *Monthly Review* 169)

Reviewers were concerned that the prose, poetry and engravings were not enough to fulfill an annual; instead, the volume was expected to contain ephemeral materials that tied the title to contemporary culture:

> To that portion of the work which is in prose, we must object that it consists entirely of tales, and that of these the greater number are too slight, if not indeed too fantastic, in their texture. The uniformity of fictitious narrative might, perhaps, have been saved by the introduction of a few "curiosities of literature," indebted letters of distinguished men, an essay or two discussing some interesting question in literature or the arts, or speculating in a gay mood on the features of the past and the signs of the coming year. (Review of 1825 *Literary Souvenir,* Oct. 1825 *Monthly Review* 280)

Continuously striving to offer the best product, Ackermann and Shoberl heeded these suggestions and incorporated curiosities of literature into the *Forget Me Not.* In the 1830 volume, Shoberl includes an early poem by Byron (posthumously published, of course) and twice accounts for its inclusion: in the Preface and in a headnote to the poem.

> It is the first attempt of the late Lord Byron's that is known to be extant; and we consider this piece as being the more curious, inasmuch as it displays no dawning of that genius which soon afterwards burst forth with such overpowering splendour. It was

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> inspired by the tender passion, and appears in the shape of verses addressed to the object of his earliest, and perhaps his only real attachment, the "Mary" whom he has celebrated in many of his poems. (Preface iv-v)

Shoberl judges the poem before the critics can, thereby circumventing the negative publicity that the poem may cause. A full-page apologia immediately precedes the six-stanza poem itself, identifying the verses as "literary curiosity" rather than as a specimen "of Byron's transcendent and original power":

> [The following schoolboy rhymes are not inserted as an example for youthful imitation, but as a literary curiosity. Innumerable specimens of Byron's transcendent and original powers are already before the public; but the dawning impulses of superior minds have been rarely disclosed: consequently they possess a novel interest, as well as afford a clue to the dominant feelings which have ruled their destinies. To the philosophic eye, that deficiency of mere poetic interest, which might disgrace an inferior writer, invests the timid steps of the uncultivated muse with a peculiar charm, as it proves, in a striking degree, the ultimate triumph of perseverance and the omnipotent force of *genius*. To those who construe the fitful and wayward flights of an untamed imagination into a settled and desperate malignity of temper, it may be useful to submit a document which bears the genuine impress of generous feeling and simple piety. Minds of a more tender and enthusiastic

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> temperament will learn to pardon the insensibility of Lord Byron's favourite "Mary," when they learn that every crevice of her youthful heart was preoccupied, and that her warmest affections centred upon the man of her choice.] (38)

This is one of those rare moments when the editor speaks to the audience (indicated by smaller typeface; see **Figure 7.1**: Byron's "To My Dear Mary Anne") outside of the preface. Shoberl directs the reader to pardon the quality of the poem as well as Mary for not returning Byron's affection. With this literary curiosity, he fuels the already-extant Byron-mania centered around the man and his life as it relates to his work. With this artistic selection, Shoberl also displays his shrewd business sense by offering Byron and his writing as a variety piece – a move that would surely assuage the critics. John Wilson was not one of those quieted critics, however. In his December 1829 review, published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Wilson praises the 1830 *Forget Me Not*'s contents and soliloquizes on the genre's salvation of readers who quest to find material between high-brow books and low-brow periodicals. As he moves through the *Forget Me Not*'s contents, quoting and praising, he stops abruptly to castigate Shoberl for including the aesthetically inferior Byron selection:

> [W]hat an absurdity it is for a man of sense, taste, and judgment, like Mr. Shoberl, to suppose that any value can be given to his volume by [adding] such verses as the weakest, worst, and most worthless of "Poems by a Minor" when we all know that, with one or two exceptions, Byron was ashamed of the very best of them; and that even the very best afforded no intimation of his future

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> genius, which was the sudden growth of his inspired manhood.

Here, Wilson compliments a deceased Byron while admonishing Shoberl's editorial selection.

Even with this castigation, Wilson seems to play protective uncle not only to the audience but also to the annual's authors – and the audience's protectors were many. Often, reviewers seemed to be speaking from a position of unanimity rather than a singular voice. In the November 1826 *Monthly Review*, a critic denounces the engravings in the 1827 *Forget Me Not* as "secondary productions" and declares that the editor and publisher have "disappointed our expectations" (284). Excerpts of the literature follow without much critique except to say that "[t]he literary part of the volume is marked by a great variety of serious and pleasant matter, arranged evidently with a view to allure the reader from page to page, without surfeiting him with any particular subject. Yet, we do not think that there are many things in the whole collection which call for distinguished praise" (284). The reviewer speaks under the guise of "our" inferring a consensus of opinion – but among whom? This language not only represents but also seemingly includes public opinion, a tactic that strengthens the critical point of view and creates a conclusive atmosphere with the reader being protected. In this voice, the critic applauds arrangement but criticizes literary aesthetics. This consensus (language), disappointment and lack of praise would surely discourage consumer patronage of the 1827 *Forget Me Not*. However, after excerpting portions of the better prose and poetry, the reviewer surprisingly recommends the work to his readers:

> The specimens which we have given of the merits of the 'Forget-me-not,' in its verse and prose departments, have been selected

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> from among the most favourable which we could find. We had intended to add [other pieces] but we regret to find that our space is already filled up. We must refer the reader for it to the work itself, *assuring him, at the same time, that he will find abundant employment for a leisure evening, in a considerable mass of agreeable matter, which we have necessarily left wholly unnoticed.* (293, emphasis added)

The review continues briefly with a list of appropriate poems and prose in the 1827 *Forget Me Not* to accompany a reader's various emotional states – a recommendation strengthened by the reader's inclusion in the consensus. The volume, after being appropriately criticized and excerpted, is *adequate* for leisurely entertainment; considering that the original intent for literary annuals was polite literature, this volume has met its goal. The critic, aware of the limitations of the genre as well as its popularity, here forewarns consumers of the entire volume's failure but pieces together a recommendation from its parts.

Aware that reviewers categorically reviewed new annual publications and recommended or denounced them on their qualities as a whole product or part of a product, in the first *Keepsake* (1828) editor Frederic Mansel Reynolds introduces his volume by pre-emptively guiding readers and critics to view the entire product instead of its separate pieces:

> With regard to the literary department, we have only to state generally, that writers of the most approved talents have enlisted themselves in our cause, and have contributed the aid of some of

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> their choicest lucubrations. Our desire has been, that its pervading characteristic should be an elegant lightness, appropriate to the nature and objects of the work. If this has been accomplished, without totally precluding subjects of deeper interest, which, like shadows on the surface of a sparkling lake, heighten the brilliancy of the gayer parts and the effect of the whole, we have nothing left to wish for. (Preface vi-vii)

Reynolds maps out the *Keepsake*'s intent and implies that readers will be simultaneously bedazzled by its beauty and blinded to its weaknesses. Since the *Keepsake* debuted five years after the first literary annual was published, Reynolds had enough time to observe the substantive format alterations to the genre and the failure of a half dozen titles. He knew what would sell.

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Realizing that annuals were a national phenomenon by 1826 (increasing in number by 200% from 1824) and an international sensation by 1828 (doubling the 1826 titles), some reviewers began drawing national boundaries around the British annuals' production and accusing imitators of capitalizing on the public's ignorant frenzy to purchase, give and own the beautiful object. In a review of the 1828 *Bijou*, the critic uses comparisons to false gems and decadent culture (not British) to denounce pretenders:

> The volume strongly reminds us of that sort of Bijouterie so common in France, in which one or two genuine stones are inserted, for the purpose of passing off a great quantity

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> of vile past and trumpery gold. To the unpractised eye, they all shine with equal lustre; but now and then a critic will step in, to detect the difference between them, and even to record it, for the purpose of keeping the rules of good taste free from the debasement of a false standard. (Dec. 1827 *Monthly Review* 530)

The nationalism invoked by this review is ironic considering that a German publisher (Ackermann) borrowed from the French almanack and the German Taschenbuch to create the format of the first British-published annual. In another instance of unspoken nationalism, a reviewer tacitly elides the annual's German origins by condemning a few of the engravings and literary works in the 1828 *Literary Souvenir*, citing them as "scarcely fit to grace a German Almanack" (Dec. 1827 *Monthly Review* 520) – a reproach regarding the production quality of the annual. In another review, John Wilson completely disregards the German tradition and claims the invention of annuals as Britain's own:

> What Donkey was the first to bray that the Annuals, the subject of this our Monologue, were introduced into this country from Germany? Gentle reader, did you ever see a German Annual, or Literary Almanack? . . . But you know better — you know that the Annuals are a native growth of the soil of England, springing up like white and red clover beneath lime (a curious fact) wherever the periodical ploughshare has drawn its furrows. (Dec. 1829 *Blackwood's*)

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Not only invoking Britannia in his review, Wilson resorts to a pastoral, domestic metaphor to describe the invention of annuals, as if they could have been grown only in British soil. The comment invokes a sense of nationalism for the annual's form, advertising a distinctly British product to England's inhabitants.

In an October 1825 review of the *Literary Souvenir* for 1825, the critic acknowledges the contribution of other nations yet reckons that British ingenuity will improve the product beyond recognition and thereby create a *new* product instead of merely an improved one:

> It is not a little gratifying to us to observe the keen and enterprising spirt of emulation which actuates our countrymen, in carrying to the highest degree of improvement, any invention which they borrow from their neighbours. Three or four years ago we possessed no annual publication which, for beauty or ornament, or utility of design, could be compared with the embellished almanacks of Germany. We have now several pocket-volumes published yearly, the least elegant of which is greatly superior to any thing produced on the Continent, and the best of which preclude the possibility of rivalry any where out of England. When these undertakings were first commenced, they retained, for a season, the character of the almanack, adding to it a few pieces of poetry, a tale or two in prose, and two or three very indifferent engravings. Now, with the exception of a few minor productions, they exclude every feature which would seem to attach them to

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> one year more than to another; poets and other writers of the highest classes of our literature contribute to their pages, and feel proud to avow contributions which the most precious resources of art are employed to illustrate. (Oct. 1825 *Monthly Review* 279)

This patriotism echoes Ackermann's own use of British national pride to market his lithographic books, advertised in the 1824 *Forget Me Not* (and discussed previously). This critic accepts the German (and hence Ackermann's) influence on the annuals but subsumes that identity into the rhetoric of British nationalism. The annual symbolizes "home," eliding its Continental influences. One reviewer calls annuals "very graceful links to the chain of sympathy and kindness that binds the different branches of families together . . . which exercises a most useful influence upon the taste, as well as upon the heart" (Nov. 1831 *The Monthly Review* 371). In this metaphor, the annual comes to represent not only the woman and her drawing room, but also the larger realm of "home." During the early nineteenth century, England began to expand its colonial holdings and actively establish its empire. The ultimately feminine figure of Britannia came to represent the country with the ascension of Queen Victorian in 1837. Using the annuals as a representative of British superiority engenders this larger national consciousness and is a portable British product that will testify to Britain's superiority. It naturally follows that these products then require their knight-errants not just to protect the literal family but also the metaphorical British homeland. The role of the critic expands, again like the editor, to include gatekeeper: one who safeguards the nation from illegitimate literary objects (or pretenders).

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By completely denying the annual's German and French origins, critics enfold these cultures into British nationalism. This elision allows critics to hold the *Forget Me Not* as a standard for comparison but still remain gatekeepers of the nation. The *Literary Souvenir*, introduced in 1825, earned high marks in comparison to the *Forget Me Not* and was "considered [to be] a dangerous rival to Ackermann's *Forget Me Not*. . ." (*European Magazine*, qtd. in 1826 *Literary Souvenir* ads). With competition among annuals' publishers for the limited number of consumers, the critic's inference that books were "dangerous" to each other imbues them with violence and characterizes their creators as if in constant struggle – an echo of the expansion of the British empire. Where does that leave the consumers and readers, then? They were the fortunate recipients of the competition, gaining a wide selection of annuals from which to choose and only being cursorily aware of the battle, ensuring "so much excellence in their execution, that we know not which to prefer" (Nov. 1825 *Monthly Review* 448).

The reviewers lost complete control of the public by 1832 as the popularity of annuals sky-rocketed despite critics' acrimonious efforts to stigmatize the genre as literarily inferior. A long list of complaints began to be compiled as early as late 1826, the most common including overindulgent language and unmemorable poetry, a sacrilege considering that the main purpose of the annuals was to create, encapsulate or retain a memory. In November 1826, a reviewer criticizes an article in the 1827 *Amulet* for being "written in a flowery and artificial style, which . . . soon cloys a taste accustomed only to wholesome and simple viands" (*Monthly Review* 280).[5] Since the annuals were

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[5] A testament to the confusing recommendations offered by the review press, this (continued...)

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approaching the height of their popularity and consumer sponsorship, the critic effectually condemns the *Amulet* and its reading public. However, the review did not impede the *Amulet*'s sales, which supported a ten year run that ended in 1836. The public seemed to enjoy the cloying taste of the annual!

Critics also accused annuals' editors of exchanging pages for favors – a practice thought to dilute contents and offer false fame:

> There are, indeed, very few of the compositions that can be set down as contemptible, although we are much disposed to place all those signed Montague Seymour (heaven knows who he is!) under that head. There are also three or four other writers, whose names appear in this volume, such as John Luscombe, Esq., David Lester Richardson, Esq., Alexander Balfour, Esq., and David Lyndsay, Esq. of whose existence we must confess we had no previous knowledge, and of whose talents we have formed, from their present labours (perhaps erroneously) no very flattering opinion. But their contributions are doubtless of a "friendly nature" – that is to say, they cost nothing; and they help, not only to fill up the volume, but to serve as so many foils to the better names upon which its literary popularity must depend. (Review of 1827 *Forget Me Not*, Nov. 1826 *Monthly Review* 284-5)

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[5] (...continued)
critic, though harsh in the review, began the article with exaltations of the literary annual genre.

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This review, and many others like it, are evidence of the declining reputation of literary annuals in the press despite the genre's enormous popularity. And, it is these reviews that supplied fodder for later scholars to dismiss the literary annuals and their non-canonical authors. Though these authors have not been institutionalized in anthologies, they were still incredibly popular among the early nineteenth-century reading public: David Lester Richardson became editor of the *Bengal Annual*, a literary annual produced and published in Calcutta, India – extending the reaches of the British empire by reproducing an emblem of home; Alexander Balfour worked in Blackwood's publishing house, was a minor Scottish poet and friend of Burns; and David Lyndsay was a pseudonym for the cross-dressing poet, Mary Diana Dods.[6] Other reviewers made note of the "crowd of Misses and Esquires, who . . . [give] a world of trouble" to the annuals' editors, undoubtedly referring to these supposedly lesser known poets and versifiers who "were never intended by nature for literary pursuits, and who dangle after them only for a drawing-room name" (Review of 1828 *Literary Souvenir*, Dec. 1827 *Monthly Review* 520-1; Review of 1827 *Literary Souvenir*, Dec. 1826 *Monthly Review* 391). Though many annuals did become riddled with favor-poetry or name-seekers, many of the contributions are evidence of the shifting attitude in poetry. What was once privately produced by non-professional poets (most likely in an album) became publicly accessible and a marker of the genuinely urbane life of Britain's citizens.

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[6] All of these authors are indexed in Andrew Boyle's *An Index to the Annuals* except David Lyndsay. The following information was contributed to my hypertextual archive through the VICTORIA Listserv: Mary Diana Dods (a cross-dressing poet) used the male pseudonym "David Lyndsay" when publishing in the annuals. See Betty T. Bennett's scholarly work, *Mary Diana Dods: A Gentleman and a Scholar* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1994).

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In addition to condemning the contributors of annuals, critics also made a distinction between popular writing and "literature" by differentiating poetry from verse, the latter labeled such because it was judged as mediocre. A review of the 1827 *Poetical Souvenir* finds that this pseudo-annual is not really an annual, but a pretender designed and advertised as such to capitalize on the literary annual phenomenon. Here the critic distinguishes between verse and poetry:

> The volume is as its title indicates, wholly composed of what the editors are pleased to call *poetry*, but which we must designate as verses, that are little better than the ballads suspended on the stalls. . . . The editors miscalculated in the first instance in imagining that a volume, consisting only of scraps of verse, was likely to meet the public taste; but still more disastrous was their mistake, when they supposed that such verses as they have produced, would be read by any body above the rank of a gypsy. (Jan. 1827 *Monthly Review* 112)

Mediocre submissions penned by versifiers became a common complaint among reviewers and detractors of the literary annual. Many critics claimed that anyone could be published in the annual – a point that Alaric Watts vociferously denied – and, eventually, that the literati were prostituting their writing for profit. The annuals eventually became known as purveyors of society verse and no better than the daily gossip newspapers that published any social tidbit to sell papers.

Eventually, even well-known, established authors did not escape censure for their annual contributions. One critic addresses these authors specifically in a review of the

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1828 *Bijou*:

> The verses of Coleridge, C. Lamb. L.E.L., the Rev. J. Blanco, A. Cunningham, Dr. Southey, do not exhibit a single line worth remembering. As to Barry Cornwall, his muse seems quite exhausted. She has arrived at the last stage of a decline, and we recommend him to have an inquest held upon her, as we suspect that she is really dead. . . . In conclusion, we should say of The Bijou, that although it contains a few real jewels, they are for the most part badly set. (Dec. 1827 *Monthly Review*, 526, 530)

In another review of the 1828 *Amulet*, the critic offers a generally positive review but points out that S.T. Coleridge's contribution, "Conversational Dialogues," is strangled by its own language: "But we would suggest to the distinguished author, the expediency of conveying his thoughts in a language that may be universally and easily understood. [¶] . . . he must render them a little more accessible to people of common sense"(Nov. 1827 *Monthly Review* 355-56). James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd," also suffers rebuke for the complexity of his poetic language in the 1828 *Forget Me Not*: "[I]t shews that our pastoral swain has already lost much of the characteristic simplicity of his reed" (Nov. 1827 *Monthly Review* 408).

Critics attribute the demise of poetic standards in the literary annuals to the habit of printing authors' names with their contributions, a practice that was foreign to the periodicals, journals and magazines of the early nineteenth century. Before 1826, authors' names appearing on the content pages were masculine, only initials or completely absent. With the introduction of the 1826 literary annuals, authors' names

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appeared more frequently beside their contributions – a practice which allowed consumers to purchase annuals based on a name.[7] Single author volumes of poetry and various other publications made authors into national treasures and icons of public fame. Authors were becoming commodified names; Felicia Hemans benefitted tremendously from her name and was able to sell works based on that alone. However, critics warned against relying on this commodification of names and the search for continued fame. A critic reviewing the 1827 *Literary Souvenir* chides Alaric Watts for allowing anonymity to disappear and literati to assume that fame is a constant:

> Indeed, the custom of affixing real signatures to writings intended for works of this description . . . has become a public nuisance. The weak ambition of having their names emblazoned in a handsome volume, which is likely to be seen and read by every young lady in the country, has not only reached the matured and acknowledged bards, but has moreover generated a dandy race of poetasters, who leave no means of solicitation untried, in order to get their gilt gingerbread sonnets placed side by side with those of Southey or Campbell. And the latter, as if to augment the evil, whenever they condescend to write for a compilation of this kind, appear really to exert all their industry in reducing their offerings

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[7] See Harry Hootman's dissertation, *British Literary Annuals and Giftbooks 1823-1861* (2004), which indexes contributors and titles in British literary annuals. His study includes a statistical analysis of the contributions by gendered author's name. However, Hootman's work is limited in scope, as he admits in his Introduction: his work is not a survey of every British literary annual; it is limited to the economically successful annuals, e.g., *Keepsake, Friendship's Offering, Forget Me Not*, etc.

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> to the lowest degree of insipidity. . . . Mr. Watts should issue his proclamation, stating that in future he would permit no signatures to the compositions of which his work may consist. . . . [Watts] will teach the magnates of Parnassus, that celebrity, in order to be preserved, must still be suitably courted. (Dec. 1826 *Monthly Review* 390-91)

Frederic Mansel Reynolds, editor of the *Keepsake*, returns to the use of authorial anonymity and proffers it as a game in his first volume:

> It cannot fail to be observed, as a feature peculiar to the Keepsake, that the articles are published anonymously. This course was adopted, partly from a regard to the wishes of individuals, which prevented the divulgence of names in some instances, and partly from an inclination to risk the several articles on their own merits, unaided by the pervious reputation of the writers. Whether this deviation from custom will meet approval remains to be known; though literary idlers will probably find amusement in tracing the hand of particular authors in their respective contributions. (1828 Preface vii)

One of four scenarios caused Reynolds to suppress the authors' names: authors did not want to rely on their previous reputations (good or bad); they were experimenting in a new form or style; they were new authors and thus did not have a reputation or a marketable name; or Reynolds wanted to associate a high literary quality with the *Keepsake* instead of popular author's identities. Whichever the reasons, Reynolds

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returned the next year with a volume full of marketable literary names and a declaration that eleven thousand guineas had been spent on producing the volume (most of which had been paid to contributors). Authors' names were then listed in the Table of Contents, and again separately in a "List of Contributors,"[8] some only thinly veiled, including the "Author of Frankenstein."

Editor Alaric Watts accounts for authors' anonymity in the 1827 *Literary Souvenir*'s in order to protect them: "[S]everal contributors to the present volume would, but for my solicitation, have been induced to withhold from me the countenance of their names, in order to escape numerous applications of the same kind . . ." (xiv). With this comment, Watts supposedly shields his authors from annoying requests by other editors (and there were many). But, really, he is protecting his investment; authors would have readily sold their writing to other editors if asked. In addition, many writers (of different genders and various levels of ability) used publication in literary annuals as a way to validate their "talent." Proximity to well-known literary names also leant a sense of accomplishment.

Because reviews were initially important to the annual industry, they were not always left to objective critics. As much as many reviewers believed in their duty to judge for the benefit of the audience, the critical periodicals were not always a source of unbiased opinion. The reviewers' comments were sometimes based on friendships and literary alignments, as was typical of the time. In a February 1830 review of Letitia

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[8] Authors contributing to this volume include Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Moore, Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Percy Shelley, Felicia Hemans and Letitia Elizabeth Landon.

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Landon and Robert Montgomery's[9] poetry volumes, the *Monthly Review* critic exposes the manipulation of public response:

> Besides, such is the amazing activity of the press, and so numerous its demands for literary assistance, that there is scarcely any one who can write a book, who does not also contribute, in verse or prose, to the literary journals. It is the general interest of these *collaborateurs* to assist each other, and they do so to an extent, of which the uninitiated have no conception. . . . They pass over, as an antiquated notion, the sacred regard which a true critic will always pay to the dignity and purity of his country's literature. . . . Many of them are, in truth, the mere workmen of the booksellers, who write, as they are paid, by the volume; and who are ready either to get up a review, or a romance, at a moment's notice, and exactly in the tone which their employer prescribes. (160-61, emphasis added)

This critic laments that reviewers are no longer the protectorates of the public against bad literature and shirk their duty to "expose folly and taste." Instead these new reviewers have become subjects of money, beholden to publishers and mesmerized by the commodification of the written word.

Prior to 1831, though, relationships among the literary workers was forced by the relatively small field in London during the early nineteenth century. For example,

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[9] Landon and Montgomery were two very prolific contributors to the literary annuals in addition to their work for periodicals and their own volumes of poetry.

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Thomas Hood, the popular comic author and editor of the literary annuals *The Gem* and *Comic Annual*, began his writing career as a sub-editor for *London Magazine* during the early 1820s. During this time, he became close companions with authors, editors and publishers, including Charles Lamb, Letitia Landon, John Hamilton Reynolds (who would become a longtime correspondent), Edward Moxon (publisher and editor), John Clare, James Hogg, Alaric Watts (editor of the popular *Literary Souvenir*), Robert Browning, Charles Dickens and William Thackeray. And, men were not the exclusive players. Many women were part of the literary circles and were their colleagues. In addition, these women did not write in a vacuum: Joanna Baillie admired Felicia Hemans's work as did Maria Jane Jewsbury, William Wordsworth (whom Hemans visited at Dove Cottage) and Blackwood, the venerable publisher. Alaric Watts was a big fan of Jewsbury's work and sought her friendship. Letitia Landon was an early colleague of Thomas Hood's prior to the creation of the *Comic Annual* in 1830.

Most of these authors and other editors of literary annuals acted as editors of periodical magazines during their careers and were familiar with the publishers, styles, contributors and industry of the review magazines: Frederic Shoberl *Forget Me Not* editor, edited the *New Monthly Magazine* in February 1814 (*Wellesley* 3:169); Alaric Watts also edited the *New Monthly Magazine* January 1819 - May/June 1819 (169); Joseph Blanco White, a frequent Spanish contributor to the annuals, edited the *London Review* in 1829 (*Wellesley* 2:525); Letitia Landon and Mary Russell Mitford both contributed many anonymous reviews to several periodicals; Thackeray, Dickens and other Victorians were intimately familiar with these publications as well as the above-mentioned authors. In fact, Dickens and Thackeray honored Hood at the end of his life

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with an invitation to a literary men's dinner.

With the insularity of literary circles and journalistic work experience, it is inevitable that these writers would review each others' works and provide favorable comments – a practice made more sinister by publishers who "inspired" favorable reviews of their own books in their periodicals. "Puffery" or "trade criticism," as it was labeled, was also used to promote "authors and editors by inserting paid or 'stimulated' social gossip about them in the newspapers," as is noted by Leslie Marchand in *The Letters of Thomas Hood* (83 FN5).[10] Both books and authors gained exposure through the press whether it was gossip, criticism or benign excerpts. Often, publisher's advertised their books in the *London Times* along with an excerpt from a favorable review (essentially an advertisement disguised as an article), and, as a *Monthly Review* critic points out in the February 1830 edition, "without adverting to the material fact that it was emphatically marked in that newspaper as the production of 'a correspondent,' a precaution which is generally used when the editor [of the newspaper] has a wish to oblige, but no desire to be held out to the world as responsible for the truth or justness of the article so inserted" (166). In all of these scenarios, the logic behind this publicity was to inspire curiosity about the author or his/her work and, hence, book sales.

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[10] The novel, *The Dante Club*, by Matthew Pearl (2004), supplies an example of how trade criticism entered the everyday lives of publishers and authors: the historical fiction includes brief scenes of an early nineteenth-century American publisher discussing the submission of trade criticism and puffery to buoy his authors' latest works or even just their ideas of a potential book. The tradition disturbs these authors in their search for either valid criticism or public signs of affection.

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The editors of the annuals were not beyond this practice. Thomas Hood, a critic of puffery, resigned his two-year post as editor[11] of the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1843 in protest of publisher Henry Colburn's blatant puffed gossip and literary reviews. Hood's public condemnation of the *New Monthly*'s publisher was a bold move considering his desperate financial need and his own practice of puffery in the 1820s and 1830s. In an 1835 letter, Hood gratefully acknowledges the benefits of his friendship with C.W. Dilke, editor of the *Atheneum*:

> I have said nothing yet of the Athm [*Atheneum*] or its notice [of the 1836 *Comic Annual* reviewed in the December 12 and December 19, 1835 issues]. The paper is a great treat to me . . . Wright says the reviews of the Comic [Annual] are by [John Hamilton Reynolds]. I own I cannot detect his hand. . . . I could not have been better pleased had I *reviewed myself.* (Marchand 56).

This review revealed contents rather than critiquing them; the periodical followed a popular practice of providing "extract to opinion" (Clubbe *Victorian* 42) and thus uncovered or previewed the annual's contents for its readers. Alternatively, periodicals like the *Atheneum* (at a cost of two- four shillings in comparison to the twelve shilling annual) provided an economical view of the annuals for those who could not afford them (or were not given any), allowing these voyeurs to glimpse a lifestyle that afforded such disposable income and affectionate gifts.

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[11] Hood edited the *New Monthly* October 1841 - 1843 for volumes 63-68 (*Wellesley* 3:170).

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Despite his later moral standards, Hood engaged in a mutual patronage in order to publicize and sell his books. He first appeared in the literary marketplace as a journalist, and eventually published his Keatsian-style poetry to limited acclaim and even smaller positive critiques. In 1826, Hood successfully introduced himself to the reading public with *Whims and Oddities*, a collection of his magazine pieces.[12] Since sales of single author volumes of poetry and prose were on the decline during the 1820s, Hood requests help from one of his literary friends – dancing around the practice of puffery. In an 1827 letter to Alaric Watts (editor of the popular annual, *Literary Souvenir*), Hood writes:

> I shall quote the Souvenir as you wish, – & moreover will write something (good I hope) certainly, for your next volume. . . . [¶] I have made an arrangement for the next Series of Whims & Oddities, – & Longmans are to bring out my Serious Poems. You shall have one of the first sets of sheets I can get. I expect it will be out in about a month – & any notice you can get for it will oblige me. Poetry I suspect is nowadays suspended animation & will require artificial inflation alias puffing. I do not mean this of your critiques. (Morgan 80)

Hood carefully requests only a "notice" or a mention without specifically soliciting a favorable review. Generally, a mention or an excerpted piece in any critical periodical is publicity that can be used to entice consumers: "It has . . . furnished to Mrs. Hofland an opportunity of framing a light, interesting little tale; and as we owe that lady a mark of

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[12] *Whims and Oddities* continued to be published through 1829, but underwent a re-structuring with the 1830 volume where its contents were bound, illustrated and expanded as the *Comic Annual* to conform to the massively popular literary annual phenomenon.

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our attention, for the frequency with which she has administered to our instruction as well as our amusement, we shall extract the whole of this fragment" (Review of 1828 *Forget Me Not*, Nov. 1827 *Monthly Review* 403). The author is rewarded with having her entire piece publicized for two shillings (the cost of the *Monthly Review*) as opposed to the twelve shillings for the entire *Forget Me Not*.

Like this one, many reviews excerpted materials from the annuals without rendering an opinion on the individual piece (e.g., *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* which supplied extensive excerpts, including engravings, with very little else). Others reserved space for excerpts for professional favor. In a December 1826 review of the 1827 *Literary Souvenir*, the writer, nearing the end of the review, apologizes to his audience: "Miss Benger's sketch of Elizabeth Woodville possesses a good deal of merit. . . . We should certainly have made room for some part of it, had we not been pledged by a prior engagement to 'The Grey Hair.' The stanzas are written by Mr. Watts" (395). In Hood's letter to Watts, the mutual patronage is explicit: to allow readers a preview of the *Literary Souvenir*'s contents in exchange for publicizing *Whims and Oddities*.[13] Hood and Watts had a genuine respect for each other's work. But driven by a need for income, authors and reviewers promise to influence the popularity and sales of the respective volumes through their journalistic connections – a sure sign of puffery or at least trade criticism.

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[13] This letter is also witness to the fact that the decline in poetry volumes has been caused by the rise in popularity of annuals – a genre that attracts those with a modest expendable income and can spend it on only one luxury.

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Though the critical press began, in a sense, shaming the public for patronizing the genre, the annual's success continued unabated for much of the 1830s: "We have here a display of genuine taste, – an elegant compendium of our passing literary novelties, which no gentleman need be ashamed to place in the hands of a lady on a new year's day" (*New Monthly Magazine*, qtd. in 1826 *Literary Souvenir* ads).

This review touches on the shame already encroaching on the literary annual phenomenon by 1825 but perpetuates the gift exchange inherent to the genre and the gendered relationship between benefactor and recipient, i.e., a man offers elegance and propriety to a woman who relies on his benevolence to instruct her. By 1832, annual consumers had choices, not simply in the look and tone of a volume, but in its designation within the genre (comedic, juvenile, religious). The genre's market (and its original purpose) had become diluted with all of these sub-genres. In light of this competition, all editors constantly advertised (like Hood's begging mongrel) for their respective literary annual volumes. Surprisingly, one of the genre's early "fathers" became a source of this dilution, turning his protectorate role into a defense of himself and his editorial decisions.

Alaric Watts had initially envisioned his *Literary Souvenir* as an improvement on the genre's form and entered the relatively young market of annuals in November 1824 (with only eight other titles competing for consumers in the 1825 season). Though Watts' alterations positively influenced the contents of literary annuals and the publication format, he was still bound by Ackermann's original intent: to please the intended recipient, women. Watts had been a vociferous proponent of his *Literary*

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Souvenir by professing its success in his prefaces. However, by the late 1820s, he used his prefaces and later his contributions to *defend* his publication as well as attack those who criticized or denigrated him or the *Literary Souvenir*. With debt constantly staining his name and the previous crisis with his publishing firm, Watts turned to the 1832 *Literary Souvenir* for an outlet against his supposed enemies. In "The Conversazione," a poem he composed for the 1832 *Literary Souvenir*, Watts ridicules and satirizes several literary figures. The 545-line poem covers thirty pages (an exceedingly long text for a literary annual) and contains twenty-eight footnotes. In general, these footnotes are not merely informational but publicize Watts' disputes with various people, his admiration for others and his outright enmity for the practices of still others (mostly periodicals publishers and reviewers). While some of his venom is well-aimed, the medium is perhaps inappropriate according to one reviewer:

> As a poem it is a most miserable affair. As a satire it betrays more of bad temper and malignant feeling . . . [W]e ask whether a work like the Literary Souvenir, intended for the drawing-room, very frequently within our own experience presented as a Christmas gift to youth of both sexes, and hitherto looked upon as a collection of amusing, light, and inoffensive articles, should be made the channel for such a scurrilous composition as this "Conversazione?" . . . [¶] *Poetry* like this is certainly not of the description, which we should wish to see in the hands of any young person, and we hope that the specimen, which we have given, will induce many persons to deliberate, whether they ought

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> to admit the volume that contains it within their family circle.
>
> (Dec. 1831 *The Monthly Review* 524, 525)

Watts' literary miscellany was originally intended to give readers a selection of polite material that delicately instructs. This critic reminds Watts of that standard and shields potential consumers from the *Literary Souvenir*'s straying poem. As was his practice by 1832, Watts responds to criticism of "The Conversazione" in his 1832 Preface with only a vague reference to the satirical poem and its detractors. He emphasizes that the literary annual is an appropriate venue in which to publish a "satirical squib" and that it is not intellectually or morally unsuitable for the general reader (viii). With this push outside the boundaries of polite literature, Watts asks his readers to grow with the *Literary Souvenir*'s evolution instead of resisting it (despite the fact that the poem really is a diatribe in which he constantly quibbles over literary aesthetics). After all, *The Comic Annual*, a highly satirical and sometimes bawdy literary annual, was well into successful publication along with several other satirical annual titles. Consumers did not seem to mind the public poetic quarrels – a quality that most likely improved sales.

The public was already inundated with newspapers that offered gossip and social misconduct as fodder for sales. In offering a rebuke to Watts, the reviewer warns him against becoming like the

> Sunday papers of this metropolis . . . [filled with] lies which they unblushingly invent and give to the world, concerning the proceedings and motives of public men. . . . [T]hey wantonly inflict upon sensitive minds, wounds of the most painful nature. They are no better than prostitutes, for they carry on an open trade

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> in vice, the odious vice of scandal, for the base purposes of lucre. . . . [W]e must add, that he has shewn, in his "Conversazione," talents which would well fit him for that disgraceful employment. (525-6)

If Watts' poem points the literary annual towards an alteration in format that is immorally opportunistic, consumers would then become the knowing recipients of vice – and would most likely guzzle gleefully (even those middle class consumers to which the literary annual is inevitably aimed).

With this review, the critic is a herald to rather than a protector of the public's literary taste. Instead of speaking of the public as children in need of literary protection, this reviewer warns consumers that they are ultimately responsible for the types of publications offered because of their patronization:

> Now then, we ask, can the patrons of such newspapers hold themselves free from responsibility, for the circulation of the vile falsehoods and infamous satires which those journals publish to the world from week to week? There is no sound moralist who will not agree with us in the opinion, that every person who buys one of these papers, or contributes in any way to support them by money or by approbation, participates in the guilt of the abandoned men who conduct them. (526)

Despite the reviewer's condemnations, consumers in this article are empowered with a responsibility to judge reading materials by a moral standard – a stance that most reviewers do not take. This reviewer acknowledges the power of the consumer. Perhaps

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this critic realizes that the public does not need protection or that the reviews are not responsible for the consumer success and popularity of literary materials. (On the other hand, this writer might also have used his review as a soapbox for his views on the immorality of current publications – similar to many annual editors and their prefaces.) The annuals did not become the sensationalized print that flooded the newsstands, but they had to adapt in order to swim in the flood waters, hence the inclusion of poems that were not so neutral.

The shaming and abuse of literary annuals, evident in critical periodicals, was highlighted by those within the literary industry. Eventually, it was the unique commodification of gift exchange that altered the annuals' format, sales and reception. And, it was inevitably the unique set of readers who influenced the long popularity of the genre (instead of the press).

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Chapter Eight:
Feminizing the Textual Body:
Female Readers Consuming the Literary Annual

In *Writing Women's Literary History*, Margaret Ezell challenges scholars to investigate and create a women's literary history beyond the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Ezell, most British literary history focuses on the long nineteenth century and its prolific pool of women authors. Women experienced the professional world of writing in all time periods, but it was not until the nineteenth century that they became part of the dominant pool of authors, editors and publishers in the print world. It also so happens that during the nineteenth century, England saw a huge rise in production of printed materials – a 400% rise from the eighteenth century – caused by various technological advances, including mechanized papermaking, typesetting with plate impressions and, later, stereotyping. Though Ezell's call to action came ten years ago, we are still sorting through the nineteenth century's print media and discovering (or re-discovering) various categories of women's authorship, production and reception.

When I first began working on the literary annual, I could not place the genre or the authors' works into a canonically and historically ordained space. Were they products of the Romantic era or pre-cursors to the Victorian period? The annuals occupy an interstitial space between recognized periods *and* identifiable material forms. Periodical studies do not address them; history of the book studies lump them with poetry volumes; and novel studies ignore their short stories altogether. Where do these books belong? Where do their contributors, consumers and readers belong? The genre has become significantly entrenched in that "women's literature" category that automatically signifies

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"other" or marginal – in the sense of being both outside the canon and outside normative literary aesthetics. Annuals earned this spot because their readers and contributors, like the novel, were predominantly women.

The prior chapters deal with excavating the form from underneath piles of these other media formats. The following chapter now takes up the dilemma of defining and re-appropriating the pejorative "feminine" tradition that is so often associated with literary annuals. In the following chapter, I locate the readers and consumers of the annuals, focusing specifically on the textuality of the form as it relates to "woman" and the "feminine" in the roles of reader and consumer.[1]

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As discussed in the previous chapters, early nineteenth-century readers were exposed to and consumed vast quantities of newspapers, periodicals, journals, novels, magazines, pamphlets and non-fiction. Newspapers generally presented random and constantly changing contents that did not signal the cohesive purpose which a journal or magazine did. Pamphlets addressed a brief philosophical point and provided practice for reading (if not convinced of its argument). And, novels and non-fiction provided singular accounts of life in all types of scenes. Though the literary annual is often shuffled into the periodicals genre (in addition to the gift book category) or, more

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[1] The literary annual's "feminine" and woman author is discussed only briefly throughout this chapter. However, because of the extensive work done on women authors in the Romantic era already, I have not spent a great deal of space evaluating a gendered poetic aesthetic in the case of the annuals; nor do I juxtapose the annual's woman author against the male canonical authors of the time. To rehearse all of the arguments surrounding these relationships falls outside the scope of this dissertation project. For a comprehensive bibliography of literary criticism on women in the Romantic era, see the Additional Bibliography appended to this dissertation.

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specifically, identified in the category of ladies' magazines, it is not an anthology, journal, magazine, newspaper, bound novel or any other such form of popular media that was produced during the genre's lifetime. Nevertheless, the genre capitalized on the popular, successful and proven forms of media, folding the purposes of a ladies' magazine into its own evolution. Similar to ladies' magazines, an annual typically includes plates of various scenes (pastoral, foreign, nautical, etc.), poetry, fiction and non-fiction. However, the ornate production of the annual volume marks its luxury, signals its material stability and promises its morality and propriety – all of which was assured by the initial creators of the annual's form: Rudolf Ackermann, Alaric Watts, Frederic Shoberl, Frederic Mansel Reynolds, Charles Heath and other male publishers, editors and authors.

The literary annual format altered according to public demand, an alteration which effected readers and authors alike (discussed in earlier chapters). The first major shift occurred with the publication of Alaric Watts' *Literary Souvenir* in 1825, a volume which excised the almanac-like informational pages and excluded the album-like blank pages. With the debut of the 1828 *Keepsake*, Charles Heath and Frederic Mansel Reynolds caused an administrative alteration by producing an extravagant annual in larger form with silk boards and exceedingly well-paid literary names. By 1830, regardless of the hostile criticism towards the genre, the annuals flourished into sub-genres, including Thomas Hood's parody, the *Comic Annual*, which ushered in many other parodies. In addition, these symbols of feminine became representations of an empire when they were (re)produced in Bengal and Calcutta: "A love of the arts is also kindled by [the literary annuals'] presence in the remotest corners of the empire, whither

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such admirable specimens of the pencil and the graver might not otherwise have reached in the course of a century" (Oct 1825 *Monthly Review*, 1825 *Literary Souvenir* 279) – a comment that suggests the indigenous inhabitants of India were not capable of the ingenuity and creativity offered by the British homeland.

By 1831, even men became a targeted audience with the publication of *A Father's Present to His Son* and later the *Young Gentleman's Annual.* The genre experienced a wild, popular frenzy that drove the success, failure and recognition of authors, publishers and editors alike. Not until 1840 did the number of annual titles fall below forty. Their initial audience, though, was the impetus for success. And, the commodification of a particular form of femininity was unconsciously altered as this audience gained strength from the annual's production. For these reasons, I focus on the literary annual's readers, consumers and authors during the genre's first decade (with slight forays into those published through 1835).

I. Feminine Textuality

In Chapter Two, I discuss the annual as a human body and living work. It gains meaning not just from its reader but is instilled with multiple levels of meaning at every mode of physical and creative production, and then again with each consumer or reader's engagement with the work and its collective memory – in essence, palimpsest-like traces similar to Freud's mystic writing pad. Editors and publishers of annuals consciously market their works, their objects as completed memories, and thereby imbue the physical object with a humanity or intellect. With this in mind, then, the literary annual is not an object or vessel waiting to be filled up or completed; literary works are particular forms

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of transmissive interaction and not channels of transmission (McGann *Textual*).

In the same year as Rudolf Ackermann's death (on March 30, 1834), editor Frederic Shoberl paints a human figure of the 1834 *Forget Me Not*:

> This year, Reader, the Forget Me Not presents itself to thee as "an old friend with a new face;" but, though somewhat altered in external appearance, its spirit remains unchanged. Thou wilt find that, though increased in size, and clothed in a different garb from that which it has been accustomed to wear, it is governed by the same earnest desire as ever to minister to thine amusement and information; to touch thy kindly sympathies and affections; and, while it conveys good-humoured reproof of the vices, the follies and the frailties of mankind, to encourage the higher and nobler feelings of our nature. Wouldst thou have strong evidence of this than our assertion – to turn to its pages. (3-4)

Shoberl portrays his latest volume as an intimate figure in a fragmented body. The public face is refreshing because of its amended presentation, but its clothing hides a body from public view, suggesting an atmosphere of individuality, secrecy and intimacy. This body, like a female body, is sequestered behind appropriate coverings. However, the sentimental and moral guidance still exists underneath the improved clothing. And, that guidance was to exist beyond the immediate fashionable experience of receiving a volume. A reader was to re-engage with the work throughout her (and the annual's) lifetime, drawing some new morsel of meaning with every reading.

Alaric Watts contends that poetry will cause this continued re-engagement, though poetry was decided to be more difficult than prose and not appropriate for this

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female audience (see later discussion). In the 1835 *Literary Souvenir* Preface, Watts openly and decidedly privileges poetry over fiction, continuing the debates surrounding fiction's literary value:

> Instead, therefore, of accompanying the splendid prints after Howard, Stothard, Westall, and others, with prose stories written to order, a few slight sketches of the artists and their Art have been appended to them; and will, it is hoped, be considered better adapted for the occasion than mere novelettes; which, for the reasons already specified, can seldom be worthy of the society into which they are drafted. *Not so, however, with poetry, which without entering into minute detail, may illustrate, in a page, the true spirit of a picture; and which, being a branch of the Fine Arts itself, is less out of place in such a work. A poem, moreover, if it be good for any thing, will bear reading a second time, which is more than can often be said of a prose tale*, come from whatever quarter it may, which must fall under the shears of Procrustes, and be shorn, till nothing but the bald facts are allowed to remain, in order that it may fit the niche it is destined to occupy. (vi-vii, emphasis added)

Since the short story had begun to hijack much of the space in magazines and periodicals, Watts' defense protects not just annuals (and encourages readers to buy them for the economy of reading), but also the sale of any poetry volume. Poetry, defined by Watts as a "branch of Fine Arts," further invites an annual's owner to re-engage the material in multiple moments of reading. This engagement adds to the literary annual's meaning, a continuous archiving of intellect and memories.

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This archive resonates with future intentions as well as past forms. Ackermann's *Forget Me Not* was originally intended as an example of propriety and beauty, clothed in the garb of a moral instructor. With this 1834 volume, Shoberl maintains that instruction in a format which resonates with the didactic form of an eighteenth-century conduct manual. However, the annuals lack that self-conscious scolding inherent to the conduct manuals. By the 1820s, young women had already been exposed to Mary Wollstonecraft's cry for women's education of women with the 1792 publication of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, which blames men for oppressing women's intellectual capabilities. Wollstonecraft's early treatise was well-founded, as is noted by Anne Renier:

> [Because of the] rising standard of living, particularly among the middle classes prospering from the great industrial and commercial advances of these years, daughters were being given education of sorts . . . to attract suitors. . . The young lady was taught to play the piano or the harp, [but] her more serious studies went little further than a smattering of literature, a modicum of history and geography . . . and the rudiments of a foreign language. (16-17)

Wollstonecraft indicts the cultural practice of young girls' partial education in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* at a time when women were publishing their words, but not quite with the economic success of men. Wollstonecraft points out that men wrote the conduct books for women and girls, which male dictatorial authorship of female conduct created a totally unrealistic ideal of femininity: "One cause of this barren

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blooming I attribute to a false system of education, gathered from the books written on this subject by men who, considering females rather as women than human creatures, have been more anxious to make them alluring mistresses than affectionate wives and rational mothers. . ." (Wollstonecraft 112).

Before publishing this *Vindication*, Wollstonecraft assumed a masculine pseudonym (Mr. Creswick) to publish a conduct manual, *The Female Reader*, in 1789. The title obviously indicates that the volume contains materials to teach women propriety; but its ambiguity also refers to women who read, as if Wollstonecraft were going to discuss how a woman should read or describe the woman reader. Conduct manuals (ranging as far back as the seventeenth century) focused on making "young women desirable to men of a good social position" and "represented a specific configuration of sexual features as those of the only appropriate woman for men at levels of society to want as a wife," as Nancy Armstrong points out in *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (59).

Contrary to standard conduct manuals, in her *Female Reader* Introduction Wollstonecraft urges her woman reader to improve "of her mind and heart" as "the business of her whole life" and then presents a compilation of short stories. Wollstonecraft donned a masculine pseudonym for this publication, certain that advice from a woman author would not be considered authoritative for moral instruction of her own sex. Armstrong points out that conduct books meant to reinforce "domestic ideology and [articulate] a specific understanding of the relationship between reading, sexuality, and social control"(qtd. in Pearson *Women's* 46). These manuals are teaching tools to enact an idealized femininity and do not invoke a leisure-reading experience.

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II. Ideology and Reading

Gauging reading practices has always been a difficult task, unless reader's notes or a reading journal are uncovered. However, with the annuals, the actual reader is even more difficult to assess because of the valuable nature of the annual – no markings would have been committed upon the annual's pages except in the appropriately invited blank space, i.e., inscription page or early album pages. For this dissertation project, I rely on studies of particular authors and the annual's impact on their identities as authors. Carol Bock and Christine Alexander have extensively studied the Brontës' reading habits in relation to their formation of authorial identities, and, of course, annuals are among the Brontës' reading materials. Despite their isolation, the children had access to *Blackwood's Magazine* and *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country.* The children borrowed themes from these magazines, and appropriated and incorporated them into a "smaller" context and textual life, as Bock points out:

> Written mostly in the 1830s, when the cultural influence of these magazines was at its peak, Charlotte and Branwell's juvenile stories can help us to understand better the process by which young readers were interpellated into the ideology of authorship current in this particular decade. And, more to the purpose of this volume, they can show how cultural influences combined with personal and familial circumstances to make the Brontës especially susceptible to the solicitations of that ideology. (47)

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Bock continues her argument by demonstrating the similarities between *Blackwood's* ideological project and the children's juvenilia. Christine Alexander argues that their aunt, Elizabeth Branwell, exposed the children to the *Lady's Magazine* (1770-1837) and many other popular media forms, including the annuals (411). The Brontës, according to Alexander, had access to the 1829 *Friendship's Offering,* 1830 *The Literary Souvenir* and 1831 *Forget Me Not*, as is evidenced by their "painstakingly executed copies of eight engravings . . . made by Charlotte, Branwell and Emily . . . from these three volumes" (414). Alexander continues her argument by comparing Branwell and Charlotte's early writings to those within these annuals and finds indisputable similarities (especially with Scott's Gothic writings). References and engravings that imitate these volumes' contents pop up in Charlotte's later novel, *Jane Eyre* (421).

Though Bock and Alexander specifically refer to the annual's impact on the Brontës as children, the examples provide evidence of the transmission and cultural importance of the annuals. Both articles suggest that the children were not necessarily a blank space, as Barthes would have us believe in "The Death of the Author," but were always resisting readers.

Jacqueline Pearson, engaging with Barthes' theory of readers, speculates that "reading was seen as 'passive' (and hence feminised), compared to the 'active art of writing' . . . 'Writing is the act of saying *I*,' a 'projection of the person who writes into the public domain of discourse'" (*Women's* 16-17). The reader, accordingly, disappears during the act of reading to adopt the authority of the author. Pearson continues by arguing that this reader does not disappear in "a passive, self-abnegating act. Rather than erasing I, reading might reassert it by privileging personal pleasure, and rather than

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confining within a domestic sphere, it might open up a wider community of ideas" (17). Pearson asserts that these readers are constantly resisting the authority of the author.

Diana Fuss, in *Essentially Speaking*, defines a double reading subject that is both constructed and resisting, but in no way is natural – a state necessary for the literary annual's woman reader:

> In reading . . . we bring (old) subject-positions to the text at the same time the actual process of reading constructs (new) subject-positions for us. Consequently, we are always engaged in a 'double reading' – . . . in the sense that we are continuously caught within and between *at least* two constantly shifting subject-positions (old and new, constructed and constructing) and these positions may often stand in complete contradiction to each other. (33)

In other words, readers are both "clearing away . . . of previously held subject-positions" and "clear[ing] the way *for* a particular subject position" (Fuss 33). With the literary annuals, the consuming woman reader (the dominant annuals audience) can interject her own version of femininity without rejecting the dominant control enacted over femininity.[3]

Very few complete studies of women's magazines, women as readers and women as authors have dealt with the broad spectrum of media that women were exposed to during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Two studies specifically deal with not

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[3] In this particular circumstance, she is also empowered because of her demand and subsequent economic patronage of the genre – regardless if she is the actual purchaser.

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only the media apparatus and authors, but also the audience of female readers: Kate Flint's study of women readers 1837-1914 and Jacqueline Pearson's study of women readers 1750-1835. Pearson's study concentrates on tropes of women readers predominantly in the eighteenth-century and folds the 1820s into brief discussions of the rising literacy rates, woman poet and the imagination. However, neither of these two studies addresses the literary annual's inheritance of a large public of women readers. Instead, they deal with the historical (actual) and the intellectual (representations in literature) woman reader and explore definitions of "woman," "reader," "feminine" and "feminist."

Each of these categories is complicated by social, cultural and biological imperatives. "Woman" has been defined as a result of biology, but it has also been subscribed as a social construct contingent upon the political apparatus and historical context in which it exists. With the literary annual, my contention is that the work is not necessarily representative of "woman," but representative of idealized "feminine."

The problematized female reader did not begin with the annuals. *The Female Spectator*, published April 1744-May 1746, is considered the first periodical written by a woman for women, focusing on "a running report from the interior of women's lives" (2402). This popular periodical mimicked *The Spectator*, a daily periodical which assumed a masculine role in observing, describing and instructing the "fair sex from without, as [a] supremely self-confident male mentor" (General Description 2402). In this sense, the annual (edited and published by men) often represents not the female voice, but this masculine voice crafted by a male editor.

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The initial editors and publishers of the annuals often competed to present the most beatific representation of family, woman and the domestic in their annuals. The Prefaces proclaimed editorial intentions and mark the literature and the textual object as a delicate object of beauty. In *Paratexts*, Gerard Genette points out that a preface, written after the compilation of the entire work, is written to "ensure that the text is read properly" (197). To escape censure for encouraging women to read, regardless of the status of the material, the editors had to provide guidelines. Kate Flint argues that this "woman" reader continued to be a problematic category even during the nineteenth century:

> From one point of view, reading was a form of consumption associated with the possession of leisure time, and thus contributed to the ideology, if not always the practices, which supported the ideal of the middle-class home. Yet it could also be regarded as dangerously useless, a thief of time which might be spent on housewifely duties. Although a means of extending one's knowledge and experience beyond the bounds of one's personal lot – hence, perhaps, becoming a fitter marital companion in the process – reading was often, none the less, unavoidably associated with woman's 'inappropriate' educational ambition. (Flint 11)

In compiling an annual, editors meticulously order the selections for tone, flow and reception. With the preface, each editor reminds readers to experience the pieces in their original linearity. They also constantly name-drop in these prefaces, not only acknowledging the artists, but also impressing upon the reader the importance of the volume's selections (especially considering that the competition for consumers was

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fierce within the first four years of the annual's appearance). The editorial preface emphasizes control of the reading experience by guiding the reader through the labor, importance and purpose of that particular volume. Within the first few sentences, editor's generally express some sort of metaphor about the volume, whether it was a debutante (indicating a bourgeois class of leisure readers, *Keepsake* 1828), a card game (establishing jovial and somewhat illicit community) or a banquet (with images of consumption and overindulgence, *Forget Me Not* 1830) – all "directing attention to the merits" (*Forget Me Not* 1828) within each completed volume. The editors use these metaphors to "get the book read" and "to get the book read properly" (Genette 197).

In addition, an editor guarantees in his preface that his volume will not only provide unbiased direction (for both reading and moral guidance) but also sustained presence in the reader's life. The presence is occupied intellectually in the constantly recurring theme of moral guidance and also as a physical reminder upon personal library shelves (or drawing-room tables). In essence, the editor guarantees that his volume is not ephemeral or transitory like so many other fashionable past-times. The preface assumes editorial control of reading practices and establishes a viability and stability with each volume – a contradictory purpose in terms of masculine desires to define and control the domestic and the feminine, and a purpose partially borrowed from the conduct manuals.

In the Preface for the 1831 *Friendship's Offering*, editor Thomas Pringle suggests the suitability of his literary annual by declaring that it will permanently reside in the "repositories of family literature" and "may be rendered fit to impress the mind, and to assist in forming the taste, exercising the judgment, and improving the heart." In this offering, Pringle entices the reader with promises of education, information,

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entertainment and literary and moral value – all contained within the prose, poetry and engravings of this year's volume. In addition, editors encouraged their readers to preserve each year's volume – a reassurance that the material stability of the volume paralleled its literary stability. In recent literary criticism, scholars note that because the annual was meant as a gift, it represents only a fleeting or ephemeral moment. In his dissertation, Matthew Kutcher argues that "gift books" (erroneously identifying the literary annual) are "completely invested in their contemporary moment and . . . were not intended to live long" (18). Because annuals were made of sturdier materials than magazines, etc., their textuality actually signals their longevity. And, the owner's re-reading of each kept volume signals the palimpsestic quality of an annual's ideological presence. Though it no longer contained hackney coach fares and postal rates after 1825, the annual could become a moral reference year after year and could physically survive because of its constructed (physical) superiority.

This dual longevity is squarely couched in a supposedly less taxing literary model – a quality that is indicative of the fantasy of social control over femininity: An article in *The Monthly Review* for November 1831, published after the annual began to suffer scathing criticism from the review press, exhibits just such a duality:

> It cannot be expected that these works shall always exhibit literary excellence of the highest order. . . . *If the poetry be not in every instance of the best description, it is good enough for common purposes*. We have seldom detected anything either in the poetry or the prose that was calculated to misguide the taste, or vitiate the morals . . . (371, emphasis added)

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In applauding the annual, the reviewer also assigns it to the whitewashed polite literature meant to mildly and delicately educate (or *train*) female readers. With this type of femininity commodified for public consumption, the publishers and editors of annuals, then, are part of this fantasy of social control previously championed by the conduct manuals – and eventually dismantled by later Victorian authors.

In *The Subjection of Women*, published 1869, John Stuart Mill recounts the history of male/female relationships and the subjugation of women. The book opens by denouncing men as malignant oppressors throughout history and depicts women as their slaves. Mill debunks the historical argument that it is natural (and a universal custom) for men to dominate women. He admits that in the current mid-nineteenth century this rule is not by force (as with slavery). However, he argues, women do not voluntarily accept their lower status in society. And, unlike relationships between slave and master, men want more than obedience from women; they also want sentiments and will work to enslave women's minds. According to Mill, women's "nature" does not predispose them to be socially treated as slaves. Though Mill's thoughts were published well after the literary annual phenomenon, they speak to the historical patriarchal control of women, and by extension, their reading materials, even prior to the literary annuals.

On the other end of the historical spectrum, prior to the literary annual phenomenon, this social control of women's minds is evident in the criticism of fiction and novels: Throughout the eighteenth century, the novel was marked as an unsophisticated, emotional and wasted form of prose – hence, feminine. But, the novel came to represent an escape from the patriarchal constraints of ideal domesticity and femininity. It supposedly corrupted its readers by displaying, and thereby encouraging its

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audience to commit, wild acts of unrestrained passion. Samuel Johnson writes in *The Rambler* No. 4 (1750) that

> [t]hese books are written chiefly to the young, the ignorant, and the idle, to whom they serve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life. They are the entertainment of minds *unfurnished with ideas* and therefore *easily susceptible of impressions*; not fixed by principles, and therefore easily following the current of fancy; not informed by experience, and consequently open to every false suggestion and partial account. (2733)

Women, often equated with children throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were supposedly susceptible to this corrupting form of literature, not only because of its passions but also because of its ability to imitate nature and mankind's vices. Johnson chastises early novelists for their verisimilitude and requests that they "distinguish [and present] those parts of nature which are most proper for imitation . . . Vice, for vice is necessary to be shown, should always disgust . . . [V]irtue is the highest proof of understanding, and the only solid basis of greatness" (2735). Jacqueline Pearson notes from several eighteenth-century sources that

> [n]ovels were dangerous because they wasted 'thousands of hours' in 'misapplication of time,' because they were addictive and a danger 'habit is formed,' because they caused 'discontent with the uniformity of common life,' and an 'insatiable craving for novelty' which leaves the reader 'disgusted with every thing serious or solid.' . . . and because they encouraged identification with fictional heroines which could have dangerous side-effects. . . . replacing 'active benevolence' with self-

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> indulgent feeling. (*Women's* 83)

Domesticity and conduct manuals require restraint, practicality and an essential knowledge of household procedures. Nancy Armstrong suggests that conduct manuals, squarely opposed to the leisure of novel-reading, focused on producing a woman who was educated *enough* to perform her duties:

> This writing assumed that an education ideally made a woman desire to be what a prosperous man desires, which is above all else a female. She therefore had to lack the competitive desires and worldly ambitions that consequently belonged – as if by some natural principle – to the male. For such a man, her desirability hinged upon an education in frugal domestic practices. She was supposed to complement his role as an earner and producer with hers as a wise spender and tasteful consumer. (59)

Instead of coordinating servants, meals and children, the novel presented an opportunity for women of all ages to linger in bed or the dressing room – or so that image is presented to the public.

With the introduction of the gothic novel during the 1790s (mainly carried in circulating libraries), the genre became entrenched in the pejorative "feminine" as readers and authors alike were predominantly women. The genre, according to Pearson, created stereotypes of the "vulnerability of the novel-reading girl to seduction" (196) – at least until the 1814 publication of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* when "women writers' domination of the novel lessened and the reputation of some previously well-regarded

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women novelists declined" (197).[4] Advocates of the novel proposed that the genre offered an example of the dangers to which women could succumb, i.e., seduction, and forewarned them through example (84). But these proponents were few in comparison to the genre's detractors – similar to the critical reviews suffered by the literary annual.

With the annual (in both form and content), the feminine was a state to be socially prescribed, however conscious or unconscious. Like the previous genres of conduct manuals and novels, the annual required some limitations in presenting literature to a specifically female audience. Kate Flint, in studying the Victorian period, asserts that ideological gender and idealized femininity relied upon both social views of female body and woman's intellectual limitations:

> Attempts to legislate about reading and its effects can be seen on the one hand as a means of gaining control over subjectivity, and, on the other, as a means of obtaining access to different types of knowledge, and through this, to different social expectations and standards. . . . [T]he potency of 'the woman reader' . . . illuminates important networks of ideas about the presumed interrelations of mind, body, and culture. It shows how notions about reading fed off attempts to define women's mental capacities and tendencies through their physical attributes, and, in turn, appeared to contribute to the validation of these very definitions. Furthermore, it

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[4] Cheryl Turner's research shows that women novelists (or at least those who could be identified) number upwards of 450 between 1696 and 1796, with the numbers of novels published by women in 1796 soaring above thirty-five (152, 35) – a marked increase in the production of women's writing. See Jane Spencer's *The Rise of the Woman Novelist*. For general studies of the novel, see Ian Watt (1957) and Richard McKeon's (1988) works.

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> demonstrates contradictions and paradoxes which inhered within nineteenth-century notions of gender (11).

The conflated image of body and moral spirit in Shoberl's 1834 Preface (cited above) complicates the literary annual form as both feminine (in appearance) and masculine (in controlling intent). The annual's purpose was to attract through its beautiful appearance and instruct through its analogous and exemplary literature.

With this tenuous duality in mind, editor Alaric Watts (of the *Literary Souvenir*) marketed his annual as "polite literature" and requested that the cover match the intent: emblems of flowers instead of naked women. The annual was not meant to titillate but to subdue its readers. His publisher wrote to him with a similar comment regarding the intended commercial audience for these tokens of friendship: "L.E.L. will be ready for you on Monday with some beautiful verses, but don't give us more poetry than prose. Poetry is beyond many of the purchasers of this description of book" (Jack *English Literature* 174). This audience, women, girls and children, are suggestively grouped in a category of uneducated, or at least unsophisticated, consumers. But poetry, considered an educated person's literature, was the dominant form included in most early volumes of literary annuals. The conflict between audience and content was resolved not by the patriarchal limitations placed on women readers but by the readers themselves – a majority of whom requested, read and submitted poetry. Because so much poetry existed within the volumes, critics accused annual editors of flooding the market with what this audience wanted, sentimental (and unsophisticated) poetry.

As an example, James Montgomery's poem, "Epitaph on a Gnat, found crushed on the leaf of a Lady's Album, and written (with a different reading in the last line) in

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lead pencil beneath it)," published in the 1829 *Forget Me Not*, seems frivolous on first reading, or even just the title.[5] In *The Pickwick Papers* (1837), Charles Dickens parodies this type of poem which was made accessible by both annuals and lady's magazines. Mrs. Leo Hunter, one of the character's wives, writes "Ode to an Expiring Frog" and gets it published in "a Lady's Magazine . . . signed with an 'L' and eight stars" (176-77):

> Can I view thee panting, lying
> On thy stomach, without sighing;
> Can I unmoved see thee dying
> On a log,
> Expiring frog!
>
> Say, have friends in shape of boys,
> With wild halloo, and brutal noise,
> Hunted thee from marshy joys,
> With a dog,
> Expiring frog! (177)

The Lady's Magazine, a sixpenny monthly which celebrated a long run 1770-1837, is most likely a model for Dickens' caricature – most of its readers supplied the writing without compensation, at least until 1820, when, as Edward Copeland argues, professional authors took over its authorship (119, 156). Mrs. Hunter's signature is also a parody; many women signed their literary contributions with letters and graphic representations instead of their full names. A very long tradition of both concealing and creating authorship, this practice was prevalent in the annuals and other forms of media.

Though Montgomery's "Epitaph on a Gnat" does not rise to this level of absurdity and completely unstructured poetry, his poem unconsciously parodies the vehicle (the annual) in which almost anything can be published. Editors of the annuals often turned

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[5] The full text of this poem is printed in Chapter Five.

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away contributions (that they would not have to pay for) by the hundreds. The inclusion of this epitaph is not for lack of better material. Its inclusion provides variety: The epitaph is sandwiched between the poems, "The Faithful Guardian" by John Bird, Esq. and "Song" by John Clare – both somber pieces.

The Faithful Guardian

Sweet Innocence! How calm thou sleepest,
  Cradled beneath yon clustering boughs,
Where the green forest shade lies deepest,
  And the light noon-breeze freshest blows;
Where summer flowers, in beauty blending,
  Lure from his path the honey-bee;
And on his spray the linnet, bending,
  Attunes his softest lay for thee!

What though the gentle form that bore thee
  Awhile her treasured hope resign,
A mother's love still watches o'er thee,
  A mother's holiest trust is thine.
Move but a leaf, he starts, he listen;
  Wings some lone bird, and swift as thought
The Guardian wakes–his quick eye glistens:
  Can faithful friendship, thus be taught!

A few short years, and wildly roaming,
  Thy mute companion not more fleet,
The playful fawn shall list thy coming,
  And bound thy frolic step to meet.
Thee shall the breezy morn, inspiring,
  On dewy mead and upland see;
Nor till the day-beams' slow retiring
  Shall home, sweet home, have charms for thee.

Season of joy, of youthful daring,
  Who would not these bright dreams renew?
When hope and health the glad hour sharing,
  Tears were but sunbeams shrined in dew;
Wielding the bat, through ether soaring
  On the far kite's aspiring wing,
Or the stream's coolest depths exploring–
  Oh, why has life no second spring!

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But summer dawns; and hours more tender,
  Of richer light and deeper shade,
Shall mark thy throbbing heart surrender
  Its homage to some bright-eyed maid.
Then, when the glowworm's lamp is lighting
  Thy woodland path by lawn or lea,
And lips are prest, and vows are plighting–
  Will time's soft whisper breathe for thee!

Love hath its pangs!–through grief and gladness
  Its votary toils for one bright bourn;
And lengthening years but lead to sadness;--
  Oh wilt not though, sweet smiler, mourn,
When age, o'er thy protector stealing,
  Shall dim the eye and dull the year;
And these fair hands, her cold lids sealing,
  Are folded o'er a mother's bier?

So passes life;–a current gliding
  In sunshine or in storms away.
Thrice happy those, who, Virtue guiding,
  Bow to the tempest, bless the ray!
Whose silent path through soft vales flowing,
  No dream of wild ambition knows;
Grateful that Heaven, meet aid bestowing,
  Smiles on their course, and gilds its close! (65-7)

The above poem, accompanied by a pastoral scene (see **Figure 8.1**: "The Faithful Guardian" engraving) focuses on the figure of "sweet innocence" – in this case, a sleeping infant. The entire poem erects a lifetime, but not for the child. The child's protector, the Guardian, constantly lives beside and for the child, guiding him with virtue and in homage to Nature. The mother is denied the position of protectorate and is mentioned only in reference to her expectations of the child (lines 11-12). In fact, in the accompanying engraving, the scene focuses on the Guardian with a bonneted woman and man extremely distant in the background – as in the poem. The adults seem to be working as opposed to strolling about the field. And, because they have left the sleeping

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child with a guard dog, it seems that they expect to be distant for more than a few moments. The engraving adds a working element to both the dog's duty and the assumed parents' labor. In the end, the scene depicts them as responsible parents, for they have left some sort of guardian over their child. The poem embellishes on this guardian's duty instead of offering the child's or its parents' points of view. Considering that this scene incorporates a working class family, the readers may not have understood the initial need for a guardian. Instead, the mother's absence is registered as the largest lack in the child's life. Women readers of the middle class would not have identified with the working mother's reliance on an animal to care for her child.

Montgomery's "Epitaph on a Gnat" is literally smashed between this poem's somber tribute and Clare's "Song," below:

Song

O the voice of woman's love!--
  What a bosom-stirring word!
Was a sweeter ever utter'd,
  Was a dearer ever heard,
    Than woman's love?

How it melts upon the ear!
  How it nourishes the heart!
Cold, ah! Cold must his appear
  That has never shared a part
    Of woman's love.

'Tis pleasure to the mourner,
  'Tis freedom to the thrall:
The pilgrimage of many,
  And the resting-place of all,
    Is woman's love.

'Tis the gem of beauty's birth;
  It competes with joys above:
What were angels upon earth,

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If without woman's love–
Sweet woman's love? (68)

In Clare's "Song," the speaker focuses not on an individual woman or female attributes, but on a derivative of femininity, love. And, woman's love is not directly addressed or described here, but the representation of it (as a voice) or the lack of it is. Woman is incorporated into this poem, but she has no agency. Her existence (her love) affects (and effects) many, but she herself is not addressed or rendered. Clare's tribute to a feminine love is indicative of the muse-figure that women usually play in Romantic era poetry.

In Montgomery's "Gnat" poem, the only reference to woman lies in the description of the album (from which the poem was pilfered). Despite depicting women as inactive agents in each of these poems, they all address something related to women or femininity though they are not overtly didactic (as with a conduct manual). In fact, the absence of woman in each of these poems is odd considering the audience. Women seem to be merely wraiths. Regardless of this lack, Shoberl interrupts the flow of these two serious works with a lighter piece ("Gnat") on spirituality, nature and the powerful pen.

This poetry, presented as appropriate material for the annual's audience, represents an idealized femininity, which I will call "patriarchal femininity," and is predicated on defining woman and feminine as passive, uneducated, domestic, impotent or simple. Because the annuals were leisure materials, reading an annual supposedly did not require "severe application." Jacqueline Pearson states that "[g]enres which emphasised 'imagination' were gendered as feminine, those requiring 'severe application' as masculine. In effect this means gendering novels, romances, and some lyric poems as

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feminine, while men read 'better books,' epic, satire, classical literature, history and science" (*Women's* 19). The annuals were filled with original poetry instead of the more authoritative and authentic classic literature. The genre typically included Romantic-era contemporaries instead of the long gone (and proven) literature of the great authors. The few deceased literati included in an annual were typically P.B. Shelley and Byron, not Shakespeare, Milton or Pope.[6] And, even Byron was not often cited because of copyright

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[6] During the 1860s, this attitude of separate education for men and women (influenced by Coventry Patmore's "Angel in the House" and Sarah Stickney Ellis' "doctrine of separate spheres") is upheld but somewhat amended. In his "Of Queen's Garden" lecture (1864), John Ruskin advocates educating men and women distinctly and separately but advises against allowing women to indulge in nineteenth-century novels and magazines. Instead, he writes, they should be put in a room full with a classic library.

A resistance to Patmore's angel began in England during the late nineteenth century and extended to France, specifically with French feminist, Maria Deraismes' speech given during the late 1860s which denounces the angel: "Of all woman's enemies, I tell you that the worst are those who insist that woman is an angel. To say that woman is an angel is to impose on her, in a sentimental and admiring fashion, all duties, and to reserve for oneself all rights; it is to imply that her specialty is self-effacement, resignation, and sacrifice; it is to suggest to her that woman's greatest glory, her greatest happiness, is to immolate herself for those she loves . . . [¶] In the face of this long enumeration, I decline the honor of being an angel. No one has the right to force me to be both dupe and victim" (140).

And, this was not the last backlash against Patmore's angel. The last line in Virginia Woolf's address to the Women's Service League in 1942 directly attacks Coventry Patmore's 1854 vocalization of the perfect Victorian woman: pious, domestic, conservative, minimally educated, maternal, and, most of all, non-confrontational. Almost a century later, women are still plagued by the wraith who became most noticeably apparent during the late Romantic poetic reign:

> In those days – the last of Queen Victoria--every house had its Angel. And when I came to write I encountered her with the very first words. The shadow of her wings fell on my page; I heard the rustling of her skirts in the room. Directly, that is to say, I took my pen in my hand to review that novel by a famous man, she slipped behind me and whispered: 'My dear, you are a young woman. You are writing about a book that has been written by a man. Be sympathetic; be tender; flatter; deceive; use all the arts and wiles of our sex. never let anybody guess that you have a mind of your own. Above all, be pure.' . . . it was not necessary for me to depend solely on charm for my living. I turned upon her and caught her by

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laws and exorbitant fees.[7] The poetry submitted and published in annuals was classified as simplistic, unsophisticated, sentimental and emotionally hysterical at times – a supposed parallel to its readers.[8] Editors, then, were the gatekeepers of this patriarchal femininity, morality and literary aesthetic in the annuals.

Editor Thomas Hood upholds this moral code (knowing his audience) when he dis-includes Charles Lamb's poem, "The Gypsy's Malison," at the last minute from the 1829 *Gem* because "it would shock all mothers" (Lamb 158):

THE GYPSY'S MALISON

Suck, baby, suck, mother's love grows by giving,
Drain the sweet founts that only thrive by wasting;
Black manhood comes, when riotous guilty living
Hands thee the cup that shall be death in tasting.
Kiss, baby, kiss, mother's lips shine by kisses,
Choke the warm breath that else would fall in blessings;
Black manhood comes, when turbulent guilty blisses
Tend thee the kiss that poisons 'mid caressings.
Hang, baby, hang, mother's love loves such forces,
Choke the fond neck that bends still to thy clinging;

---

the throat. I did my best to kill her. . . . *Had I not killed her . . . [s]he would have plucked the heart out of my writing.* . . . And all these questions [human relations, morality, sex], according to the Angel of the House, cannot be dealt with freely and openly by women; they must charm, they must conciliate, they must--to put it bluntly--tell lies if they are to succeed. . . . She died hard. Her fictitious nature was of great assistance to her. It is far harder to kill a phantom than a reality. . . . *Killing the Angel in the House was part of the occupation of a woman writer*" ("Professions for Women" 2007).

[7] See previous chapters for discussions of copyright and inclusion of Byron's writings in annuals. Most annuals included "found" letters or early juvenilia by Byron instead of his more popular works. The owners of these "found" items could grant copyrights more easily than a publisher would – for Byron, believing in the poet-statesman, gave publishers the copyrights to his works as they were produced.

[8] Even William Wordsworth, Samuel Coleridge, Percy Shelley and Lord Byron's contributions to annuals were heavily criticized, as can be seen in previous chapters.

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> Black manhood comes, when violent lawless courses
> Leave thee a spectacle in rude air swinging.
> So sang a wither'd sibyl energetical,
> And bann'd the ungiving door with lips prophetical. (5:158-60)

The gypsy curses the uncharitable household without specifying who exactly rejected her begging requests for some sort of sustenance. As the speaker, the old woman almost barks her condemnation with the striking consonants that begin lines one, five and nine: suck, kiss, hang. The repetition of "black manhood comes" (ll 3, 7, 11) condemns the child to a guilty adulthood with his mother's life encouraging his eventual destruction. Considering that Hood compiled and organized *The Gem* to mimic the already successful *Forget Me Not, Friendship's Offering* and *Keepsake* as dedications to femininity, this particular poem does not suit the purpose. For one, the maternal image is blackened by a suffocating mother; and the second image of a woman is a transient, evil beggar. Neither proclaims a celebration of femininity, domesticity or maternity. Nor do the images provide moral instructions – except perhaps to avoid opening the door to the extremely marginalized "other," the poor, dark woman.

Hood replaced Lamb's sonnet with prose, obligingly attributing it to Lamb's authorship in *The Gem*'s Table of Contents. The resultant prose is a seemingly sympathetic dedication to widows and a call to eradicate the accompanying stigma:

> Hath always been a mark for mockery: – a standing butt for wit to level at. Jest after jest hath been huddled upon her close cap, and stuck, like burrs, upon her weeds. Her sables are a perpetual "Black Joke."
>
> Satirists — prose and verse — have made merry with her bereavements. She is a stock character on the stage. Farce bottleth up her crocodile tears, or labelleth her empty lachrymatories. Comedy mocketh her precocious flirtations — Tragedy even girdeth at her frailty, and twitteth her with "the funeral baked meats coldly furnishing forth the marriage tables."

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I confess, when I called the other day on my kinswoman G.— then in the second week of her widowhood — and saw her sitting, her young boy by her side, in her recent sables, I felt unable to reconcile her estate with any risible associations. The Lady with a skeleton moiety — in the old print, in Bowles's old shop window — seemed but a type of her condition. Her husband, — a while hemisphere in love's world, — was deficient. *One complete side — her left — was death-stricken. It was a matrimonial paralysis,* unprovocative of laughter. I could as soon have tittered at one of those melancholy objects that drag their poor dead-alive bodies about our streets.

It seems difficult to account for the popular prejudice against lone women. There is a majority, I trust, of such honest, decorous mourners as my kinswoman: yet are Widows, like the Hebrew, a proverb and a byeword amongst nations. From the first putting on of the sooty garments, they become a stock joke — chimney-sweep or blackamoor is not surer — by mere virtue of their nigritude.

Are the wanton amatory glances of a few pairs of graceless eyes, twinkling through their cunning waters, to reflect so evil a light on a whole community? Verily the sad benighted orbs of that noble relict — the Lady Rachel Russell — blinded through unserene drops for her dead Lord,— might atone for all such oglings!

Are the traditional freaks of a Dame of Ephesus, or a Wife of Bath, or a Queen of Denmark, to cast so broad a shadow over a whole sisterhood? There must be, methinks, some more general infirmity — common, probably, to all Eve-kind — to justify so sweeping a stigma.

Does the satiric spirit, perhaps, institute splenetic comparisons between the lofty poetical pretensions of posthumous tenderness and their fulfilment? The sentiments of Love, especially affect a high heroical pitch, of which the human performance can present, at best, but a burlesque parody. *A Widow, that hath lived only for her husband, should die with him. She is flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone*; and it is not seemly for a mere rib to be his survivor. The prose of her practice accords not with the poetry of her professions. She hath done with the world, — and you meet her in Regent Street. Earth hath now nothing left for her — but she swears and administers. She cannot survive him — and invests in the Long Annuities.

The romantic fancy resents, and the satiric spirit records, these discrepancies. By the conjugal theory itself there ought to be no Widows; and, accordingly, a class, that by our milder manners is merely ridiculed, on the ruder banks of the Ganges is literally

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roasted. (24-27, emphasis added)

Invoking the Sati (the practice of burning a Hindu wife alive with her husband's body), Hood suggests that wives lose (or forfeit) their identities when husbands die – or at least half of their physical selves. This limited view precludes a woman's individuality and life outside the home. The widow becomes vulnerable without her guiding masculine figure. Hood's commentary rests more upon the emotional state of widows rather than the social condition of a woman's role as a widow. However, his deliverance of "widow" from social mockery and dangerous amorous advances reflects a masculine attempt to rescue a fragile, vulnerable woman. He pleads to his audience for recognition. Though the piece seems geared towards altering the public's view of widowhood, in reality, it is addressed to the coterie of women readers and endeavors to provide an emotional solidarity and understanding of a woman's hardship. Hood's "The Widow" is definitely not a cry for autonomy on the widow's behalf.

Upon hearing of the rejection, Lamb writes "I am born out of time. I have no conjecture about what the present world calls delicacy. . . . I have lived to grow into an indecent character. When my sonnet was rejected, I exclaimed, 'Damn the age; I will write for antiquity!'" (*Letters* 5:156). For Lamb, his poem represents a common motif of warning and charity. He plays upon the trope of the disenfranchised fortune teller who is both helpful and dangerous in her freedom. Even more than the pastoral cottage dweller, the gypsy represents Nature because she must live directly from the land and others' contributions.

Lamb responds to Hood's comments in a January 29, 1829 letter to B.W. Procter in which he sarcastically muses over the exclusion of his poem and invites Procter to

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study it for the offense:

> Barry, study that sonnet. It is curiously and perversely elaborate. 'Tis a choking subject, and therefore the reader is directed to the structure of it. See you? and was this a fourteener to be rejected by a trumpery annual? forsooth, 't would shock all mothers; and may all mothers, who would so be shocked, be dom'd! as if mothers were such sort of logicians as to infer the future hanging of their child from the theoretical hangibility (or capacity of being hanged, if the judge pleases) of every infant born with a neck on. Oh B.C., my whole heart is faint, and my whole head is sick (how is it?) at this damned, canting, *unmasculine unbawdy* (I had almost said) age! Don't show this to your child's mother or I shall be Orpheusized, scattered into Hebras. Damn the King, lords, commons, and specially (as I said on Musell Hill on a Sunday when I could get no beer a quarter before one) all bishops, priests, and curates. (5:158-60, emphasis added)

Lamb's frustration with the "unmasculine unbawdy" age refers directly to the popularity of annuals and his criticism of their feminine nature, if not a criticism of the entire female race for being illogical and unsophisticated. Representing this commodified patriarchal femininity, Hood has rejected Lamb for (as Lamb sees it) being too graphic, truthful and harsh – a criticism that Lamb suffered from others.

Jacqueline Pearson notes that "William Godwin urged Charles Lamb to tone down his 'shocking' description of the blinding Polyphemus in *The Adventures of Ulysses*

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not because this is unsuitable for children but because it would result in 'excluding the female sex from among your readers,' and some be commercially disastrous" (*Women's* 19). According to Pearson, Byron and Keats used "overtly sexual description as a way of repelling female readers" (19). Lamb's "The Gypsy Malison," then, could have been unconsciously calculated to repel his intended audience – or perhaps consciously considering Lamb's apparent disdain for the genre. Hood's replacement contribution is much more mild. Instead of questioning the primary role for women within an idealized patriarchy (motherhood), he offers a celebration (of sorts) of woman's martyrdom while keeping her within the confines of patriarchal definitions.

Scholars often assume that the annuals adhered to absolutely no literary aesthetic; in fact, Andrew Boyle suggests that literati "offered the sweepings of their desks – the worst poems of the best authors" (iv). Lee Erickson argues that the annuals contained merely the "left-handed work of great authors" (31). Both of these comments suggest that editors accepted any writing by a popular author. However, Thomas Hood shatters this assumption, not only as it concerns appropriateness of the piece, but also a literary aesthetic. Hood rejects John Clare's poem "To the Rural Muse" because of its literary quality and requests him to "write one of your Songs to Mary – or suchlike, it would be just the thing" (qtd. in Hood's *Letters*, ed. Morgan 109). Clare obliges with "Thou Art Gone" but later comments that 'these Annuals are rather teazing to write for as what one often thinks good the Editors return back as good for nothing while another gives them the preference & what one thinks nothing of they often condescend to praise" (109). Clare's interaction with the annuals was, on the whole, helpful to his reputation and professionalization. However, this interaction evidences the subjective nature of literary

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aesthetics.

Editor Frederic Shoberl, however, welcomed Richard Polwhele's contribution, "To a Young Lady Playing at Chess," to the 1834 *Forget Me Not* (325). Polwhele, a well-known poet by this time, offers a well-constructed, brief poem that hints at the author's 1798 diatribe, *The Unsex'd Females*, against Mary Wollstonecraft. Polwhele's *Females* poem, published in the same year as Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*, has been described as a "a satiric critique of the feminist principles expounded by Mary Wollstonecraft and her followers" (UVA Introduction). In the poem, he attacks Mary Wollstonecraft's politics by criticizing her personal affairs (with which he was intimately familiar after having read Godwin's ill-produced but well-intentioned *Memoirs of the Author of the Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, published posthumously, 1798). University of Virginia's E-Text Introduction to the poem concludes that

> From Godwin's biography Polwhele garnered the fodder he needed to take shots at Wollstonecraft's history of "licentious" love affairs, and particularly her relationships with the painter Henry Fuseli and the American revolutionary Gilbert Imlay. According to Polwhele, these liaisons were indicative of the poor moral character one could only expect to find in a "woman who has broken through all religious restraints" (28-29), who has rejected the laws of Nature and of Nature's God: "Nature is the grand basis of all laws human and divine: and the woman, who has no regard to nature, either in the decoration of her person, or the culture of her mind, will soon 'walk after the flesh, in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government'" (6). The despising of government both by man and

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> by monarch, the rejection of God and Nature (i.e., the "natural" intellectual and qualitative differences between the genders) in favor of Reason and social refiguration, and the abandonment of domestic duty for the pleasures of sexual self-fulfillment are for Polwhele all symptoms of the same disease, the "Gallic frenzy" that has infected and unsexed the English woman.

In his poem, Polwhele names eight other women authors who essentially deny their own natural sentimental gender.

Polwhele's *Forget Me Not* poem is obviously meant to equate the strategies of an intellectual game with the strategies of becoming the proper married woman. In the title, the young lady does not even engage in chess but plays "at" it, as if a child's game. The final stanza declares:

> And now, in stale-mate or in scholars,
> Whether you play for love or dollars,
> The game may terminate:
> And, though your labour thus you lose,
> You get your head from out the noose:
> But marriage is – *check-mate*! (326)

This last stanza punctuates the game of marriage, which rescues the young lady. Jacqueline Pearson, in reviewing the 1778 conduct manual *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, finds that marriage is necessary to control femininity: "femininity is 'natural' and innate, yet a constant struggle is needed to maintain it" (*Women's* 47). In the poem, Polwhele's lady completes the game, with some ambiguous entity declaring checkmate, rescuing the woman her current state as if she is a helpless victim – of her own femininity or the game itself is not clear. However, the young lady is not clearly the

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winner here: The act of marriage terminates the young lady's intellectual pursuit. This femininity presented by Polwhele attempts to harness and finalize the social role of women. His female player only mimics being intellectual, never quite fulfilling it. In this scenario, Polwhele presents a fantasy of social control and mimics Lamb's critique of women's "unmasculine" intellect (or complete lack thereof).

But, not all critiques of feminine were as pejorative and protective: Felicia Hemans consistently contributed poetry to the annuals that challenged this patriarchal feminine. In the 1825 *Literary Souvenir*, Hemans delivers a poetic representation of a mother's dedication to her child in "The Mother and Child":

> Where art thou, Boy?– Heaven, heaven! the babe is playing
> Even on the margin of the dizzy steep!
> Haste–hush! a breath, my agony betraying,
> And he is gone!– beneath him rolls the deep!
> Could I but keep the bursting cry suppress'd,
> And win him back in silence to my breast!
>
> Thou 'rt safe!– Thou com'st, with smiles my fond arms meeting
> Blest, fearless child!– I, *I* have tasted death!
> Nearer! that I may *feel* thy warm heart beating!
> And see thy bright hair floating in my breath!
> Nearer! to still my bosom's yearning pain, –
> I clasp thee now, mine own! Thou 'rt here again! (64)

Keeping in mind that this poem was inspired by an engraving (as was the tradition with annuals) (see **Figure 8.2:** "Mother and Child" engraving), Hemans constructs a maternal ideal: The mother agonizes over her child's imminent death, but, at the same time, the language celebrates her maternal power as is evidenced with the child's trust and innocence. In seeing her child playing near the cliff, the mother experiences death before the child can even sense any danger. And, even when the child is safe back in her arms, the mother still feels a sense of loss, a "yearning pain" for the potential outcome. In the

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engraving, we see the mother's left breast exposed to the child, and also to readers as the voyeurs. The mother's face is partially hidden in the shadows of the darkened sky, drawing attention to her highlighted breast. The breast is not sexualized but is instead an enticement to the young, cherubic child. In fact, though the wind seems to propel all of the mother's clothing away from her body and towards safety, her left hand seems to be purposefully revealing her left breast instead of struggling to cover it against the wind's force. The mother understands that her breast holds more power than the outstretched arm. The boy's gaze and hand do not match the level of hers but are pointed towards her breast, his source of nurturing, comfort and sustenance. The image invites the child, as well as the viewer, back into safety. The light falls onto the woman's chest and lurches through her arm to point the viewer to the light-encircled child. This use of light links the child and the breast in an unbroken moment of desire: desire for the breast (by the child) and desire to rescue (by the mother).

With Hemans' poem, and specifically in the accompanying engraving, the reader evaporates into the child's persona because of the overwhelming projection of maternity, rescue and safety. The waters below (always a baptismal trope) and the liminal space (represented by the dangerous cliff) are rejected as the mother entices child and reader into her arms and to her breast. In addition, the gaze of the reader is captured through the representative breast instead of being engaged through the mother's direct gaze.

The highlighted breast is merely a fragment of the female body. The reader, as voyeur, gazes on this fragmented female body in its salvation but does not become this body. The mother's body cannot be penetrated with the reader's gaze. Instead, the reader penetrates the mother's frantic intellectual position and observes her attempt to control

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emotion and rational thought to resolve the dilemma. The reader experiences this instead of the typical hysteria[9] which women were thought to melt into. Hemans' mother exhibits strength, reason and duty in an alterative rendering of feminine. The literary annual, too, entices the reader with representations of women's bodies (despite not being sexualized) and draws her (the reader) into its salvation. The question is, then, a salvation from what? Patriarchy, by providing an image of an autonomous woman? Femininity, by saving women from themselves?

The poetic moments by Polwhele and Hemans offer varying degrees of conduct to each annual's readers. While Polwhele's poem declares marriage triumphant (and the woman defeated), Hemans' poem enacts an urgency in maternal instinct and autonomy. With her poem, the speaker (identified only as a mother) lacks the demarcating role of wife. No mention is made of husband, a physical home or an ideologic home. She is free from social constraints though burdened by her responsibility to her male child.[10] Polwhele's poem provides structure (through marriage) to the young lady who plays at

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[9] During the nineteenth century, hysteria was thought typically to be caused by "reproductive disorders, menstrual irregularities and suppressed sexual desire" (Freedman 110-11). However, two French case studies by Jean-Baptiste Louyer-Villermay note that the women suffered hysteria not from being coddled or from some sexual desire but from lack of sustenance and their "impressionable type of personality" (110-113). See Elaine Showalter's discussion of British culture and female hysteria in *The Female Malady*. See also extended discussions about the relationship between literature and madness in Shoshana Felman's *Writing and Madness* and Gilbert and Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic*.

[10] The child's pubis is directed toward the viewer but is not specific in its genitalia; Hemans supplies the child's biological gender.

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intellectual games. Hemans' poem exposes maternal drives without judging them.[11] In the case of Hemans' poem, the feminine is recuperated and empowered. The mother rescues her child from immediate threat and in doing so recognizes her responsibility for further "mothering" not just in physical safety but also intellectually – teaching the child to avoid harm on his own. This conflated image of femininity within the annuals offers an opportunity to its women readers to not necessarily denounce this patriarchal femininity, but to develop an alternative feminine from within the patriarchal restrictions – a subversion of this patriarchal femininity.

The gaze in the "Mother and Child" engraving engages directly only the two characters within the scene. The reader is left as a voyeur to watch the captured moment. Even when gazing beyond the boundaries of an annual's scene, the subject often averts her (usually a woman or a child) gaze towards an invisible point above and beyond her head, a sight line that leaves the viewer wondering what is beyond the scene. The subject's upturned face allows the viewer to inspect the beauty of the face and neck. However, if the gaze of the subject is directed outside of the scene and specifically positioned so that the reader can lock eyes directly with the subject, the scene opens outside of the work and enfolds the reader into the moment – almost as if the reader and subject become intertwined in a doubled gaze that looks both inside and outside of the scene. The reader is incorporated into the scenic moment at the same time that the subject leaves the scenic page to engage the reader. Whichever the two-way path runs, the reader becomes an agent in the engraving's moment.

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[11] After all, how did the child get that close to the edge in the first place? Is it a symptom of neglect?

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In *Romanticism & Gender*, Anne Mellor argues that the engravings in annuals (erroneously calling them "gift books") "promoted an image of the ideal woman as specular, as the object rather than the owner of the gaze" (111). However, Mellor does not address the engraving subjects who *do* engage a viewer's gaze – and there were more than a few. This engaged gaze appears only once in an annual published prior to 1828,[12] "The Fortune Teller" in the 1825 *Friendship's Offering*. (See **Figure 8.3**: "The Fortune Teller") Essentially, the scene does not does not allow a reader to be a voyeur but incorporates her into the specular viewing. The viewer is invited into "The Fortune Teller" scene through the eyes of a smiling child who is getting her palm read by a standing woman, most likely a gypsy. The woman, on whose lap the child sits, holds the girl's hand out to the fortune teller, but the child is not paying attention to the interaction. The fortune teller directs her predictions and readings towards the sitting woman while the child seems at play with the viewer. Because of this directed gaze from the child, the viewer, too, is having her fortune told. The light and unbroken movement from the child's gaze through her arm and to the fortune teller makes the viewer implicit in the scene.

The scene is one that marks each individual with a class standing: the child is well-dressed and being handled (not roughly though); the sitting woman commands both

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[12] This survey of engravings in annuals is limited to annuals that were successful and lived in long runs that could be collected (e.g., *Literary Souvenir, Forget Me Not, Friendship's Offering* and *Keepsake*). Other annuals, including the *Juvenile Forget Me Not* and *Amulet*, are not included because they represent different topics with variant audiences (children and religion). Hood's short-lived *Gem* is included because Hood edited all four volumes (1829-32), which lends a consistency to the work; in addition, he continued his work as the sole contributor to the *Comic Annual*.

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the fortune teller and the child by extending the child's right hand, but she does not actually touch the fortune teller; the teller stands with a supplicating bend to her shoulders in deference to the woman, not the child. The single right-handed finger that the teller holds up can either scold the child or offer advice. In all of this, the child is completely disengaged from the scene; smiling and playful, she is most fascinated with the reader. Her slack body belies her inviting, complicit gaze. The girl, whose body almost completely covers the sitting woman, overwhelms the scene. Her gaze and body are both a conduit incorporating the reader and a shield protecting the sitting woman from the fortune teller. This child supplies a sense of community to the scene, drawing the reader into the captured moment with only her gaze.

Only a few engravings after 1828 directly engage the reader by offering a visual connection between reader and engraving scene. By 1830, women with this engaged gaze began appearing in many annuals' portraits. 1828 and 1830 also signals a shift in the literary annual's purpose, becoming books of beauty in which women's portraits dominated the annual's engravings and celebrated representations of femininity. Some engaged engravings include:

1828 *Bijou*	Frontispiece (child) "Portrait of a Lady"
1828 *Keepsake*	"The Peasant Girl" "Virginia"
1829 *Bijou*	"The Right Honorable Lady Wallscourt"
1829 *Gem*	"Young Helvetian"
1829 *FMN*	"Ellen Strathallen"

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1829 *Keepsake*	"Mrs. Peel" "The Country Girl"
1830 *Bijou*	"The Blue Bell"
1830 *FMN*	"The Spanish Princess," "Flower Girl of Savoy" "The Improvisatrice"
1830 *FO*	"Lyra" "Mine Own"

This proliferation of portraiture and engaged scenes invites the readers/viewers into the fantasy world of the engraving, offering a path into and out of the idealized feminine scenes.

III. A Feminine Construction

These feminine and masculine qualities, contradictory as they are, appeared not only in the ideology resident in the annuals, but also in the annual's physical construction. Ackermann's original *Forget Me Not* stood at only 3" x 5", the traditional duodecimo size. Though not uncommon at this time, this size invokes portability and freedom from domestic space. Another genre, the novel, was also constructed in duodecimo or octavo with its largest audience in mind: women readers. Richard Altick argues that these proportions were directly related to the size of ladies' skirt pockets to allow freedom and portability:

> [O]ne of the reasons why the eighteenth-century novel was issued in handy 12mo size[13] was that it was read by so many women. When reading ceased to be confined to its traditional indoor locale

[13] Duodecimo.

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> and was practiced outdoors and in public vehicles, pocket-sized volumes became more and more necessary. (278)

The literary annual's initial size, though perfectly portable, contradicted the feminine delicacy of the volume's paper and silk boards that was "scarcely safe out of the drawing room or boudoir" (*The Mirror* Dec 1827 Supp).

The December 1827 *Mirror* review also notes that the 1828 *Friendship's Offering* presents a unique alternative to all of the fragile coverings: a materially stable volume bound in sturdy embossed leather bindings. An annual could always be rebound in a personal selection, but the original binding was meant to be enjoyed indoors instead of strolling through the park – another unconscious attempt to mitigate a woman's freedom outside the home. Portability became a moot point when the size of annual volumes stretched to accommodate the public's demand for larger engravings, issued in larger octavo and the more luxurious quarto format (see **Figure 8.4**: Example of Quarto size, 1844 *Friendship's Offering*).

In another move to present a consumable (and controlled) femininity, Frederick Mansel Reynolds and Charles Heath allegedly stumbled onto a warehouse of red watered silk, bought four thousand yards at three shillings a yard (Watts 1:269-70) and covered the boards of the 1828 *Keepsake* with it – thereby producing a textual object constructed from material normally used for a woman's skirt. (See **Figure 8.5**: Silk-Covered Boards of the *Keepsake*)[14] By 1829, *The Gem*, *The Bijou* and the *Literary Souvenir* all came to

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[14] Silk is vastly different from the stiff cloth coverings typically used at this time. For a discussion of cloth coverings, see "Book Production: The Machine-Press Period 1800-1950," *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Philip Gaskell 189-310.

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the debutante ball clothed in similar crimson silk. By 1832, Ackermann had changed his paper paste-boards to the crimson silk in solidarity with the other "ladies." Citing Cynthia Lawford's findings, Patricia Pulham notes that the rubber used "in the new backing techniques in which binders had invested 'was also being used in women's corsets to tighten the stays'" ("Jewels" 14). The binding created the restrictions on both of these feminine bodies; however, the binding glue was not used until 1830, a significant amount of time after the annuals had become popular.

Similar to the clothing that garbs Shoberl's 1834 *Forget Me Not* (quoted at the beginning of this chapter), these crimson-covered annuals market a fragmented female body: A skirt not only creates a boundary between a woman's body and the public, but it also shields them from the improper touch of a profligate public. And, a silk skirt indicates a certain amount of wealth and class standing. The long skirt, made of heavy silk and rustling about her legs, restricts her physically and reminds a woman of the moral boundaries of proper behavior (for lifting up her skirt is not only an act of defiance but also one of revelation to those around her). Access to a woman's skirt is similar to access to her dressing room, a view that Jonathan Swift inventories in filthy reality in "The Lady's Dressing Room," published 1732. The space, both under her skirt and within her room, even in the early nineteenth century, are still confidential and private. The silk material used by Heath invokes that private space but titillates at the same time because a reader may open the skirted volume and venture inside.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in American slang "pocket-book" – a form on which the literary annual was modeled – also refers to "the female pudenda" (1993 addition, CD-Rom), a euphemism that (albeit) anachronistically sexualizes the

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literary annual's textual body. Admittedly, even a crimson-covered annual does not specifically suggest female genitalia (unless we infer that the color of the material refers to menstruation). However, fragmented forms of a woman's body and mind are incorporated into the ideology and physical aspects of literary annuals. In the following cases, an actual element from the female body is combined with memories and the textual object to create a rendering of passive femininity.

Both Leigh Hunt and John Wilson use a woman's hair to assuage the affected heartache associated with distance and yearning. Hunt, writing for the inaugural 1828 *Keepsake*, pragmatically suggests using hair as a bookmark: "After all, it is easy to combine with a literary keepsake the most precious of all the keepsakes – hair. A braid of it may be used instead of ribbon to mark the page, and attached to the book in the usual way of a register" (18). In place of a ribbon, the lock of hair suggests a connection to both the full body and to memories within the literary annual. Both are memorialized with the act of joining them together. The lock of hair becomes a fetishized piece of woman incorporated into the textual body itself and a fragmented representation of relationship. By mere fetishizing of the hair, Hunt creates a sexual ambiguity about the fragmented female body: the proximity of hair to a body that supposedly remains untouched represents touching what cannot normally and properly be handled (at least without a marriage proposal). By giving a lock of hair, the woman gives a piece of herself that is otherwise taboo and sequestered. She offers, essentially, a fantasy or phantasm of herself – a poignant offer when she cannot properly make a gift of any other part of her body, particularly in any sexualized way. The lock of hair is a constrained sexuality that adds to the annual's feminine sexuality.

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The recipient then owns that fragmented piece of a woman, fantasizing and enacting passions that would otherwise be forbidden in polite society. In John Wilson's "Monologue, or Soliloquy on the Annuals" *(Blackwood's* December 1829), the critic meditates on the current state and purpose of literary annuals, reserving high praise for Ackermann's *Forget Me Not.* Within the article, gender is demarcated with objects and acts of remembrance. The author writes of a scenario that differentiates a man's memory (turning to fantasy) from a woman's memories:

A woman's memory is stirred by images of a setting sun, but her fantasy is of "the friend of our youth . . . at our side, unchanged his voice and his smile; dearer to our eyes than ever, because of some slight, faint, and affecting change wrought on face and figure by climate and by years!" Instead of a lover, the woman's vision indicates a relationship filled with tenderness, friendship and innocence. The male figure is represented to her in writing: "Let it be but his name written with his own hand, on the title-page of a book; or a few syllables on the margin of a favourite passage which long ago we may have read together, 'when life itself was new,' and poetry overflowed the whole world!" Traditionally, individuals represented in writing are preserved in a historical moment; this particular moment inscribes the male figure with agency – his writing represents his intellectual and educated self. He has written himself into perpetual existence.

The female figure in Wilson's soliloquy, however, becomes the subject of desire and is represented through a lock of her hair:

> Or a lock of her hair in whose eyes we first knew the meaning of the word 'depth' applied to the human soul, or the celestial sky! But oh! if death hath stretched out and out into the dim arms of eternity the distance – and

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> removed away into that bourne from which no traveller returns the absence – of her on whose forehead once hung the relic we adore in our despair – what heart may abide the beauty of the ghost that, as at the touch of a talisman, doth sometimes at midnight appear before our sleepless bed, and with pale uplifted arms waft over us – so momentary is the vision – at once a blessing and a farewell!

The female figure has absolutely no language, no written text from which to infer her meaning. She is a ghost figure that does not even have a corporeal existence. The hair becomes the singular representation of her self, and the male figure interpolates that self into a body that has no agency. The male figure in the woman's memory at least has a face and eyes, but the female here only has a forehead and a relic of her own sexuality in that lock of hair. She, unsupervised and mute, appears to him in the most sexualized place, his bedroom. And, his vision (a fantasy really) passes over him in an orgastic moment.

The literary annual, a vehicle for both Hunt and Wilson's references to female hair and the feminine, represents the female body being both protected and commodified in a feminine form. The publishers and editors, then, marketed a version of the female body – an object that British society had attempted to control, hide or shame in public view. Their marketing of "feminine" was contingent upon their ability to control it and the female body, and, by extension, the woman reader.

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IV. A Community of Readers

That woman reader seems to have been discouraged from reading alone, as seen with the transgressive quality of visits to circulating libraries. Even the initial portability of an annual and its gift exchange encourages a shared reading experience. During the early nineteenth century, a mixed audience often gathered to experience a communal reading. The practice of gathering around an individual reader finds some resonance in the days when a single literate person in a household read to others. With the Industrial Revolution and urbanization, familial-type gatherings still occurred, even in the cramped living quarters of the working class. (Though these are not the annual's audience, the image is similar.) However, with the proliferation of twopenny magazines and other cheap reading materials, these gatherings were less about literacy and more about implementing a community.

Charles Knight, publisher of *The Penny Magazine* (1832) and *The Monthly Review* (1826), reacts to this type of communal reading in a prose piece for the 1830 *Friendship's Offering*. The scene depicts eight people of varying ages gathered around a newspaper and gazing directly toward it. (See **Figure 8.6**: "Reading the News" engraving) This scene of reading, outdoors in a semi-desolate location, is clearly not a Wordsworthian pastoral scene. Instead, the group is framed by a distant perspective of an industrialized urban area. They seem to have stopped abruptly, yet congenially, mid-day to hear and/or read the news. This not-quite pastoral community, represented in this gathering by figures such as a baker and a playing child, is voluntarily interrupted by news from the distant city. The newspaper itself represents a particular form of

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information industrialization and is a reminder of the urban community. In addition, the location itself represents a stopping point in travel. The readers share their experience around a hitching post where the newspaper, like a horse, seems hitched to the spot so all can hear the passing news. All participants seem to have spontaneously gathered, drawn together by the news itself instead of the experience of community. Yet, the community still exists and joins a larger urban community from which the newspaper originated.

Though this scene celebrates the gathering and the newspaper, in its accompanying illustrative prose, "Reading the News," Knight laments the spread of information and its impact on "heart" (75-79). Instead, he celebrates pastoral people for their oral education through remembered and inherited songs, another type of community. Though Knight complains about the dilemma of cultural inheritance and the inundation of media, both "scenes" depict a seemingly diverse and random community drawn together by the printed word – with the promise of mediated knowledge and information.

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that very large communities are formed simply by the act of reading similar materials:

> [The community] is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. . . . it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for

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> so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (6-7)

Though discussing the nation state and national consciousness, the communion perceived among a particular group establishes a comradery.

All of these scenes of reading can be extended to a middle class space, the drawing room, where literary annuals were witnessed and read among a mixed company. For as little as twelve shillings, readers could dedicate themselves to witnessing, sharing and discussing finely illustrated portraits, landscapes and foreign scenes – a sophisticated performance that established community in the drawing-room's conflated private/ public space. In addition, the space was exclusive. One had to be invited, as opposed to the engraving's spontaneous and random gathering. The drawing room is reserved (or preserved) for social company and usually presents an ideal, rather than a realistic, view of a household. Margaret, a character in Elizabeth Gaskell's 1854 *North and South*, finds herself ushered into a drawing room. Though set in the Victorian period, the space is reminiscent of any early nineteenth-century drawing room: cold, but opulent and lacking evidence of human interaction:

> The yard, too with the great doors in the dead wall as a boundary, was but a dismal look-out for the sitting-rooms of the house – as Margaret found when she had mounted the old-fashioned stairs, and been ushered into the drawing-room, the three windows of which went over the front door and the room on the right-hand side of the entrance. There was no one in the drawing-room. It seemed as though no one had been in it since the day when the furniture was bagged up with as much care as if the house was to

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> be overwhelmed with lava, and discovered a thousand years hence. The walls were pink and gold; the pattern on the carpet represented bunches of flowers on a light ground, but it was carefully covered up in the centre by a linen drugget, glazed and colourless. The window-curtains were lace; each chair and sofa had its own particular veil of netting, or knitting. Great alabaster groups occupied every flat surface, safe from dust under their glass shades. *In the middle of the room, right under the bagged-up chandelier, was a large circular table, with smartly-bound books arranged at regular intervals round the circumference of its polished surface, like gaily-coloured spokes of a wheel.* Everything reflected light, nothing absorbed it. The whole room had a painfully spotted, spangled, speckled look about it, which impressed Margaret so unpleasantly that she was hardly conscious of the peculiar cleanliness required to keep everything so white and pure in such an atmosphere, or of the trouble that must be willingly expended to secure that effect of icy, snowy discomfort. Wherever she looked there was evidence of care and labour, but not care and labour to procure ease, to help on habits of tranquil home employment; solely to ornament, and then to preserve ornament from dirt or destruction. (132-33, emphasis added)

This description reflects the sentiments of a working class character, viewing a room not as someone with leisure but as someone who must labor within it. The room is packaged away as if it represents a bygone era of luxury and leisure, much like the fate of the literary annuals by the 1850s. Regardless of the depreciating value of the drawing room,

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this verbal illustration renders a vision of the space and its contents. It does not represent the ultimate domesticity of the kitchen or the veiled privacy of the boudoir. It represents the public image of "home," a hallway cushioning the domestic space from the external world. And, the controlling entity of the drawing room is a woman, the lady of the house.

This control (or lack of) essentially becomes an extension of woman herself. During the early nineteenth century, the masculine is represented by everything outside the home, including science, business, media, work, etc., anything that requires logic and reason. The drawing room, as a conflated public/private space, is a middle class woman's gateway to the masculine, patriarchal system. Amy Cruse argues that the drawing room is a representation of a lady's knowledge:

> As it was generally recognized that the drawing-room was designed, not, primarily, for the use and enjoyment of the family, but for the entertainment of visitors, so the drawing-room books were not necessarily such as the owner loved, but such as she thought would make a good impression on her guests. They must be ornamental – shabby bindings were as much out of place in a drawing-room as shabby frocks. (276)

Similar to the preserved books, "like gaily-coloured spokes of a wheel," in Gaskell's novel, display books in the drawing room represent intellectual acumen and understanding. In George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, Ned Plymdale and Rosamund pore over Ned's gift, reading and witnessing together – at least until Dr. Lydgate inserts himself into the scene as the dissenting (and very masculine bachelor) figure. Dr. Lydgate, Eliot's representation of morality and science in *Middlemarch*, ridicules the *Keepsake*

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volume with a "short, scornful laugh and tossed up his chin as if in wonderment at human folly" (263). Having no patience for artistic forays into sentimentality, Lydgate renders his critique of Plymdale's gift:

> "I wonder which would turn out to be the silliest–the engravings or the writing here," said Lydgate in his most convinced tone, while he turned over the pages *quickly, seeming to see all through the book in no time* . . . "Do look at this bridegroom coming out of church: did you ever see such a 'sugared invention,' as the Elizabethans used to say? Did any haberdasher ever look so smirking? Yet I will answer for it the story makes him one of the first gentlemen in the land." (264, emphasis added)

Lydgate ultimately destroys the communal experience by breaking the leisurely stroll through the volume's contents, abruptly inserting logic into the physical space (the drawing room) and imposing reality onto the fictional space – all distinctly masculine features.

But, this middle class scene could not have supported a communal reading of a newspaper or periodical. Periodicals were materially unstable and could not maintain a consistent appearance, mainly because of the self-destructive quality of newsprint. Works that represent the intellectual were also a marker of the masculine; reading the more difficult works required education and rational understanding beyond the quotidian and domestic. Despite their masculine qualities and their ephemeral materials, many journals and periodicals entered the drawing room in addition to the patriarchally-inscribed annual. Similarly, the annual's contents are were not wholly absent of masculine qualities. After all, Alaric Watts often aired his political and literary

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grievances in the *Literary Souvenir*, much to the chagrin of reviewers (as discussed in previous chapters). With the entree of these reading materials, the feminine drawing room becomes infused with a masculine philosophy of politics, power and community. Literary annuals, marketed initially within the confines of patriarchal ideals of femininity, entered the feminine domain of the drawing room but represented more than these patriarchal ideals. Drawing rooms and annuals both become spaces represented as feminine (both pejorative and empowered) and infiltrated by the masculine.

This infusion of the patriarchal into the private realm of the feminine was hardly new: Even though a woman held domestic dominion over the home (including the drawing room, boudoir and kitchen) science and education began inserting themselves into women's private sphere. In a documentary account of Victorian women, Estelle B. Freedman and Erna Olafson Hellerstein point out that

> [e]ven for the middle and upper classes, the private sphere over which women allegedly ruled slowly lost its isolation and autonomy as professionals like doctors and educators became the authorities on private matters such as childbirth, sexuality and the raising of children. As the century wore on, more and more experts from the public world of the professions influenced home life with their standardized, printed advice, gradually displacing the traditional lore and rituals of female culture that women had customarily transmitted to each other orally and informally. (119)

Leisure-reading middle class women brought idealized, patriarchal femininity into their homes by embracing annuals. The masculine influence seemingly guided their

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definitions of femininity to the point that even the home was not governed by woman but by patriarchal ideals of home.

And, though this class of women possessed more freedom than their working and lower class sisters, they were still restricted in their pursuit of amusement. In a 1934 article, "The Press," the author notes the limitations placed on women's leisure experience in the nineteenth century:

> For multitudes of the respectable population, outside entertainments, such as the theatre or the music-hall provided, were practically non-existent. Dancing was a snare of the devil. Even concerts, though Catalani might be signing and Paganini playing, were not encouraged by the unworldly; and it was not till the undeniable "goodness" of Jenny Lind conquered the prejudice, that anything but oratorio was considered safe. Nonconformists and Claphamites, therefore, on evenings not set aside for missionary meetings, shunned outside dangers, and spent the time in "profitable" instruction and "harmless" entertainment. Cards, of course, were forbidden, and, while a game of bagatelle might be allowed, billiards, even in the home, were never mentioned. (Kellett, qtd. in Altick 86)

In contrast to the social restrictions expected of a lady, the 1828 *Keepsake*'s editor (Reynolds) uses the metaphor of a card game to describe editorial prefaces, but quickly distances himself and the *Keepsake* by accusing others of strengthening a hand (or text) with a preface. Of course, Reynolds writes, his preface is not a trump card and is therefore superior to any trickery inherent to using a trump card. The editor both acknowledges and denies the illicit practice of playing cards – a move that appropriates

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masculine behavior in opposition to appropriate feminine behavior. The editor redeems his use of an inappropriate metaphor in the next paragraph by referring to the *Keepsake* as a debutante in a family of annuals – a decidedly domestic and feminine reference.

True to the Kellett's description above, Rosamund, the recipient of a *Keepsake* in George Eliot's novel, enjoys certain freedoms but must adhere to a sense of propriety. She may read this type of preface, knowing that she is socially ordained and appropriately feminine by doing so. She participates in communal reading (and accepts gifts from suitors) as a form of social gathering. But, her acts of public reading (especially in mixed company) are restricted to the acceptably feminine volumes like the annuals or other "bowdlerized" classics. Susan Gorsky notes that *The Family Shakespeare*, published in 1818 by Thomas Bowdler, contained

> oddly expurgated versions of the plays, changing words and altering scenes to protect the innocence of daughters in the reading circle. . . . With the innocent young girl as touchstone, editors cut and altered words in contemporary and earlier works. First to go were unorthodox opinions and hints of sexuality – references to the body, passion or pregnancy. The editors' purpose and defense lay overtly in the desire to uphold the contemporary moral ideal and covertly in the desire to avoid offending readers. (14-15)

These bowdlerized editions stem from a desire to control the reaction to reading materials or to infuse the reading environment with a sense of patriarchal protection. But not every reading opportunity was controlled by such a watchful eye.

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With the introduction of circulating libraries and "the rise of library societies, reading clubs, civic libraries, early public libraries and commercial libraries" (Pearson 160), access to reading materials for various classes of readers was less contingent on owning a book. This moderately open-access (for a yearly subscription fee) allowed readers the opportunity to peruse marginalized and variant materials – especially women, who used the library as one of the few socially acceptable places to which a women could travel alone (160-61). Edward Jacobs, in analyzing the catalogs of Lowndes and Heavisides circulating libraries, found that fiction was eighty percent of the libraries' holdings, and over half of those authors were women (15-16). Though Jacobs' research was conducted on these eighteenth-century rural libraries, the numbers provide an example of the types of literature that patrons could repeatedly borrow. Literary annuals, however, were not meant for lending or circulating libraries – especially since circulating libraries were associated with a transgressive sexuality that was fueled "by the constant assumption that women borrow from circulating libraries only the most pernicious kind of novels, texts which themselves were constantly identified with the female body and sexuality," Jacqueline Pearson notes (165). There is no evidence to support the annual's presence in these spaces. Instead, the annual was meant as a private communal reading experience to be owned, incorporated and personalized into the owner's memory, a space discussed in an earlier chapter.

However, the annuals were privately leant between friends and often transferred with a letter of thanks: In a January 1828 letter, Charles Lamb asks Edward Moxon to send his thanks and regards to Thomas Hood's family for loaning him a copy of *The Keepsake*, sending "it back by Mrs. Hazlitt on Thursday" (*Letters of Charles Lamb* 114).

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Since this literary annual had just been printed in December 1827, the Hoods must have only recently acquired and read it. For a genre supposedly demonstrating social control, the literary annual certainly travels among its readers and consumers with ease. Though scorned by the public press for their feminine qualities, the annuals draw together a larger community that is only aware of each other's patronage – very similar to Anderson's "imagined community," cited previously. This perceptual comradery offers to readers stability and a sense of belonging.

Even the literary annuals themselves (as completed works), represent a larger community and inherently become a representation of national consciousness – even if it is for a gendered set that was limited by social controls. In a later publication, *The Women of England, Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits* (1839), Sarah Stickney Ellis defines this bifurcation as the doctrine of separate spheres: Men and women influence their own domains, publicly and privately, respectively. Though simple, reality was a bit more complex. In *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, Nancy Armstrong suggests that this separation between men and women came about because of popularity of conduct manuals; she argues that these books were written to a specifically female audience, and though an attempt at socially dictated a woman's existence, were nonetheless empowering to a woman's intellect. With industrialization approaching in the late eighteenth century, male figures did not command the household any more. The basis for a strong nation relied on the strength of the home – run, of course, by women. Armstrong notes that

> The household simultaneously recentered the scattered community at myriad points to form the nuclear family, a social organization with a

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> mother rather than a father as its center. The very fact of its interlocking symmetries suggests that the doubled social world was clearly a myth before it was put into practice, as was indeed the case for almost a century. (95)

During the nineteenth century and Britain's imperial expansion, woman came to represent a larger "home." By representing the individual home, women also represent the idea of homeland and are made responsible for taking care of the national consciousness, despite their supposed lack of reason, logic and agency.

In the Preface to the 1833 *Friendship's Offering,* editor Thomas Pringle describes the onslaught of annual titles as a metaphoric British fleet – as if they are all elements of the real nineteenth-century powerful British naval force that would later conquer and incorporate foreign cultures into Britannia's own:

> The Annual Christmas Fleet (to adopt the commercial style) having sustained very considerable damage in the late heavy gales, from which 'The Trade' has suffered so severely, it is a matter of no slight satisfaction to the Owners of the 'Friendship's Offering, of London,' to be enabled to announce to their correspondents at home and abroad, that their good seaworthy vessel (F.O.) has not only accomplished her last voyage in perfect safety, while so many others of superior tonnage or pretensions have either actually foundered at sea or sprung most perilous leaks, but that she now clears out for another trip under very auspicious circumstances; having, with a view to encounter still more securely whatever weather may blow, taken on board a capital supply of naval

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> stores and materials (sails, cordage, chaincables, blocks, spars, anchors, and so forth) formerly belonging to 'The Winter's Wreath, of London and Liverpool,' a well built and well found brig, recently purchased by the present owners (S.E. and Co.); and the most active and steady hands from the late crew of said vessel having been also engaged for the Friendship's Offering, in addition to her ordinary compliment of superior seamen. (v-vi)

Pringle refers to the absorption of one annual by another while, at the same time, acknowledges the community within the genre itself. (This masculine metaphor, however, is slightly unusual in the annuals; typically, they are referred to as a family of debutantes and other such communities dominated by women.) However, this metaphor refers to an absorption that connotes the giving and taking of the literary annual as a gift. And, even the act of giving enacts a sense of community

Judith Pascoe, quoting Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things*, notes that "gifts 'link things to persons' and 'embed the flow of things in the flow of social relations'" (176). Though this flow is not necessarily economically motivated, the literary annual conflates commodity and gift in a form in which sentiment becomes a value – a commodified object "that has been about a friend's person completes the value of the keepsake" (Hunt 15). Leigh Hunt further suggests that

> where such an affectionate liberty can be taken either in right of playing the teacher, or because the giver of the book is sure of a sympathy in point of taste with the person receiving it, that said giver should mark his or her favourite passages throughout (as

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> delicately as need be), *and so present, as it were, the author's and the giver's minds as one.* (16 1828 *Keepsake*, emphasis added)

The presenter in effect becomes an author with these annotations or his inscription.

When the annuals first appeared on the market, publishers and editors borrowed particular elements from other successful genres, including the album and the almanac. As discussed in an earlier chapter, the 1824 *Friendship's Offering* includes blank diary pages that invite the reader or consumer to mark and incorporate herself into the textuality of the annual. Through writing, this person becomes an agent in the physical production of the work – very similar to that agency offered by an albums' blank pages. During 1824, Watts produced his 1825 *Literary Souvenir*, purposefully excluding blank pages and information. Interestingly, the *Forget Me Not* never includes blank diary pages for its consumer. Instead, it includes several tables of information, including hackney coach fares and popular statistics. Ackermann always excluded the reader from the physical production of his annual; however, the *Forget Me Not* evolved to allow the reader to assert her own ideology, especially with the inclusion of poems by Landon or Hemans.

Instead of blank pages, Watts capitalized on literary fame and included facsimiles of several famous authors' signatures. (See previous **Figure 4.17**) During this year and the following, *Friendship's Offering* altered its format, completely excising the almanac- and album-like qualities to create a more marketable completely fabricated book of printed memories. Since women were the general owners of albums, pocket-books and literary annuals, their feminine manuscripts were disallowed with the absence of these blank pages. (Their positions as readers, consumers and owners of the annuals, though,

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leant them an ideological strength even in the face of this manuscript exclusion.) The only remaining blankness appears on the inscription page, an area embellished and partially controlled by someone other than the final recipient. (See **Figure 8.7:** Embossed Inscription Plate)

Unlike the dedication page, which is pre-produced and printed simultaneously on all copies, the inscription page gestures to a unique relationship between presenter and recipient. The dedication page, though, signals a larger, more public homage to one particular individual – almost as if the printed dedication page provides an example for an inscriber's inscription. The 1825 *Friendship's Offering* and 1826 *Literary Souvenir* are the first to offer dedications to various entities, usually inscribed to the current monarch or some patron. Interestingly, the *Forget Me Not* never engages in the practice of dedication pages. Both *Friendship's Offering* and the *Literary Souvenir* include a dedication page with every volume except their first (1824 and 1825, respectively). Commanding attention on a full page immediately following the verso[15] of the title page, the dedication in the 1826 *Literary Souvenir* begs:

TO
HER GRACE THE
DUCHESS OF BEDFORD
THIS VOLUME
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY HER GRACE'S
OBLIGED AND VERY OBEDIENT SERVANT
THE EDITOR.

When present, the dedication page replicates supplications reminiscent of the patronage system. The page itself was safe from possible excision during the re-binding process

[15] The verso is the right-hand page of an open book.

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because of its protected location behind the title page. However, because the inscription page precedes both the title page and frontispiece, it may fall victim to a binder's cut during re-binding. This makes the inscription page dispensable regardless of its ability to engender a unique textuality for each volume.

Gerard Genette categorizes both of these types of pages as "paratexts": extraneous "liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside the book that form the complex mediation between book, author, publisher and reader" ([i]). As discussed in a prior chapter, paratexts are not generally the linguistic codes embedded within a work but constitute title pages, dedications, inscriptions, adverts, forewords, etc., that implicate "a book's private and public history" ([i]). According to Genette, an inscription "enhances the work's material value by making this book different" (142). With a signature and/or a date inscribed on the opening pages of an annual, the inscriber authorizes him/herself into the life of the work as well as the life of the recipient. A relationship is actuated, and the inscriber grants himself/herself agency through the authority of a handwritten annotation. The inscriber writes the relationship into existence on this page.

Alternatively, the inscribee is, as Genette describes, "always a potential reader at the same time that he is a real person, and one of the presuppositions of the inscription is that the author expects, in exchange for the gratification, a reading" (141). Though marked upon the page and now part of the archive that is a literary annual, the inscription necessitates another agent, the recipient (the inscribee). The inscribee will then become the possessive and meaningful reader who will interact with the work in all of its bibliographic, linguistic and paratextual modes.

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In this scenario between inscriber and inscribee, gender inherently dominates the exchange. Regardless of the actual biological sex of the two, the recipient accepts the inscription without alteration (ideally) – a relationship that mirrors the masculine and feminine roles inscribed into the literary annual itself. However, even these gendered actions are interrupted by an editor's instructions. In the 1829 *Anniversary*, editor Allan Cunningham includes instructions for constructing the best inscription, complete with a sample of script:

> The Vignette on the opposite page is intended to suit the presentation of the Volume with the recurrence of any particular day in the Year. It will be observed that the ancient "Anniversairie" has been taken to adapt it to the purpose . . . . It will be better to use the pencil, rather than the pen, for the purpose of inserting the names of the parties required. [¶] As the first inspection of a design, of the conundrum class, sometimes occasions a momentary misconception or perplexity, it may be as well to remark that the wording, *when found out and filled up*, will resolve itself into something similar to the following:
>
> > TO LADY TEAZLE, *on the* ANNIVERSARIE *of* HER WEDDING *day*, *from* SIR PETER.

Sir Peter Teazle was a cuckold of Richard Sheridan's 1777 farce, "A School for Scandal." Married to a country squire's young daughter, Teazle becomes the victim of deceit, affairs and gossip among the city's fashionable crowd. This inscription, though genuine in its instruction, invokes Sheridan's facetious (and revolving) relationships.

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By using a pencil, the inscriber does not commit to a permanent mark (in reference to the numerous trysts portrayed in Sheridan's play) – even if using the apparatus to avoid mistakes. Pencil markings will temporarily identify the writer but are in danger of fading or being replaced. Using pencil also creates a volume which is eternally transferable through a chain of recipients and presenters. And, on this page, a physical palimpsest of erased names records the provenance of the volume. Despite being represented in the pejorative, this feminine object drips with longevity and historical presence – not exactly the ephemeral sentimentality suggested by Lamb and other detractors.

The reason for this inscription page is an integral part of the literary annual phenomenon – a gift for all seasons. This community of women reading literary annuals typically receive their books as gifts, an exchange that (in my argument) signals the exchange of a feminized textual body: taboo, yet included; exposed, yet accepted. The intimacy of gift-giving, though, requires that both the textual body and the recipient be exposed to the desires of the presenter. But, is this exchange in effect advocating woman as a resistant reader or bringing her under the control of the patriarchal masculinity?

Cindy Dickinson suggests that the gift book,[16] a form of "social currency," effects an exchange that is not necessarily representative of the shared relationship between the presenter and recipient, but is instead a "performance" by the recipient (59, 57). Though the giver institutes the act of exchange, it is the recipient who must validate the

---

[16] Here, I purposefully refer to the gift book, a large category that includes the literary annual in its folds. Please keep in mind, though, that the literary annual and the gift book are not interchangeable genres: all literary annuals are gift books, but not all gift books are literary annuals. (See previous discussions in Chapter Four.)

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relationship by accepting, cherishing and memorializing the sentimental meaning of the object. The gift book was specifically designed to honor such a relationship or key moment through its physical beauty and embellished contents. The recipient reifies these elements through his or her own sentiment and imbues the object with feelings and memories – whether they are in honor of the presenter or not relies on that same recipient.

This gift-exchange occurs in George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) between Maggie and Bob Jakin. Acquainted with each other through Tom, Maggie's brother and Bob's business partner, the exchange is initiated by Bob, a friendly rural character of "easily satisfied ignorance" (Book IV Chp. 3 Paragraph 37) who attempts to lighten Maggie's mood by giving her "a superannuated 'Keepsake'[17] and six or seven numbers of a 'Portrait Gallery'" (Paragraph 10) – all gift books and modified literary annuals. And, since these gift books focused on engravings, Bob also gave her "a bit more print . . . they're cram-full o' print, an' I thought they'd do no harm comin' along wi' these bettermost books" (Paragraph 13). In this pivotal chapter, Maggie's acceptance of the books will eventually allow her to recover from her itinerant malaise. However, it is not the gift books that effect her critical development but the print books that offer enlightenment and knowledge. Still overwhelmed by her own situation, Maggie "forsook her reverie to turn over listlessly the leaves of the 'Portrait Gallery'"[18] only to push "this

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[17] See prior discussion regarding the sale of out-of-date literary annuals at bookstalls; typically, in this venue, annuals were sold for six pence in contrast to the original twenty-one shillings (for the *Keepsake*).

[18] The *Portrait Gallery* was a pretender in the literary annual category but was sold with the same tactics and sentiments as the annuals.

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aside to examine the little row of books tied together with string" (Paragraph 38). The sentiments behind the gift book exchange are actuated not by the annuals and portraits (the more feminine volumes), but also by the philosophical chronicle of Thomas á Kempis, a decidedly masculine volume according to earlier discussions in this chapter.

Maggie accepted the books from Bob with "I'm very thankful to you for thinking of me, and being so good to me and Tom. I don't think any one ever did such a kind thing for me before. I haven't many friends who care for me" (Paragraph 14). She accepts Bob's gift and performs genuine gratitude for his thoughtful presents. However, she points to Bob's *actions* as caring and friendly and is "deeply touched by this simple kindness" (Paragraph 12), a much different qualification than acknowledging his friendship. Bob's act is motivated by sympathy for Maggie's loss: "I lighted on these books, and I thought they might make up to you a bit for them as you've lost; for I heard you speak o' pictures. . . . I'd ha' gev three times the money if they'll make up to you a bit for them as was sold away from you, Miss. For I'n niver forgot how you looked when you fretted about the books bein' gone; it's stuck by me as if it was a picture hingin' before me" (Paragraph 13). In this instance (and differing from Dickinson's point), the gift book exchange is a performance by both Bob in his simple demeanor and response to emotional impetus as well as Maggie in her further depressive state of loneliness. Bob's act reminds her that very few would offer her a friendship's gift. This exchange is the extent of their shared relationship, but it reveals each character's emotional state at the moment.

This exchange between Bob and Maggie mimics feminine and masculine roles in reading as well. Jacqueline Pearson, in *Women's Reading in Britain 1750-1835*, cites

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reading as "pleasurable because it allows escape from grief, loneliness, boredom and frustration" (93). In Maggie's case, it also supplies a "language for appeal, complaint or rebellion" (93), a cry which Bob answers instinctually because he could not stand her despair. In this scene, the gift-giving enacted by Bob eventually and indirectly resolves Maggie's emotional state and allows her reading practices an agency over her emotional responses. Bob, though a catalyst for resolution, is removed from the act of rejuvenation. Instead, Maggie, as the female reader, gains agency through her engagement with philosophical and religious works – through the act of reading, an intellectual recuperation of her individual power. Though Maggie does not necessarily gain a sense of femininity from Bob's gift, she does however become empowered through traditionally masculine tropes, by reading philosophy and religious tracts. Her agency surfaces despite being female and despite being the recipient, a heretofore supposedly passive entity. Femininity and the female reading experience seem to be fairly resilient even in the face of continued social control.

V. That Subversive Feminine Voice

In the later published *Subjection of Women*, John Stuart Mill compresses woman's roles as reader and author into a singular impotent figure. Facetiously, Mill suggests that "[w]omen who read, much more women who write, are in the existing constitution of things, a contradiction and a disturbing element; and it was wrong to bring women up with any acquirements but those of an odalisque, or of a domestic servant" (131). The voices that women read in the annuals were those supplied predominantly by men, who were the dominant contributors and editors until 1830 when,

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according to Harry Hootman's index of popular annual titles, the number of female names listed in the tables of contents out-numbered those of male names.[19] However, despite this differential, women authors consistently appeared in the annuals, beginning with the 1824 *Friendship's Offering* where Mrs. Opie's name was one of the few authors to be identified in the volume. In the 1824 *Forget Me Not* and 1825 *Friendship's Offering*, Letitia Landon is the only identifiable and recognizable woman's name, but in retrospect only: Her identity was temporarily shielded by her anonymous initials, "L.E.L.," an anonymity that would soon be pierced by her vast popularity among annuals' readers. This was the type of anonymity parodied by Dickens in *The Pickwick Papers*: Mrs. Leo Hunter publishes some absurd poem in a lady's magazine, but her husband and his friends take the publication seriously, asking her to recite the poem in the presence of others – further authenticating and recognizing her authorship.

Around 1830, the annuals became so popular that not even the press' vitriolic diatribes against the volumes could dissuade consumers and readers from participating in the craze. The frenzy occurs at the same instant that women began to take control of the annual's contents (as both editors and contributors). Jacqueline Pearson, in discussing the *Lady's Magazine*, asserts "that women 'liked to read what women had written'" (*Women's* 97) because the readers contributed all of the magazine's contents until 1820. Margaret Beetham argues, regarding Victorian publications, that periodicals offer readers a mirror for their own identity, a theory that allows elasticity in a reader's identity:

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[19] I specifically refer to male and female names because women authors sometimes shielded themselves behind masculine pseudonyms or simple initials. For more on anonymity and authorship, see essays in Robert J. Griffin's *The Faces of Anonymity*.

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> Maintaining a regular readership means offering readers a recognizable position in successive numbers, that is creating a consistent 'reader' within the text. The reader is addressed as an individual but is positioned as a member of certain overlapping sets of social groups, class, gender, region, age, political persuasion or religious denomination. (qtd in Thompson 121)

Both Beetham and Pearson point to the reader as a consumer and patron of particular forms of media. With the annuals, women were certainly its consumers and audience. In their imagined community of readers, the women saw images of themselves.

Eliza Haywood, in her introductory article to *The Female Spectator* (1744), describes her qualifications, readers and contributors, citing that three types of women will sustain the periodical's text: the perfect wife (Mira), a widow of quality and the daughter of a wealthy merchant. These entities "are to be considered only as several members of one body, of which I am the mouth" (2404). Though much earlier than the nineteenth-century annuals, Haywood was the first to provide variant images of women and uses these three figures of women to unite her consumer base. Ironically, though, Haywood returns the female experience to the body, amassed as one contributing community and consistent reader.

In her article, "The Author's Intent" *(Female Spectator* April 1744), Haywood further encourages women's acts of reading (and joining that reading community) by providing a formula to select reading materials:

> Reading is universally allowed to be one of the most improving as well as agreeable amusements; but then to render it so, one should, among the

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> number of books which are perpetually issuing from the press, endeavor to single out such as promise to be most conducive to those ends. In order to be as little deceived as possible, I, for my own part, love to get as well acquainted as I can with an author, before I run the risk of losing my time in perusing his work. (2402)

Haywood offers preventative guidelines, aimed to prevent wasted leisure. The passage also reminds her readers that leisure-time is a commodity – varying from the conduct manual's ideas of leisure.

Like Haywood's audience, with more women contributing and controlling the literary annuals, women readers gain a sense of female community. And, when album poems and ordinary authors, i.e., non-professionals (both male and female), began to appear in the annuals, the women who were reading identified with the men and women who were writing – a collapse of the hierarchy between author and reader. Pearson argues that this process "fostered this sense of community [in the *Lady's Magazine*] by eliding the roles of writer and reader, encouraging readers to contribute poems, letters and fiction, so that a hierarchical distinction between readers and writers is replaced by a looser and less hierarchical community of literary women and men" (*Women's* 97).[20] Though Pearson discusses the complexity of the woman reader in the context of late eighteenth-century periodicals, a mix of authors in the annuals similarly allowed for the establishment of a larger *imagined community*.

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[20] See also Edward Copeland's discussion of *The Lady's Magazine*'s evolving images of femininity from 1770 to 1820. Copeland contends that the audience becomes disengaged from the magazine when the writing was shifted to professional authors as opposed to the readers who had been filling the pages with their uncompensated writings.

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Eventually reviewers became disenchanted with the annuals' offerings and derided the publications for so unabashedly circulating the work of poetasters and amateurs (see earlier chapter for discussion). However, these accused pretenders were being judged based on a normalized literary aesthetic that did not account for feminine genius, a phrase that would have been an oxymoron. This genius came to be known as the "poetess" tradition and included both male and female authors.[21] Anne Mellor in *Romanticism & Gender* , separates "feminine" and "masculine" not into "structural opposition, but rather [into an] intersection along a fluid continuum. Any writer, male or female, could occupy the `masculine' or the `feminine' ideological or subject position, even within the same work" (4). However, Mellor then regresses to qualify gendered themes in women Romantic writers:

> [They] tended to celebrate, not the achievements of the imagination nor the overflow of powerful feelings, but rather the workings of the rational mind, a mind relocated – in a gesture of revolutionary gender implications – in the female as well as the male body. [Women] grounded their notion of community on a cooperative rather than possessive interaction with a Nature troped as a female friend or sister. (2, 3)

Even with the proliferation of other types of women's reading materials, in which women readers could relate to sympathetic images of themselves, the very nature of other forms of media is ephemeral and self-destructive. Women witness themselves within

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[21] See Laura Mandell's work on the poetess tradition, including the online *Poetess Archive*.

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> number of books which are perpetually issuing from the press, endeavor to single out such as promise to be most conducive to those ends. In order to be as little deceived as possible, I, for my own part, love to get as well acquainted as I can with an author, before I run the risk of losing my time in perusing his work. (2402)

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for," as is argued by Angela Leighton (xxxvi). In a foreign land, Leighton continues, where "home is unhomely, the woman's place [has] shut her out" (xxxvi). The poem's little "flower" stands alone, "A friendless thing, whose lot is cast,/Of lovely ones to be the last." Yet she still maintains her place as dutiful wife, even in the absence of her husband's ruling authority: "Sad, but unchanged through good and ill,/Thine is her lone devotion still" (St. 5). Hemans describes this woman in all of her domestic piety, inherently naive and constructively limited. In both stanzas, the wife is "pale" and fragile like a "flower," though stalwart in her devotion as she "stands" beside her husband while "balls whistle round" her head. Hemans duplicitously combines national pride in the British fighting force with absurd heroics on the wife's behalf. She endangers her own life, literally standing behind her husband as he fights for his life and fails. The violent danger whizzing by her should signal the wife to fight for her own life, but, there is no indication that she can or will. She simply passively stands beside his cold body, remaining pious.

In *Romanticism & Gender*, Anne Mellor points out that "the thematic content of Hemans' poetry pits a masculine public code of heroic chivalry against a feminine private code of domesticity, only to reveal the inadequacy of each" (10). The accompanying engraving (see **Figure 8.8**: "The Brigand" engraving) shows the wife peeking over her gun-bearing husband with one hand draped on his shoulder and the other covering her breast in a pose which suggests her feminine inability to protect herself. The complication is that this woman stands only partially concealed by her husband in the middle of a battle field. She has removed herself from the enclosed safety of home and exposed herself to the open field of violence – which is interrupted anyway

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by bullets. The partial enclosure cannot protect her or her husband from the flaming metal which threatens their existence. The make-shift "home," easily ruptured by these penetrating bullets, will soon fall apart when the Brigand Leader himself receives a fatal wound. The wife stares in disbelief at her husband's lifeless body. The "home" does not protect him because it is a false structure. The woman, who represents the "home," cannot provide structural safety for her husband; she cannot protect him from death. Instead, she witnesses his death in frozen despair.

This witnessing is the important moment in the poem, however. The Brigand Leader's wife is the source of history inside the patriarchal system. She is left standing, not her husband. She does not fade away, as Hood suggests in his 1829 "The Widow" piece (discussed earlier). In this patriarchal world (both in the poem and early nineteenth-century England) if men are the source of history, then who authorized this account? The most obvious answer is the narrative source – the wife. The Brigand Leader passively slides into the historical account. She witnesses, remembers and recounts the narrative of the history and becomes, more importantly, the reproductive agent. However, the wife epistemologically reproduces instead of biologically. She will now live forever both within the poem and outside of it. Her life continues after the poem ends because the reader never receives any information other than her survival. On the other hand, the Brigand Leader's life ends with the poem's conclusion. Felicia Hemans uses war, a masculine poetic trope, to free a woman from the bondage of marriage and leaves her to survive and transmit her stories of a feminized war experience. In essence, the public history becomes her private, domestic experience, i.e., her experience is conflated with the external "masculine" society but feminized and

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internalized by her participation. History is borne by the "mother," this feminine figure, and is re-created despite her "other" present in the poem. The Brigand Leader's wife is disempowered in the sense of warfare, but she gains power by transmitting a historical narrative.

Toward the end of her life (d.1835), Hemans began to critique an idealized feminine ideology that could no longer sustain the "cult of domesticity" or the Romantic ideal of beauty. The disintegration of this domestic ideal is apparent in her poem, "Casabianca," published in 1826. She moves to female heroines with her work, *Records of Woman,* which re-situates history through the perspective of female heroes, including "The Indian Woman's Death Song" and "Madeline: A Domestic Tale." In these poems, Hemans reverses gender roles and found a very receptive audience for both her annual contributions and her volumes of poetry – perhaps in spite of the British nineteenth-century's construction of gender. The "Brigand Leader" provides an example of her subversive taunts of English warfare and the patriarchal system. The engraving itself is titled on "The Brigand"; it is Hemans who identifies and defines the role of the woman in the image.

VI. Authorial Identity

A genre that presented itself as distinctly "feminine" employed authors, like Hemans, who could write specifically to this audience. Well-published, but "minor" poets (both men and women) earned a comfortable income by contributing to literary annuals. Notably though, women's contributions and authorial reputations flourished (including Felicia Hemans, Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Mary Russell Mitford and Maria

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Jane Jewsbury) specifically because of the success of this popular genre which resulted in a socially acceptable professionalization of women authors, especially women poets. In *Nineteenth-Century Women Poets*, Isobel Armstrong defines this professionalization as "a reliable source of income, a practical working world, a professional status and a framework of supportive literary friendships. For the woman writer the annuals meant real work and were valued for that" (xxvi).

When women became the primary contributors to the volumes, Felicia Hemans was the foremost well-paid contributor. According to Paula Feldman's research, Hemans' earnings as a contributor to annuals began in 1825 at £20[22] and steadily rose to its highest point in 1829 to £250[23] before dropping again. Hemans earned a total of £930[24] ($55,169 USD in 2002) from 1825 to 1835 for her contributions to various literary annuals. Feldman points out that these are "highly conservative estimates[;] her actual remuneration was probably considerably higher" ("Poet and Profits" 151). Feldman calculates that Hemans contributed approximately ninety-four poems to thirteen British literary annuals, which total does not include the pirated poems in the American literary annuals for which Hemans received no remuneration. Spread over a ten year period, for

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[22] In 2002, this sum translates to $1,323 (US). According to Paula Feldman in "Felicia Hemans and the Literary Marketplace," in the early nineteenth century, £50 would support Hemans' seven-person household for six months (living outside of London).

[23] In 2002, this sum translates to $19,500 (US).

[24] In 2002, this sum translates to $55,169 (US). Spread over a ten year period, for literary annual contributions alone, Felicia Hemans earns an extraordinary amount of money considering that she was a single mother without any financial support from her estranged husband.

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literary annual contributions alone, Felicia Hemans earned an extraordinary amount of money considering that she was a single mother of seven who received no financial support from her estranged husband. Hemans' popularity and earning power were not unusual; quite a few women began earning substantial incomes from their contributions to the annuals.

Literary annuals were disdained by (male) canonized poets not only as a feminine space for printing mediocre poetry, but an avenue in which poetry had become subjected to money, power, and social circles. Charles Lamb registers his disgust with the practice in an October 11, 1828 letter to Bernard Barton (himself also a prolific annual contributor):

> Yes, I am hooked into the *Gem*, but only for some lines written on a dead infant of the editor's, which being as it were his property, I could not refuse their appearing, but I hate the paper, the type, the gloss, the dandy plates, the names of contributors poked up into your eyes in first page, and whistled thro' all the covers of magazines, the barefaced sort of emulation, the unmodest candidateship, brought into so little space – in those old *Londons* a signature was lost in the wood of matter – the paper coarse (till latterly, which spoil'd them) – in short I detest to appear in an Annual. . . . [¶] . . . Wordsworth I see has a good many pieces announced in one of 'em, not our *Gem*. W. Scott has distributed himself like a bribe haunch among 'em. Of all the poets, Cary has had the good sense to keep quite clear of 'em, with clergy-gentle-manly right notions. Don't think I set up for being proud in this point, I like a bit of flattery tickling my

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> vanity as well as any one. But these pompous masquerades without masks (naked names or faces) I hate. (*Letters* 133-4)

The dead infant to which Lamb refers is Thomas Hood's, the editor of the *Gem*. The poem appeared in the 1829 *Gem*, appropriately mourning this loss. (See **Figure 8.9**: Lamb's poem "On an Infant Dying as Soon as Born")

Despite his measured disgust, Lamb risks hypocrisy and professes that the popularity of annuals lends a prominence to an author's presence. Contributing to an annual meant, somewhat, that authors were in demand and carried a commodified name – a community of sorts that would soon be interrupted by the non-literati who contributed (and who were eventually just as popular). Alison Adburgham points out that

> everybody who was anybody in the close, introspective circle of early Victorian literary society was at some time or other seduced into contributing to the annuals--either by money, or by snobbery, or by ambition for notice, or by feelings of friendship, or simply because they feared that if they did not contribute people would think that they had not been invited to do so. (264)

Even members of the British literati (including William Wordsworth, S.T. Coleridge, Lord Byron [posthumously], Percy Shelley [posthumously], Mary Shelley, Sir Walter Scott, Robert Southey, Alfred Tennyson, John Ruskin and William Thackeray) were coaxed into contributing by lucrative financial remuneration. (See **Figure 8.10**: List of Prominent Contributors)

At other times, when Wordsworth and Tennyson were solicited for contributions to the annuals, both gave a particularly vindictive reply (and then later contributed). In

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Women in Print, Alison Adburgham notes that "Wordsworth referred to them as 'The ornamental annuals, those greedy receptacles of trash, those bladders upon which the boys of poetry try to swim.' Yet he was a contributor to some of the annuals himself, when he was offered what he considered a sufficiently handsome payment for thus demeaning his muse" (236). Lee Erickson chronicles Tennyson's own response to requests for contributions:

> Writing in 1831 to William Henry Brookfield, who had asked him to contribute a poem to the *Yorkshire Literary Annual*, Tennyson replied, "Now, how have you the conscience to ask me to annualize for Yorkshire? Have I not forsworn all annuals provincial or metropolitan? I have been so beGemmed and beAmuletted and be-forget-me-not-ted that I have given all these things up." Nonetheless, Tennyson contributed a poem to Brookfield's Annual. (41)

Tennyson contributed a poem to *Friendship's Offering*, 1832, simply entitled "Sonnet." However, this poem does not appear in any major anthology of the canonized (male) poets. Indeed, Lamb himself contributed to the *Bijou*, *Gem* and *Christmas Box* in 1828 and 1829 despite his resistance.

At the outset of the annual craze, many authors were solicited by friends and colleagues to contribute a scrap of verse to the latest annual. By the late 1820s, many poets had begun to publically disapprove of the annuals by refusing to submit any work for publication, including Charles Lamb. He writes to Bernard Barton in an August 28, 1827 letter: "I have stood off a long time from these annuals, which are ostentatious trumpery, but could not withstand the request of Jameson, a particular friend of mine and

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Coleridge. [¶] I shall hate myself in frippery, strutting along, and vying finery with beaux and belles, – with "Future Lord Byrons and sweet L.E.L.'s" (*Letters* 83). Lamb often refers to a literary annual as an "album," an altogether different genre.[25] Nonetheless, he denounces the popularity of annuals and albums as a fad and takes every moment to ridicule them in his letters to friends – in one, declaring that "I die of Albo-phobia!" in response to his landlord's daughter asking for a scrap of writing in her album (to Bernard Barton, Winter 1827, *Letters* 113). In the same letter, he embarrassingly offers the *Bijoux* to his friend: "With it, I send a trumpery book; to which, without my knowledge, the editor of the *Bijoux* has contributed Lucy's verses: I am asham'd to ask her acceptance of the trash accompanying it" (112).

Even with this criticism, the genre had its champions: In the Preface of the *Literary Souvenir* for 1832, editor Alaric Watts defends the genre, its contributors and its readers from some harsh criticism:

> Annual publications are, I suspect, pretty much in the situation of literary ladies, who are often denounced by critics of the ruder sex for the monotony of their materials, and the feebleness of their style; *yet the moment they venture upon higher ground, are still more harshly repulsed, for selecting subjects inconsistent with the feminine character.* By those who consider it a solecism in taste to publish any thing in an Annual, save mawkish love stories and

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[25] The album format consists of blank pages and is intended as an autograph book or a scrap book, as opposed to the printed literature and engravings that makes up a literary annual. Quite often, Lamb refers to both of these formats as albums.

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> maudlin rhymes, the introduction into such a work, of a satirical squib, will probably be construed into a "high crime and misdemeanour;" nevertheless, if the general reader be amused and the culprit amended, the leading aim of the author will have been achieved. The only persons who are likely to take offence at my strictures, are those who, from the indifference they are accustomed to exhibit to the feelings of others, will have but little right to complain. (viii-ix)

Watts' literary ladies have been producing plots and themes that do not fall within the scope of acceptable female characterization, similar to Hemans' women in both "The Mother and Child" and "The Brigand Leader and His Wife." Other women poets also venture onto the higher ground.

The Brigand Leader's wife witnesses and historicizes through an omniscient speaker, but in Maria Jane Jewsbury's lamentations in "A Tale of a Mother's Grave," published in the 1831 *Friendship's Offering* (126), an androgynous voyeur witnesses (instead of woman's voice) a son's grief for his stalwart mother and the mother's blind devotion to his masculinity. The speaker witnesses the carriage approaching a graveyard and remarks that a sexton exited along with a middle-aged man who was "like a child / That fears to walk alone" (St. 6). The sexton blesses the grave, unaware of the son's relationship:

> "God rest thy soul, poor Ellen!"
> And with a faltering hand
> The old man plucked a weed that grew
> From out the osier-band;
> And he who in the chariot came

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Fell on his knees and did the same.

"Poor Ellen!" said the sexton,
"The parish laid her here,
We little thought that one like you
Would give her grave a tear,
It may be that some time or other
She was your servant?"-- "No--my mother!"

***

"Would thou wert back, My Mother!
For I never knew thy worth,
Till I had wandered far and long
Upon this weary earth–
Till I had lived full half my span,
And grown a melancholy man!

This son has wandered with no central location to call home. But, he forsook his earlier home by not cherishing its presence:

"I thought thee harsh and wayward,
Too often when a boy;
Alas, I never knew how small
Thy share of earthly joy!
The pangs and fears that wrung thy breast,
When I was safely laid to rest.

"Our fare was hard and scanty,
And I with murmurs ate,
Whilst thou, though born to riches vast,
In hunger silent sate;--
It was thy hand that earned our crust,
And now--that blessed hand is dust!

"I am grown rich, my Mother,
I have done deeds of fame,
And thought to make thee now forget
My boyhood's blight and shame:
I come--and spoils of land and sea
Can only deck a GRAVE for thee!

Jewsbury highlights this absence of the home while emphasizing the de-centering of the

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self, effected because the absent mother. Even while covertly questioning the institutions of home and maternity, Jewsbury incorporates a narrative that again treats the absent woman as object. She is the unsung hero and the future recipient of his spoils. But because he did not appreciate her presence, he cannot now reward her because she is absent. In place of her presence, the son wants to erect a tomb elegant enough to represent his mother's silence:

> "Yes–I will build with marble,
> And gild with gold thy tomb;
> But wert thou in that lowly cot
> Amongst the wall-flowers' bloom,–
> The very cot I once disdained–
> How much of heaven on earth were gained!

Apparent are feminine tropes of flowers, silence, death, responsibility for grief (this falling on the only masculine representation). In the relationship between woman poet and woman reader, the reader can derive from this poem a sense of disruption in angelic domesticity. The son left due his dissatisfaction with his mother's abilities and stern qualities, thereby questioning her authority and asserting his own masculine will. In the end, he worships her but only because she is physically absent. This poem boldly pays homage to a mother's role and her authority in relation to masculine ideology. But, it also enacts the existing figure of woman as muse. The mother inspires her child with her death, not her life.

The witness to the son's anguish sneaks off after viewing the outpouring of grief, resentment and retribution. The son's dialogue is cast in quotation marks to give a sense of reporting instead of poetic interpretation. The reader's source leaves the scene, almost as if the scene is never resolved. In fact, Jewsbury concludes the poem with a stanza

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admonishing readers to appreciate their mothers – a somewhat didactic turn to the poem. Regardless, without the benefit of an "I," the female reader has no sense of changing ideologies of femininity. However, in Letitia Landon's 1827 *Friendship's Offering* poem, "Song," the author displays a sophisticated understanding of the feminine realm while discretely subverting its codes (much in the same way Hemans quietly proclaims in "The Brigand Leader and His Wife"). Published simply under the initials, L.E.L., the poem captures a transcendent poetic experience:

> I ***wrote*** my name upon the sand;
> I thought I ***wrote*** it on thine heart.
> I had no touch of fear, that ***words***,
> Such ***words***, so graven, could depart.
> The sands, thy heart, alike have lost
> The name I trusted to their care;
> And passing waves, and worldly thoughts,
> Effaced what once was ***written*** there.
> Woe, for the false sands! and worse woe,
> That thou art falsest of the twain!
> I, yet, may ***write*** upon the sands,
> But never on thine heart, again. (180, Emphasis added)

Love is the most apparent subject matter. However, the speaker presents love not only from herself as subject, but presents herself as the recipient of the grief; she is both subject and object of the poem, predominated with "I" and personal pain. Kathleen Hickock argues that, typically, poetry of the nineteenth century was about love "connect[ed] with some kind of sorrow" (20) However, the result of this love gives agency to the woman, exemplifying that "[w]omen were frequently reminded that the burden of sacrifice and self-effacement in love was theirs" (20-21). L.E.L.'s effacement in the name of love is reminiscent of Hemans' later devotional love at the Brigand Leader's wife's own personal expense. Landon's poem also reminds readers of the classic

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Romantic hero, interpreting everything through the poetic "I."[26]

The woman in the poem surpasses mere chagrin at being the jilted lover; she grants herself existence outside of the lover's embrace by promises of the future and loving again ("I, yet, may write upon the sands,/But never on thine heart, again). Her sense of self is not constituted merely by love. But, love is not the only transitional element: "home" (or a sense of the domestic) seems inconsistent and transitory in alignment with the sand, which is constantly being wiped clean.

Like Hemans, "Rosa," a partially anonymous author, contributes a poem to the 1827 *Friendship's Offering,* "Hope and Memory," which uses the popular trope of war. But, the woman does not participate in war. The sounds of an approaching war rupture her blissful peace as she sleeps in a pastoral setting. Noticeably missing from this scene are the boundaries of the enclosing domesticity of Hemans' "A Brigand Leader."

> "Oh! Why?" I exclaim'd, "do these sounds intrude,
> "My blissful visions breaking?
> "For, never, in this sweet solitude
> "Should thoughts of war be waking." (St. 6)
> * * * * *
> But, it pass'd;–and, again, the soften'd tones
> From the distance came so sweetly,
> That I griev'd, when I heard the latest ones,

---

[26] For further discussion of Landon's Romantic identity, see Daniel Riess' "Laetitia Landon and the Dawn of English Post-Romanticism," Virginia Blain's "Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Eliza Mary Hamilton, and the Genealogy of the Victorian Poetess," Derek Furr's "Sentimental Confrontations: Hemans, Landon, and Elizabeth Barrett," Harriet Linkin's "Romantic Aesthetics in Mary Tighe and Letitia Landon: How Women Poets Recuperate the Gaze," Margaret Linley's "Saphho's Conversations in Felicia Hemans, Letitia Landon, and Christina Rossetti," Tricia Lootens' "Receiving the Legend, Rethinking the Writer: Letitia Landon and the Poetess Tradition." Also see Anne Mellor, Susan Wolfson and Jerome McGann's work on the female poet – especially McGann's *The Poetics of Sensibility* and *Romantic Ideology*; and Mellor's *Romanticism & Gender*. See also the Additional Bibliography appended to this dissertation.

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To think, they had gone so fleetly. (St. 8)

The woman revels in her "sweet solitude" in "a lonely, but lovely spot" where she "stray'd" (St. 1). She escapes a "home" to wander unfettered "[t]he world, and its cares, forgetting" (St. 1) voluntarily, unlike Hemans' wife of the brigand officer "From home estranged." This woman roams freely, liberated by her own truth; Hemans' wife silently proclaims "Thine is her lone devotion still." Through Hemans' narrative, the wife does not speak, though the poem comes from her point of view. In Rosa's narrative, the wandering girl briefly has a voice, expressing her dissatisfaction with being disturbed and the violent nature of the sounds (impending war). Infused between these seemingly benign descriptions of the "sounds" of war is a poetics of resistance to violence. Instead of being captivated with the possession and interpretation of the events, the women within theses two poems try to situate themselves among the violence or to ignore it wholly, as in the case of "Hope." In "Women Reading, Reading Women," Jacqueline Pearson suggests that women assume both subject and object position in writing this poetry:

> Yet reading might equally allow the woman access to a dangerously public domain of discourse. As the `meeting place of discourses of subjectivity and socialization', the issue of reading disturbed commentators who found threatening both women's command of their subjectivity and their access to extra-domestic world. (80)

L.E.L. exemplifies Pearson's epistemological theories of shifting readership in "Song" by representing "I" as both lover and loved, as well as griever and recipient of grief while

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the lover wanders away: "The sands, thy heart, alike have lost/The name I trusted to their care" (l. 4). Woman achieves agency through her relationship with the poet instead of assuming objectivity: "If women were not encouraged to be active readers or writers, they were urged instead to be muses and inspire male poets, or were defined as passive texts to be read" (Pearson 84). In direct reaction to the insurgence of published poetry by women, Frederic Rowton compiled *The Female Poets of Great Britain*, published in 1848. However, in the Introduction, Rowton unapologetically reviews some of the feminine poetry (compiled from the literary annuals) and proclaims that women's poetry merely reinforces a gendered hierarchy where masculinity dominates:

> They will show, if I mistake not, that while Man's intellect is meant to make the world stronger and wiser, Woman's is intended to make it purer and better. . . . It is for man to ameliorate our condition; it is for woman to amend our character. . . . They aim, not at separating the two half minds of the world, but at making them act in concert and unison. (xxxix)

L.E.L.'s "Song" dashes Rowton's ideology in the first line by granting agency to a feminized speaker. This woman writes (and thereby claims) her own name: "I wrote my name upon the sand; I thought I wrote it on thine heart." She inscribes and memorializes her name upon the emotional seat of a body. She privileges her own name over that of a man's because she does not write the man's name over her own heart. By inscribing her name on his body, she declares ownership of him. She realizes the misplaced inscription too late to retract it, discovering that she has inscribed herself onto a transmutable surface. The sand washes away her pen; but she reinforces the inscription by writing and

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narrating the act.

Despite the mistake, the narrative "I" willfully chooses the surface and acknowledges that she will re-inscribe her name, but on another surface: "I, yet, may write upon the sands,/But never on thine heart, again." The misdirected pen will not wither and die due to this washing of the ink; the pen will move again and make a mistake again. But, it will not ever stop its writing: The pen empowers the subject of the poem. By allowing the "I" to wander and rule her own feelings, L.E.L disavows the "muse" cycle which entraps women in a passive position without agency.

Mary Wollstonecraft, chastised for her very public ideas and, later, her personal life, represented the female author who pushed beyond her limited boundaries. L.E.L and other women of the 1830s are still battling against this critical discrimination, anchored by a masculine literary aesthetic. In an 1855 review of *The Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*, Jane F. Wilde notes that

> The biography of a woman is always sad – a war between feeling and destiny – but that of a gifted woman especially so; for high intellect and vivid passions are hard to rule, and tame, and formalise: and such exceptional natures seem to have a singular inaptitude for the contracted sphere within which society places them.
>
> Even in the limited space of the current half-century, how many, if not wretched, at least unhappy hearts and blighted lives can be enumerated amongst those who possessed the fatal gift of intellect. Mrs. Hemans; the beautiful and most richly endowed Caroline Norton; Lady Lytton Bulwer, who seems to have flung down the gauntlet to male

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> humanity with helpless rage; they only smile at her indignant sense of wrong, and bid her suffer and be silent. And saddest of all, lies "L.E.L." in her death-sleep on that fatal foreign shore; but we cannot think beside such a grave, it is enough to weep.
>
> *All these lives were no doubt beautiful in their aurora light; but the moment they rose in mental power above the proscribed level of their sex, the lightning struck them.* (346)

Landon, as an author, embraces the traditionally male editorial role in 1832, entrenching herself further in an ambiguous role that straddles both masculine Romantic and feminine "other." As an annual editor, she becomes one of the creators of feminine ideology – an empowered position regardless of the type of femininity she produces. In 1833, Longman, Rees published a new literary annual primarily filled with prose pieces and only a few poems. This annual, *Heath's Book of Beauty*, signaled an alteration in the genre, which came about primarily because of consumer demand: the engravings are all portraits of beautiful women captured in various states of contemplation and repose, the first of which is Landon herself struck in a downward gaze and docile pose. (See **Figure 8.11**: "The Enchantress" engraving) Much like Hood's *Comic Annual*, all of the contents were organized or composed by Landon. Throughout the volume, she incorporates portions of poems by Scott and Byron into fiction pieces and accentuates those poems with portraits of ladies. The only indication that she has incorporated Byron and Scott is on the "List of Plates" page in a small note: "The Plates marked * [five of nineteen] illustrate Lord Byron's Poems. Those marked ‡ [two of nineteen] illustrate Sir Walter Scott" (viii). The poems themselves never appear wholly in the work. With this tactic,

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Landon moves away from privileging the engravings *over* the writing. Instead, she incorporates the engravings into the story while assimilating famous literary figures into the work.

Landon's *Book of Beauty* was an intricate mixture of words, images and subversive femininity. In her Preface, Landon comes across as a self-conscious writer:

> There is one page in every work, which, to me at least, is replete with anxiety and embarrassment. Whether to affect an indifference I cannot feel, or to express a hope on which I do not rely – whether to deprecate censure which is not to be deprecated, or to excite a sympathy not to be excited,–I never know what to say in my preface. (v)

In other prefaces discussed previously, the editors generally spend words begging the audiences affection, defending their products or justifying their actions. Landon, here, *seems* to be pleading with her readers yet she puts forth an entire book of her own writing as well as a product of her own editorial decisions. These roles are contradictory and camouflage the subversive quality of this annual – it is an annual which celebrates not only beauty but also femininity outside of social norms. She continues in the Preface with the same self-deprecation, but in regards to her role as an author:

> To authors experience must rather bring distrust than confidence: they are no judges of their own efforts; the portion whereon they believe their utmost exertion has been bestowed, and of which they anticipate that the result will be most favourable, may prove a complete failure. In the following tales I have carefully

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> endeavoured to concentrate the interest of the story, and to shun digression. How far I have succeeded, it is impossible for me to decide. . . . I only venture to hope for a continuance of the kindness which has hitherto been my encouragement and reward. I have often trespassed upon it, but for that I do not apologise; the public can scarcely be displeased that my industry and imagination are exerted to the utmost in its service. (v-vi)

Landon moves through the self-conscious and into the role of the indifferent author and editor. She acknowledges the critics and their disdain for the annuals but turns to the opinions of her audience for final judgment. Defiant and, in the end, confident that her product will please its intended target, Landon lapses into the usual role of begging editor (as was parodied by Thomas Hood in his first *Comic Annual*). Landon's editorship signaled the growing phenomenon of women as editors of the annuals. Landon (and others) were then able to control, to a certain extent, the influence upon their female readers – a powerful position.

Landon was also the editor and author of *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* 1832-1839, a similar endeavor but published Fisher, Son & Jackson.[27] In *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, unlike most of the annuals (and her *Book of Beauty*) *all* of the content was written by Landon, as is apparent in the "Introduction." In essence, she creates a single author volume of poetry (something that was not selling well during the

---

[27] For an in-depth discussion of ideological production of culture in *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, see Margaret Linley's article, "A Centre that Would Not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy."

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1820s) and employs the traditional scrap book as a foundation. Landon exerts much more control over this annual's contents and the reader's reception than does any other annual. (Most editors offer a brief explanation in the Preface or an informative footnote but not to this extent.) Landon's control is apparent in the "Introduction" where she reveals the labor involved in producing this annual:

> Though a preface be the first page seen in a volume, it is always the last page written. By that time, the golden age of hope has darkened into the iron age of fear. The ideas that seemed at first so delightful, are grown common, by passing through the familiarizing process of writing, printing, and correcting. A proof-sheet is a terrible reality; and you look upon your work with much the same feeling as people look upon the prospect to which they are accustomed–they are much more alive to its faults than its beauties. [¶] . . . It is not an easy thing to write illustrations to prints, selected for their pictorial excellence than their poetic capabilities. . . . [¶] . . . There are three portraits, to which only brief prose notices are affixed–the days of poetical flattery are as much past, as those of hoops and minuets. What the genius of Dryden could not redeem, I may be excused from even attempting. [¶] There is an old proverb, "Leave well alone;" I shall, therefore, say little more of the embellishments than to mention, that the voluminous and expensive works from which they are selected, were "fountains sealed" to the many. (3)

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She even controls the intended audience (though she is smart about the marketing and mentions them by category): "A book like this is a luxury, addressed chiefly to a young and gentler class of readers" (3). Landon exerts this control because she has proved herself valuable in the literary annual market. By 1830, she has contributed to many of the annuals and has become a marketable name.

Somewhat outside the scope of this dissertation project, but interesting regarding the evolution of women's editorial control is the following: From 1846 to 1849, the well-known Caroline Norton edited *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book.* By Caroline Norton's editorship of *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book,* the subtitle "a poetical illustration" has been dropped. In addition, Norton did not write all of the contributions like Landon. However, the authors names have not been attributed to the original prose or poem. Only those authors who are being referenced are named. In the overall format, the footnotes of legends, thoughts and historical material that were prevalent during Landon's editorship are missing.

In 1847, she writes a "Notice to Readers" that defends her editorial acumen as well as her reputation. Long before the publication of this annual, the market demanded that annuals evolve. The contents, engravings, authorship and roles of editors also evolved accordingly. In the prior prefaces and introductions, editors used the space to thank their benefactors and to describe the volume. As can be seen with Landon's preface, the tenor of editorial prefaces shifted greatly away from "begging" (as Thomas Hood parodied) and became defensive responses to critics or insight into the production process. Norton uses the space to present a defense and reprimand that invokes her editorial control over contents and lack of control over contemporary scandals committed

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by aristocrats:

> In presenting another volume of the Scrap-Book to the Public, I am induced to make some observations on a comment which has reached me, founded on the supposition that the lines accompanying the portrait, given last year, of Lady Adela Villiers, were written after she became Lady Adela Ibbotson. For the benefit of those who are honestly ignorant enough to believe, that books can be made to spring up as rapidly as mushrooms, I beg to state, that much time and preparation are requisite to produce an ornamental work, such as the one I edit; and that I received from my Publisher the list of subjects, in which Lady Adela's portrait was included, on the 16th April, 1845; exactly seven months before her elopement. To another set of credulous believers, . . . that I appended a page of Class-criticism to a fashionable portrait, at a time when even just comment were best forborne; I will merely remark, that the book was printed, published, and exported for sale, and that copies of it had already been received by Her Majesty, the Duchess of Sutherland, and others, *before* an event took place, which, if it was a surprise to the lady's nearest friends, could scarcely be supposed to be foreseen by strangers. (2)

Like Landon before, Norton exposes the creative process as a process of labor. Norton also identifies *Fisher's* as an annual that has become a reflection of aristocratic errors – something that was not included in the first literary annuals. The annuals had

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degenerated, by this time, into a space where aristocrats paid to have their poetry and engravings published. In effect, they became true vanity publications. Norton concludes her "Notice" with a caution to these aristocracy and their desire to be portrayed:

> And, finally, I hope that such of the aristocracy as have been chosen (not by me, but by my Publishers,) to adorn this work, will conduct themselves in an orderly, seemly, and steady manner; at all events, till Christmas and New Year's day shall be past, and the Scrap-Book be laid on their different tables, in undoubted irresponsibility of intention. (2)

The annuals had become a space that was confused with the monthly magazines and weekly periodicals, a space which readers thought was immediate in its portrayal of moments. With this, the annuals were no longer albums and scrap books of memories but were gossip papers bound in hard boards.

VII. Conclusion

Annual's authors, editors, publishers and artists all present some form of the feminine in each volume. The feminized textual body became a quiet and subversive battleground that mirrored the cultural shifts apparent in the early nineteenth-century. But the struggle extended beyond the institutions that produced the volumes; it also included the genre's consumers and readers (and re-readers). As a caveat, though, when I refer to the"feminization" of literary annuals, I do not refer to the "*feminist*-ization" of these works. The feminist quality of the literary annuals is an anachronistic and limited view of the annuals' contemporary and continued (including its critical history into the

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twenty-first century) sociology. The work was produced as the ideal feminine representation – beauty, flowers, sentimental poetry. And though women began producing the contents and editing the entire product, it was not the type of overt feminist movement that Mary Wollstonecraft instigated with the *Vindications of the Rights of Woman.* These works were imagined to be similar to a female body: delicate, temperamental, mysterious and taboo. But they became the other virtues of the female body that were not necessarily normalized: strength, labor, life-giving, complicated.

This is the unintended subversion of the first generation of annuals, distributed by both male and female editors and consumed by a female reading public. The contents were feminized because of the original intent: polite literature and wholesome entertainment. But, the contents did not necessarily represent the patriarchal feminine norm, nor were they revolutionary. This is where the subversion really manifests itself, in this interstitial place that is not normative or consciously revolutionary. This is the feminized object that is not the victim in need of rescue by the British hero. The object (and all of its archived meaning) became able to sustain its own weight and its own feminized self through the perpetual evolution of the material form, which was responsive to public demand. Because the genre altered, perhaps it can be construed as passive, but the genre survived because of its adaptability (motivated by an external public force) – a new type of feminine strength.

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Chapter Nine:
Archives and the Literary Annual:
Re-Presenting the Textual Body in Future Forms

I. Texts, Objects and Archives

> **ARCHIVE** Mostly in *pl.* [a. F. *archif, archive*, ad. late L. arch§um, arch§vum, a. Gr. 2 magisterial residence, public office, f. 2 government.]
> 1. A place in which public records or other important historic documents are kept. Now only in *pl.* . . .
> 2. A historical record or document so preserved. Now chiefly in *pl.* . . .
> 4. *attrib.* and *Comb:* **1937** *Discovery* Oct. 323/1 The promotion of archive science. **1959** Chambers's Encycl. I. 570/1 Archive keeping is essential for a civilized community. *(Oxford English Dictionary* CD-Rom Database)

Traditionally, "archive" has represented an actual structure, an architectural house filled with objects, ephemera and mementos – anything that gives evidence of a time that has passed and "is essential for a civilized community," as *Chamber's Encyclopedia* suggests in the epigraph above. The more traditional institutions define an archive as a rare book library, emphasizing the collecting of codex (modern-day book format) and manuscript representations of writing, authorship and history.

The differentiation between books and other objects in a collection is important because most rare book and manuscript divisions also collect, preserve and archive non-traditional forms of printed material and unconventional "literary" objects. For instance, the David Wojnarowicz Papers (purchased by Fales Library, New York University in September 1997) contain "film video and audio. . . The collection as a whole includes journals, correspondence, manuscripts, photography, film, video and audio works, source and production materials and ephemera" (Lauer). As of December 1999, according to Assistant Librarian Mike Kelly, all of the conventional "papers" have been processed and

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catalogued in the Finding Aid, but the full collection of objects has yet to be preserved and stored – a mummy is one such object as well as a chest full of inspirational objects used by Wojnarowicz in his artwork.

This type of institutional archive is guided by principles of preserving history and an assumption that a *complete* "collection" will reveal not only that moment, but also its beginning, ending and connection to other moments. However, history is not linear; instead, it is untidy and interconnected. Jacques Derrida, in *Archive Fever*, describes this attempt to construct linear history as "*mal d'archive*":

> It is to burn with a passion. It is never to rest, interminably, from searching for the archive, right where it slips away. It is to run after the archive, even if there's too much of it, right where something in it anarchives itself. It is to have a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, *an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement*. (*Archive Fever* 91, emphasis added)

For Derrida, the archive represents a desire which can never be achieved. Though he refers to the archive as a mnemic apparatus, the institutional archive represents a similar drive to capture, order and present a sense of historical moments.

Each archivist, an archon for Derrida, constructs a unique set of truths to narrate and connect the material objects resident in an archive. The archon imposes her own views, beliefs and agenda upon the archive itself – similar to the role of, for example, a

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feminist editor.[1] Though the archon strives to complete an archive, this will never happen, primarily because the more an archon dabbles in the archive, the more the archive absorbs. Jorge Luis Borges, in "The Library of Babel," suggests that the Derridian *mal d'archive* to accumulate knowledge, and therefore power, can be articulated in one source, the "total" book:

> We know, too, of another superstition of that time: the Man of the Book. In some shelf of some hexagon, men reasoned, there must exist a book which is the cipher and perfect compendium of *all the rest*: some librarian has perused it, and it is analogous to a god. . . . I have squandered and consumed my years in adventures of this type. To me, it does not seem unlikely that on some shelf of the universe, there lies a total book.* (85)

This book is unattainable in Borges' short story because the Library of Babel is endless in its shelves, hallways and collections. No one person will be able to purposefully discover the total book. In the meantime, the archon continues to order and add to the archive with a fantasy of creating a record of total knowledge. In essence, per Derrida, it "produces more archive, and that is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future" (*Archive Fever* 68).

I participated in the initial collecting of papers from newspaperman and author, Eddie Ellis. He was the author of twenty-two million words in a diary begun in 1927, which diary contained detailed "semi-historical" entries every day of his life until his

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[1] See David Greetham's discussion of feminism and editing in *Theories of the Text*, Ann Thompson's "Feminist Theory and the Editing of Shakespeare: *The Taming of the Shrew* Revisited" and Betty Bennett's "Feminism and Editing Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley."

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death in 1998. "[Eddie] published approximately one percent of his seventy-volume diary in 1995 in a single volume entitled *A Diary of the Century: Tales From America's Greatest Diarist*" – as noted in his obituary in the *New York Times* (Scott).

When we first arrived to his Manhattan apartment, Eddie logged me into his diary after inquiring my name, hobbies, field of study and personal religious beliefs. There I was, instilled in the archive created by Eddie Ellis – not a physical archive like the papers we were collecting for storage, but an archive of language and remembrance stored in a handwritten, pre-bound daily diary.

The entire contents of a tiny, front room held his life's diary, scattered in voluminous, unordered disarray. Eddie had chosen to donate his life/papers to Fales Library, NYU for some specific reason.[2] So, Mike Kelly, Assistant Librarian at Fales, and I pillaged drawers, closets, desks, boxes and pictures. On the second day of literally chucking loose papers into preservation-quality boxes, we were forced to make an executive decision of quite a delicate matter: I chanced upon a white plastic garbage bag buried behind three stacked boxes. In our all-inclusive quest, we were taking everything now with the intention of sorting later. Without thinking, I opened the large bag, curious of its contents: It was filled with various sexual toys and creams. At that same moment, Mike opened a closet in the tiny room and found two decades' worth of stag magazines.

We giggled quietly at our own embarrassment and tried to figure out what to do with the material artifacts we had just found. Considering the infatuation with the history

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[2] Typically, a monetary donation accompanies any collection to cover the cost of archiving and ordering. However, Eddie's papers came with no such help. Consequently, his papers still remain unorganized and archived; instead, they are stored in the very boxes that we packed up and await a scholar brave (and interested) enough to tackle.

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of pornography in this country and the recent permanent archival installments of sexual instruments in a major archival institution, we questioned the exclusion of these cultural objects. But, we were to collect only the *papers* of Eddie Ellis for our library's archive and not the material remnants of his *life*. We left the magazines and the plastic bag intact in Eddie's apartment and never mentioned them to him.

The decision of Mike Kelly and myself to exclude remnants of Eddie's (or some acquaintance's) better days of sexual promiscuity contaminates the "total" archive of the man, Eddie Ellis, because we did not collect this information in any permanent document, like notes in a Finding Aid. This archival information has been lost in selecting the contents of the archive itself. The human "official" institutional memory has been erased as well: I no longer work at Fales; Mike has probably forgotten about it; and Eddie has since died.

The ideological existence of the archive as a house of memories engenders the act of making and creating a history. But, I contend that the institutional archive – meaning actual archives which are a part of major research and university libraries – collects and creates a visible continuum of specific pasts or histories which are *contaminated* with a process of provenance,[3] acquisition and preservation. The archives are physical

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[3] John Carter defines "provenance" as: "The pedigree of a book's previous ownership. . . . Apart from such special features in a book's provenance as might put it in the category of an ASSOCIATION COPY, the evidence of its earlier history are always of interest (documentary or sentimental) and sometimes of importance. They should never be destroyed, deleted or tampered with, but on the contrary cherished – and added to. . . . Nor should this respect for a book's history be denied to the notes (including code marks) of booksellers through whose hands it has passed. . . . Provenance is interesting in proportion to the interest of the previous owners, whether as contemporary with its publication, or as persons of importance in their own right, or because they were book-collectors of note. It may be important, in the appraisal of an

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embodiments of this specifically constructed memory, not re-writing history but in essence writing over multiple historical constructs.

Eddie Ellis's "library" (his manuscript diary), represents this man's desire to record every moment and person with whom he intersects. Why else would he enter me into his diary, especially when he was two to three months away from dying of emphysema? His questions to me held an urgency, a desire that he knew could never be fulfilled. Other than those questions, he never spoke to us but continued to work in a room adjacent to ours. His diary became his legacy, his archive. Borges's metaphorical fantasy of the library becomes Eddie Ellis's attempt to process and subsume the world into his imagination and reconstruct it for a reader (or a *sceptic*), essentially creating his own Borgesian version of a "total book." Like Borges' quest, the archivist's – Eddie's, in this case – desire to contain a "total" archive is an inevitably doomed quest to possess history under one domicile, one house. Our (meaning the library's archive's) quest is also doomed because the archive will never be complete.

A book, a printed bound work, represents its own archive, in an attempt to contain, order and disseminate knowledge. The body of the object is marked with its own truth-values, beyond the written language between its covers. Its "bibliographic codes"[4]

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outstanding or very rare book, either as identifying it with one of *x* copies known, or for the guarantee of quality bestowed on it by having belonged to a respected connoisseur. (*ABC* 171-2)

[4] Though discussed in earlier chapters, I offer a re-fresher here: The "bibliographic code" is distinguished from the content or the semantic construction of language within a text/work ("linguistic code) by the following elements: "features of a page layout, book design, ink and paper, and typeface . . . `sociology of texts,' like publisher, print run, price or audience. . . . They might also include the other contents of the book or periodical in which the work appears, as well as prefaces, notes, or

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reveal sociological and mechanical clues relevant to the book's history, i.e., production and provenance. These "'unsightly' features present in an old document, such as folds and creases, water stains, insect holes, grease, and ink splotches, [which] are integral to the document's history and *authenticity* and should not be removed for merely aesthetic reasons" (41), admonishes John Baker, a historian of the New York Public Library.

An archivist generally preserves these markers, even at the expense of user access, because they provide information about the book's unique history. In previous chapters, I address the bibliographic and literary history of an entire genre. However, I only briefly mentioned instances of individual volume's unique bibliographical codes, e.g., the variant re-bindings. In this chapter, I discuss the potential for each volume to become its own archive, resident within the genre's overarching archive of mass-produced femininity, but also unique for its marks, e.g., aging process, inscriptions or annotations. The bibliographic code, as George Bornstein points out, "corresponds to the aura and, like it, points to the work's 'presence in time and space'" (31). The aura authenticates the object's fragmented moments of production, creation and dissemination in a historical continuum. In this (or any) archive, though, *what moment is being preserved?* The moment of writing, printing, author's essence/presence, reader's consumption, commodified exchange after passage of time, moment of commodified touch, or moment of possession? Which layer should be privileged, archived or preserved?

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dedications that affect the reception and interpretation of the work" (Bornstein 30, 31).

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Emily Dickinson's poetic collages represent such a dilemma. According to Jeanne Holland in "Scraps, Stamps and Cutouts: Emily Dickinson's Domestic Technologies of Publication," Dickinson's poetry is really a sign of a domestic "found" technology. Her publishing apparatuses consist of various papers and scraps lying about her house. She used these materials with increasing regularity as her reclusiveness increased. She began to mix the scraps together to create a manuscript of found texts and original poetry (e.g., a stamp and words cut out from a George Sand review, pasted onto paper, with her poem written around the textual intrusion).

In examining Dickinson's textual practices, Holland finds that these are the poet's attempts to transcend a physical body – both Dickinson's physical body and the body of a material text. Holland focuses on the fixity (or not) of the printed word and the movability of its meaning according to a manuscript. Holland privileges the handwritten form and suggests that Dickinson's manuscripts are "artifacts" – material objects that mark a cultural moment in history.

These non-book objects often contain vital insight into an author's or artist's work and are referred to as "ephemera," which literally means "anything having a very short life" (*Webster's*). In archival science, the "ephemera" refers to any printed, written or existing object which supplies an essence of the author's work. The object may be of a transitory nature, but it is regarded as an essential element to reconstructing the life and work of a person (similar to Wojnarowicz's chest of objects). The fleeting moment of creation is acquired, organized, processed and catalogued as that frozen temporal moment. At this brief juncture, and in a very small notation, even the most insignificant property becomes a repository for some sort of knowledge, which librarians, archivists

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and collectors then explode as a gateway into the other works of the author. Archives are so filled with papers, objects, different editions of books, copies and mis-prints because they each tell another fragmented moment in the unique life of a cultural object. This containment of total knowledge creates a certain comfort and hope to humankind in Borgesian terms:

> In the vast Library there are no two identical books. From these two incontrovertible premises he deduced that the Library is total and that its shelves register all the possible combinations of the twenty-odd orthographical symbols (a number which, though extremely vast, is not infinite): Everything: the minutely detailed history of the future, the archangels' autobiographies, the faithful catalogues of the Library, thousands and thousands of false catalogues, the demonstration of the fallacy of those catalogues, the demonstration of the fallacy of the true catalogue, the Gnostic gospel of Basilides, the commentary on that gospel, the commentary on the commentary on that gospel, *the true story of your death*, the translation of every book in all languages, the interpolations of every book in all books.

The objects and hand-written notations by an author or the notorious reader represent the many levels of historical accumulation which can then be archived. This is merely a fraction of what the archivist attempts to preserve. The ephemera is the smallest site of writing and language yet it encases so much intrinsic value and knowledge and represents an attempt to reconstruct the artist in fragmentary pieces of reality. The specific marker, that which was intended to be fleeting or ephemeral, becomes a stepping stone to unlock

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the secrets of the future, the present and the historic.

In Dickinson's work, Holland points to the conflation of materials, text and production of the eventual work that must be visually re-presented to readers to fully understand that the "work" evolved from a poem into an artistic insertion of representations of history and culture at a given moment. Ideology seeps into the production of the text from the author herself as opposed to being inserted by an outside source, e.g., the editor. In this sense, the work becomes the Foucauldian model of "author-function" defined in "What is an Author?":

> Referring only to itself, but without being restricted to the confines of its interiority, writing is identified with its own unfolded exteriority. This means that it is an interplay of signs arranged less according to its signified content than according to the very nature of the signifier. Writing unfolds like a game that invariably goes beyond its own rules and transgresses its limits. In writing, the point is not to manifest or exalt the act of writing, nor is it to pin a subject within language; it is, rather, a question of *creating a space into which the writing subject constantly disappears.* (102)

Foucault's model of discursivity fuels much of Jerome McGann's sociological evaluation of a work. Foucault believes that the author becomes faceless (not nameless) as she writes and is preceded by the discourse that influenced her. The author, for Foucault, is not the primary source. The sociology of the text, the primary theoretical apparatus employed for my dissertation, welcomes the author back into the study, but it does not privilege that author. Instead, the reader, various institutions and the book object itself

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are invited into the study of the work. Though a differentiation between text and work seem circular in logic, the distinction is created to avoid privileging the author or the actual literary text over any other entity within the sociology of the text.

Dickinson's artifact/object/work combines her writing, reference to another writer, production of an icon within , and use of "domestic" tools to create an image surrounded by language. All of these things produce a work that is layered with meaning and, in essence, is an "archive" of Dickinson's moment of creation and that immediate cultural moment. Readers do not have access to that cultural moment unless they review the manuscript complete with manufactured text. I use Dickinson's manuscript as an example of the knowledge that language cannot represent in the reproduction of these works. The original is always the closest representation of the moment (not necessarily the author).[5]

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[5] By this, I am not psychologizing the moment to implicate Thomas Tanselle's version of "authorial intention." Instead, I contend that the "moment" can never be re-structured through artificial means in an archive.

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II. Twentieth-Century Archiving

> **ARCHIVE**, *v.* [f. the sb.] *trans.* To place or store in an archive; in *Computing*, to transfer to a store containing infrequently used files, or to a lower level in the hierarchy of memories, esp. from disc to tape.
>
> **1934** in Webster. **1950** *Times* 3 Mar. 5/7 The Government's clandestine censors are not content merely to open letters, copy the contents, and then reforward them; they either archive or destroy the letter. **1979** *Nature* 29 Nov. 538/3 Before being archived, data will also be examined by an Advisory Committee. **1982** *Amer. Speech* LVII. 163 All..files will be archived at the University of Wisconsin after the project is complete. **1985** *Computerworld Focus* 19 June 22/4 Finished plans would be transmitted to a DNC host computer where they would be archived and managed. Hence **'archiving'** *vbl. sb.* (*Oxford English Dictionary* CD-Rom Database)

The above definition of "archive" deals with the tension between archive and "computing" as a means of containing of "memories." In this definition, the archive is not necessarily a structural house full of material objects. It is also moments, as discussed in Chapter Two, "Defining Textuality."

William Wordsworth, a Romantic-era poet, creates a mnemic archive in his poem, "Lines Written a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey (1798). Using memory and metaphorical structures (the psychological and the concrete) , he creates an ideological existence for himself and his sister, Dorothy. In the final long stanza of this poem, Wordsworth constantly refers to his sister as the transcendent spirit of his former self, "For thou art with me . . . and in thy voice I catch / The language of my former heart, and read / My former pleasures in the shooting lights / Of thy wild eyes . . . Oh! yet a little while / May I behold in thee what I was once, / My dear, dear Sister!" (ll 115-122). The narrative of the poem has Dorothy retaining Wordsworth's younger days within herself, which images can appear to him only through her memories. But, the catch is that Dorothy's memories will become intertwined with her brother's, resulting in not a pure recollection, but a subjective view. She becomes an agent of and within his memories

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instead of simply a repository.

These memories, necessary to the development of a Wordsworthian poetic mind, subjectively portray the younger self that was rash, hasty and passionate. In Wordsworth's philosophy, poetic genius is not ready to create or compose until it has ruminated "in tranquility" and experienced a maturation. Though Dorothy's memories will revise Wordsworth's memories, he does not necessarily acknowledge this in the poem: "and in after years, / when these wild ecstasies shall be matured / Into a sober pleasure, when thy mind / *Shall be a mansion* for all lovely forms, / Thy memory be as a *dwelling-place* / For all sweet sounds and harmonies" (ll 138-143). Her mansion, her dwelling place is an empty architectural structure waiting to be filled, but by whom? In this poem, and throughout Wordsworth's work, the mind represents a space or a place to hold memories. However, these memories are subjective because they are being filtered through his sister, a unique individual with her own set of truth values. In essence, Dorothy's mind becomes an archive of both his and her memories.

Turning to a more concrete apparatus, because these memories and moments are ephemeral and subjective, each person who engages with a book alters its meaning (even if minutely). Derrida suggests that these moments of archivization are infinite throughout the life of the artifact: "The archivization produces as much as it records the event" (*Archive Fever* 17). Archiving occurs at the moment that the previous representation is layered with new "saved" knowledge. Traces of the old document exist, but cannot be differentiated from the new – a living palimpsest.[6]

[6] Think about your own word-processed documents: Unless you save in each document after it has been edited, the changes during each editing process will not be

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With this in mind, the textual object and its bibliographic codes are constantly open for re-interpretation. For these reasons, it is my contention that the textual object, the physical book is also an archive of creation, memories, moments – especially the literary annual which was intended to represent memories – and is constantly being re-evaluated and re-presented with each individual use as well as institutional preservation. Not only does the reader add meaning to an individual literary annual volume, but the re-presentation of the genre continually layers meaning onto the history (and future) of literary annuals. I found this type of re-presentation in early twentieth-century volumes that mimicked the literary annual.

The legacy of the literary annual continued in the twentieth century, but not only through literary criticism. It re-appeared in its material form. Hoping to capitalize on the successful formula, publishers in the twentieth century resurrected the literary annual genre (in form and content) with both nostalgic anthologies of selections from the annuals and imitations with completely original content. In 1930, editor Dorothy Wellesley introduced a seven shilling sixpence imitation, with visual reminiscences of the *Forget Me Not*. In fact, the "new" volume pays homage to the *Forget Me Not* by using the 1831 volume's cover image on its back board. (See **Figure 9.1**: *The Annual* 1930 & *Forget Me Not* 1830 boards) The new volume, with an introduction by Vita Sackville-West, compresses the literary and visual contents of the nineteenth-century annuals into one definitive collection: *The Annual, Being a Selection from the Forget-Me-Nots, Keepsakes and Other Annuals of the Nineteenth Century.* Published in London

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overtly apparent. These days, though, document comparison programs can compare two to three documents and mark the changes made, using various graphic representations.

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and only 4½" x 7", slightly larger than the first annuals, the volume is wrapped in green paper boards and laid out like the originals – including inscription and List of Embellishments pages. The volume includes selections primarily from the *Forget Me Not* and the *Keepsake* but also includes those from the popular *Friendship's Offering, Talisman, Amulet* and *Bijou.*[7]

In the Introduction, Sackville-West reminds readers of Ackermann's introduction and influence over the annual's creation and congratulated him (belatedly, of course) for his ingenuity: "The form was compact, the binding dainty . . . [Ackermann] had hit the public taste exactly" (iv). Using Ackermann's flower metaphor, Sackville-West offers a bouquet to her readers at the same time that she compels them to remember its history:

> A perusal of the present representative selection, this nosegay picked from the flowerbeds of many publishers over a period of many years, will surely convince the reader that the enterprise was marked out for a roaring trade. We may read, today, indeed, in a spirit tinged by an amusement and a curiosity lacking in our grandparents; our absorption may, today, have become tainted with something of an antiquarian interest. We smile, where our grandparents saw no reason for a smile. We gain as much as we lose. Still, be it for one reason or another, we continue to find these contributions irresistible. (iv-v)

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[7] The volume contains ten engravings (including an inscription page, frontispiece engraving and vignette title page) and seventy-five contributions by various authors, including Mary Shelley, Wordsworth, Hogg, Southey, Hood, Landon, Blessington, Coleridge, Tennyson and Scott.

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In essence, Sackville-West obeys the original request to "forget me not" by re-creating the production and reception history of not only the contents but of the physical literary annual form. Though the volume imitates (instead of mimicking) Ackermann's *Forget Me Not* (and others), its form is less opulent: the paper is a lesser quality; the printing is murky and faded; and the engravings are printed directly to the page instead of being printed on India paper and tipped in (as well as being smaller in size). In addition, this volume technically qualifies as an anthology and not an annual. (See definitions of these terms in Chapter Four.)

The New Forget-Me-Not, A Calendar (1930), advertised on the back flyleaf of *The Annual*, borrows the early annual form and includes "useful information" and polite literature in the volume:

> Modelled upon its illustrious Victorian predecessor, the *New Forget-Me-Not* pays a tribute to the swarm of nineteenth-century Annuals which so prettily pleased our ancestors, and *tells for our benefit the polite history of our times.* Forty eminent persons have each contributed an original chapter on the leading events, social, sporting and artistic, which fill the English year. The practical side of the calendar is not neglected, and space is provided for a record of the engagements and incidents of each day.

This volume touts original pieces as opposed to Wellesley's anthology-volume, is illustrated by the well-known Rex Whistler and published by the same publishers, Cobden-Sanderson. However, this ad layers contemporary history over Ackermann's creation and claims the invention for the twentieth century. Though this is a marketing

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ploy, "what's old is new again," it bridges the public's memory between 1823 and 1930. Ackermann's was polite literature, and this volume represents "the polite history of *our* time." In the *New Forget Me Not*'s Preface, the publisher juxtaposes the new annual with its original:

> Thinking of these tinted niceties . . . we have been at some pains to produce for our times this *New Forget-Me-Not*. The times are more hurried, sentiment is less freely confessed – we grant such variations. Our almanack is intended to answer modern feelings, and – here we have varied the *Forget-Me-Not* constitution – by providing a daily register, we have accepted the new pace of our old friend the Year. (vii-viii)

With its weekly calendar pages and ample writing space on each page (see **Figure 9.2**: Weekly Calendar), this six-shilling annual begs for completion by its owners, much like the first few *Friendship's Offering* volumes (1824 and 1825). (Ackermann never included a diary in his *Forget Me Nots*.) The hurried lifestyle and lack of sentiment indicative of the early twentieth century are the only differences (between the volumes and the periods) cited by the editor. The following year, *The New Keepsake* was published, buoyed by the success of the two previous ventures:

> Encouraged by the reception of "The New Forget-Me-Not" and "The Annual," works in which the view was expressed that the world is not in too great a hurry to enjoy a yearly feast of elegance and feeling, literary and artistic – that, indeed, like those other hastening mortals the Early Victorians, we all stand in need of the

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> ingenious refreshments of the parterre and the sundial –
> encouraged, we say, by the welcome given to the two books
> named, we bring out our "New Keepsake." (iv-v)

But, this volume excises the calendar, citing that it "introduced a menace of duty and punctuality not harmonious with an intention of pleasant escape" (v). Apparently, twentieth-century consumers and readers did not relish the new pace mirrored in *The New Forget-Me-Not.*

Interestingly, the alteration of content follows the evolution of the original annuals. The external format, however, does not parallel the unusual materials used to bind the annuals. The editor of the *New Keepsake* acknowledges that this volume could never equal the original *Keepsake* in its red watered silk binding and its pages full of poetry, prose, travel scenes and beautiful images from England's most prized authors and artisans.

All of these new annuals resurrect the physical format and capitalize on a successful genre from a prior century. The first volume imitates the nineteenth-century annuals in physical form with content from the originals; the second volume publishes contemporary authors with a strict theme of the seasons; the third volume eschews restrictions on content and publishes the best writings of contemporary authors – much the same as the original annuals. These volumes invoke an historical memory of the annuals themselves. Though reception of these "new" annuals is not clear, Sackville-West reminds readers of the eventual disdain suffered by the original annuals and shames readers into disavowing those sentiments in the new and modern twentieth century:

> But we may be permitted to wonder whether some severer spirits

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> expressed, within the privacy of their homes, that disapproval of which Leigh Hunt gives us but an inkling [in his article, "Pocket-books and Keepsakes" in the 1828 *Keepsake*]? Were there some who deplored the lucky-dip character of the Annual, and resented the inclusion of their literary mentors among a lot of parcels smothered in bran? Did some fastidious scholar sniff audibly while his lady fluttered the pages and sighed with delight as she discovered some unknown gem by Lord Tennyson, suitably illustrated by a dry-print engraving?[8] History is silent. And possibly, our shot at a venture is a shot without a mark. It was, after all, a day when the lady ruled in the boudoir–if in the boudoir only–and Mr. Ackermann foresaw that the path of literature might remuneratively be made easy. (ix-x)

Sackville-West nods to the marketing and commodification of a literary form as well as to both the popular and literary reception of annuals. By recording reception of the genre, she hopes to avoid the same outcome (disdain from the educated reader) – a marketing ploy used during the rise of the annual in the nineteenth century. While Sackville-West, Wellesley, Whistler and publishers Cobden-Sanderson use the business plan forwarded by Ackermann (right down to acknowledging their predecessors and the prior year's success), they inadvertently add to the palimpsest, already begun by

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[8] In all likelihood, the engraving was produced and passed on to authors – even Tennyson – for a verbal illustration. Here, Sackville-West privileges the author instead of the engraving, a reversal of the original practices perhaps done to tease readers with well-known literary names.

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Ackermann, in their use of a literary format. The twentieth-century producers of the "new" annuals re-create, write over and simultaneously erase a genre to re-build it with bibliographic and linguistic traces of the original. The commodity re-surfaces and is re-made allowing exposure of the genre and its new contents.

The longevity of the original annuals was not repeated with these re-instituted volumes. The targeted audience for these volumes went beyond the ladies who ruled drawing rooms, especially considering the progress of the women's movement by 1929. Cobden-Sanderson produced only the three volumes before abandoning the experiment. Indeed, these publications could have been instigated by the sporadic scholarly interest in the nineteenth-century annual being published during the first thirty-five years of the twentieth century. Or, the authors included in two of the "new" annuals, of the Bloomsbury Group, could have insisted on the new product. Those questions have yet to be answered, though.

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III. Twenty-First Century Archiving

> The ***Internet*** is a massive network of networks, a networking infrastructure. It connects millions of computers together globally, forming a network in which any computer can communicate with any other computer as long as they are both connected to the Internet. Information that travels over the Internet does so via a variety of languages known as protocols.
>
> The ***World Wide Web***, or simply *Web*, is a way of accessing information over the medium of the Internet. It is an information-sharing model that is built on top of the Internet. The *Web uses the HTTP protocol, only one of the languages spoken over the Internet*, to transmit data. Web services, which use HTTP to allow applications to communicate in order to exchange business logic, use the Web to share information. The Web also utilizes browsers, such as Internet Explorer or Netscape, to access Web documents called Web pages that are linked to each other via hyperlinks. Web documents also contain graphics, sounds, text and video. (*Webopedia.com*, emphasis added)

At this moment, we realize that an archive of all cultural moments is perhaps impossible. But, in an attempt to preserve, make public and digitize our cultural markers, we have moved to a seemingly open space that provides both a public and a private forum for publishing, displaying and viewing these objects. That space is the cyberworld of hyperlinked documents, scanned images and digitized/searchable documents. The Internet has become our millennial library where we can acquire everything in order to mark moments and validate our existence. The definition above sets this world apart because of its unique language: HTTP protocol, or more familiarly, Web design and HTML. (However, it's a language that is written, not verbal.)

Using this unique language and because of a genuine need for scholars to witness the literary annual, I created an archive to exhibit the nineteenth-century archives: "*Forget Me Not*: A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's Nineteenth-Century Literary

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Annual" (attached to this dissertation as Chapter Ten).[9] This Hypertextual Archive[10] reveals more than an object or artifact from the nineteenth century. The Hypertext reveals/unveils works which are hidden behind inadequate catalogue entries and rare book library doors.[11] It renders a re-presentation of a different work – the digital work – and presents it in an ***archive*** of images and a collection of *Forget Me Nots*. I use re-present here instead of recuperate because recuperation denotes victimization and a need for rescue, thereby effecting the literary standard of a female victim. Instead of situating the annuals in the male literary aesthetic, the entire literary history attempts to locate the annuals in their own specific cultural moment, moving away from this idea of recuperation.

A hypertextual or digital rendering allows an archive to expand, replicate and affect more than the singular user of the material object; and, because of its possibilities for expansion, the digital archive comes closer to Borges' "total book" than any other

---

[9] I am indebted to the pioneering work of Kathryn Ledbetter and Terry Hoagwood, who reproduced a portion of the *Keepsake* (1829) with a critical study of Letitia Elizabeth Landon's engagement with this particular volume. Their work is digital rather than printed and is maintained by the (authorized and peer-reviewed) online journal, *Romantic Circles*. The visual reproduction of the annual on this Website provides an important view of specific bibliographic information in an otherwise unknown genre in literary studies.

[10]For ease of reference, Hypertextual Archive, Hypertext or Archive (each with initial capital letters) will refer to my "*Forget Me Not:* A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's Nineteenth-Century Literary Annual."

[11] The Rare Books & Special Collections at the University of South Carolina pierced this veil by cataloging their three hundred volumes of British and American literary annuals with full analytical entries. This allows catalogue searches (both through their catalogue and WORLDCAT) by individual contributor "and the title of the contribution as well as by the volume title" (Special Collections online description) – no small task considering that each volume contains at least fifty entries.

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type of critical edition.[12]

Within the Hypertext, the contents (editor's preface, table of contents, table of engravings, engravings, inscription plates, poetry and prose) and bibliographic elements (bindings, covers) of the 1823-1830 *Forget Me Not* volumes have been transcribed, scanned and digitally reproduced to illustrate the inseparable importance between authorship and textual object, an issue I address at length in my dissertation. The Archive ceases with the 1830 *Forget Me Not* because it is during this year that the intent, publication and market reception began to heavily impact the production of these popular volumes. Though they did not fall from public favor, the genre became riddled with imitators and sub-genres of the original literary miscellany begun by Ackermann and improved by Alaric Watts.

The Hypertextual Archive is structured in frames: a stationary, permanent left frame for navigation and a right frame for viewing the Archive's contents. (See **Figure 9.3**: Frames Page) After entering the Archive through the primary Index or Home page (see **Figure 9.4**: Index Page), the user is automatically taken into the frames structure and the "Introduction" where each navigation choice in the left frame is defined. The "Introduction" also chronicles the evolution of the site with monthly updates January 2003 to the present. The "Histories & Rationale" section offers a truncated history of literary annuals as well as the theoretical rationale for re-presenting the *Forget Me Not* in its digital form. The Archive also includes contextual material that identifies the literary annual within the nineteenth century in a section entitled "Genre's Context." This

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[12] "Critical edition" will be discussed later in this chapter.

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section includes a yearly chronological list of annual titles (to exhibit the genre's prodigious publication), a list of titles, publishers and editors of all literary annuals published in England through 1830, a list of prominent (i.e., canonical) authors' contributions to annuals, a selection of contemporary reviews from various periodicals and a selection of general comments by and about publishers, editors and contributors to literary annuals.

Various indexes comprise the "*FMN* Contents" section, including the *Forget Me Not*'s contributors, poem titles, prose titles, engraving titles, engravers and artists. Each lists the various types of contributors and contributions to the 1823-1830 volumes and is arranged alphabetically. (Unfortunately, the Hypertextual Archive is not searchable except on individual pages.)

The following section, "*FMN* Contents," offers facsimiles (scanned images) of various elements from each *Forget Me Not* volume 1823-1830. In addition, each facsimile has been transcribed and enriched with hyperlinks. The transcribed table of contents for each volume links each contributor's name to his/her contributions to all of the literary annuals, and some prose and poetic contributions (very few) have been included and are accessible through a hyperlinked title in the same transcription. In addition, each volume's engravings has been included in that year's master page. Detailed bibliographic descriptions of each volume are also included in this section.

A non-frames Site Index, a link to the Updates, the Bibliography/ Works Cited, Acknowledgments and a Guestbook are all included in the "General Information" section – a section which deals with the administrative portions of the Archive. The Archive was constructed in HyperText Mark-up Language (HTML) using a simple Web design

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program, Microsoft FrontPage. For future use, the Archive needs to be re-digitized in Text Encoding Initiative standards and in XML, a more complicated language that will allow searchable text throughout the Archive as well as allowing the Archive to be read in any program. In the spirit of making lesser-known works accessible to all scholars, I chose to "go live" with the Archive. Because I was the Webmaster for the Women's Studies Certificate Program at The Graduate Center, I was able to attach the site to their Web pages: http://web.gc.cuny.edu/womenstudies/FMN%20Hypertext.[13] According to the hit counter on the Hypertextual Archive's Home Page, the site has been accessed over 5,000 times ("hits") since August 16, 2002. Twelve entries fill the Guestbook – my own version of an inscription page.

I have to confess here to a complication in my argument. Earlier in my dissertation, I propose that the book is like a "body" which would be crippled without all of its contingent parts. In creating this Hypertext, as the archon, I offer these books as bodies, but I have drawn and quartered them in an attempt to highlight every bit of their visual presentation and literary content – emendations that will be discussed later in this chapter.

For purposes of depositing my dissertation and filing it with UMI, only representative pages of the Hypertextual Archive will be included in the text of this dissertation. The entire archive translates into over one hundred printed pages that cannot visually represent the archive's unique design, including background colors, frame

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[13] At the end of Spring 2005, the Hypertextual Archive will be moved to a permanent research facility (University of Miami, Ohio) and housed under the *Poetess Archive* project with Professor Laura Mandell where it will continue to live and grow.

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navigation, etc. In addition, hyperlinks within each page have the potential to create a variety of histories, "narratives" or relationships; these relationships are contingent upon each user's unique experience and navigation within (and outside) the Hypertext. Consequently, I will deposit the entire archive as a CD-Rom which can be viewed from only three copies of my bound dissertation. (The CD-Rom is listed as Chapter 10 of this dissertation.)

IV. Evaluating & Using a Hypertextual Archive

Unlike the literary annuals, a hypertext cannot be physically marked by its user. Though some hypertexts contain referential markers (paragraph numbers, etc.), there is no way for a reader to mark, for instance, only certain passages to which to return for later reading. This marking effectively allows the reader to reduce the amount of content in a printed text to only that which she deems necessary. However, the hypertext does not allow this type of interaction; it requires only an ideological interaction that cannot be marked directly onto the screen. The reader is barred from altering the hypertext on the screen unless she has the proper codes to access its original files. At that point, the altered hypertext can reside only on that reader's computer or can be uploaded for all readers to experience the changes – an act which inevitably controls the meaning of the work for multiple readers, not just that one person. In addition, other readers may not be aware of subtle changes to a hypertext's content and will be ignorant of the fact that they are reading a new edition. For my own project, I include a date on each page that is automatically updated when I save the page. This allows users to refer to specific pages at specific moments regardless if the contents change. In addition, I keep a running

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Updates section within the Introduction, in which I detail any alterations (technological and content). Regardless, hypertext mediates readers' physical access to the document. However, in our current atmosphere where everyone can "publish" (i.e., make public) a Web page, hypertext has been misconstrued as merely a replacement for the linear document.

The Web-like machinations of digital archives implodes the fantasy of a linear continuum because navigation on the Web is inconsistent and untraceable at best. My project, and other hypertexts, contains an indefinite number of centers with altering relationships. There is no linear format governing the reading of a hypertextual archive, except as dictated by the navigation frame. As Jerome McGann points out in "The Rationale of Hypertext," the reader makes and re-makes the order of a hypertextual archive. A hypertextual archive implies a resistance to materials; a printed page *relies on* materials. To select one page to accompany my printed dissertation would assign a concrete center or hierarchy to the my Archive.

In the cyberworld, readers become *users* when they experience the multiple levels of a hypertext – at their own rate and understanding. Ideally, a hypertext establishes a navigational system that is not necessarily linear, but is discernable by each user. Users generally evaluate a hypertextual project based on its ease of navigation and organization. And, because my Hypertextual Archive is intended to have no center and no hierarchy, its order has been imposed by the use of a "frames" format in which the left side of the screen always remains. A button linking either to the top of the page or to the Home page is resident throughout all of the pages to enable users to return from where they came – an important element for a hypertext.

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A reader's online subjectivity relies on visual control instead of physical interaction with a document. With computer technology, images in hypertextual archives can be manipulated when viewing their contents. While viewing a hypertext, a user may manipulate the images and information presented on a screen. By downloading or saving images, text, and objects from a site, a reader creates a unique fragment of the site, mainly because each computer's specifications vary widely (e.g., simply by colors and brightness of the monitor). As the *Forget Me Not* Hypertextual Archive's designer, I had to consider viewing specifications for people with disabilities as well as download time for images and the various browser's that people use to view the Web. Readers typically will not wait more than twenty seconds for an image to load, nor will they read (supposedly) beyond the first "page" of rolling text. I disregarded this last consideration because my site is research-specific and addresses an atypical Web-using audience.

An example of a very large and media-contingent archive is *The William Blake Archive*, a hypermedia, as opposed to hypertextual, project.[14] The *Archive* includes a limited number of spectacularly colorful visions from Blake's illuminated works. But, as online editor Joe Viscomi discovered, the online version will never exactly duplicate the "verified" original because the thousands of monitors, which instantaneously reveal the unique printings, cannot be quality-controlled for color resolution. The elaborate replication of Blake's illuminated works allows *a* viewing, but the creators of this site allow the viewer to adjust her own colors. Blake's archive becomes interactive – the

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[14] The distinction between these two types of hyper- projects lies in the form, textually, graphically or audibly centered. "Media" infers that the site is more than textual.

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colors become adjustable according to a user's unique specifications, but not an authentic replication of Blake's work. A user can never be sure of the validity of pixels and dots on her screen. This user-insecurity and replicating-construct produces a simulacra which incorporates the viewer into its hyper-atmosphere, as noted by Kathleen Burnett in "Theory of Hypertextual Design":

> Each user's path of connection through a database is as valid as any other. New paths can be grafted onto the old, providing fresh alternatives. The map orients the user within the context of the database as a whole, but always from the perspective of the user. In hierarchical systems, the user map generally shows the user's progress, but it does so out of context. A typical search history displays only the user's queries and the system's responses. It does not show the systems's path through the database. It does not display rejected terms, only matches. It does not record the user's psychological responses to what the system presents. . . . *The map does not reproduce an unconscious closed in upon itself; it constructs the unconscious.* (par.25)

Designating my online site as an "archive" embraces Derrida's (and Freud's) concept of an ideological and mnemic archive. It becomes a place, like in Wordsworth's poem, that is a subjective house compiled, interpreted and fluctuating according to the user – an unconscious Web-like existence is created within the archive itself.

My Hypertextual Archive lives with the future intention of expanding. Ideally, it will include more *Forget Me Not* volumes and their actual contents. When I first began

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this project, I claimed to present elements of the literary annuals without any editorial control. However, replace editorial control with Web designing and it is the same concept. But, editing a printed work varies greatly from producing a hypertextual archive. Paul Eggert claims that "editors are ventriloquists" (327). What does that make Web designers or even my efforts with the Hypertextual Archive? What presentations and selections do I make for my users? I own the 1824 through 1830 volumes and therefore not only have unlimited access to the books themselves, but also to scanning the contents.[15] Without concern for copyright infringement (because the contents are now in public domain), I scanned and transcribed the specific volumes without paying use fees. The Beinecke Rare Book Library at Yale provided twelve digital images of the 1823 *Forget Me Not*, delivered to me on CD-Rom for a small fee of $300.[16]

In addition to carving up the books (not literally, but visually)[17] and representing them as one-dimensional images on a computer screen, I have manipulated both the book and the user. The opening page of the Archive limits the project to the years 1823 through 1830. However, on the opening page, users are greeted by a scanned image of a green book cover (see **Figure 9.5**: 1831 Forget Me Not Board, Hypertext Opening) with a frontispiece as the rollover image. (See **Figure 9.6**: 1824 Frontispiece Hypertext

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[15] A rare book librarian would never allow these volumes to be scanned on a flat bed scanner (where it might crack the book's very fragile spine).

[16] After six years of searching, I now own the 1823 volume and will remove the Beinecke's images from the hypertext. When the archive becomes authenticated or publishable according to the prescriptions of a new scholarly group (NINES), I am sure that the Beinecke will ask for "use" fees, which can be prohibitive considering that the archive will now include the entire contents of the 1823 volume.

[17] No little book was harmed in the making of this Archive.

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Rollover) They will notice in the caption below that the green-covered board was borrowed from the 1831 volume and the frontispiece is from the 1824 volume. I intentionally manipulated the images to create a closer replication of the material object itself, the literary annual. Paul Eggert points out that an editor, much like a Web designer, is complicit in the construction (or re-presentation) of a work: "The dilemma therefore for those scholars editing texts from the past is that the pursuit is never innocent: editing is not an act of mediation, as we had perhaps believed, but one of transgression, of speaking for the dead" (327). The green cover is a scanned image of the paper boards that would have originally been produced with the 1823-1827 volumes. I am purposefully manipulating my audience without explicitly pointing to the deceit, except in small text below the image.

During a recent presentation at the University of Edinburgh, I spoke of my hypertextual manipulation. One audience member qualified my explanation of this manipulation as a *confession,* premising her comment with the suggestion that my "archive" was, in fact, an "edition" because of this manipulation. This audience member accused me of being complicit in doing violence to material objects, to which I simply responded, "yes."

Various academics at other conferences have questioned my "archival" designation, with the supposition that an archive is something that is static, institutional and somehow untouchable. As our understanding of digital interruptions into an otherwise humanistic world expands and becomes both resistant and welcoming, the definition of an "archive" expands as well. An "archive" (whether physical or digital) moves beyond the cultural representation of its objects. The contents of the *Forget Me*

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Not volumes on the Website remain unaltered. Only the presentation is altered to aesthetically please the viewer (using frames, high quality images, etc.) and, in the end, is very necessary for the re-presentation of these volumes. What shall we do?

> Don't edit? Leave readers to sort out as best they can the confusing typography, orthography and blunders of printed seventeenth-century playscripts? Let them struggle with late nineteenth-century allusions to contemporary events that are long forgotten and with slang that has fallen into disuse? Indeed, don't even produce facsimile editions since they, as bibliographic objects, could at best be misleading simulacra of counterparts from a lost past? (Eggert 327)

The hyperlinks in my Archive interweave information created by Andrew Boyle, Frederick Faxon, Ackermann and the editors of each *Forget Me Not* volume.

Jerome McGann points out the limitations of traditional critical editions in "The Rationale of Hypertext," stating that current actual books are inadequate for a sociological study of a work: "I submit further that every critical and scholarly edition will be–has been–forced into such abstractions when it aspires, *within the physical constraints of a traditional book format*, to a comprehensive treatment of its materials. The more complex the materials, the more abstract and/or cumbersome the edition becomes" (25, emphasis added). Footnoting and cross-referencing all the hyperlinks resident within my Hypertextual Archive would become one of these cumbersome and disorderly editions, which printed editions suffer "bibliographical limitation":

> When a book is produced it literally closes its covers on itself. If its work is continued, a new edition, or other related books, have to be (similarly)

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> produced. A work like the *Rossetti Hypermedia Archive* has escaped that bibliographical limitation. It has been built so that its contents and its webwork of relations (both internal and external) can be indefinitely expanded and developed. (McGann "The Rationale of Hypertext" 27)

McGann explicitly states that a book's potential for physical print alteration is closed once it is produced. But, as I contend regarding literary annuals in previous chapters, the book (codex, work, creative object) never experiences ideological stasis. It constantly acquires meaning with every mode of production and reception.

I created a literary annual archive full of textuality as well as the genre's contextuality or sociology. Editors of *The William Blake Archive* qualify their project as an archive as well:

> Though "archive" is the term we have fallen back on, in fact we envision a unique resource unlike any other currently available for the study of Blake – a hybrid all-in-one edition, catalogue, database, and set of scholarly tools capable of taking full advantage of the opportunities offered by new information technology.

In doing so, I have altered the originals to account for the digital medium. I created a palimpsest of sorts – not a static representation of the literary annuals merely re-ordered, but a layering of meaning and writing superimposed over its variants in such a way that all of the variants can be experienced (instead of being only traces as with a true palimpsest). This Hypertextual Archive can expand exponentially according to the shifting needs of the user-community and has already begun to grow with its future inclusion in the *Poetess Archive* and an NEH grant application. In agreement with

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McGann, I have labeled this project an "archive" rather than a "critical edition."[18] McGann's editorial and sociological theories can be difficult to implement as a practical critical edition. However, if we take the hypertext to be a new critical edition, that might be the best way to render history for future generations – not only nineteenth-century history but also twenty-first century.

A hypertextual archive creates an authentic and unique "aura," in Benjaminian terms. Though he laments the disintegration of authenticity with reproduced artwork, Benjamin points out that

> [m]echanical reproduction of art changes the reaction of the masses toward art. . . . The progressive reaction is characterized by the direct, intimate fusion of visual and emotional enjoyment with the orientation of the expert. . . . The decisive reason for this is that individual reactions are predetermined by the mass audience response they are about to produce. (234).

In *Theories of the Text*, David Greetham points out that a user's digital engagement with the onscreen image returns a work of art to the intimate atmosphere advocated by Benjamin, despite being copies that are digitally distributed (as opposed to reproduced) over an intertwined network (396). The literary annual, as presented in my Hypertextual Archive, is marked by the age in which it is presented, a re-presentation which will

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[18] However, when users look through the *Forget Me Not* Hypertextual Archive, they certainly will not have the understanding or comprehension of the entire genre itself. They will necessarily have to read through these chapters of my dissertation to understand all of the contingent connections among bibliographic, linguistic, textual, paratextual, cultural elements of the literary annual.

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forever alter the literary annual's reception (at least for those who use the site).

With the *Forget Me Not* Hypertextual Archive, not only are users applying new meaning to the works, but I am as well (as the Webmaster and designer). In my Introduction, users are made aware of the labor and technology from the "Updates" section embedded in the "Introduction" – very similar to Landon's revelations in *Heath's Book of Beauty* and *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book.* These updates chronicle both the literary and technological additions to the site and serve to record the progress of (and, hopefully, improvements to) access. These entries mimic the current trend of "blogging"[19] and incorporate my labor as archivist, designer and Webmaster into the site's meaning (as well as the literary annuals). I become an agent within the archive:

> **January 2003:** As my dissertation work progresses, I am adding to this hypertextual archive. The current planned additions include the 1823 and 1828-1830 volumes, the engravings from the current volumes and newer volumes as well their accompanying poems. With these additions, the archive is expected to include an updated scholarly introduction which includes the history of the Forget Me Not and more close readings of the poems published in this literary annual.
>
> **April 2003:** The archive has a new look to it that's much more conducive to the vast amount of information being added. The main

[19] A Web colloquialism referring to "Web logging," blogging is a self-conscious effort by individuals to chronicle their thoughts. The blogger's comments are posted online with no standards or formality and include diary entries ranging from banal to exciting. The entries also allow a community (either as voyeurs or responders) to experience an individual's thoughts (including references to other resources effected by hyperlinks and shared media files).

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Table of Contents frame on the left side of the screen has been updated for easier access to all of this information. Under Facsimiles & Transcripts, click on the Index of Volumes to access each volume via thumbnail images of the boards. Or, click on the volume year to go directly to that volume's main page.

I have added the engravings for the volumes 1824-1827 which can be viewed either individually by clicking the title in the transcript of the List of Plates or collectively as thumbnail images accessed from the button on the main page for each volume. I have also linked each image to its corresponding prose/poetry title in the transcript of each Table of Contents.

In addition, after careful consideration, the Rationale has been abbreviated in order to protect my dissertation work against unintended "borrowing" by users. Original scholarship, specifically, has been removed from the "live" hypertextual archive and has been incorporated into the chapters of my dissertation. (Read my dissertation abstract [CV PDF file].)

At this point, academic paranoia surfaces, as is seen in this last entry. Scholarly interest in the annuals had risen, as was evidenced by the numerous email communications that I received from scholars all over the world. My scholarship on textuality, gender and hypertextuality of the annuals was unpublished (though well-publicized through my many conference presentations) and hence unauthorized.

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Though my Archive has not been peer-reviewed and remains effectively unauthorized by the existing academic community (according to antiquated standards), it has become an essential tool for many scholars. Judith Thompson footnotes the Archive in her 2004 article regarding Rudolf Ackermann's "Repository of Arts" shop – in effect, assigning authority to the Archive through this printed reference. The site's URL is published in this footnote as well. Unfortunately, because of the ephemeral nature of hypertext and Web servers themselves, the URL will change once I move the archive to its permanent place at the University of Miami, Ohio. Because my Archive has been cited, is it now considered a genuine publication according to the rules of tenure? Because tenure boards are where these rules have originated and where they have stagnated.

Though my work has been well-received and proved an unparalleled boon for access to the annuals, it is still exposed and vulnerable to someone else publishing (in traditional print) before I can. Though the rules for an authoritative academic publication have become looser, they still have not progressed so far that the Modern Language Association has begun to include Websites in its massive (and authenticating) *MLA Bibliography* (except those journals that are peer-reviewed).

But, the narrative of construction continues by locating a beginning to my Archive, the 1823 volume.

> **May 2003:** I have obtained digital images of the rare 1823 volume from Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and am adding those images, transcripts and engravings to the archive as well as updating all content indexes.

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I have added an Index of Poem Titles and an Index of Prose Titles (including dramatic scenes) for the 1824-1827 volumes. The titles are alphabetically arranged.

As you can see from the title, the hypertextual archive will be expanded to include elements from the 1823 (FMN's first appearance) through 1830 when the genre's appearance and reception began to change – especially with the publication of Thomas Hood's Comic Annual, which was a parody of the sentimental publications).

As my work progressed on the Archive and my research continued for this dissertation project, there were essential elements about the creation, production, marketing and alterations of the annual that scholars necessarily did not know or had not accumulated into one source. As a replacement for the Rationale, I began to record some of my scholarly findings in the Updates.

October 2003: The 1823 volume has been included in the archive. The publisher, Ackermann combined formats (almanac, pocket-book, literary miscellany, artwork) with this first publication, producing a volume that was literary, visually beautiful and useful. See the Table of Contents for a full list of this useful material. In addition, I have included a transcript of the initial poem, "Poetical Address" with the 1823 volume. (This begins an effort to include the poetry and prose of the annuals in this archive.)

November 2003: The latest volume being added is the 1828 Forget Me Not. Some of the engravings have been excised from the available

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copy being used. After completion of all volumes through 1830 in the archive, I will return and include these missing engravings from another research volume (most likely, the Pforzheimer Collection's copy, New York Public Library).

December 2003: The 1828 volume of the Forget Me Not has been completed and is fully uploaded into the archive. The titles from this volume still need to be incorporated into the Index of Prose and Poem Titles, which will be accomplished by the end of January 2004.

The November and December entries contain my promises to users to complete the digital version of the proposed *Forget Me Not* volume, a promise that implies access and use of the Archive by various scholars.

January 2004: Transcripts and facsimiles of the 1829 and 1830 volumes have been incorporated into the archive, which completes the chronological goals of the archive. Initially, the goal was to include up to 1832. However, I have found that the FMN's textual status changes with the 1830 volume and marks the overwhelming popularity and critical disdain of the entire genre. (In the 1830 Preface, Shoberl confides to his reader that less poetry was included in that volume to assuage requests from the reading public.) In addition, the literary annual genre subdivides in 1830 to include musical, religious, juvenile, etc.; the number of titles leapt from 25 in 1829 to 43 in 1830! For these reasons, further exploration in the annuals of the 1830s will not garner any new evidence of the genre's initial popularity. Therefore, this archive will, temporarily,

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conclude with the 1830 volume.

I acquired an additional copy of the 1825 volume which has the original green paper boards and half slipcase intact. In order to show the diversity in packaging of literary annuals, on the Facsimile & Transcripts page for the 1825 volume, I have included images of the boards from both copies (the paper boards & slipcase and the leather boards). An interesting note is that the images on the paper boards and slipcase are different. In all of the copies with the original paper boards that I have examined, the slipcase was usually covered with the same images as the boards for that year. In this 1825 copy, the slipcase and boards show different images, which could indicate the production of multiple editions for the 1825 volume. (Generally, it is cheaper to duplicate the boards' images for the slipcase; to produce an entirely new run with variant images would cost the publisher dearly for a new engraving.)

As my dissertation research progresses, I am adding elements of that research to this archive. The latest addition to the archive is Index of Publishers and Editors of all literary annuals published 1823-1830 (including some of the more popular titles published 1831-33).

February 2004:

CONTENT ADDITIONS: After the final February 4 updates went "live," I reminded scholars on the NASSR, SHARP and VICTORIA Listservs of the archive's existence. Subsequently, several scholars have browsed the site and suggested minor revisions to the content. Many of those revisions

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have been incorporated with the February 9 updates. I thank those scholars who made suggestions, those who requested to use the archive in their courses and those who sent congratulations.

The Index of Prose/Poem Titles has been updated with titles from the 1828-1830 volumes. In addition, the determination of the missing pieces from my 1828 review copy has been solved; I visited the Pforzheimer Collection at the NYPL to verify that several pieces of writing were indeed poetry contributions to the 1828 volume.

In an effort to provide a full context of the annuals' publishing phenomenon, I have created an Index of Prominent ("Canonical") Contributors to Annuals (other than the FMN). Authors from both the Romantic and Victorian periods are included in this index to punctuate the longevity of the genre and the draw of established "literati" used to fill the pages. (For lack of a better word, I resort to "canonical" as a marker of the authors who form the core of an introductory Romantic or Victorian course.) Included in this index are Wordsworth, Coleridge, Baillie, Barbauld, Shelley, Disraeli, Southey, Byron (posthumously), Dickens, E. Browning and R. Browning.

TECHNOLOGICAL ISSUES: All of the indexes have grown so large that I had to reduce the graphics on each page; those pages have a new look and organization in order to allow them to load faster. (The main alteration is the absence of the header bar on the index pages that, once clicked, transports the user back to the Index page [i.e., the entryway

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into the site]. Navigation back to the opening Index/entryway page can be achieved by clicking on "Main Entrance" at the top of the left frame.)

In the continued name of brevity, the left frame ("Table of Contents") has been streamlined so that it is more readable (and lays within the frame with a less cluttered look). A Site Index has been added and linked from the Index page (main entrance) for those users who cannot use frames format. The Site Index is a simple table of first-level/primary pages, which means that any hyperlinks and/or pages embedded within that page have not been listed.

This entry offers further evidence of the audience who use the site and the accessibility issues that hinge on user-friendly navigation.

March-May 2004: I have made minimal corrections, additions and/or changes to the archive since the last update. At the request of Tim Sauer, a John Galt bibliographer, I have added the transcript of John Galt's prose piece, "The Omen" (from the 1830 FMN, pages 99-105), which can be accessed from the Index of Prose Titles or from the transcript of the 1830 table of contents. I have also added the text of 6 poems from the 1824, 1825 and 1829 volumes. (Inclusion of these poems is based on their use in my dissertation.) Browse the Index of Poem Titles, the transcript of the Tables of Contents for 1824, 1825 and 1829 or the FMN Contributors index to find these verses.

The following entry incorporates twenty-first century social dilemmas into the Archive, including technological advances, litigation and proprietary use. These issues

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temporarily hinder the progress of the Archive's technological growth and mark the literary annual with twenty-first century traces.

June-July 2004:

TECHNOLOGICAL ISSUES/DILEMMAS: Because of litigation settlements (completed in April 2004) between Sun Microsystems and Microsoft, Java (a program that allows/creates moving images) will no longer be included in Microsoft's Internet Explorer (beginning with version 6.0 which is currently available). I created this site using Microsoft's FrontPage web design program, which included Java elements in its design scheme. Now that Java is not an included element in any of Microsoft's products, designs that I incorporated into this archive that are Java-dependent are unstable and inconsistent unless users download the JavaVM program from Sun Microsystem's website (free of charge). However, since most users are wary about downloading new programs and because there is no pop-up window indicating that Java needs to be downloaded, I had no other recourse than to re-build certain elements of this archive, including:

Navigation buttons ("Top"): any button that changed colors when your mouse moved over it is a hover button and a Java-dependent element; Transcript buttons: all buttons on the individual pages for each FMN were Java-dependent elements; if these buttons are not active, users have no way to access the transcripts or grouped engraving images; Header Graphic in right frame: many pages included a bar at the top that

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was a re-design of the binding from a FMN volume; when user places the mouse over the bar, a swapped image appears -- that swapped image has been removed; and Site Index: Because this archive is vulnerable to the hems and haws of the technology industry, I have expanded the Site Index to include secondary levels of links (including access to the transcripts which would be otherwise inaccessible because these links do not appear in the Table of Contents).

This hypertextual archive will eventually be re-built using XML and TEI standards so that it is fully searchable. But that is a post-dissertation project and beyond my technical abilities now.

With this next entry, the Hypertextual Archive begins to represent the literary annual as a sociological text – including elements of the contemporary culture (as opposed to representing the annuals as if it were presented in a vacuum of reception).

CONTENT ADDITIONS: My dissertation research has uncovered many other important contributors to the annuals; those contributors have been added either to Prominent Contributors (Charles Lamb, Bulwer-Lytton, Alaric A. Watts [ed. of Literary Souvenir]) or to the FMN Contributors (Countess of Blessington, because she contributed to later FMN volumes).

Under FMN Contents, three new indexes have been added: Index of Engravers, Index of Engraving Titles and Index of Original Artists. Each index includes the name of the original artist, the engraver, the title of the engraving and the FMN location of the engraving. Each engraving

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title has been linked to its image in addition to a link to the main page of the engraving's FMN volume. Also updated is the Editors and Publishers chart: editors names have been linked to their contributions in the annuals (under the chronological boundaries of this hypertext).

I have incorporated some "useful information" from the 1824 FMN: the chart listing the post masters and postal rates for various areas (388-89). This is the last time this type of information appeared in the FMN. With Alaric Watts' introduction of the Literary Souvenir in 1825, this "useful information" and the blank memo pages disappeared and the annual evolved into a literary miscellany; later, the genre broke into sub-genres of landscape, comedy, juvenile, religious, musical and engraving-only annuals.

Poems added: Two poems in the 1829 FMN are entitled "Constancy" and provide a verse illustration of the engraving, "Constancy." Editor, Frederic Shoberl solicited both James Bird and Charles Swain (two prolific contributors to annuals) for a poetic illustration to accompany the engraving. Breaking with tradition, he thought both poems touched on variant themes and thus printed both following the engraving (with a footnote inserted between the poems explaining this).

I have added Susannah Strickland's poem, "The Rover's Farewell to his Mistress," which was published in the 1829 FMN. Apparently, this author emigrated to Canada from England and has become part of the

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Canadian literary canon with her papers housed in the Canadian National Library.

I have also added one Byron poem from the 1830 FMN entitled "To My Dear Mary Anne" -- apparently an early poem of questionable quality.

In the next entries, the Hypertextual Archive deepens with evidence of editors' establishment of literary standards. The July additions speak especially to the patriarchal femininity presented in annuals.

Late July 2004: After reviewing The Gem (1829-32), a short-lived annual edited by Thomas Hood, I discovered evidence of an imposed morality. The short prose, "A Widow," published in the 1829 Gem is attributed to Charles Lamb. However, Hood rejected Lamb's original poem, "The Gypsy's Malison," citing that it "would shock all mothers," and inserted this other work written by Hood himself (but assigned authorial credit to Lamb, perhaps for monetary reasons). I have incorporated into the archive a letter from Lamb to B.W. Procter (writing as Barry Cornwall in the annuals) which includes the text of "The Gypsy's Malison," Lamb's sarcastic remarks about its rejection and "A Widow," the prose piece Hood substituted for Lamb's "Gypsy."

I have also added to the following to the Prominent Contributors list: Hazlitt, Maria Edgeworth, Frederic Mansel Reynolds (editor of the Keepsake) and Walter Savage Landor.

August 2004: I have added some transcriptions of General

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Reflections (including excerpts from Alaric Watts' biography, comments on the Countess of Blessington and a history of Rudolf Ackermann's publishing house) and Periodical Reviews to contextualize the reception of literary annuals. More reviews will be added as they are transcribed.

In addition, I have expanded the Chronological Index of Titles. Previously, the index listed annual titles through 1830 and only the number published during later years. The index now lists titles published yearly through 1835, a critical turning point for the genre.

September-December 2004: Leigh Hunt has been added to the Prominent Contributors list. I have added links to The Mirror of Literature in the General Reflections section; this periodical had a practice of excerpting various literary annuals for 1828 and 1829 with very little critical review. A search of this source resident in the Gutenberg Project will find several other references to literary annuals.

I have found several instances where engravers are denigrated by the early nineteenth-century artistic communities and accused of being "copyists" lacking imagination and originality. But, the literary annual required such a large number of engravers that their artistic endeavors helped to bolster their artistic standing. To illustrate the industry required to render the tone, depth and colors of painting into line engravings, I have added the original painting by John Martin, "Seventh Plague of Egypt," which was rendered into a steel plate engraving for the 1828 Forget Me Not by Henry Le Keux, a prominent and prolific engraver who contributed

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> many pieces to literary annuals. The painting and engraving are accessible through the transcript of the 1828 List of Embellishments as well as through the various indexes regarding engravings.

And, in the final entry, I warn users of further technological imperatives – a nod towards access:

> **January-March 2005**: TECHNOLOGICAL ISSUE: Because Google, Lycos, Yahoo and other search engines have become so powerful, the pages within this site are appearing in searches without the essential (left) frame navigation. To combat this, I have included more meta-text keywords on the Index page and have inserted an Index Page link on every page within the archive. Though a tedious task, I have not figured out how to force searches into the framed design -- a minor problem, but one worth noting in the evolution of this archive.

Each of these entries alerts users to new material, access and access problems. They also provide the limits of my own technological abilities and, hence, the limits of the Archive. The final entry also includes a note (or warning) which implies that the archive will become authenticated, authorized and technologically updated: "This Spring, the archive will be moved to University of Miami, Ohio (Oxford) to fall under the umbrella of Laura Mandell's Poetess project for which I am one of the co-editors." It also implies that this project will become convoluted with more than one editorial hand. Though I will remain the primary Web designer, the *Forget Me Not* Hypertextual Archive will become incorporated into a community of hypertextual projects and will benefit from the technology (and promises of funding) offered by the research institute that will house the

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project.

Will this community validate the *Forget Me Not* archive? Or further muddy the subjectivities inherent to it and the literary annual? And, even with this authorization, where does the archive begin and end? With the authorial/editorial creative genius? The literary annual publishers? My digital rendering of the literary annuals? Is the archive an attempt to record a particular continuum of history?

I have adopted McGann's concept of epistemic disjuncts in my re-presentation of the literary annuals. They have become "works" complicit with the ideological meaning of both history (the ideological construct of women and gender in the early nineteenth century) and postmodern fragmentation[20] (the violence to the text itself and the multiplicity of surfaces layered onto the Hypertextual Archive). In other words, the literary annuals have become a "new object" re-oriented and disoriented as a hypertextual "work."

Both archives (the literary annuals and my Hypertext) address a tension between textual production in the nineteenth century and the twenty-first century re-production. I have completely de-centered the material object itself as well as the original intention for its commodification: the artwork. As discussed previously, the artwork in literary annuals was produced first; the poetry was written primarily to produce a word-picture narrativizing the engraving. If I really wanted to give a historically accurate presentation

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[20] I refer specifically here to Frederic Jameson's notation of the fragmented subject in *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* in which he supposes that postmodernism ushers in a new depthlessness (replaced by a multiplicity of surfaces), a weakening of historicity and free-floating, impersonal feelings (called "intensities").

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in the sense of the Foucauldian continuum of textual production, I would show only the engravings first and then the poems, which is how the poets were presented with the work and how they produced their work. Implicit in this Hypertextual Archive is the violence done to the archive itself and the fuzzy edges of the Archive that I have created.

In Kathryn Ledbetter and Terry Hoagwood's hypertextual "critical edition," they explicated a few poems written by Letitia Elizabeth Landon and William Wordsworth published in the 1829 *Keepsake*. In addition, the hypertextual edition provides the printing and editorial production for the volume. This hypertext project was created to highlight the life of Letitia Elizabeth Landon, not literary annuals. The Hypertextual Archive that I have created attempts to visually re-produce the textual object itself with as little interference from my editorial hand as possible (notwithstanding the aesthetics of Web design and Web presentation). This is where the archive becomes fuzzy: My influence on the presentation of the text re-marks (with HTML) the original object and, in turn, re-presents the women authors published within.

Other hypertextual archives have been created in the same sense that I am re-creating the literary annuals. Lisa Vargo created a hypertextual edition of Anna Letitia Barbauld's 1773 volume of *Poems*. The hypertext, *The Anna Letitia Barbauld Web Page*, re-presents the original volume as it was published, including bibliographical evidence of aging: "the facsimile offers a means to introduce students to material aspects of book production. It is intended to make the book have a reality and a bearing upon the experience of reading the poems" (*Romanticism on the Net* 19, August 2000). Created for the authoritative and authenticating online journal/clearing-house, *Romantic Circles*, this project incorporates historical materials that enhance the original author's work and

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create a contextualized "work" in a postmodern archive. For instance, Barbauld's "On a Lady's Writing" seems, at first glance, to be a simple poem about a "lady" practicing her writing skills:

> Her even lines her steady temper show,
> Neat as her dress, and polished as her brow;
> Strong as her judgment, easy as her air;
> Correct though free, and regular though fair;
> And the same graces o'er her pen preside,
> That form her manners and her footsteps guide.

Vargo includes excerpts from conduct manuals, contemporary articles, a list of writing materials available and the educational expectations (very low) for women during the late eighteenth century. The poem becomes, through these contextualizations, a symbol of the control exerted on women's education and the remonstrances concerning a female author's desire to produce and publish her writing. The poem lives and breathes through this process – a process McGann sees as textually inherent to all productions of a work.

V. Digital Imagined Communities

Now, with this type of de-centered hypertextual archive, a work can transcend written language. Both the Barbauld hypertextual project and Holland's work on Emily Dickinson require a reader or user to interact with more than written language. They encapsulate a fluid meaning, similar to that invoked with *oral traditions* in the network of communication, as Silvio Gaggi suggests. "Communication" theorists, including Landow, Levinson, Lanham, have studied the production, apparatus, mechanization of information instead of the community which a cyberworld creates. The difference between "information" and "knowledge" is important because information is a set language pattern which can be produced independent of human involvement and relies

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on a "truth-value" in its dissemination of data. "Knowledge," on the other hand, evolves with and because of human involvement and is not the mere exchange of data. Both an archive and the sociology of the text allow for this expansion. But, it is a hypertext that begins to involve unique users. In *From Text to Hypertext*, Gaggi discusses the inherent oral culture of "hyper":

> [H]ypertext involves a paradoxical relationship to the subject. In the most obvious respect, it suggests the potential for empowerment; but that potential for empowerment coexists with a psychological decentering that results from engagement with electronic networks. Individuals can access a horizonless textual space, forge their own paths and links within it, and contribute to it just as they might contribute to a nonvirtual conversation. But in that space there are no clear axes or established directions, no vanishing points to help the subject position his or her self. The subject, physically seated in front of a networked computer and monitor, is in effect "everywhere and nowhere," conceptually occupying a virtual space that cannot be grasped the way streets, rooms, and nature landscapes can be grasped. The *cogito* is both dispersed and enlarged, not by a challenge of philosophy or theory, but by the subject's experience in a decentered network that threatens to eclipse the "individual" subject that understands itself as physically embodied and clearly localized in space and time. The groundless, shifting subject articulated by postructural theory and represented in postmodern art and literature is actualized in the virtual space of hypertext. (115)

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Gaggi's model seems predicated on Anderson's imagined community, discussed in the previous chapter. However, these people are not merely readers of a mass-produced document. Instead, they are online or cyber *users* who become faceless identities. Their identities are suggested only by association with a name; the material body is diminished.

Gaggi also suggests that these online communities, full of participants who are self-consciously aware of each other, are ineffective as a democratizing and unifying source:

> The interactivity of hypertext may be confirming and empowering for those who can engage it, but unless it contains links to the world outside hypertext, or at least cracks or openings that permit the socially, politically, and textually excluded to affect it – even though that effect is likely to be a disruptive one – hypertext will simply be a virtual neighborhood – and a safe and privileged one at that – coexisting with other nonvirtual neighborhoods that are not so nice. (121)

Published in 1998, Gaggi's discussions are now seven years out of date. Access to the Web, though not comprehensive, is much more widespread in 2005. Not only do schools and public libraries give monitored access to the Internet, but most employers do as well. A tourist can visit a Burger King, Barnes & Noble or Web shop in most major cities throughout the world to gain access to the Web (and email). The pervasive nature of email alone has allowed users to maintain contact with (and through) the digital world without much labor. Most of the seminal studies on hypertext, in terms of textuality,

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identity and digital culture, are even now outdated: McGann, Turkle, Murray, Levinson, Ryan, even Haraway and Hayles.[21]

Even the prestige of publishing in print has diminished as authors can self-publish their works (usually novels) in fairly respective formats. In *The Soft Edge*, Paul Levinson addresses "The Online Author as Publisher and *Bookstore*" (emphasis added) in an attempt to connect the online community with the authoritative world of print publications. He argues that "the act of authoring . . . seems to intrinsically call for a communication to a public, a publication (129). Recently, I found a flyer insert in my Barnes & Noble shopping bag. (See **Figure 9.7**: Barnes & Noble Flyer) The flyer declared "You Can Be a Published Author." On the opposite side, it asserts:

> No, we can't promise that bookstores everywhere will have your book in-store, but we can guarantee your book will be in every major distribution database so it can be easily ordered at fine bookstores, including major online booksellers such as Barnes & Noble.com. . . . You write it, you promote it, we do everything else.

The flyer does not promise that the book will sell; even the opening language suggests the insecurity of the venture with "in *just about* 2 months." There is no fixed time frame. The suggestion here is that the author will sell her book. Through the Barnes & Noble process, the author gains an introduction to the *New York Times Book Review*, but no promises that anyone will actually read the book, let alone give the writing that stamp of

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[21] See Additional Bibliography for a listing of some important texts (even if outdated) regarding hypertextuality and digital identities.

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public approval (and, essentially, a guarantee of success) by publishing a favorable review.

The act of authoring suggests that written words, even diaries, are meant to be read by some reader/user. This flyer demystifies the publishing process of those words by setting monetary limits on the process instead of aesthetic values. Self-publication means readers will not be guided in their selections. Instead, they will have to become self-reliant in much the same way that users have to sort through thousands of Web pages.

Levinson suggests that because of the Web (and perhaps Google, though his book pre-dates the Google project), a bookstore will become interactive and books will become open instead of frozen information (contrary to my contention that books are constantly evolving palimpsests). For Levinson, the structure for navigation online creates a space much like a bookstore which allows the consumer to peruse stacks, shelves, books, jackets, covers, etc. through the use of hyperlinks: "The 'intelligence' in these online texts vibrates in marked contrast to the 'dumbness' of tomes that sit side by side in bookstores without any exchange of information" (135). He claims that online books actively "do" something for the user by allowing the reader to discover related information in multiple books. Amazon.com and Barnes & Noble.com do this to a certain extent.

Accordingly, this act of linking will expand the definition of author into the "online community," a place filled with magazine-like content in discussion boards where the "writers" can meet asynchronously to type their opinions and factoids: "The first online communities, in which all writers were readers and all readers could be

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writers . . ." (129) – an argument about the eighteenth-century *Lady's Magazine* offered by Jacqueline Pearson (and discussed earlier). From these bulletin boards to the progressively faster user-friendly Web, the reader and author merge without clear task boundaries. In Real Life, the author can produce a text, put it on a bookshelf (via a publisher) and wait for the reader to happen upon it while browsing Barnes & Noble's shelves – relative to being rescued from a deserted island.

The slippage between self-conscious authorial production and authorized production (through traditional printing methods of publishing) are evidenced by the burgeoning communities of readers who impact an author's creativity. For instance, the series of Thursday Next novels by Jasper Fforde (*The Eyre Affair* 2003, *Lost in a Good Book* 2003, *The Well of Lost Plots* 2004, *Something Rotten* 2004) are supported by separate official Websites (constructed by the author himself) for the author and the main character, Thursday Next. In addition to furthering the fictional places, names and situations in the novels, each site provides an area for fans or critics to publicize their opinions regarding the books. A majority of the sites' bulletin boards are filled with discussions from speculation about unwritten portions of the stories to parsing it for scholarly influences.

The online community not only acts as a marketing tool for this author's books (and his speaking engagements) but also as a community-building tool. Readers are no longer isolated in their reading experience. They become part of a community, which includes brief appearances by Fforde, when they share their experiences through the online bulletin boards. In other words, Fforde has created an extension of his novels in this online community which is interesting not just for the marketing and

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commodification of his product but also because readers have a very public outlet in which they could potentially influence the next novel in the series (reminiscent of Charles Dickens' audience's influence on his serials). The influence is not one-way either: A couple announced on the Thursday Next Website that they had named their new-born daughter after the main character.

By naming their child Thursday, this couple acknowledges the impact of the textual narration. They have found not only a community online but also a way to memorialize that community and the author's creative genius. But, the influence of the narrative on the couple indicates a personalized relationship not with the author, but with the character herself. They found some sort of intimacy from their reading experience – an amazing feat considering the number of novels available to the twenty-first century audience.

Both in codex form and on the Web, Levinson acknowledges that the number of works is huge. The next logical step begs for a filter to the digital age "noise." Levinson explicitly advocates a laissez-faire attitude towards "gate-keeping" on the Web (and in other Real Life ["RL"] capacities). He suggests that "the best strategy seems, wherever possible, to let the environment, market, people, readers decide" (134). A glut of information can never exist in this digital age – the reader should (and is able to, according to Levinson) sort out the "drivel" from the important information. Google has provided some guidance with its powerful (and supposedly) pervasive search engine. Now, with its proposal to scan large numbers of books (out of copyright), Google attempts to become the archons or gatekeepers of a digital communal archive.

Levinson assumes that digital access is democratizing and free information

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abounds in the digital world: "In contrast, the real village consists of denizens who are senders as well as receivers, who participate in its communication and community on many levels. By that criterion, the online community is the first true global village" (129). These blurry boundaries create a community with open access – a community exemplified by projects like *Wikipedia*, the free online encyclopedia that has become a huge success mainly because its users govern (literally) content. When a user uploads an entry that is disputed by another user, the entry's fate is left to a democratic vote. As of today, the encyclopedia holds 506,541 articles in culture, geography, history, life, mathematics, science, society and technology. The site exists in sixty languages, including Esperanto – all user-inspired.

Levinson points out that we have been creating technology "through a rear-view mirror" (126), building on previous inventions instead of creating new ones. Is online authorship or self-publication the next step in book publishing in order to save the codex? Or do we just have a nostalgic soft spot for the "old" form? Could this be the next stage of production, marketing and distributing the codex form? Or is this more flagrantly a form of self-publishing that doesn't meet the rigorous standards imposed at well-known and prestigious publishing houses? But, interestingly, Levinson proposes that an invention which purports to improve existing technology (older and less reliable) merely finds its own niche without destroying the original invention, i.e., the television never replaced the radio. Is this a new niche in publishing where the author is responsible for her work from its inception to its delivery? And, what does this mean for the sociology of the hypertext?

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VI. A Digital Future Without the Body?

In "Cyborg Manifesto," Donna Haraway suggests that the future promises the loss of bodies altogether, no longer a "space" to be written over, as with Foucault, or an authorial digital existence, as with Levinson. Haraway's manifesto responds to postmodern technological developments by configuring the contemporary subject as a cyborg who is not locked into organic gender identification. There is no such thing as being "female" or being "male." She proposes that gender categories are complex and constructed by scientific discourse. In becoming a "cyborg," does the individual become "oral text" that cannot be archived, saved or historicized?

The language which describes Borges's mythical librarian is a language marking the death of the body, the death of circulation, much like a hypertextual existence:

> . . . my sepulchre shall be the unfathomable air: my body will sink lengthily and will corrupt and dissolve in the wind engendered by the fall, which is infinite. I affirm that the Library is interminable. (80)

The sepulcher preserves the moment of death marked on the body and acts as a representation of a person's essence instead of the original person. The body which sinks will remain unknowable in death to those who are alive – its existence comes to represent the disappearance of a person rather than the marker of that person's animated soul. The body becomes as invisible as not just air, but "unfathomable air," a condition which no human being could possibly know. The intangible air wrests the subject's living persona and envelopes it beyond knowledge, beyond what language can represent

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to us. But, the body has some sort of subjectivity even in death because it corrupts the wind which causes its infinite fall. Borges' librarian's body is marked by history just as the body of a book is marked as an archive of historical moments.

Interestingly, with the death of Borges' librarian, the body disperses with no confining resting place. The sub-atomic level of existence is on a plane of diaspora rather than finitude and peace. The knowledge of self, even in death cannot be disseminated to the living, nor can the death of the librarian limit the "totality" of knowledge. The Library of Babel, with all of its resident books, languages, experts, levels and librarians, is finally and ultimately unknowable even if a man transcends that plane of existence beyond life. The Library consumes him, hence it is "interminable." There is no closure in the Library of Babel; there is no origin to which to return – though we seem to wish to find that origin.

The archive is moving from its standardized, institutional house onto the cyber-highway where (supposedly) more readers have access to primary works. Beyond this creation of non-linear history in computer technology, the storage of an archive allows a user to manipulate the once static images and information presented on the screen. The researcher becomes involved, and an unconscious Web-like existence is created within the online archive itself. In classic Donna Haraway rhetoric from *Modest_Witness@Second Millennium*, the viewer creates her own agency in establishing a "hypertext," or a subjective archive:

> Hypertext actively produces consciousness, as in agency. As any good technology does, hypertext "realizes" its subjects and objects. In short, hypertext is an ordinary bit of the material-discursive apparatus for the

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> production of technoscientific culture. [¶] Perhaps most important, hypertext delineates possible paths of action in a world for which it serves simultaneously as a tool and metaphor. Making connections is the essence of hypertext. (125-6)

As we move toward this technoscientific culture of online diaspora, we create invisible relationships and non-linear historical continuum that disavow the physical body and increase the faith in unmitigated Cyber-optic replications of ourselves and our knowledge.

McGann calls work a human act which is therefore never static. The production of my own archive will never be static as I can add to its information base infinitely (provided I have enough digital memory on a server). My archive historicizes the literary annuals at the same time that it de-historicizes them because of the hypertextual format. If Roland Barthes signaled "the death of the author" in 1969, what happens to the individual when his/her written representation of self becomes consumed by a digital medium that is visually contingent upon fragmentation, non-linearity and ahistoricity?

If the subject and the work are both de-centered as a result of the digital world, I contend that the impact will be beyond mere nuisance. I acknowledge that material access to the Web is mediated by economic access to the apparatus. But, beyond the access and into the phenomenology of the self within this digital world, I believe that the self will experience a huge hysteria in its move away from the primacy of the individual as defined by the body. After all, "difference" in the United States is used as a liability to create cultural, ethnic, racial and gendered boundaries. If we eliminate those identity politics, what happens to the communities without faces – full of the de-centered selves?

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The archive becomes less passive and more aggressively active if we expand the definition to include the living Cyber-communities. And, if individuals become text on a screen, are they not also subject to the study of textuality?

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Epilogue

The British literary annual is a site of publication exploding with scholarly possibilities, some of which have been explored (both here and in other studies) and many of which have not: thematic artwork (engravings of women, classic scenes, natural scenes, violent destructive scenes, from oil paintings); various poetry; various prose (fiction & non-fiction); relationship of writing to engraving; editorial decisions (construction of tone in ordering the writing & engravings); political; comic; anonymous authors. When I first envisioned this dissertation project, it included chapters on the annual's authors from several vantage points, including the canonical author, the Romantic poet, the woman author/poet and the relationship among and between these authors.[1]

I originally began this dissertation (and my work on the annuals so long ago) with the thought that the women authors were getting a raw deal by their association with literary annuals. I wanted to save them, or at least bring them and their writing to the attention of other scholars, by addressing the anonymity of their names, authorizing the public name, the burden of woman and literary fame and women authors outside the Romantic ideal. I briefly address some of these topics in the textuality and femininity chapter, but not to any devoted length. I wanted to ruminate on Wordsworth's "Ruined Cottage" (published only partially in 1814) as it compares to a poem (included in an annual) that deals with the same topic (and was written by a woman). Wordsworth began

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[1]Other avenues of inquiry include looking at the annual's impact on publication forms in the nineteenth century, e.g., Dickens' *Christmas Book* which began publication in 1843 and could have capitalized on the seasonal success begun by the annuals.

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composing his poem in 1797 and continued revising it throughout his lifetime. However, this poem, in its completed version, was never published. These inter-relationships become important in discovering the literary relationships among works – much in the same way that P.B. Shelley and Horace Smith's "Ozymandias" (1818) poems can be compared. Though published at the same time and with each other's knowledge, only one poem made it into our canon. The other can only be obtained through an Web source or from Smith's collected works, now out of print.

Working on the annuals has sparked many other debates surrounding institutionalization, authentication and canonization of their contributors. The phrase "literary canon" has become the subject of numerous books, talks and curriculum in recent years, especially with respect to women's poetry of the long nineteenth-century. Should we consider works by women solely based on gender? Or should we consider these works by an aesthetic valuation? Both questions create more questions than answers. For instance, does eliding gender difference discriminate against poetry written by women or enhance it?

Canonization or anthologizing women's poetry from the nineteenth century may also perform the same aesthetic discrimination against men, solely based on gender. On the other hand, doesn't grouping poetry based on gender still marginalize that poetry, extracting it from the standard "canonical" texts because the aesthetic valuation is rigidly based on a patriarchal value system? How do we integrate this "re-discovered" poetry that was lost because women didn't have an easily available outlet to publish their works?

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Before any of the annual's poetry or prose can be explicated, compared or associated, the literary history and the book object itself needed to be inserted into the equation. The literary annual itself, in both its bibliographic and linguistic codes, impacts the meaning of the literary text. In my dissertation, I took that moment to incorporate all of the literary institutions with the object itself to create a sociology of the literary annual. In doing so, I have been *accused* of constructing a cultural history that is not so literary. The literary texts within annuals have been studied by scholars for the past ten years, but the object's textuality has not been addressed.

In the chapter on reviews and puffery (and again in the chapter on feminine and textuality), I very briefly address the aesthetic evaluation of the annual's literary contents, but it is merely a report of the contemporary reviewer's evaluation. I never answer that question: Is the writing or poetry any good?

Why answer this question? In those planned (but unexecuted) chapters, I worked against this idea of a normative aesthetic – both in an attempt to alter it and to evaluate it, asking these questions: How does the poem on a ruined cottage compare to Wordsworth's composition, a poem that has been institutionalized into our canon by anthologies, collections and curricula. How much revision did Wordsworth commit to his final version? How much did the annual poet revise? And, should the relationship between the poems become part of their analysis? I think in my initial dissertation proposal, I was over-reaching in attempting to locate the annuals in larger nineteenth-century culture *and* within a literary aesthetic. The latter is another dissertation in and of itself, but one that will feed off of my chapters on textuality and femininity once I return to the project post-graduate school. There are so many literary texts within the annuals

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that choosing a focus will inevitably and unfortunately be limiting.

About the Media

I originally created the *Forget Me Not* Hypertextual Archive as a reference for me. While writing, I wanted to consult one source instead of opening and re-opening all of the literary annuals. When the archive contained half the content of its current state, I decided that other scholars might find it useful and went "live" on the gracious Web space of the Women's Studies Certificate Program at the Graduate Center.

This was four years ago, a time when hypertextual projects were not welcome in the some academic circles because they are not "closed" or peer-reviewed. In the eyes of some academics, it is dangerous to rely on a Website that has not been authorized or approved by a rigorous review process. However, working on the literary annuals is also speculative in and of itself. It is a peripheral and ephemeral popular media form that captured the fancy of many consumers. If we look at the definition of "fancy" throughout the Romantic era, we see that it refers to desire but not imagination. It is a lesser faculty of the mind (and of the poetic genius). Hence, the annuals are the result of unnecessary but uncontrolled desire.

But, hypertextual projects began popping up all over the Web, being advertised on listservs with the caveat that the site was in progress. Each scholar who took on such a project did so to share information, to allow access to primary materials that were not necessarily available in every library or had not been committed to the authorization of a printed edition. Though some were (and are still) very messy, unnavigable and disorienting, the impetus for open access was there. Open access was important to my

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project as well.

A CD-Rom of the *Forget Me Not*: A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Literary Annual has been included with this dissertation. (UMI copies will not contain a copy of the CD-Rom, though.) To open the archive, simply place the CD-Rom in your computer's CD-Rom bay, open the proper drive and click on "Begin Here." In the interest of making information accessible, I have included the Archive's Introduction in this Epilogue.

Introduction to the *Forget Me Not* Hypertextual Archive

Welcome to the Archive!

Welcome to "Forget Me Not: A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Literary Annual." I have reproduced, re-represented, linked, amassed and essentially "archived" elements from the 1823-1830 volumes of the earliest British-published literary annual, *Forget Me Not*, published by Rudolf Ackermann 1823-1847.

A record of the archive's production can be witnessed at Updates. After reviewing the site, please take a moment to sign the GUESTBOOK.

Caveat: Though the transcripts included in this archive have been reviewed for accuracy, human error may have allowed typographical mistakes to creep in. Scholars are strongly encouraged to consult the original text. The locations of literary annuals can be discovered through the library database, WorldCat or OCLC. You may also consult this archive's Bibliography for references.

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Navigating the Archive

The navigation of this hypertextual archive is through the table of contents on the left side of your screen. This is a frames-dependent website which means that the left screen will remain no matter where you go. The right frame will change with each selection. The following are descriptions and instructions for the main pages.

General navigation: click on any hyperlinked title in the Index (left column) to view those contents on the right side of your screen. To return to previous pages within the right frame, use your browser's "Back" button on the menu bar. Return to the main opening page at any time by clicking on Main Entrance at the top of the left frame (under Table of Contents).

Contents of Archive

INTRODUCTION: introduces and acknowledges.

HISTORIES & RATIONALE: discusses the scope of this hypertext project, its larger implications, the significance of literary annuals and the textual implications of a digital "archive." Either click on the main title or click on a particular section.

GENRE'S CONTEXT: contains several indexes. All of the indexes in this category amass information from literary annuals as a publishing phenomenon. This section contextualizes the far-reaching scope of the genre and the extensive number of "literati" who were involved in the genre's rise (and fall).

Chronology of Titles: shows the rise and fall of the literary annuals' popularity, as can be seen with the numbers of literary annuals produced in selected years.

Editors and Publishers: lists literary annual titles, publishers, editors and sizes published through 1830, with some of the more popular titles included beyond the 1830

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boundary.

Prominent Contributors: lists prominent ("canonical" -- for lack of a better word) Romantic and Victorian era authors who published in annuals other than the FMNs 1823-1830.

Periodical Reviews: gives a sampling of the critical reviews from contemporary journals during the early popularity of the genre.

General Reflections: provides a sampling of articles, publisher's comments and biographical reviews that will contextualize the reception of the annuals.

FMN CONTENTS: contains indexes which amass data from all volumes included in this archive. These indexes are for purposes of comparison among titles, authors, engravers and engravings throughout the twenty-four volumes of the Forget Me Not.

FMN Contributors: shows a general list of authors whose works were published in the Forget Me Not volumes of 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829 and 1830. Each author's last name provides a hyperlink to his/her Contributions to British literary annuals.

FMN Poem Titles: lists all poem titles from the 1823-1830 volumes. Each entry is linked to the specific volume and the author's contributions. (Individual poems to be included at a later date.)

FMN Prose Titles: lists all prose titles (including dramatic scenes) from the 1823-1830 volumes. Each entry is linked to the specific volume and the author's contributions. (Individual prose pieces to be included at a later date.)

FMN Engravers: is an index of engravers whose work is included in the Forget Me Not volumes 1823-1830. Each engraver's name is accompanied by the title of the

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engraving, the original artist and the FMN location. Each engraving title is linked to its image, and each FMN year is linked to that volume's main page.

FMN Engraving Titles: is an index of engraving titles that are included in the Forget Me Not volumes 1823-1830. Each title is accompanied by the engraver, the original artist and the FMN location. Each engraving title is linked to its image, and each FMN year is linked to that volume's main page.

FMN Artists: is an index of artists whose work has been converted to engravings for the Forget Me Not volumes 1823-1830. Each artist's name is accompanied by the title of the engraving, the engraver and the FMN location. Each engraving title is linked to its image, and each FMN year is linked to that volume's main page.

FMN FACSIMILES: contains indexes of individual volumes of the Forget Me Not. See below.

Facsimiles: display digital scans of relevant elements from a particular volume. The facsimiles are presented as thumbnails which are linked to a larger image. Click on the thumbnail to access the larger image. All images were originally scanned at 400dpi and saved as a .tif file. Using a graphics program, the images were converted to a more manageable file size (usually below 100K) for downloading over a 56K modem. Unfortunately, details are sacrificed when scaling down images. (The finer lines on the engravings are not visible and the quality of the Table of Contents or List of Engravings is compromised, however readable.) The higher quality images (and larger files) have been saved and archived in an archive accessible only by me. If you need to view these larger images, please feel free to email me.

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Transcripts: display a word-processed version of the graphic with hyperlinks to relevant pages within the archive. To view transcripts, click on the button from that volume's main page. In the Transcript of each volume's Table of Contents, every author's name is linked to an Index of all known contributions he/she made to British literary annuals. (On this Index of FMN Contributors page, the annuals are listed under each author in chronological order of first publication.)

Bibl. Descriptions: details the physical properties of each Forget Me Not contained within this archive.

Vols. 1823-1847: links to a page of all the volumes included in this archive. Each volume is represented by its boards (as a thumbnail image) and a rollover effect of the frontispiece and title page. Click the thumbnail to get into the transcripts and contents of each volume.

Separate Vols.: links to a graphical display of thumbnail images of each volume's boards, title page, table of contents, engravings, list of plates and preface as a thumbnail. Click on the year to access a particular volume. Volume years appearing in maroon reside in the archive; volumes years appearing in dark gray will be added after the completion of my dissertation project or as necessary (or requested by users).

Once inside the Facsimile page for an individual volume, simply click on each thumbnail graphic to view a larger, detailed graphic image. The engravings are linked from both the transcript of the Table of Contents and the transcript of the List of Plates. For comparison purposes, the engravings in each volume can be viewed as a single page (as thumbnails) by clicking on the button, "Engravings," on the main page for each volume.

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GENERAL INFORMATION: supplies information about the construction of the website and the sources used in constructing the indexes as well as within the Rationale and History.

Site Index: presents a clear table of the main hyperlinks within the site. The site index dispenses with frames and allows users to navigate to individual pages without the Table of Contents frame on the left side of the screen.

Updates: are listed as additions and upgrades are completed. Updates will be recorded monthly.

Bibliography/Links/Works Cited: includes works referenced in the "Introduction," "Histories & Rationale" and throughout the website. Also included are other online projects mentioning or pertaining to literary annuals.

Acknowledgments: See below.

Updates[2]

Long-Term Goals: This hypertextual archive is an open-access resource for all types of scholars and enthusiasts. As interest in the literary annuals grows, the need for just such an archive is becoming more apparent. I expect to continue streamlining the technological aspects of the archive as well as adding content over the next 3 to 5 years. The long-term goals of the project are as follows:

- adding the 1831 volume: Brontë scholars have requested that I add the 1831 volume because of its importance to the Brontë family (they owned and copied from this volume). The addition of this volume is pending a

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[2]See the previous chapter, where the monthly Updates (January 2003-March 2005) were quoted in full.

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request for funding. If funding is awarded, I will incorporate the entire volume, including poetry, prose, engravings, prefaces, advert material and physical characteristics;

- adding further text of poems and prose;
- adding elements of the Forget Me Not 1832-1847 volumes;
- adding the original paintings from which some of the engravings were drawn (see an example with the "Seventh Plague of Egypt," 1828 FMN);
- adding selected elements of other early literary annuals (e.g., Friendship's Offering or The Literary Souvenir);

Technology Improvements:

- setting up a viewing space in which the poem can be witnessed alongside the engraving (and the original painting, if available);
- converting the entire site to XML with TEI standards (to begin after the transition to U Miami); and
- incorporating a search function which will accumulate information from the entire site as if it were a database (to occur with potential NINES publication).

Acknowledgements

Professor David Greetham encouraged the development of this hypertextual archive as a project for his graduate course, "Theory and Practice of Literary Scholarship and Criticism" in the Doctoral Program in English at The Graduate Center, City University of New York. This project has also been graciously supported by the Helena Rubinstein Foundation through an award from the Women's Studies Certificate Program

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at The Graduate Center (2000-2001).

For 2003-2004, my entire dissertation project was funded by a Dissertation Year Fellowship awarded by The Graduate Center, City University of New York. Funding for this award was provided by the Jewish Foundation for the Education of Women.

In February 2004, I was awarded one of seven Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Grants in Women's Studies to complete my dissertation project by May 2005. I thank the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation for its support.

In August 2004, the Bibliographical Society (England) awarded a minor research grant to conduct further inquiry into the British literary annuals held in Fales Library, New York University. I thank the Bibliographical Society (and Dr. Bill Bell) for their support.

The Bibliographical Society of America invited me to participate in their New Scholars Panel at the 2005 annual meeting in New York City. On January 28 2005, I will present "Feminizing the Textual Body: Women and Their Literary Annuals in Nineteenth-Century Britain," which will be published in the December 2005 *Papers of the Bibliographical Society*.

Please take a moment to provide comments or suggestions in the Guestbook. Or, contact me directly: ryanclan@mindspring.com. To view other work that I have been involved with, please view my Curriculum Vita (abbreviated HTML version or full PDF version).

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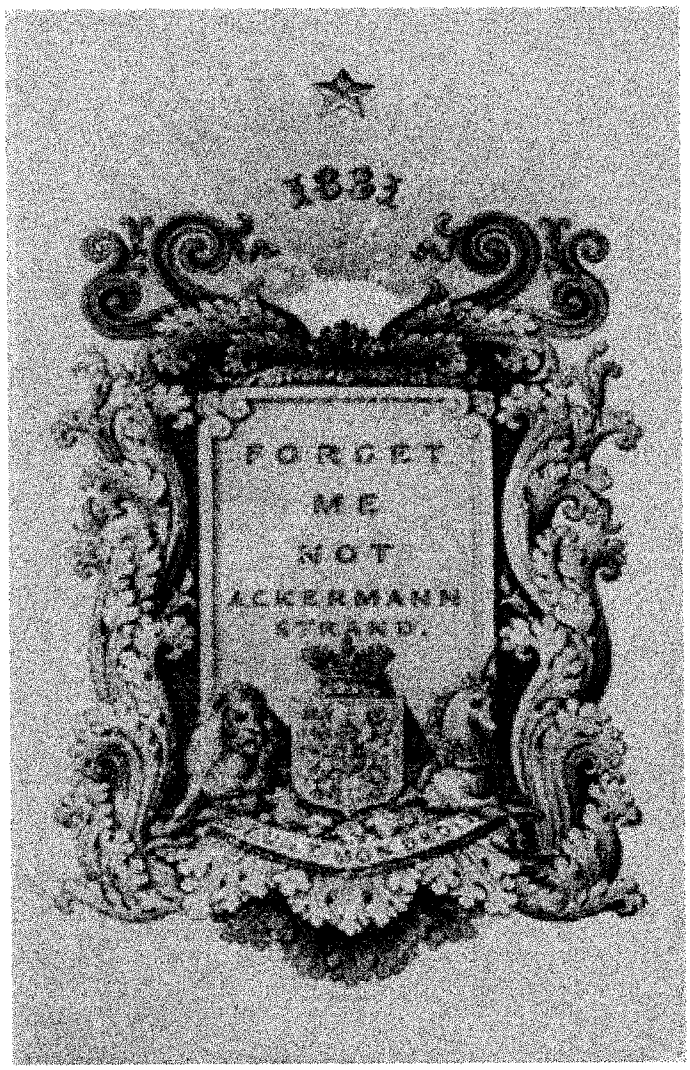
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Figure 1.1



3.5" x 5.5" (octavo)
Actual size
1831 Forget Me Not (Paper Boards)

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Figure 1.2

Chronological Index
of British Literary Annual Titles[1]

The Forget Me Not was published 1823-1847 (with a final singular issue produced for 1856). By 1847, British literary annuals had lost much of their popular appeal; however, the American production of literary annuals doubled the number of British publications during the period, 1846-1857. By 1857, the literary annual genre had begun to lose public interest on both continents.

To illustrate the early and rapid rise in popularity of the annual, the title of each annual is listed under the year published. Beyond 1835, only 1846 and 1857 are represented with the number of annuals published during these two years to illustrate the eventual fall of the British annuals and the continued popularity of the American annuals.

Compiled from the "Chronological Index" in Frederick W. Faxon's *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography 1823-1903*. For a list of all titles published yearly through 1902, see 129-140.

1823

English. (1) Forget Me Not.

1824

English. (3) Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Graces.

1825

English. (9) Blossoms at Christmas; First Flowers; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Hommage aux Dames; Literary Coronal; Literary Souvenir; Poetical Album; Remember Me.

1826

American. (4) Atlantic Souvenir; Philadelphia Souvenir; Souvenir; Wreath, a Collection of Poems.

English. (9) Amulet; Blossoms at Christmas; First Flowers; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Janus;

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[1] A hyperlinked version of this information is available on the accompanying *Forget Me Not: A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Annual.*

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Literary Souvenir; Pledge of Friendship; Poetical Album

1827

American. (2) Atlantic Souvenir; Memorial.

English. (9) Amulet; First Flowers; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Literary Souvenir; Pledge of Friendship; Poetical Album; Poole's Royal Sovereign; Royal Sovereign.

1828

American. (10) Amaranth, Bost.; Atlantic Souvenir; Juvenile Sketchbook; Juvenile Souvenir; Legendary; Memorial; Moral and Religious Souvenir; Oasis; Talisman; Token.

English. (15) Amulet; Bijou; Carcanet; Christmas Box; First Flowers; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Keepsake; Literary Souvenir; Pledge of Friendship; Poetical Album; Times Telescope; Troubadour; Winter's Wreath.

1829

American. (15) Atlantic Souvenir; Cabinet; Casket, Bost.; Gift, Bost.; Holiday Tales; Jackson Wreath; Offering; Pearl; Remember Me, a Religious and Literary Miscellany; Tales and Poetry from the English Souvenirs; Talisman; Token; Unique; Visitor; Western Souvenir.

English. (25) Affections Offering; Amulet; Anniversary; Bijou; Cabinet of Curiosities; Casket; Christian Forget Me Not; Christmas Box; First Flowers; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Gem; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Juvenile Keepsake; Keepsake; Literary Souvenir; Musical Gem; Nautilus; New Year's Gift; Offering; Poetical Album; Souvenir Litteraire de France; Times Telescope; Winter's Wreath; Young Ladies Book.

1830

American. (9) Atlantic Souvenir; Casket, or Youth's Pocket Library; Garland, N.Y.; Lily; Offering of Sympathy; Pearl; Talisman; Token; Youth's Keepsake.

English. (43) Ackermann's Juvenile Forget Me Not; Affections Gift; Affections Offering; Amulet; Anniversary; Apollo's Gift; Bengal Annual; Bijou; Cabinet Album; Carcanet; Christian Souvenir; Comic Annual; Emanuel; Excitement; Fisher's National Portrait Gallery; Forget Me Not;

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Friendship's Offering; Gem; Gem of Art; Iris; Johnson's Shooter's Annual; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Juvenile Keepsake; Juvenile Landscape Annual; Keepsake; Keepsake Francais; Literary Souvenir; Looking Glass; Lyre; Musical Bijou; Musical Forget Me Not; Musical Gem; Musical Souvenir; New Year's Gift; Olive Branch; Remember Me; Times Telescope; Winter's Wreath; Zoölogical Keepsake.

1831

American. (13) Amaranth; Newburyport; American Comic Annual; Amethyst, Balto.; Atlantic Souvenir, Child's Annual, Phila.; Hyacinth, NY; Keepsake Americaine; Lily; Pearl; Scrap Table; Spirit of the Annuals; Tablet; Token; Youth's Keepsake.

English. (62) Ackermann's Juvenile Forget Me Not; Affection's Gift; Affection's Offering; Amulet; Apollo's Gift; Bengal Annual; Cabinet Album; Cadeau; Cameo; Chameleon; Comic Annual; Comic Offering; Dramatic Annual; English Keepsake; Excitement; Father's Present to his Son; Fisher's National Portrait Gallery; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Gem; Humorist; Infant's Annual; Iris; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Keepsake; Keepsake Francais; Ladies' and Gentlemen's Polite Assistant and Useful Remembrancer; Ladies' Poetical Album; Landscape Annual; Literary Souvenir; Looking Glass; Lyre; Marshall's Christmas Box; Mirror of the Graces; Mr. Matthews' Comic Annual; Mother's Present to her Daughter; Musical Bijou; Musical Forget Me Not; Musical Gem; New Comic Annual; New Musical Annual; New Year's Gift; Olive Branch; Phrenological Bijou; Pledge of Friendship; Poetical Offering; Regent; Remember Me; Remembrance; Royal Repository and Picturesque Diary; Sacred Harp; Sacred Offering; Scrap Table; Simpson's Gentleman's Almanack; Souvenir, Le; Talisman; Times Telescope; Tit-Bits; Vocal Annual; Winter's Wreath; Youth's Keepsake.

1832

American. (12) Affection's Gift, NY; Annual; Atlantic Souvenir; Christian Offering; Compliment for the Season; Keepsake Americaine; Lady's Cabinet Album; Lily; Odd Volume; Pearl; Token; Young Lady's Own Book.

English. (63) Ackermann's Juvenile Forget Me Not; Affection's Gift; Affection's Offering; Amaranth; Amethyst; Amulet; Bengal Annual; Botanical Annual; Bouquet; Cabinet Album; Cabinet for Youth; Cabinet of Literary Gems; Cadeau; Chameleon; Comic Annual; Comic Offering; Continental Annual; Diadem; Easter Gift; Easter Offering; Evergreen;

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Excitement; Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book; Fisher's National Portrait Gallery; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Gem; Geographical Annual; Heath's Picturesque Annual; Hibernian Keepsake; Hive; Humorist; Infant's Annual; Juvenile Album; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Keepsake; Landscape Album; Landscape Annual; Literary Souvenir; Looking Glass; Love's Offering; Marshall's Christmas Box; Musical Bijou; Musical Gem; New Year's Gift; Nosegay; Poetical Offering; Portfolio; Recordanza; Regent; Remember Me; Rose of Four Seasons; Sacred Harp; Sacred Lyre; Sacred Offering; Shipp's Military Bijou; Sister's Gift; Spiritual Gleaner; Vocal Annual; Waverley Album; Winter's Wreath; Yorkshire Literary Annual; Youth's Cornucopia.

1833

American. (11) Annual; Child's Gem; Miscellanies; Odd Volume; Pearl; Premium; Religious Souvenir; Token; Young Lady's Sunday Book; Young Man's Guide.

English. (39) Affection's Amethyst; Amulet; Aurora Boealis; Bengal Annual; Biblical Annual; Bouquet; Cadeau; Chameleon; Christmas Tales; Comic Annual; Comic Offering; Dramatic Souvenir; Ellis's Missionary Annual; Elgin Annual; Excitement; Father's Present to His Son; Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book; Fisher's National Portrait Gallery; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Geographical Annual; Heath's Book of Beauty; Heath's Picturesque Annual; Infant's Annual; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Keepsake; Landscape Annual; Literary Souvenir; Looking Glass; Missionary Annual; Musical Gem; New Year's Gift; Offering; Regent; Sacred Musical Offering; Sacred Offering; Turner's Annual Tour; Wreath of Friendship.

1834

American. (17) American Juvenile Keepsake; Annual; Casket, or Youth's Pocket Library; Child's Annual, Bost.; Daughter's Own Book; Ladies and Gentlemen's Pocket Annual; Lady's Cabinet Album; Lily; Oasis; Offering; Pearl; Religious Souvenir; Rosary; Token; Unique; Youth's Keep-Sake; Youth's Sketch Book.

English. (40) Album Wreath; Amethyst; Amulet; Annual Souvenir; Bengal Annual; Biblical Annual; Bouquet; Bow in the Cloud; Comic Annual; Comic Offering; Coronal; English Annual; Excitement; Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book; Forget Me Not; Friend's Annual; Friendship's Offering; Gage d'Amitié; Gem of Art; Geographical Annual; Heath's Book of Beauty; Heath's Picturesque Annual; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Keepsake; Landscape Album; Landscape Annual; Literary

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Gift Book; Literary Souvenir; Looking Glass; Midsummer Keepsake; New Year's Gift; Offering; Oriental Annual; Regent; Sacred Annual; Sacred Offering; Souvenir; Turner's Annual Tour; Wreath of Friendship; Young Gentleman's Annual.

1835

American. (14) American Juvenile Keepsake; Annual; Beauties of the English Annuals; Bouquet, Phila.; Gift, Concord; Lady's Cabinet Album; Lily; Odd Volume; Parent's Present; Portfolio for Youth; Premium; Religious Souvenir; Rosary; Token; Youth's Keep-Sake.

English. (43) Amulet; Angler's Souvenir; Annual Token; Biblical Keepsake; Christian Keepsake; Comic Almanac; Comic Annual; Comic Offering; Continental Landscape Annual of European Scenery; Continental Tourist; English Annual; Excitement; Finden's Tableaux; Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book; Forget Me Not; Friendship's Offering; Gage d'Amitié; Gem of Art; Geographical Annual; Heath's Book of Beauty; Heath's Picturesque Annual; Juvenile Amulet; Juvenile Forget Me Not; Juvenile Keepsake; Keepsake; Lady's Keepsake and Maternal Monitor; Landscape Annual; Landscape Souvenir; Literary Souvenir; Looking Glass; Marshall's Christmas Box; Musical Gem; New Year's Gift; New Year's Token; Nursery Offering; Orient Pearl; Oriental Annual; Pledge of Affection; Present; Regent; Sacred Offering; Souvenir; Turner's Annual Tour; Youth's Cabinet.

***

1846
American. (56)
English. (16)

***

1857
American. (15)
English. (3)

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Figure 1.3

Index of Editors and Publishers
of British Literary Annuals
Published 1823-1830[1]

This table has been compiled from my inspection of annuals, Faxon's *Literary Annuals & Gift Books (1823-1903)* (with my corrections and emendations) and Boyle's *An Index to the Annuals (1820-1850)*. Faxon provided a bibliographic description, publisher, editor and years published in his index. However, many of the volumes were described based on second and even third-hand knowledge, which has created many errors in the index.

Luckily, many of these titles can be found throughout the United States in university collections, including the New York Public Library-CRL, Yale University, University of South Carolina, American Antiquarian Society (predominantly American), Brown University, Library of Congress and Fales Library (NYU). I have reviewed several of the more popular titles in the collections of the New York Public Library (and from my own personal collection). Some of the annuals have been re-bound in library bindings. However, the NYPL Rare Book and Pforzheimer Collections house volumes in their original paper boards and/or in the fashion of nineteenth-century contemporary bindings.

I have included some of the more popular titles just barely beyond the 1830 boundary to emphasize the evolution of the genre (e.g., Heath's Book of Beauty was a late entry into the annual publishing field; however, this annual was borne of the demand for "beauty" in the annuals and was the progenitor of subsequent imitators). For a complete review of the numerous (or "epidemic," as it has been described) titles published 1830-1856 (the heyday of the annuals phenomenon), see Faxon's "Chronological Index" (129-40), which lists British and American titles published between 1823 and 1902.

Annual Title (***Bold*** = **1sts of popular**)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Ackermann's Juvenile Forget Me Not	1830		R. Ackermann	Frederic Shoberl
Affection's Gift	1830			
Affection's Offering	1829			
Affection's Offering	1830			
Amaranth (circa 1832)	1832	5 x 2	Renshaw & Co.	

[1] A hyperlinked version of this information is available on the accompanying *Forget Me Not: A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Annual.*

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Annual Title (***Bold*** = **1sts of popular**)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Amulet	1826	5⅜ x 3⅜ Also issued in large paper	W. Baynes & Sons	
Amulet	1827	5¼ x 3½	W. Abynes & Son and Wightman & Cramp	Hall, S.C.
Amulet	1828	5½ x 3¼	W. Abynes & Son and Wightman & Cramp	
Amulet	1829	5½ x 3½	Frederick Westley & A.H. Davis and Wightman & Co.	
Amulet	1830	5 ¾ x 3½	Frederick Westley & A.H. Davis	Hall, S.C.
Amulet	1831	5⅞ x 3¾	Frederick Westley & A.H. Davis	Hall, S.C.
Amulet	1832	5¾ x 3¾	Frederick Westley & A.H. Davis	Hall, S.C.
Amulet	1833	5¾ x 3¾	Frederick Westley & A.H. Davis; William Jackson, NY	Hall, S.C.
Anniversary	1829	7¾ x 5; Also issued in large paper 9¼ x 5¾	John Sharpe	Cunningham, Allan
Anniversary	1830		[Partially prepared but never published]	
Apollo's Gift, or the musical souvenir	1830	4to	Willis & Co.	Clementi, Ed. & M. and J.B. Cramer
Bijou	1828	6¼ x 4	Wm. Pickering	William Fraser
Bijou	1829	6¼ x 4	Wm. Pickering	William Fraser
Bijou	1830	6¼ x 4	Wm. Pickering	William Fraser

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Annual Title (***Bold*** = **1sts of popular**)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Blossoms at Christmas	1825	5¾ x 3¾	J. Poole	
Blossoms at Christmas	1826			
Cabinet Album	1830		Hurst & Co.	
Cabinet of Curiosities	1829			
Carcanet	1828		Wm. Pickering	Nicolas, Sir Harris
Carcanet (2nd edition)	1830		Wm. Pickering	
Casket	1829	8½ x 5½	John Murray	
Christian Forget Me Not	1829		Thomas Holmes	
Christian Souvenir	1830	8¼ x 5¼		
Christmas Box	1828	6⅜ x 4	Wm. Harrison Ainsworth	Croker, T. Crofton
Christmas Box	1829	6⅛ x 3¾	John Ebers & Co.	Croker, T. Crofton
Comic Annual	1830	6½ x 4	Charles Tilt	Hood, Thomas
Comic Annual	1831	6½ x 4	Charles Tilt	Hood, Thomas
Comic Annual	1832	6½ x 4	Charles Tilt	Hood, Thomas
Comic Annual	1833	6½ x 4	Charles Tilt	Hood, Thomas
Continental Annual	1832	7½ x 4½ large paper, proof before letters	Smith Elder & Co.	Kennedy, William
Emanuel	1830		Maunder	Shepherd, Rev. Wm.
Excitement	1830			
[Falstaff's] New Comic Annual	1831	4 x 6½	Hurst, Chance & Co.	
First Flowers	1825		Poole	
First Flowers	1826		Poole	
First Flowers	1827		Poole	
First Flowers	1828		Poole	
First Flowers	1829		Poole	

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Annual Title (***Bold*** = **1sts of popular**)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook	1832-54	11 x 8½	H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P.	Landon, L.E (v.1)
Fisher's National Portrait Gallery	1830			Jerden, Wm.
Forget Me Not	1823	5 x 3	R. Ackermann	
Forget Me Not	1824	5¼ x 3¼	R. Ackermann	
Forget Me Not	1825	5¼ x 3¼	R. Ackermann	
Forget Me Not	1826	5½ x 3½	R. Ackermann	
Forget Me Not	1827	5½ x 3½	R. Ackermann	Shoberl, Frederic
Forget Me Not	1828	5¼ x 3¼	R. Ackermann	Shoberl, Frederic
Forget Me Not	1829	5½ x 3½	R. Ackermann	Shoberl, Frederic
Forget Me Not	1830	5½ x 3½	R. Ackermann & Co.	Shoberl, Frederic
Forget Me Not	1831	5½ x 3½	R. Ackermann	Shoberl, Frederic
Forget Me Not	1832	6 x 3¾	R. Ackermann and Carey & Lea, Philadelphia	Shoberl, Frederic
Friendship's Offering	1824	5¼ x 3⅜	Lupton Relfe	Hervey, Thomas K.
Friendship's Offering	1825	5¼ x 3⅜	Lupton Relfe	Hervey, Thomas K.
Friendship's Offering	1826	5½ x 3½	Lupton Relfe	Hervey, Thomas K.
Friendship's Offering	1827	5½ x 3½	Lupton Relfe	Hervey, Thomas K.
Friendship's Offering	1828	5⅝ x 3⅜	Smith, Elder & Co.	Pringle, Thomas
Friendship's Offering	1829	5½ x 3½	Smith, Elder & Co.	
Friendship's Offering	1830	6 x 3¾	Smith, Elder & Co.	
Friendship's Offering	1831	6 x 3¾	Smith, Elder & Co.	
Friendship's Offering	1832	6⅛ x 3⅞	Smith, Elder & Co.	

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Annual Title (***Bold*** = **1sts of popular**)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Friendship's Offering	1833	6 x 3¾	Smith, Elder & Co. (absorbed *Winter's Wreath* w/this issue)	
Gem	1829	6 x 3¾ also issd lrg ppr 7¼ x 4½	Wm. Marshall	Hood, Thomas
Gem	1830	6¼ x 4¼	Wm. Marshall	Hood, Thomas
Gem of Art, 100 steel plates selected from Keepsake, Heath's annuals, etc.	1830	folio		
Heath's Book of Beauty	1833	7½ x 4½	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green & Longman	Landon, Letitia L.
Hommage aux Dames	1825		John Setts, Jr. – London	
Iris	1830	6¼ x 4	Sampson Low & Hurst, Chance	Dale, Rev. Thomas
Johnson's Shooter's Annual	1830		Johnson	
Juvenile Forget Me Not [different from *Ackermann's Juv*]	1828			
Juvenile Forget Me Not	1829	6⅜ x 4	N. Hailes	Hall, Mrs. S.C.
Juvenile Forget Me Not	1830	6½ x 4	N. Hailes	Hall, Mrs. S.C.
Juvenile Forget Me Not	1831	6½ x 4	Frederick Westley & A.H. Davis	Hall, Mrs. S.C.
Juvenile Forget Me Not	1832	6½ x 4	Westley & Davis	Hall, Mrs. S.C.
Juvenile Forget Me Not	1833	6½ x 4	R. Ackermann	Hall, Mrs. S.C.
Juvenile Keepsake	1829	6½ x 4	Hurst, Chance & Co.	Roscoe, Thomas
Juvenile Keepsake	1830			
Juvenile Landscape Annual	1830			

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Annual Title (***Bold*** = 1sts of popular)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Keepsake	1828	7½ x 4¾	Hurst, Chance & Co.	
Keepsake	1829	7½ x 4¾	Hurst, Chance & Co.	Reynolds, Frederic Mansel
Keepsake	1830	7½ x 4¾	Hurst, Chance & Co.	Reynolds, Frederic Mansel
Keepsake	1831	7¼ x 4¾	Hurst, Chance & Co.	Reynolds, Frederic Mansel
Keepsake Francais	1830		Whittaker	Watts, Mrs. A.A.
Landscape Annual	1830	7¾ x 5 issued on large paper, proof impressions on India paper		Roscoe, Thomas
Laurel	1830		Sharpe	
Literary Bluebook	1830		Marsh	
Literary Gem	1830	7½ x 4½		
Literary Souvenir	1825	5½ x 3½ lrg ppr: 7¾ x 4¾	Hurst, Robinson & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Literary Souvenir	1826	5½ x 3½ lrg ppr: 7¾ x 4¾	Hurst, Robinson & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Literary Souvenir	1827	5⅛ x 3¼ lrg ppr: 7¾ x 4¾	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	Watts, Alaric
Literary Souvenir	1828	5¼ x 3½ lrg ppr: 7¾ x 4¾	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	Watts, Alaric
Literary Souvenir	1829	5½ x 3½ lrg ppr: 7½ x 4¾	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	Watts, Alaric

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Annual Title (***Bold*** = **1sts of popular**)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Literary Souvenir	1830	5⅞ x 4¾ lrg ppr: 7¾ x 4¾	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	Watts, Alaric
Literary Souvenir	1831	5¾ x 3¾ lrg ppr: 7½ x 4¾		
Looking Glass, a caricature annual	1830-35	folio	McLean	
Lyre	1830			
Musical Bijou	1830	4to		
Musical Forget Me Not	1830	4to		
Musical Gem	1829	4to		
Musical Gem	1830	4to		
Musical Souvenir	1830			
Nautilus	1829			
New Year's Gift	1829	5¼ x 3½	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	Watts, Mrs. A.A.
New Year's Gift	1830	5¾ x 3¾	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	Watts, Mrs. A.A.
Offering	1829			Dale, Rev. Thomas
Pledge of Friendship	1826		Marshall	
Pledge of Friendship	1827		Marshall	
Pledge of Friendship	1828		Marshall	
Poetical Album	1825		Hurst & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Poetical Album	1826		Hurst & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Poetical Album	1827		Hurst & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Poetical Album	1828		Hurst & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Poetical Album	1829		Hurst & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Poole's Royal Sovereign	1827	4½ x 3½	J. Poole	
Remember Me	1825	5¼ x 3¼	I. Poole	

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Annual Title (***Bold*** = **1sts of popular**)	**Year**	**Size** (inches)	**Publisher**	**Editor**
Remember Me	1826	5⅛ x 3⅛	I. Poole	
Remember Me	1830		Darton & Clark	
Remembrance, The	1831		Jennings & Chaplin	Roscoe, Thomas
Royal Sovereign	1827		Toole	Toole
Souvenir Litteraire de France	1829		Longman & Co.	Watts, Alaric
Times Telescope	1828		Sherwood	
Times Telescope	1829		Sherwood	
Times Telescope	1830		Sherwood	
Troubadour, a vocal souvenir	1828			
Winter's Wreath (Liverpool)	1829	6¼ x 3¾	Geo. Smith & George B. Whittaker	
Winter's Wreath	1830	6⅛ x 3¾	Whittaker, Treacher & Co.; Wardle in Philadelphia	
Winter's Wreath	1831	6⅛ x 3¾	Whittaker, Treacher & Co.; Wardle in Philadelphia	
Young Gentleman's Library	1829	5¾ x 3¼	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	M.B. Pinnock
Young Ladies Book	1829			Harvey, W.
Zoological Keepsake	1830	12mo.	Marsh	

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Figure 2.1

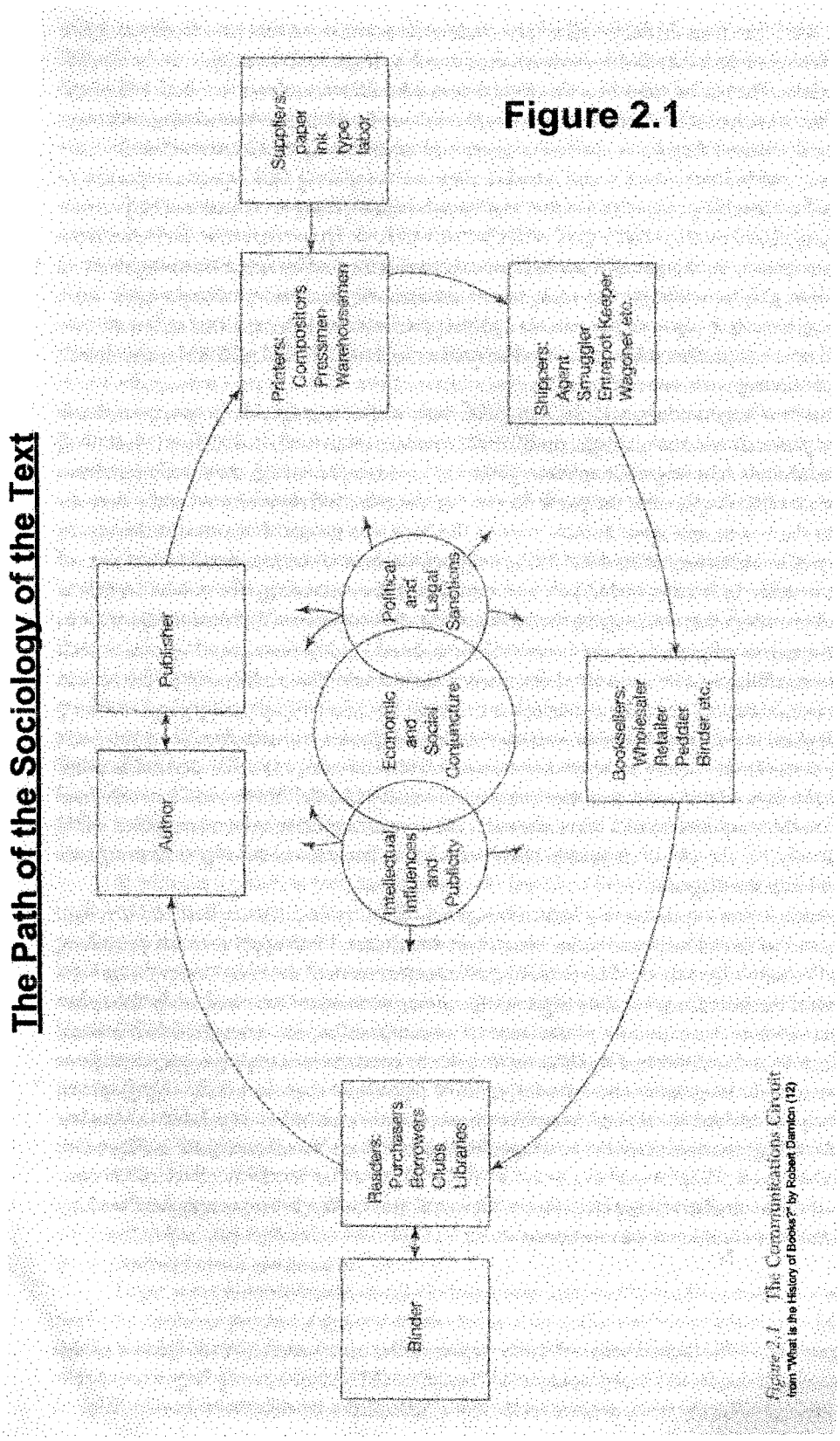


Figure 2.1 The Communications Circuit
from "What is the History of Books?" by Robert Darnton (12)

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Figure 4.1

Alciato's *Book of Emblems*

Emblem 27

Harm no one, by word or deed



Nemesis watches for, and overtakes, the footsteps of men, and holds a ruler and harsh bridle in her hand, lest you do anything evil, or speak dishonest words: She commands moreover that there be due measure in all things.

Emblem Poem
from Aliciato's 1531 *Book of Emblems*

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Figure 4.2

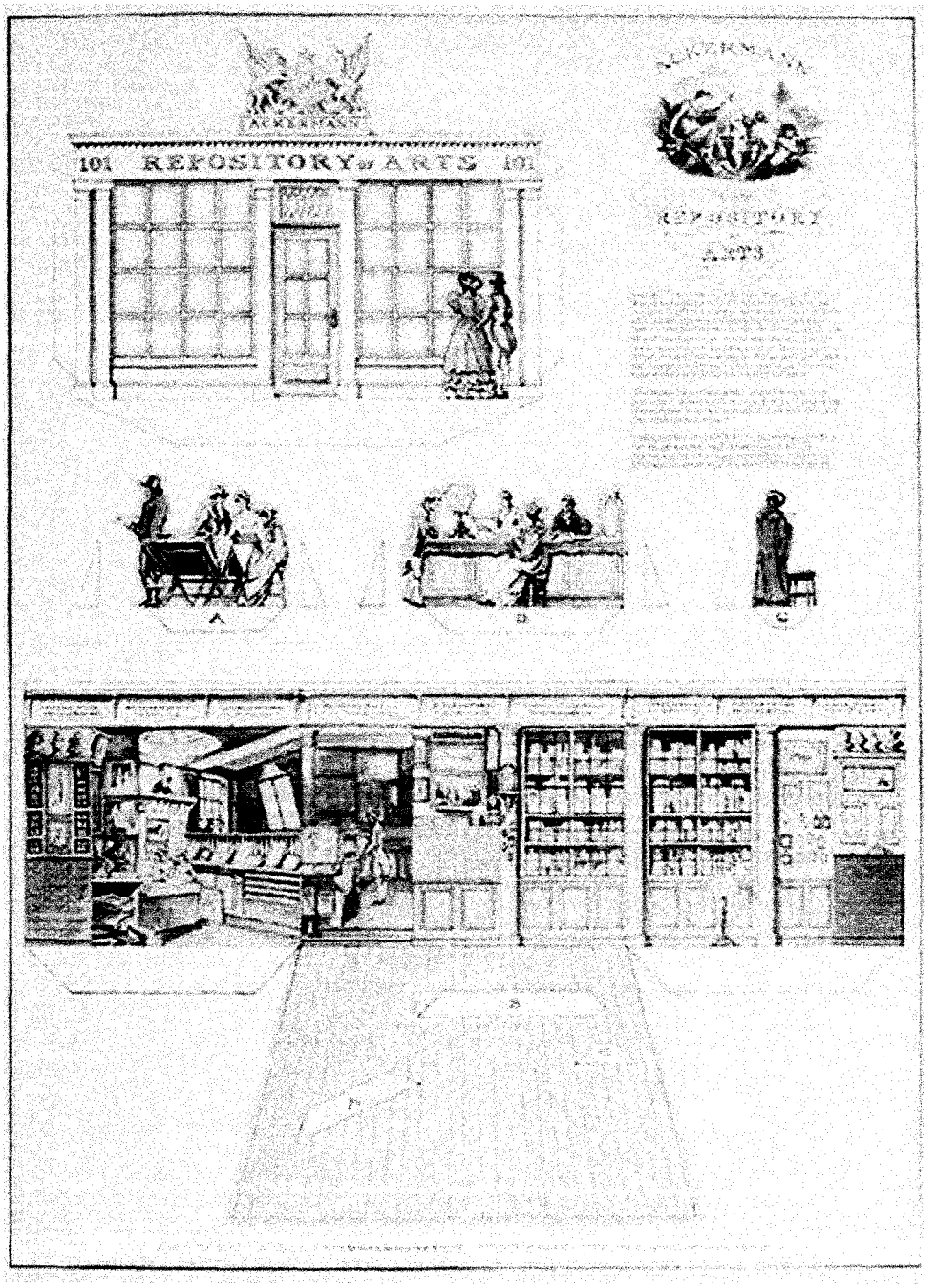
Evening Dress: "A round robe of blossom-coloured crape, with demi-train, worn over a white satin slip, gather'd back and stomacher front, the sleeve unusually short, and back and bosom uncommonly (not to say unbecomingly) exposed. The sleeves and neck of the robe ornamented with puckered white satin, and a fancy border round the bottom composed of white satin and crape. The same as the dress, belt of the same round the bottom of the waist, confined with a pearl, or other appropriate clasp, in front. The hair in irregular curls, divided in front, and confined on the crown of the head with white beads and blended with small autumnal flowers of various hues. Necklace, a single row of pearl on the satin band, a small elastic chain of Oriental gold, from which is suspended a large convent cross of diamonds. Earrings and bracelets of pearl, with diamond studs. French kid gloves, below the elbow. Slipper of white satin, decorated round the instep with silver fringe. Indian fan of carved ivory."

Ackermann's Repository of Arts, London, November 1811



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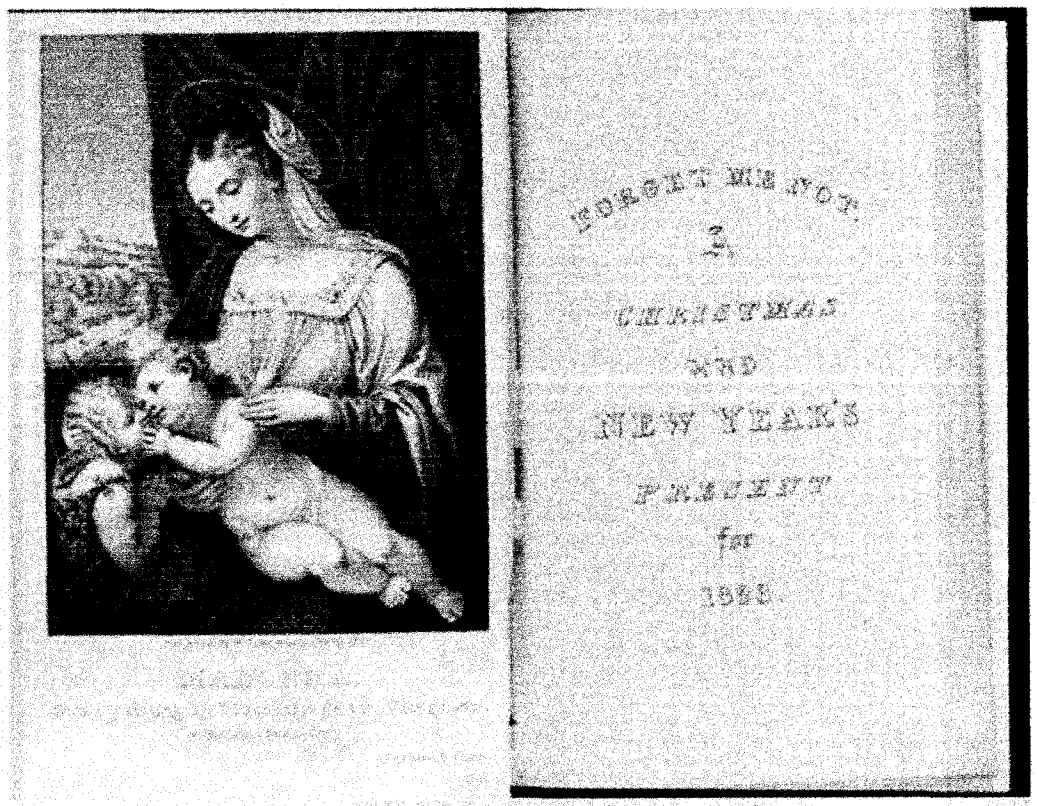
Figure 4.3



Cut-out Model of Ackermann's Printing Shop
Ackermann's *Repository of Arts* (1809)

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Figure 4.4



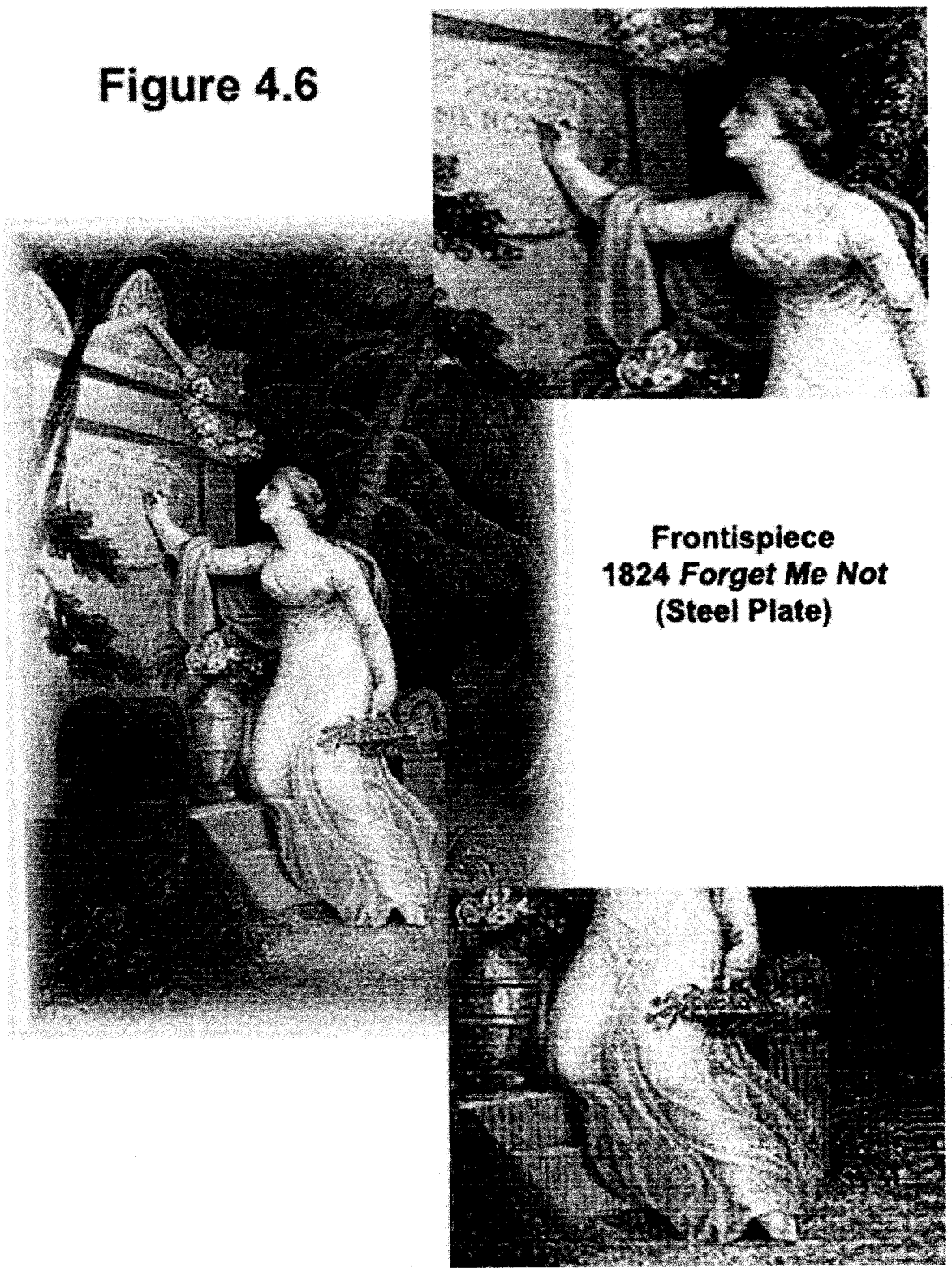


1823 *Forget Me Not*
Title Page & Frontispiece (above)
1 of 12 Woodcut-Engravings (right)

Figure 4.5

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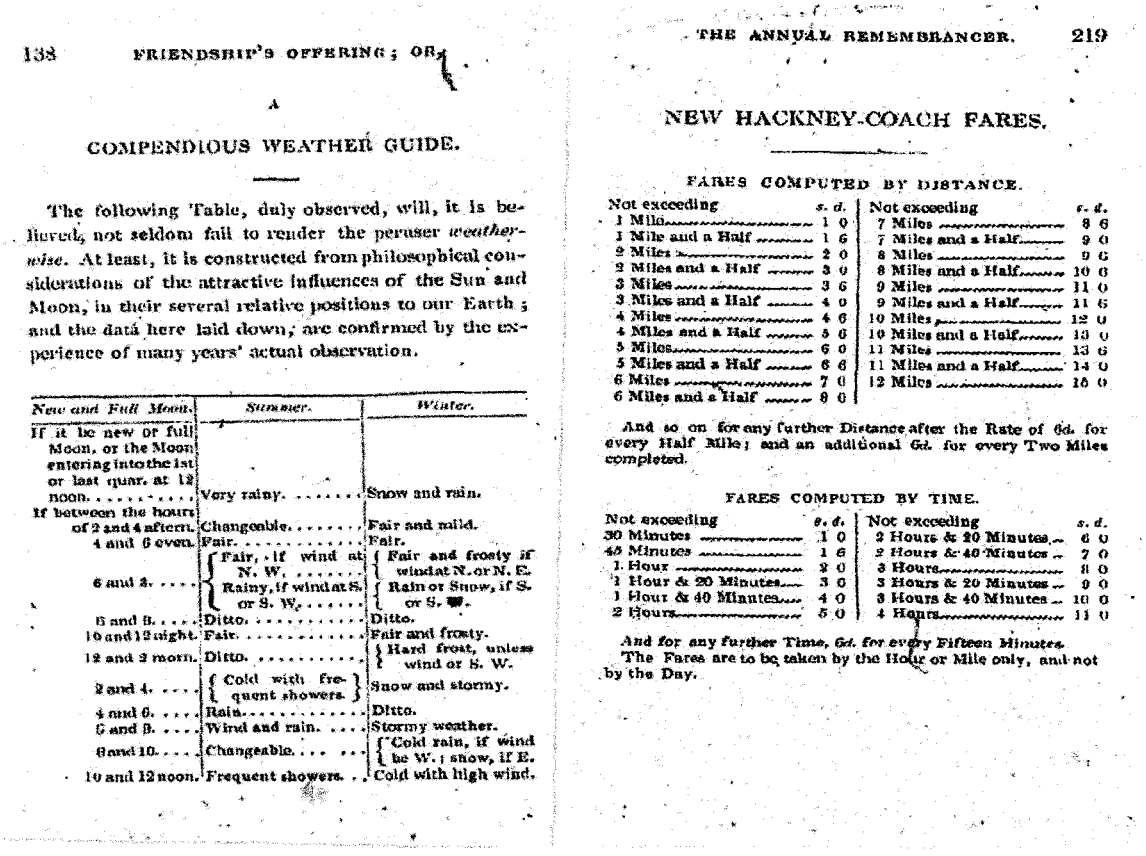
Figure 4.6



Frontispiece
1824 *Forget Me Not*
(Steel Plate)

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Figure 4.7



138 FRIENDSHIP'S OFFERING; OR,

A

COMPENDIOUS WEATHER GUIDE.

The following Table, duly observed, will, it is believed, not seldom fail to render the peruser *weather-wise*. At least, it is constructed from philosophical considerations of the attractive influences of the Sun and Moon, in their several relative positions to our Earth; and the data here laid down, are confirmed by the experience of many years' actual observation.

New and Full Moon.	*Summer.*	*Winter.*
If it be new or full Moon, or the Moon entering into the 1st or last quar. at 12 noon	Very rainy.	Snow and rain.
If between the hours of 2 and 4 aftern.	Changeable.	Fair and mild.
4 and 6 even.	Fair.	Fair.
6 and 8.	Fair, if wind at N. W. / Rainy, if wind at S. or S. W.	Fair and frosty if wind at N. or N. E. / Rain or Snow, if S. or S. W.
8 and 8.	Ditto.	Ditto.
10 and 12 night.	Fair.	Fair and frosty.
12 and 2 morn.	Ditto.	Hard frost, unless wind or S. W.
2 and 4.	Cold with frequent showers.	Snow and stormy.
4 and 6.	Rain.	Ditto.
6 and 8.	Wind and rain.	Stormy weather.
8 and 10.	Changeable.	Cold rain, if wind be W.; snow, if E.
10 and 12 noon.	Frequent showers.	Cold with high wind.

THE ANNUAL REMEMBRANCER. 219

NEW HACKNEY-COACH FARES.

FARES COMPUTED BY DISTANCE.

Not exceeding	s.	d.	Not exceeding	s.	d.
1 Mile	1	0	7 Miles	8	6
1 Mile and a Half	1	6	7 Miles and a Half	9	0
2 Miles	2	0	8 Miles	9	6
2 Miles and a Half	3	0	8 Miles and a Half	10	0
3 Miles	3	6	9 Miles	11	0
3 Miles and a Half	4	0	9 Miles and a Half	11	6
4 Miles	4	6	10 Miles	12	0
4 Miles and a Half	5	6	10 Miles and a Half	13	0
5 Miles	6	0	11 Miles	13	6
5 Miles and a Half	6	6	11 Miles and a Half	14	0
6 Miles	7	0	12 Miles	16	0
6 Miles and a Half	8	0			

And so on for any further Distance after the Rate of 6d. for every Half Mile; and an additional 6d. for every Two Miles completed.

FARES COMPUTED BY TIME.

Not exceeding	s.	d.	Not exceeding	s.	d.
30 Minutes	1	0	2 Hours & 20 Minutes	6	0
45 Minutes	1	6	2 Hours & 40 Minutes	7	0
1 Hour	2	0	3 Hours	8	0
1 Hour & 20 Minutes	3	0	3 Hours & 20 Minutes	9	0
1 Hour & 40 Minutes	4	0	3 Hours & 40 Minutes	10	0
2 Hours	5	0	4 Hours	11	0

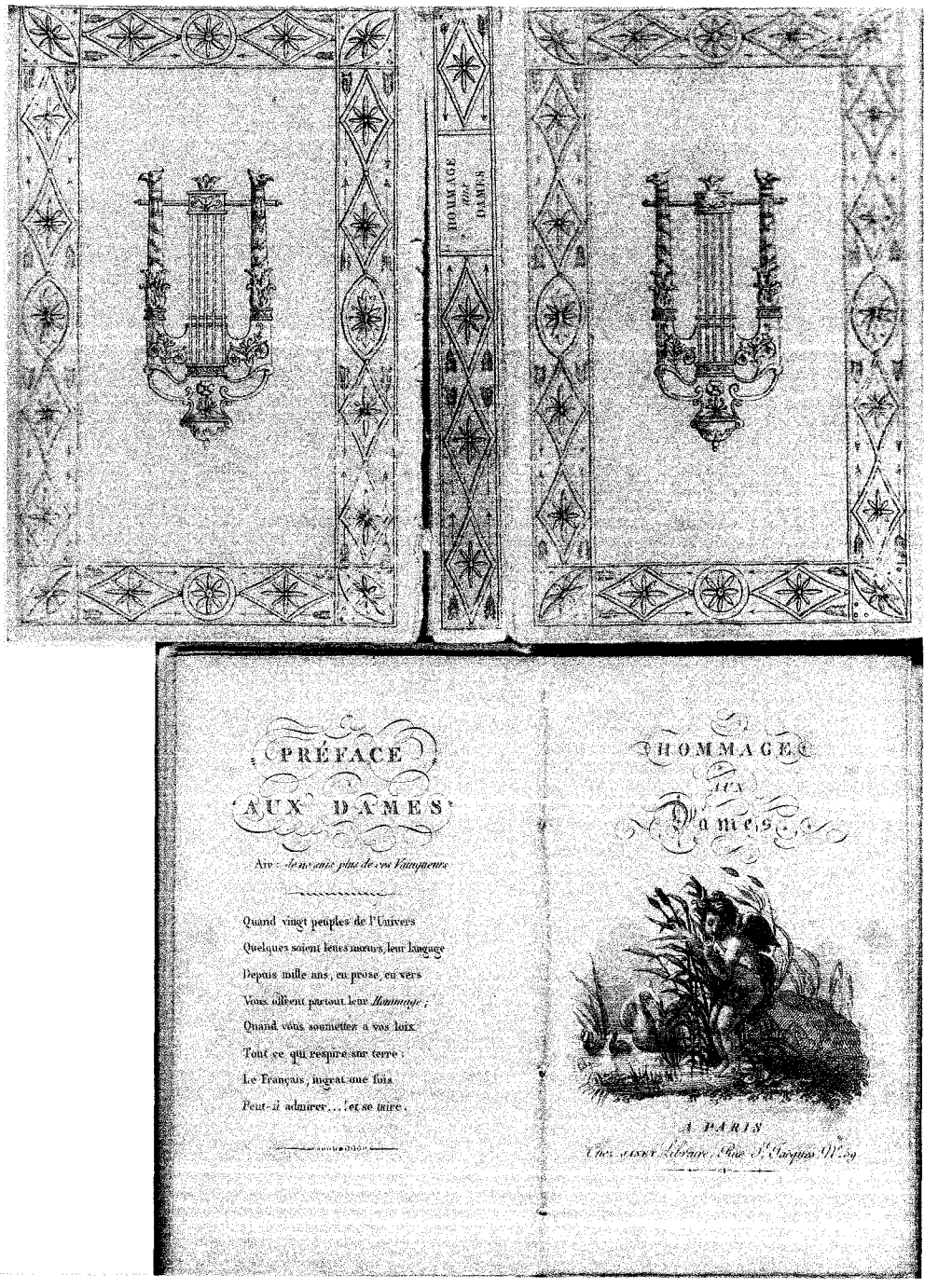
And for any further Time, 6d. for every Fifteen Minutes.

The Fares are to be taken by the Hour or Mile only, and not by the Day.

from *Friendship's Offering* 1824

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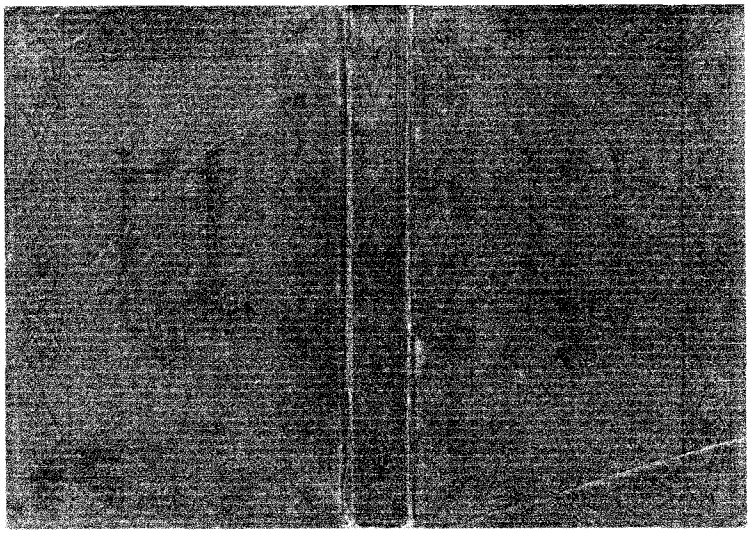
Figure 4.8



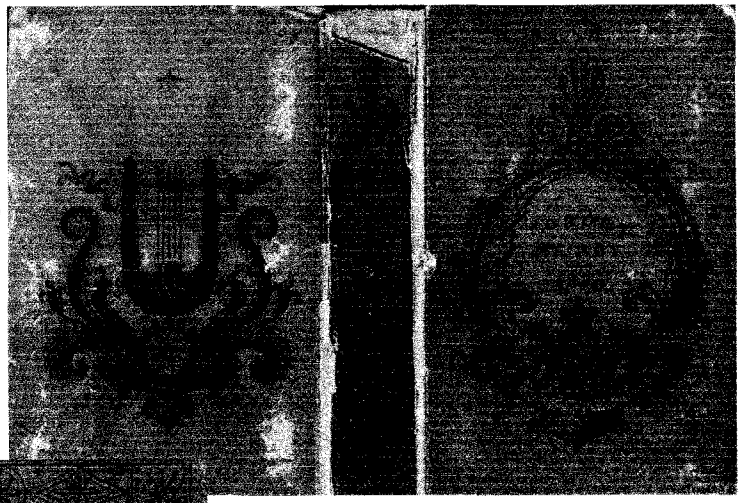
***Hommage Aux Dames* 1815**
Ed. Charles Malo
Pub. Chez Janet

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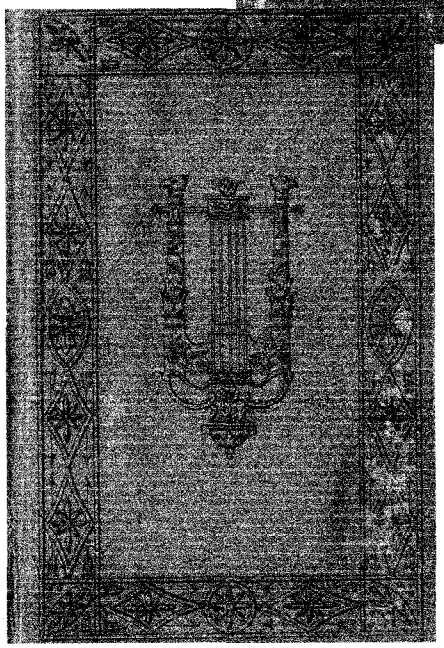
Figure 4.9



1819 *Hommage aux Dames* blue-green paper boards



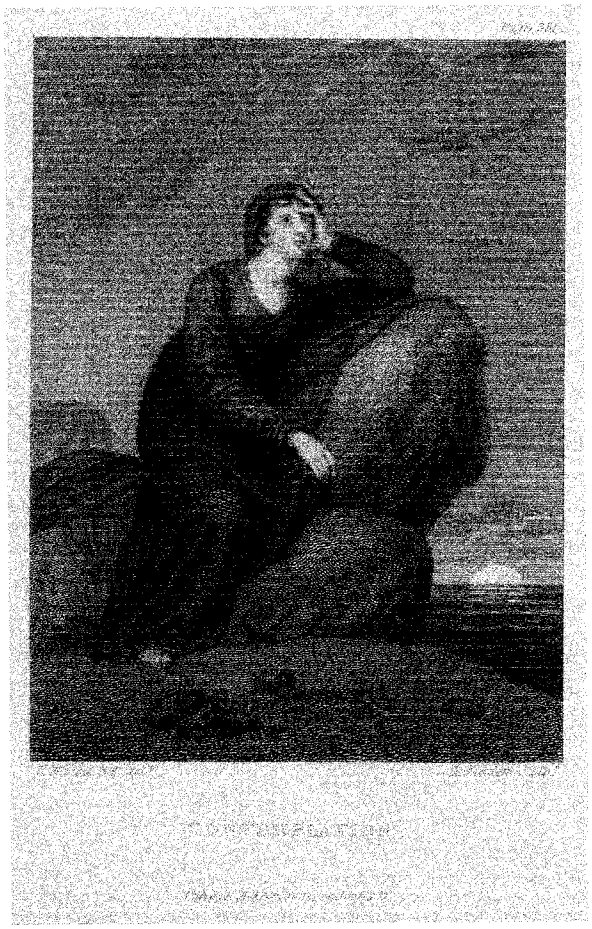
1830 *Forget Me Not* green-paper boards



1828 *Hommage aux Dames* green-paper boards

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Figure 4.10



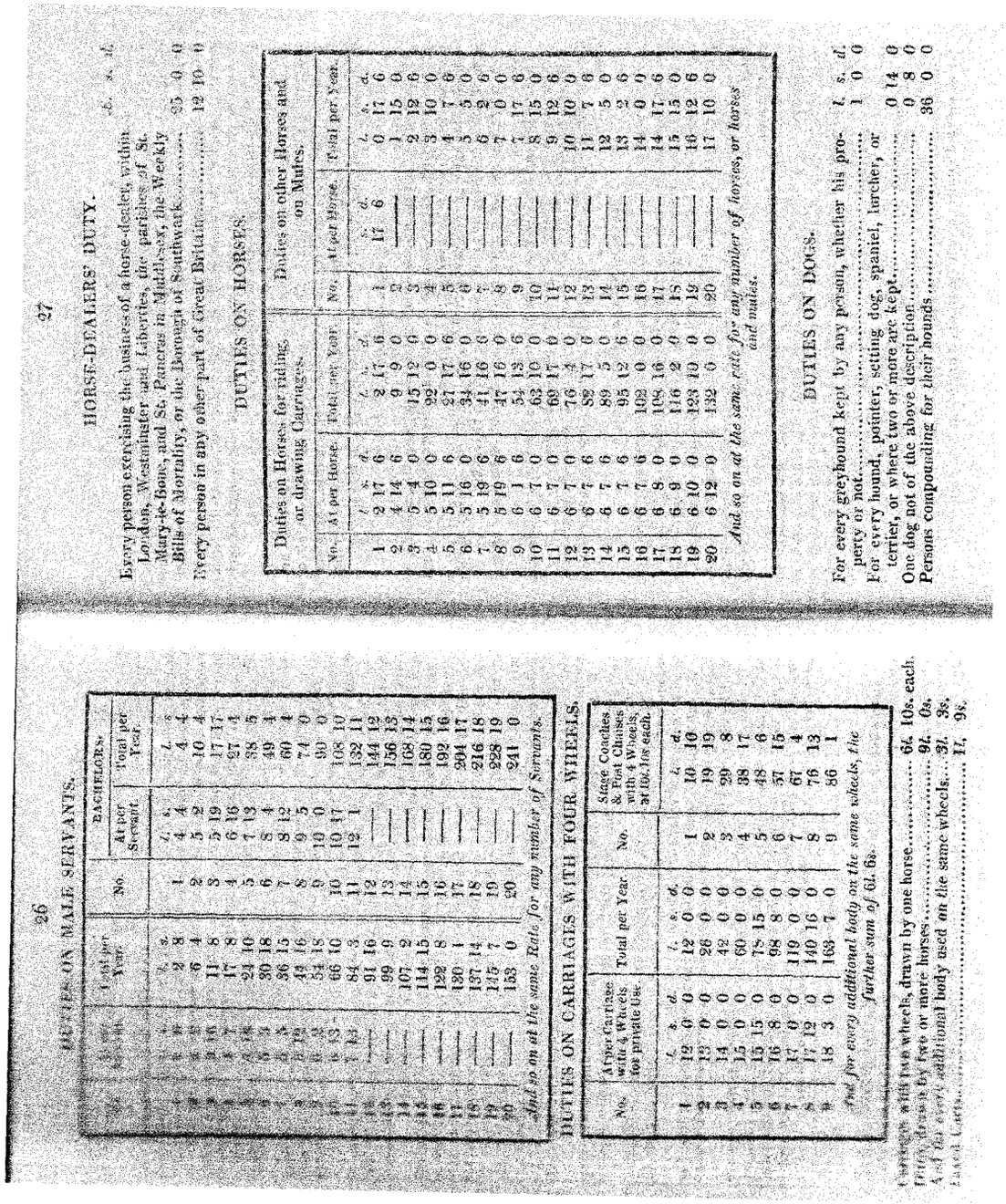
"Contemplation"
Frontispiece from Ackermann's
1826 *Forget Me Not*



"La Contemplation"
Opening engraving from
1828 *Hommage aux Dames*

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Figure 4.11



DUTIES ON MALE SERVANTS.

No.	Total per Year	BACHELORS. At per Servant	BACHELORS. Total per Year
	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
1	2 8	4 4	4 4
2	6 4	5 2	10 4
3	11 8	5 19	17 17
4	17 8	6 16	27 4
5	24 10	7 13	38 5
6	30 18	8 4	49 4
7	36 15	8 12	60 4
8	43 16	9 5	74 0
9	51 18	10 0	90 0
10	66 10	10 17	108 10
11	84 3	12 1	132 11
12	91 16		144 12
13	99 9		156 13
14	107 2		168 14
15	114 15		180 15
16	122 8		192 16
17	130 1		204 17
18	137 14		216 18
19	145 7		228 19
20	153 0		241 0

And so on at the same Rate for any number of Servants.

DUTIES ON CARRIAGES WITH FOUR WHEELS.

No.	Post Carriages with 4 Wheels for private Use.	Total per Year.	No.	Stage Coaches & Post Chaises with 4 Wheels, at 10s. 10s each.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
1	12 0 0	12 0 0	1	10 16
2	19 0 0	26 0 0	2	19 19
3	14 0 0	42 0 0	3	29 8
4	15 0 0	60 0 0	4	38 17
5	15 15 0	75 15 0	5	48 6
6	16 8 0	98 8 0	6	57 15
7	17 0 0	119 0 0	7	67 4
8	17 12 0	140 16 0	8	76 13
9	18 3 0	163 7 0	9	86 1

And for every additional body on the same wheels, the further sum of 6l. 6s.

Carriages with two wheels, drawn by one horse..... 6*l.* 10*s.* each.
Ditto, drawn by two or more horses..... 9*l.* 0*s.*
And for every additional body used on the same wheels..... 3*l.* 3*s.*
Hackney Carriages..... 1*l.* 9*s.*

HORSE-DEALERS' DUTY.

£. s. d.

Every person exercising the business of a horse-dealer, within London, Westminster and Liberties, the parishes of St. Mary-le-Bone, and St. Pancras in Middlesex, the Weekly Bills of Mortality, or the Borough of Southwark..... 25 0 0
Every person in any other part of Great Britain..... 12 10 0

DUTIES ON HORSES.

No.	Duties on Horses for riding or drawing Carriages. At per Horse.	Total per Year	No.	Duties on other Horses and on Mules. At per Horse.	Total per Year.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1	2 17 6	2 17 6	1	17 6	0 17 6
2	4 14 6	9 9 0	2		1 15 0
3	5 4 0	15 12 6	3		2 12 6
4	5 10 0	22 0 0	4		3 10 0
5	5 11 6	27 17 6	5		4 7 6
6	5 16 0	34 16 0	6		5 5 0
7	5 19 6	41 16 6	7		6 2 6
8	5 19 6	47 16 0	8		7 0 0
9	6 1 6	54 13 6	9		7 17 6
10	6 7 0	63 10 0	10		8 15 0
11	6 7 0	69 17 0	11		9 12 6
12	6 7 0	76 4 0	12		10 10 0
13	6 7 6	82 17 6	13		11 7 6
14	6 7 6	89 5 0	14		12 5 0
15	6 7 6	95 12 6	15		13 2 6
16	6 7 6	102 0 0	16		14 0 0
17	6 8 0	108 16 0	17		14 17 6
18	6 9 0	116 2 0	18		15 15 0
19	6 10 0	123 10 0	19		16 12 6
20	6 12 0	132 0 0	20		17 10 0

And so on at the same rate for any number of horses or horses and mules.

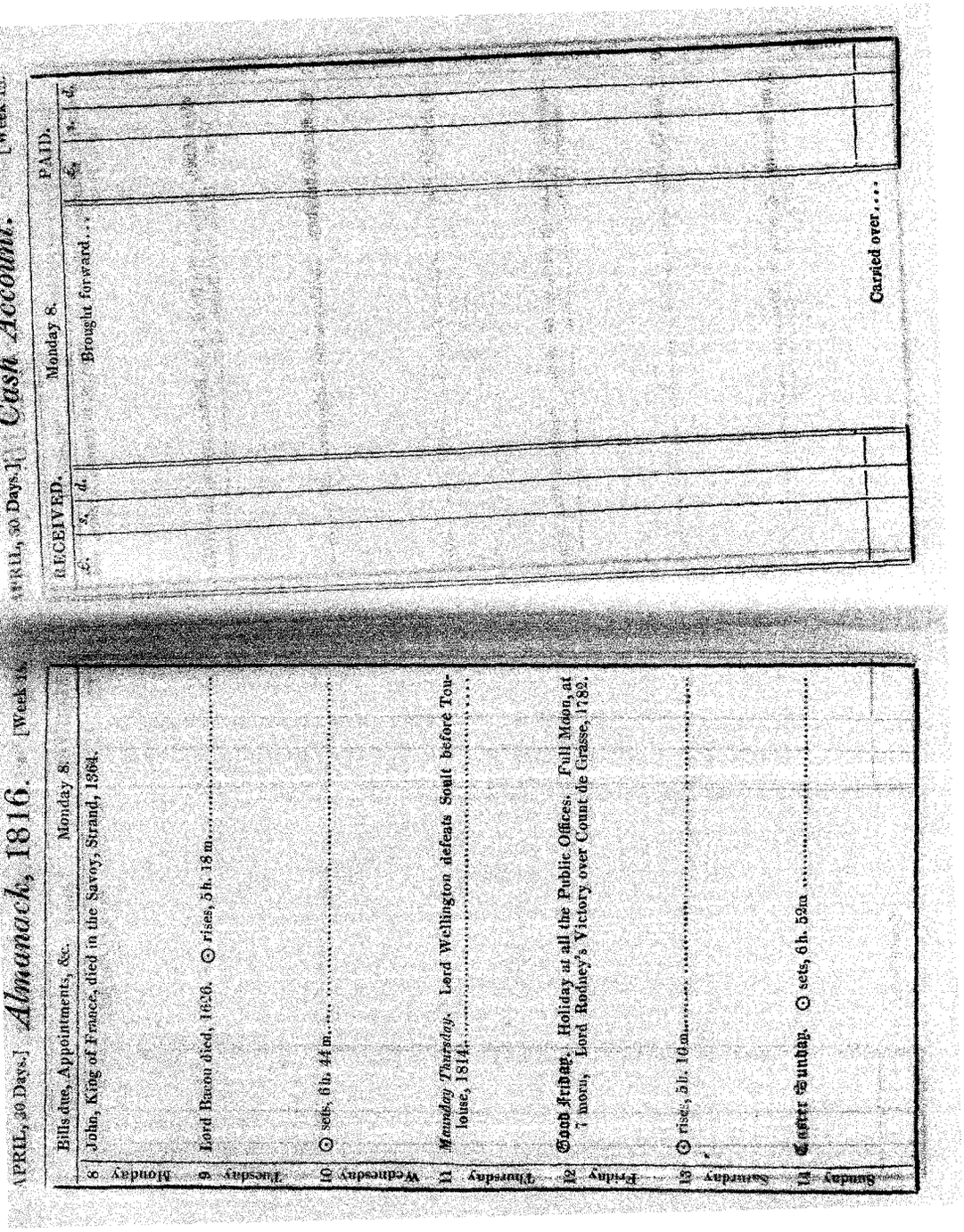
DUTIES ON DOGS.

	£. s. d.
For every greyhound kept by any person, whether his property or not.....	1 0 0
For every hound, pointer, setting dog, spaniel, lurcher, or terrier, or where two or more are kept.....	0 14 0
One dog not of the above description.....	0 8 0
Persons compounding for their hounds.....	36 0 0

Alamanc Table page
from 1816 *Simpson's Gentleman's Almanac*

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Figure 4.12



APRIL, 30 Days.] *Almanack*, 1816. [Week 15.

	Bills due, Appointments, &c.	Monday 8.
Monday	John, King of France, died in the Savoy, Strand, 1364.	
Tuesday 9	Lord Bacon died, 1626. ☉ rises, 5h. 18m.	
Wednesday 10	☉ sets, 6h. 44m.	
Thursday 11	*Maunday Thursday.* Lord Wellington defeats Soult before Toulouse, 1814.	
Friday 12	**Good Friday.** Holiday at all the Public Offices. Full Moon, at 7 morn. Lord Rodney's Victory over Count de Grasse, 1782.	
Saturday 13	☉ rises, 5h. 16m.	
Sunday 14	Easter Sunday. ☉ sets, 6h. 52m.	

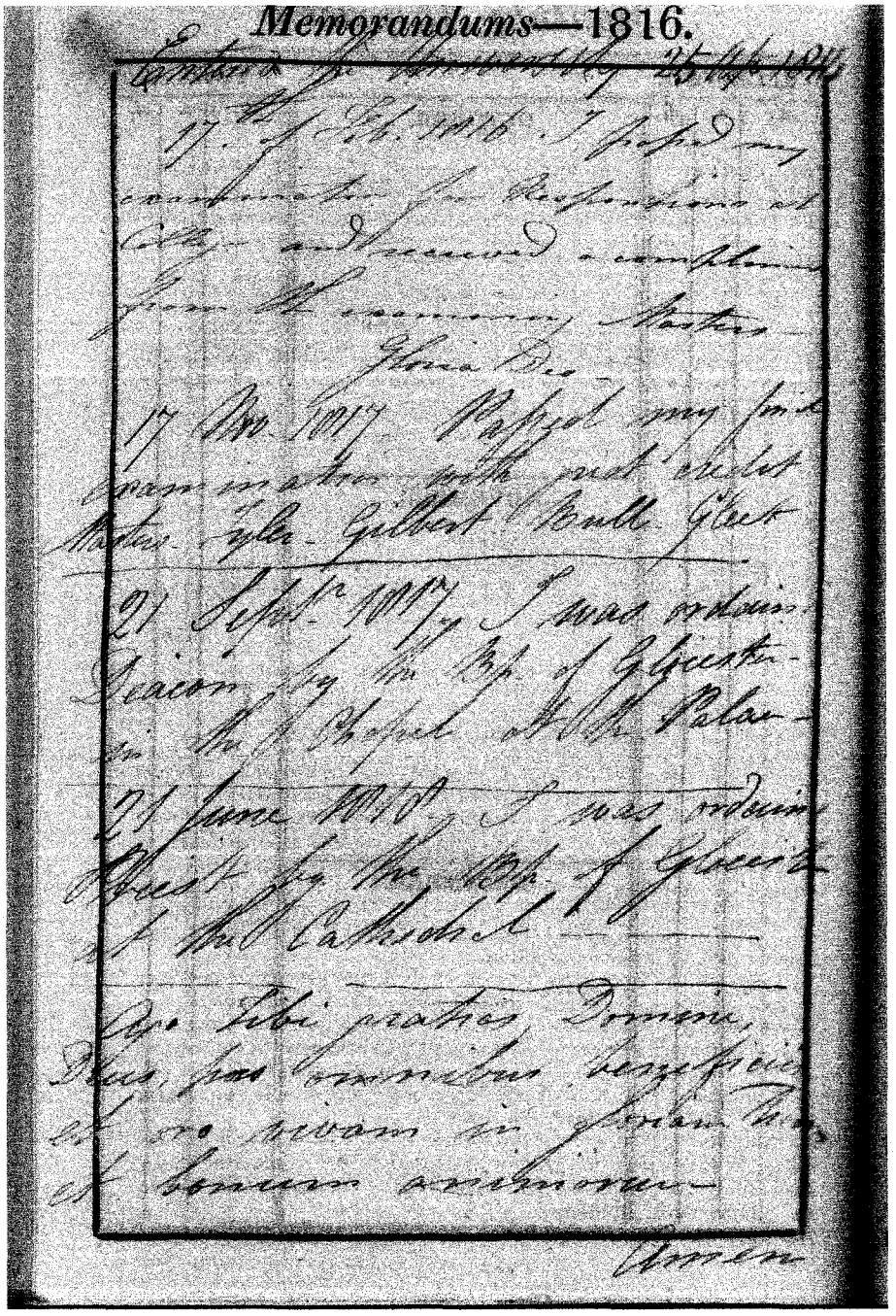
APRIL, 30 Days.] *Cash Account.* [Week 15.

RECEIVED. £.	s.	d.	Monday 8.	PAID. £.	s.	d.
			Brought forward...			
			Carried over...			

Almanac Ruled pages
from 1816 *Simpson's Gentleman's Almanac*

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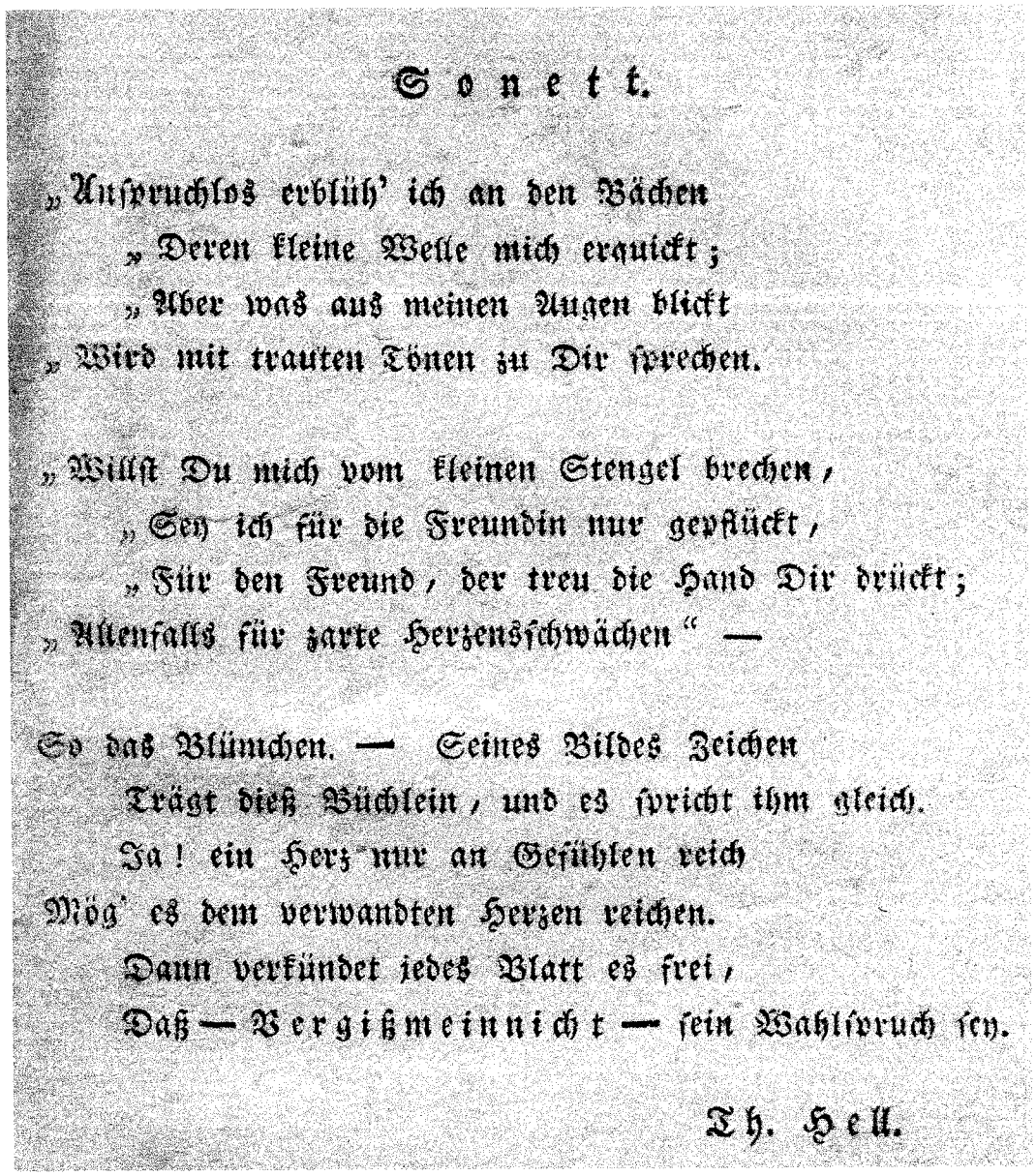
Figure 4.13



Almanac Memorandum page
1816 *Simpson's Gentleman's Almanac*

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Figure 4.14



Sonett.

„Anſpruchlos erblüh' ich an den Bächen
„Deren kleine Welle mich erquickt;
„Aber was aus meinen Augen blickt
„Wird mit trauten Tönen zu Dir ſprechen.

„Willſt Du mich vom kleinen Stengel brechen,
„Sey ich für die Freundin nur gepflückt,
„Für den Freund, der treu die Hand Dir drückt;
„Allenfalls für zarte Herzensſchwächen" —

So das Blümchen. — Seines Bildes Zeichen
Trägt dieß Büchlein, und es ſpricht ihm gleich.
Ja! ein Herz nur an Gefühlen reich
Mög' es dem verwandten Herzen reichen.
Dann verkündet jedes Blatt es frei,
Daß — Vergißmeinnicht — ſein Wahlſpruch ſey.

Th. Hell.

from 1821 *Vergissmeinnicht*
H. Clauren, ed. Friedrich August Leo, pub.
Leipzig, Germany

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Figure 4.15

Vergissmeinnicht ein Taschenbuch fur 1821
[Forget Me Not, a Pocket-Book for 1821]

Edited by H. Clauren; Leipzig: Publisher, Friedrich August Leo

***Vergissmeinnicht* (1821)** [German, *Forget Me Not*] **Opening sonnet** **Translated by Professor Gerhard Joseph,** **The Graduate Center (CUNY)** Undemanding, I blossom near the brook Whose small waves refresh me; But what look emerges from my eyes Will speak to you in intimate tones. Do you wish to break me off from a little stalk? Am I plucked solely for the girl friend, For the friend who fatefully squeezes your hand? In any case for tender faltering hearts. Thus the little flower.--The sign of its image Is borne by this little book and it reveals itself immediately. Indeed, may a heart merely rich in feeling Suffice for kindred hearts. Then every leaf freely declares That forget-me-not is its watchword.	***Vergissmeinnicht* (1821)** [German, *Forget Me Not*] **Opening sonnet** **Translated by Professor Scott Westrem,** **The Graduate Center (CUNY)** Modestly, I bloom along the streams Whose little ripples refresh me What glares from out my eye, however, Will speak to you in confident timbre. "Do you wish to tear me from the little stem? Am I simply to be plucked for the lady-love? [or] For the boyfriend, who, constantly clasps hands with you? At all events, on account of fragile weakness of the heart?" So the little flower – An emblem of its image Is found in this little book, and it [book] echoes its [flower's] words. Ah! A heart rich only in feelings: May it reach its kindred heart. Then every leaf will proclaim it widely/openly, That – Forget-me-not – should be its motto.

Figure 4.16

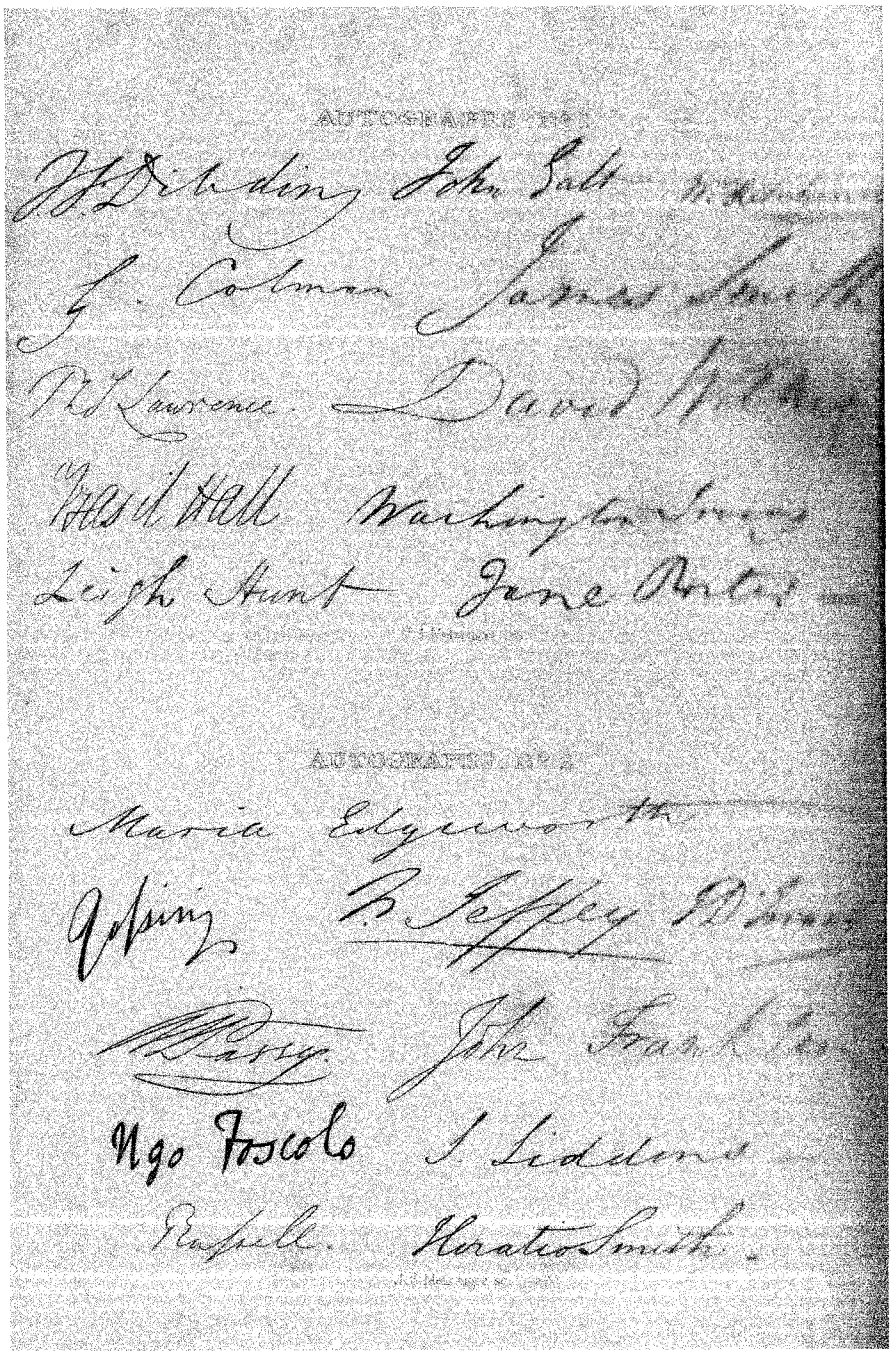


Bouquets of flowers represent the bouquets of poetry & prose within the covers

1825 *Forget Me Not* Accompanied by the poem "To the Flower Forget Me Not"

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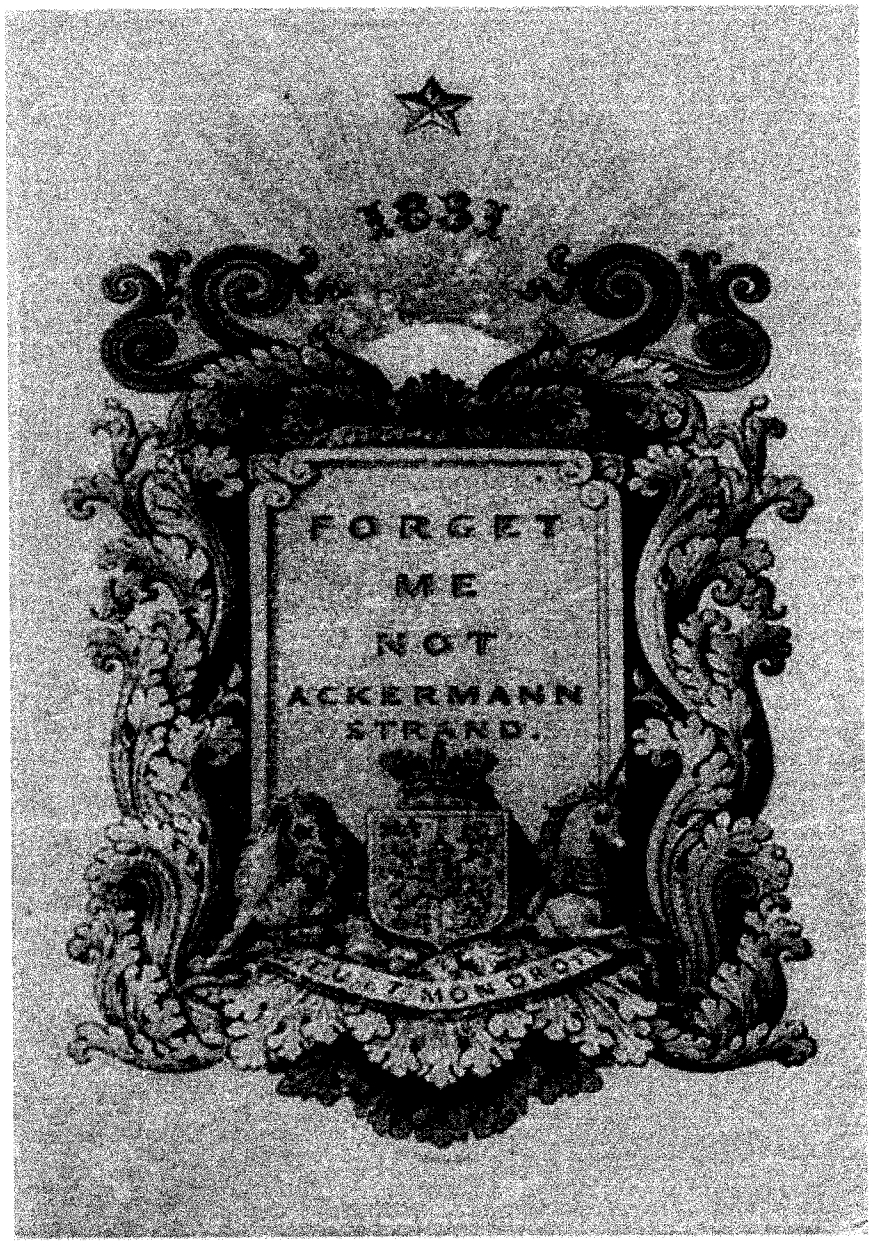
Figure 4.17



Autographs Page
from *Literary Souvenir* (1826)

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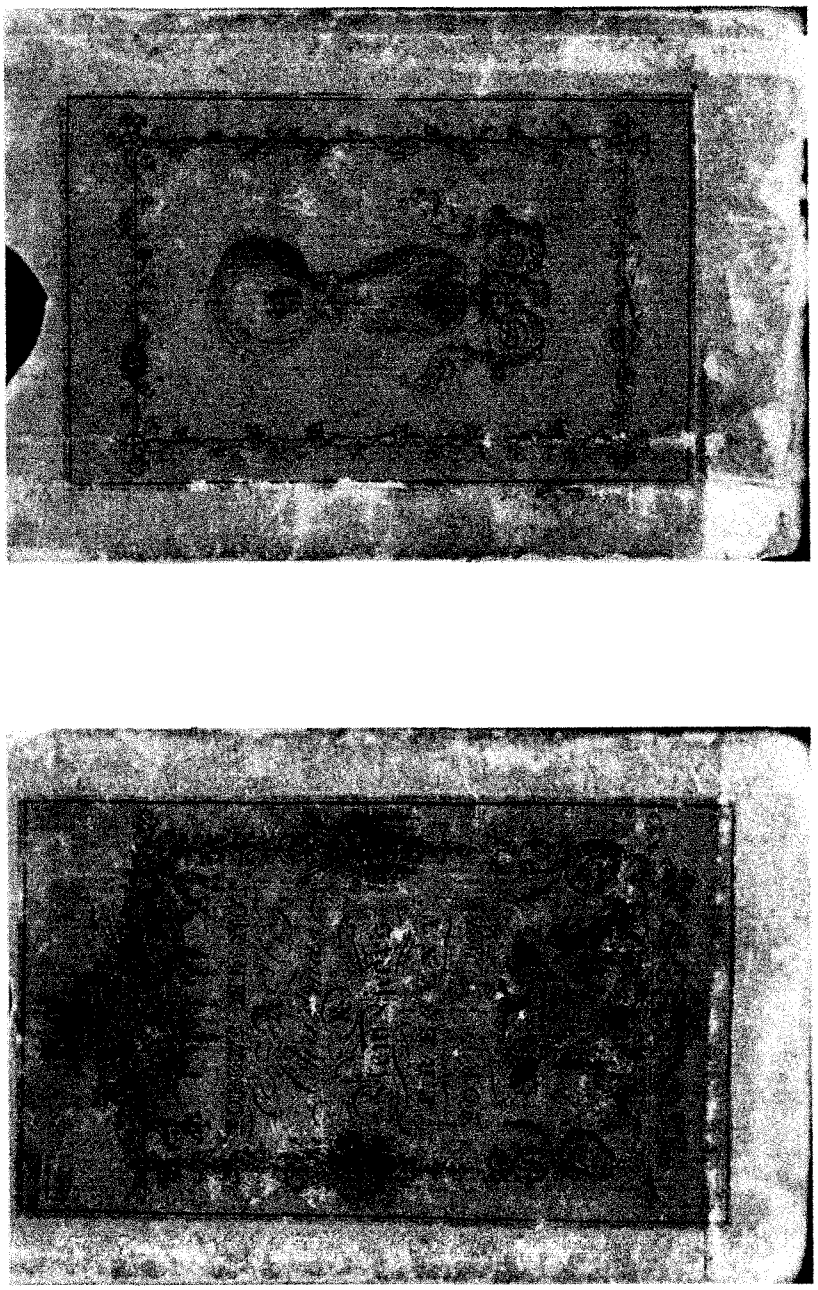
Figure 4.18



Front board (paper) from 1831 *Forget Me Not*

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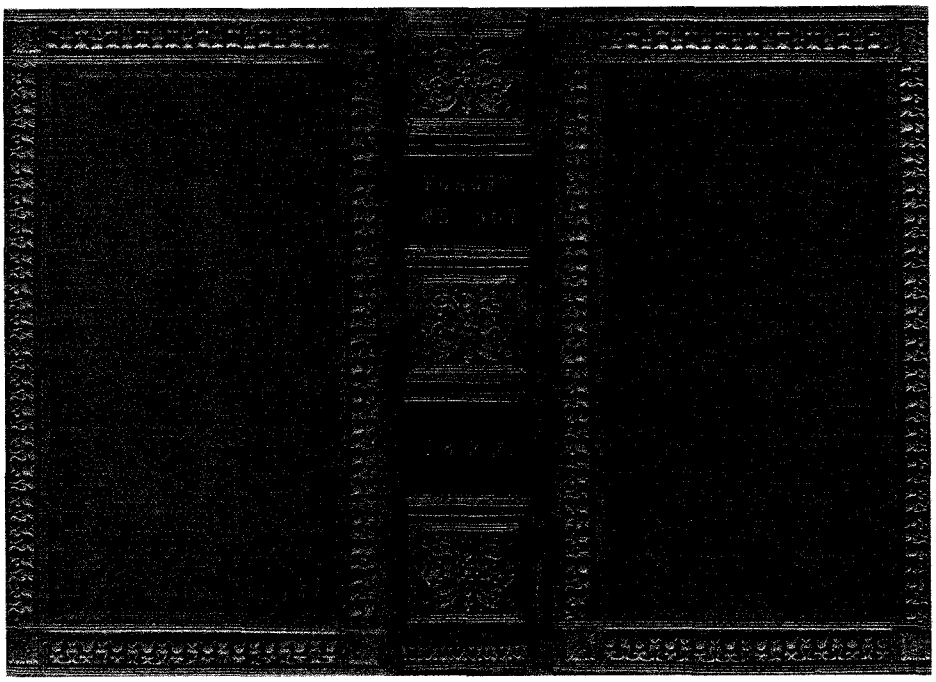
Figure 4.19



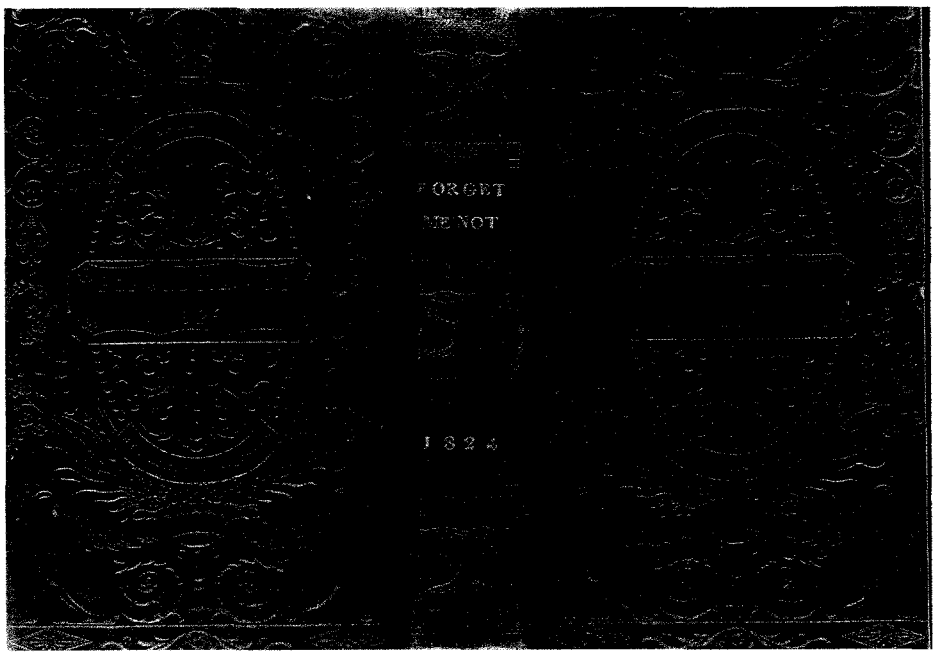
Slipcase for 1825 *Forget Me Not*

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Figure 4.20

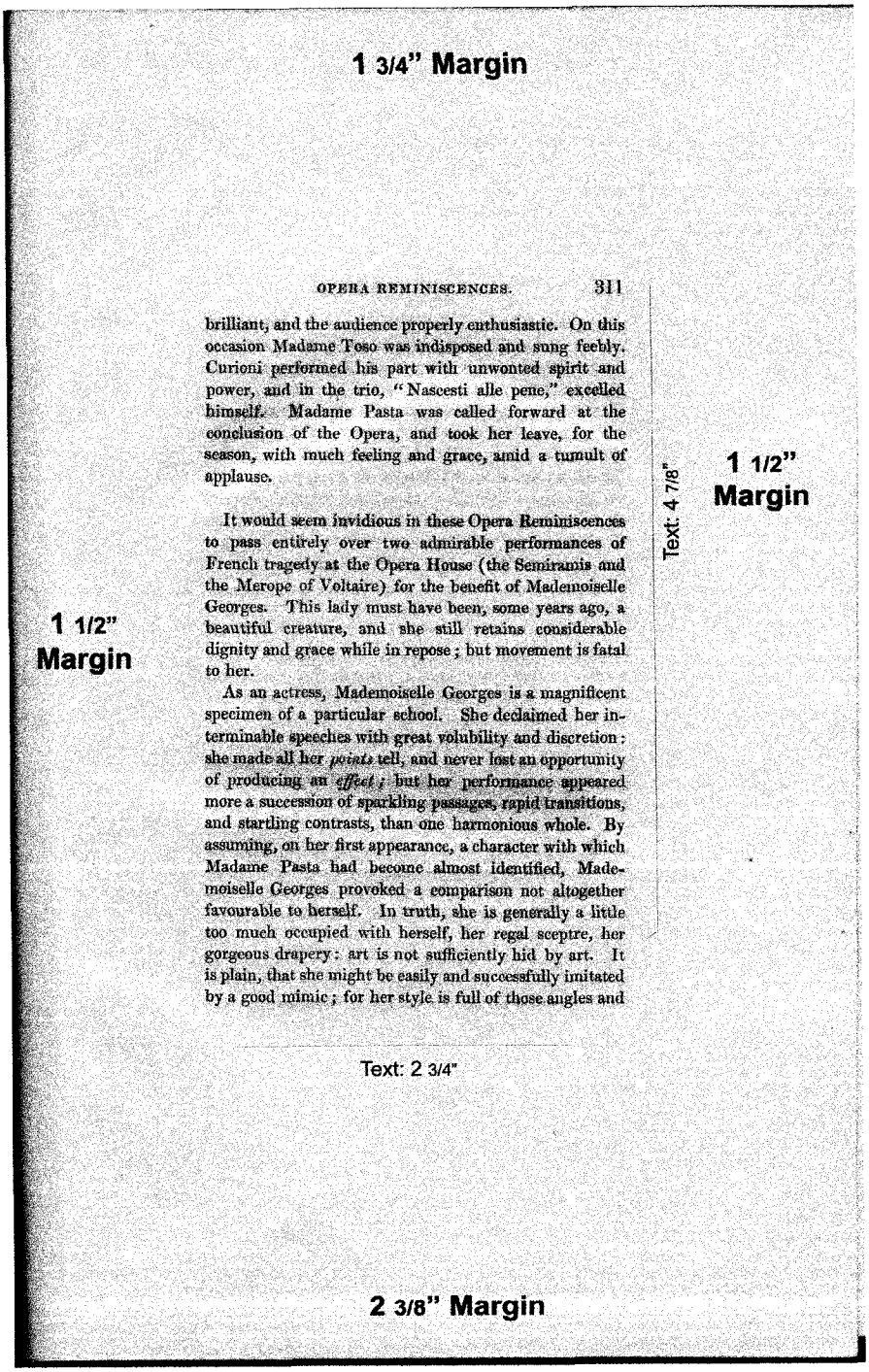


***Forget Me Nots* (1827 & 1824)**
Re-bound in leather



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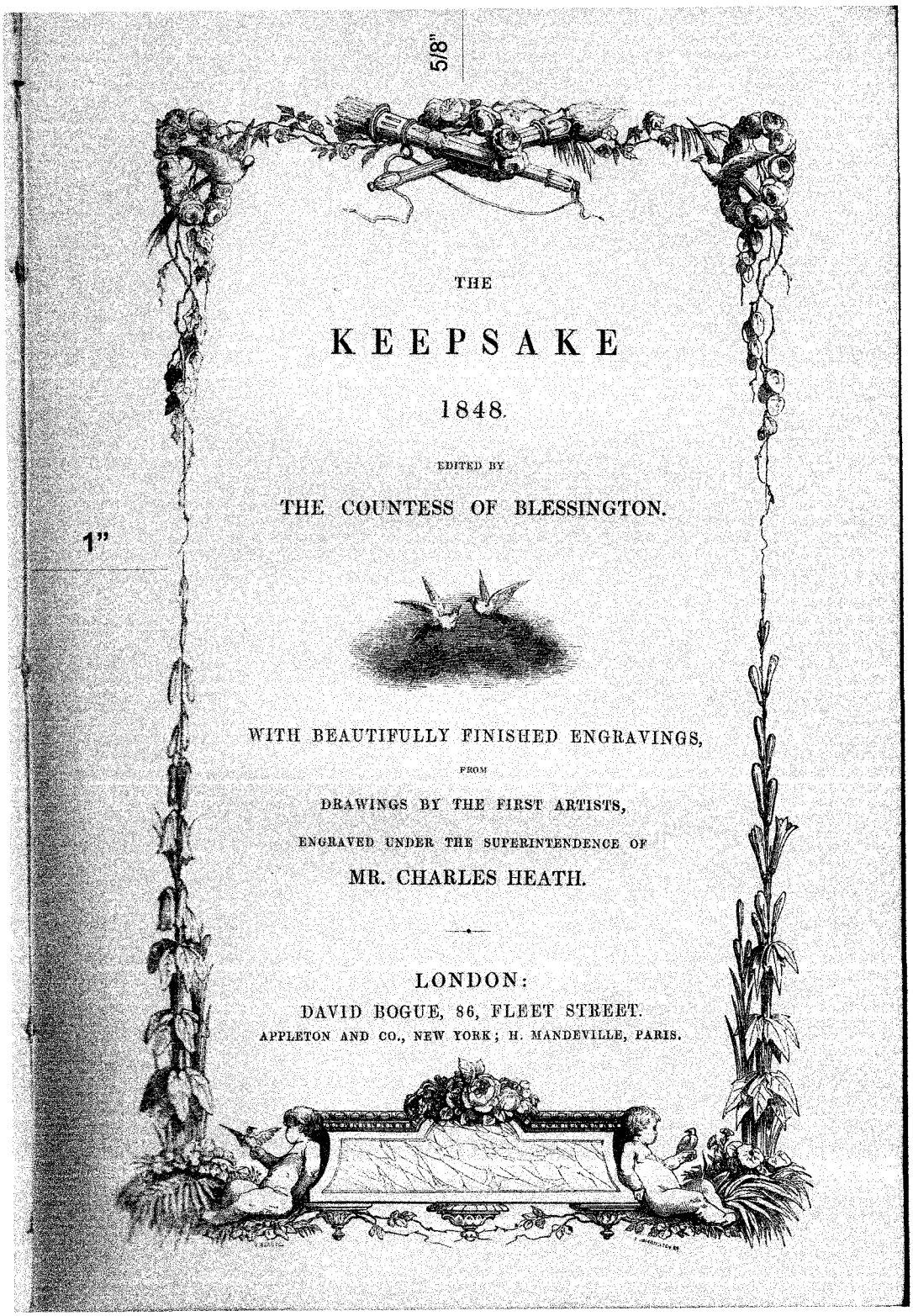
Figure 4.21



1828 *Keepsake*
Example of extended margins
Text produced from plates for quarto volume

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Figure 4.22



Larger Margins
1848 *Keepsake*

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Figure 4.23



152 THE PENNY MAGAZINE. [APRIL 20, 1833.

Chalmers, "was immediate and universal; and Taylor, who purchased the manuscript after every bookseller had refused it, is said to have gained a thousand pounds." It has ever since continued, as every reader knows, to be one of the most popular books in the English tongue, the delight alike of all ages, and enchaining the attention by a charm hardly possessed in the same degree by any similar work. Other productions in the same vein, and more or less ably executed, followed in rapid succession from the pen of the industrious and inexhaustible author. Among them are especially to be mentioned his Journal of the Plague, a fictitious narrative, published in 1722, which is said to have deceived Dr. Mead, and to have been taken by him for a true history; his Memoirs of a Cavalier, which appeared the same year; and his Life of Colonel Jack, published the year following. All these narratives, the mere fabrications of the writer's invention, are distinguished by an air of nature and truth, which it is almost impossible during the perusal not to take for genuine. Defoe died in his native parish on the 24th (not as has been often stated the 26th) of April, 1731, and consequently in his 70th or 71st year. He was buried in Bunhill Fields, then called Tindall's Burying-ground. He left several children, the descendants of some of whom still survive. It is lamentable to think that he appears after all his exertions to have died insolvent. The vast amount of his literary labours may in some degree be conceived from the fact, that the list of his publications given by Mr. Wilson, his latest biographer, contains no fewer than 210 articles, and it is believed not to be complete. Many of these works were written in circumstances of great privation and distress. In the preface to his poem of 'Jure Divino,' occurs the following affecting passage, with which we shall conclude our notice:—"I shall say but very little in the defence of the performance but this: it has been wrote under the heaviest weight of intolerable pressures; the greatest part of it was composed in prison; and as the author has unhappily felt the most violent and constant efforts of his enemies to destroy him ever since that, the little composure he has had must be his short excuse for any thing incorrect. Let any man, under millions of distracting cares, and the constant ill-treatment of the world, consider the power of such circumstances over both invention and expression, he will then allow that I had been to be excused, even in worse errors than are to be found in this book."

[Portrait of Defoe.]

INVENTION OF PAPER.

THERE is no country which has not had its learned and elaborate inquirers as to the means through which Europe became acquainted, sometime about the eleventh century, with the article of paper. Casiri, however, whilst employed in translating Arabic writers, has discovered the real place from which paper came. It has been known in China, where its constituent part is silk, from time immemorial. In the thirtieth year of the Hegira, (in the middle of the seventh century,) a manufactory of similar paper was established at Samarcand; and in 706, fifty-eight years afterwards, one Youzef Amrû, of Mecca, discovered the art of making it with cotton, an article more commonly used in Arabia than silk. This is clearly proved by the following passage from Muhamad Al Gazeli's 'De Arabicarum Antiquitatum Eruditione:'—"In the ninety-eighth year of the Hegira," says he, "a certain Joseph Amrû first of all invented paper in the city of Mecca, and taught the Arabs the use of it." And as an additional proof, that the Arabians, and not the Greeks of the lower empire, as it has long been affirmed, were the inventors of cotton paper, it may be observed that a Greek of great learning, whom Montfaucon mentions as having been employed in forming a catalogue of the old MSS in the king's library at Paris, in the reign of Henry II., always calls the article '*Damascus Paper*.' The subsequent invention of paper, made from *hemp* or *flax*, has given rise to equal controversy. Maffei and Tiraboschi have claimed the honour in behalf of Italy, and Scaliger and Meermann, *for* Germany; but none of these writers adduce any instance of its use anterior to the fourteenth century. By far the oldest in France is a letter from Joinville to St. Louis, which was written a short time before the decease of that monarch in 1270. Examples of the use of modern paper in Spain, date from a century before that time; and it may be sufficient to quote, from the numerous instances cited by Don Gregorio Mayans, a treaty of peace concluded between Alfonso II. of Aragon, and Alfonso IX. of Castille, which is preserved in the archives at Barcelona, and bears date in the year 1176; to this we may add, the *fueros* (privileges) granted to Valencia by James the Conqueror, in 1251. The paper in question came from the Arabs, who, on their arrival in Spain, where both silk and cotton were equally rare, made it of hemp and flax. Their first manufactories were established at Xativa, the San Felipe of the present day; a town of high repute in ancient times, as Pliny and Strabo report, for its fabrication of cloth. Edrisi observes, when speaking of Xativa, "Excellent and incomparable paper is likewise made here." Valencia too, the plains of which produce an abundance of flax, possessed manufactories a short time afterwards; and Catalonia was not long in following the example. Indeed the two latter provinces at this moment furnish the best paper in Spain. The use of the article, made from flax, did not reach Castille until the reign of Alfonso X., in the middle of the thirteenth century, and thence it cannot be questioned that it spread to France, and afterwards to Italy, England, and Germany. The Arabic MSS., which are of much older date than the Spanish, were most of them written on satin paper, and embellished with a quantity of ornamental work, painted in such gay and resplendent colours, that the reader might behold his face reflected as if from a mirror.—*Journal of Education*, No. 10.

*** The Office of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge is at 59, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

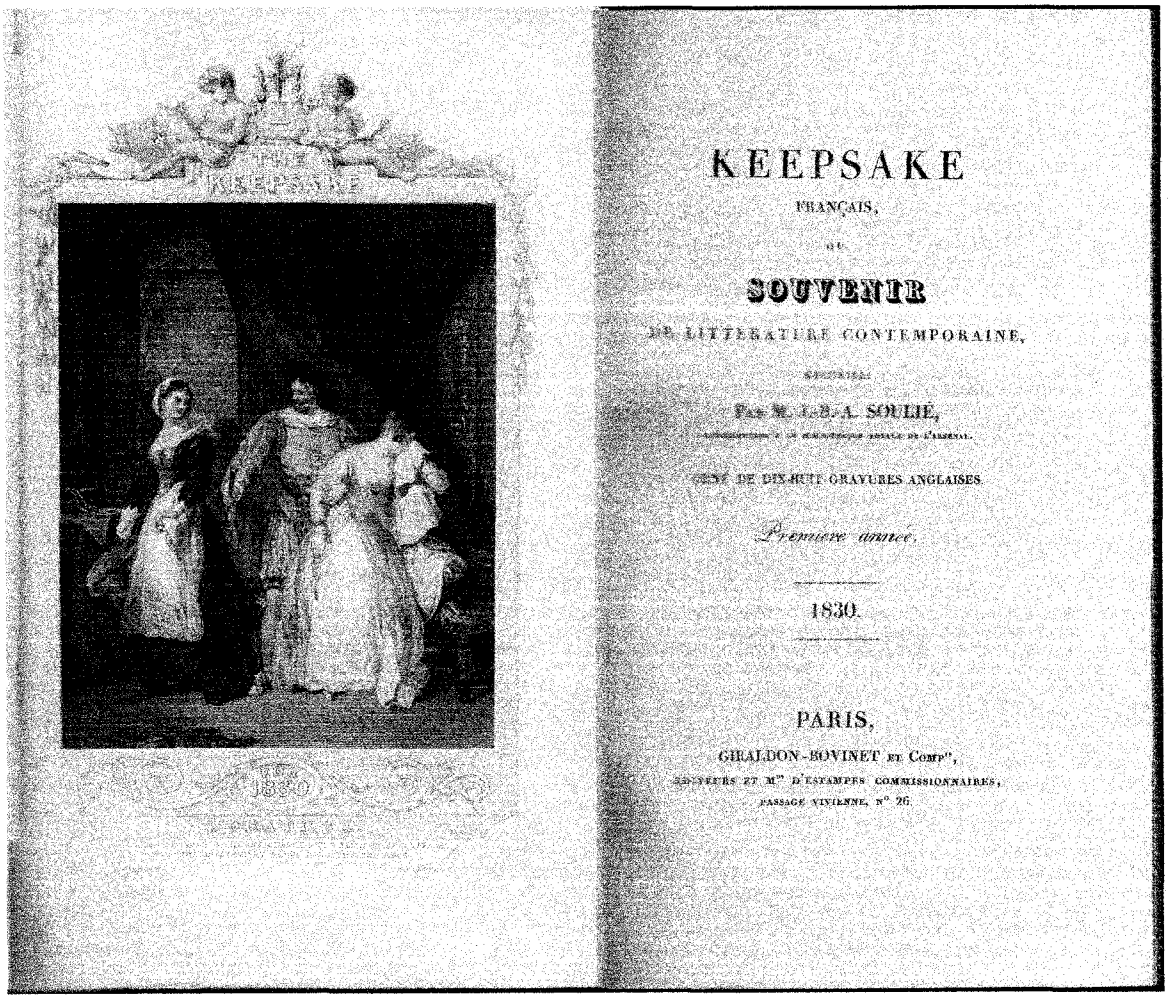
LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL-MALL EAST.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Stamford Street.

Example of a cheap weekly
***The Penny Magazine* (April 1833)**

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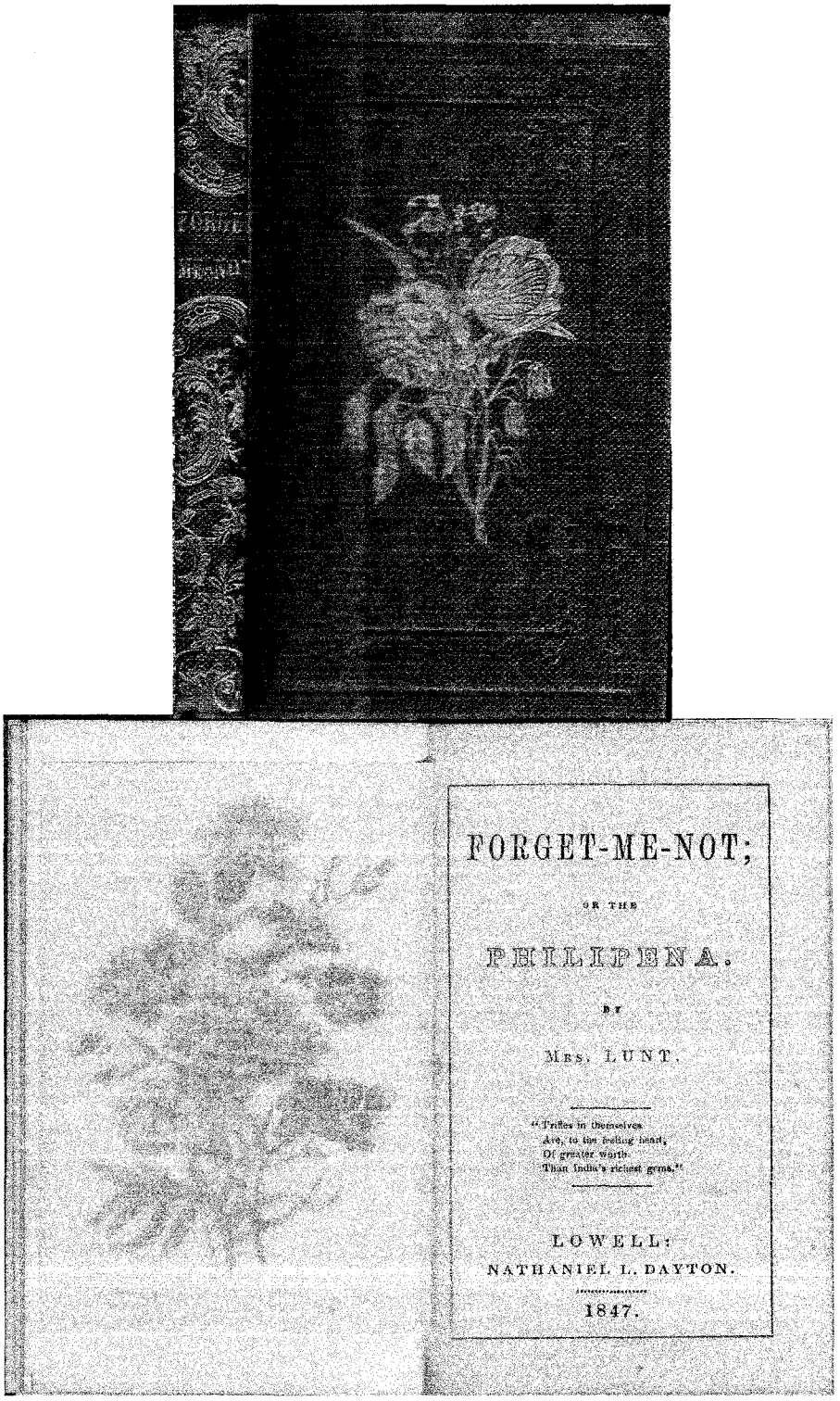
Figure 4.24



London, Published by Hurst, Chance & Co.
and Giraldon Bovinet & Co. Gallerie Vivienne, Paris.

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Figure 4.25



American gift book (Massachusetts publisher)
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Figure 4.26

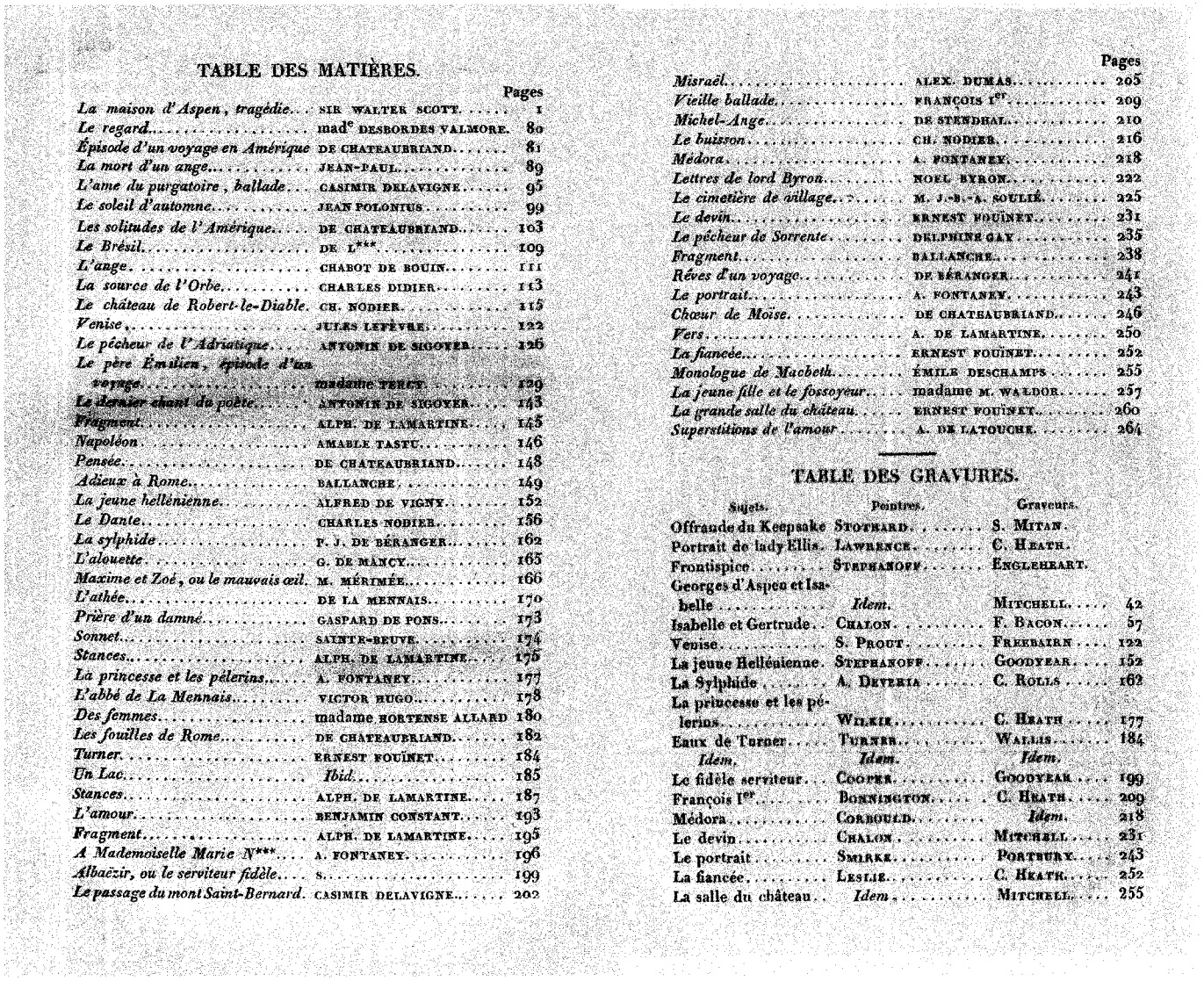


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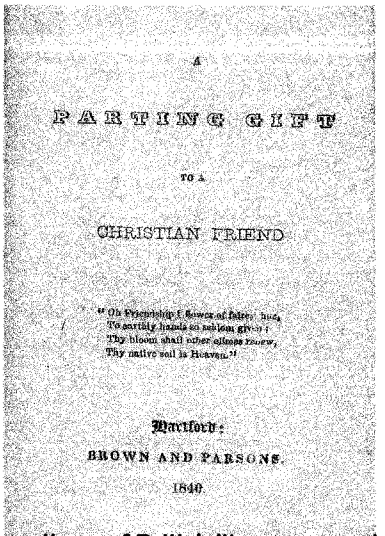
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from ***Keepsake Francais*** (1830)
London and Parisian publishers

Figure 4.27

Christian gift book
American publisher
Copyright 1838; Published 1840
2.5" x 4"



A

PARTING GIFT

TO A

CHRISTIAN FRIEND

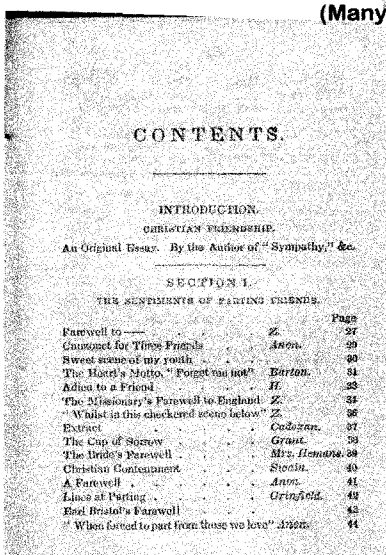
"Oh Friendship! flower of fairest hue,
To earthly hands so seldom given;
Thy bloom shall other climes renew,
Thy native soil is Heaven."

Hartford:

BROWN AND PARSONS.

1840.

(Many authors of British literary annual fame)



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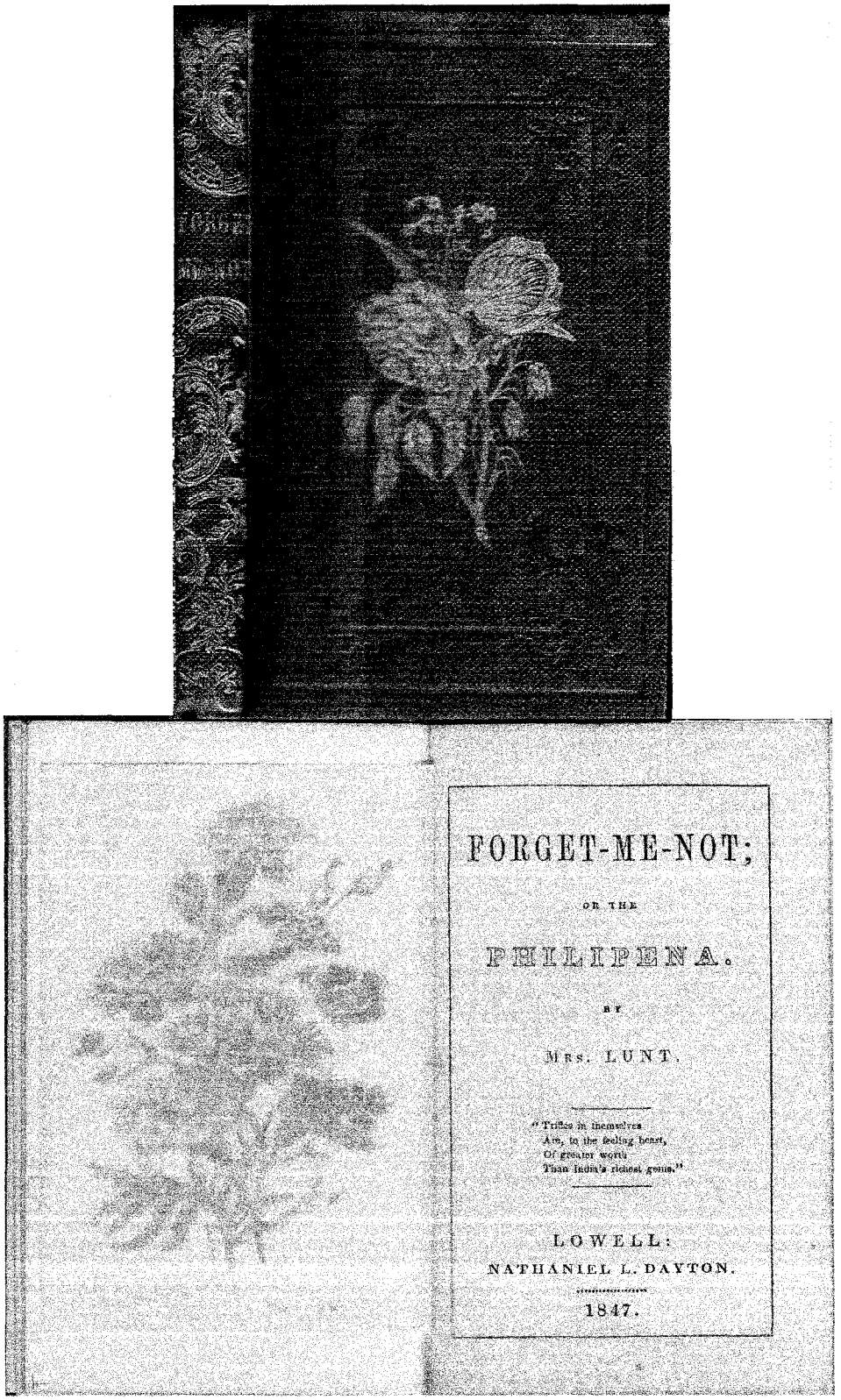
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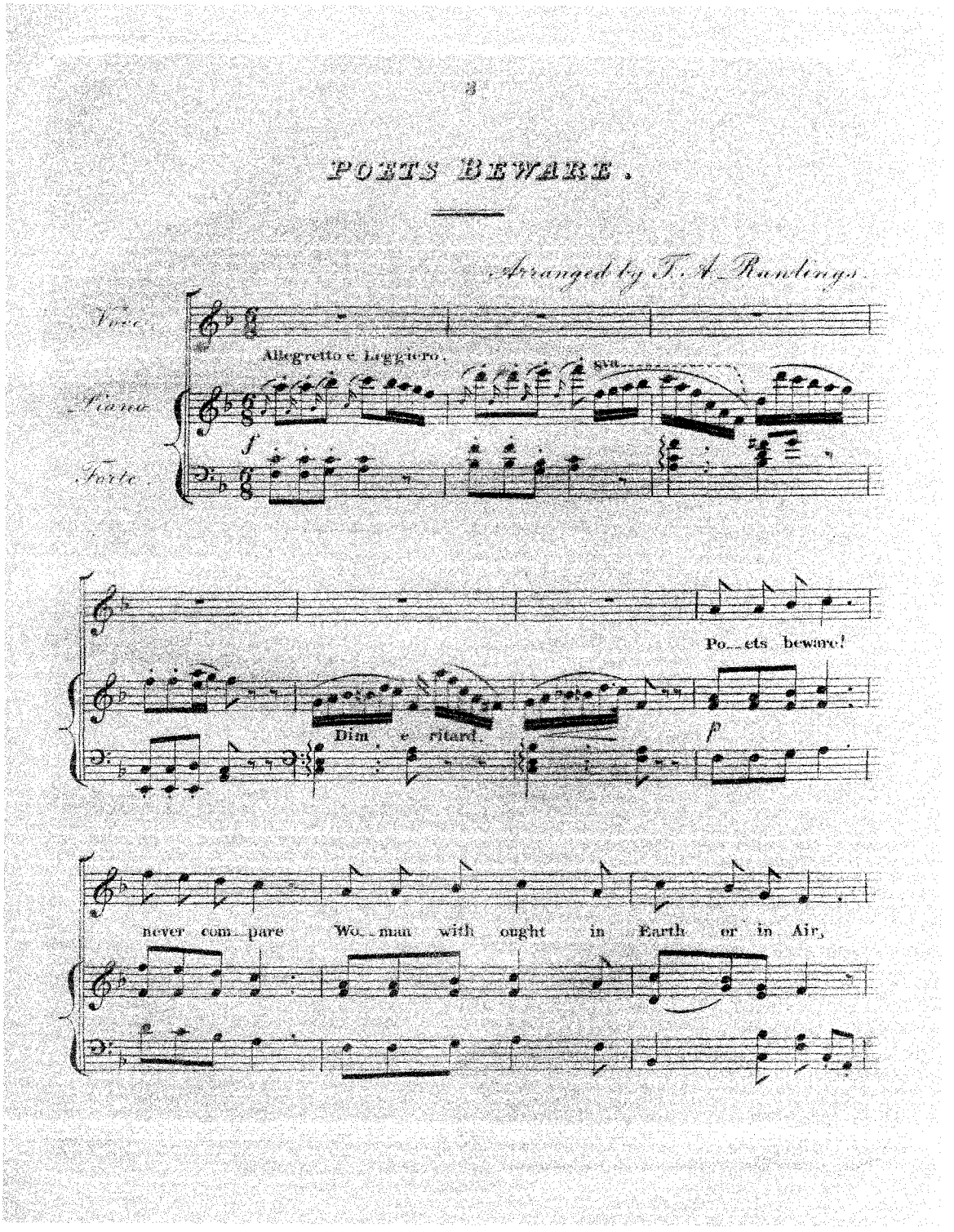
Figure 4.28



American gift book (Massachusetts publisher)
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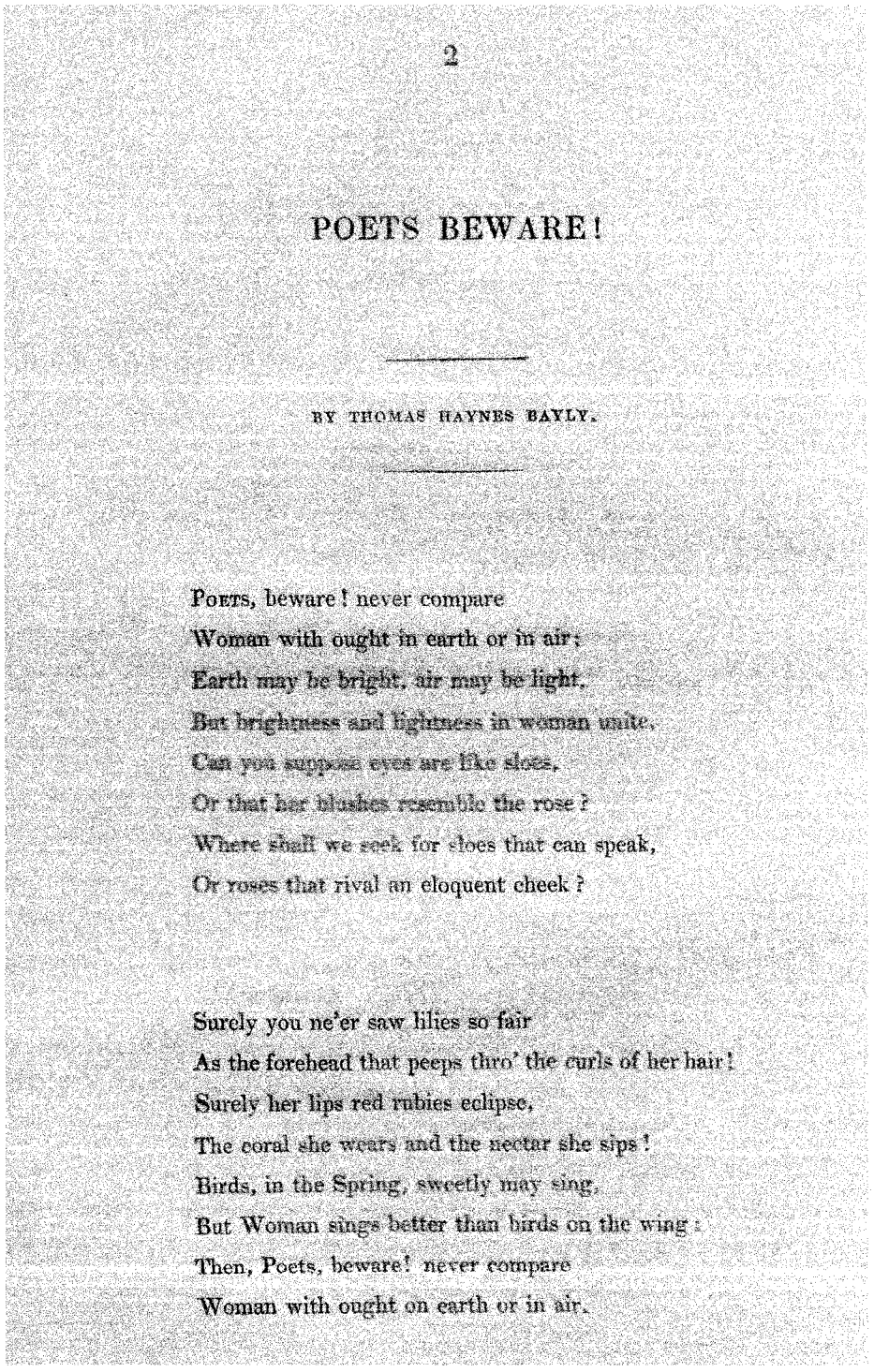
Figure 4.29



Thomas Haynes Bayly's poem set to music
1830 *Musical Bijou*

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Figure 4.30



2

POETS BEWARE!

BY THOMAS HAYNES BAYLY.

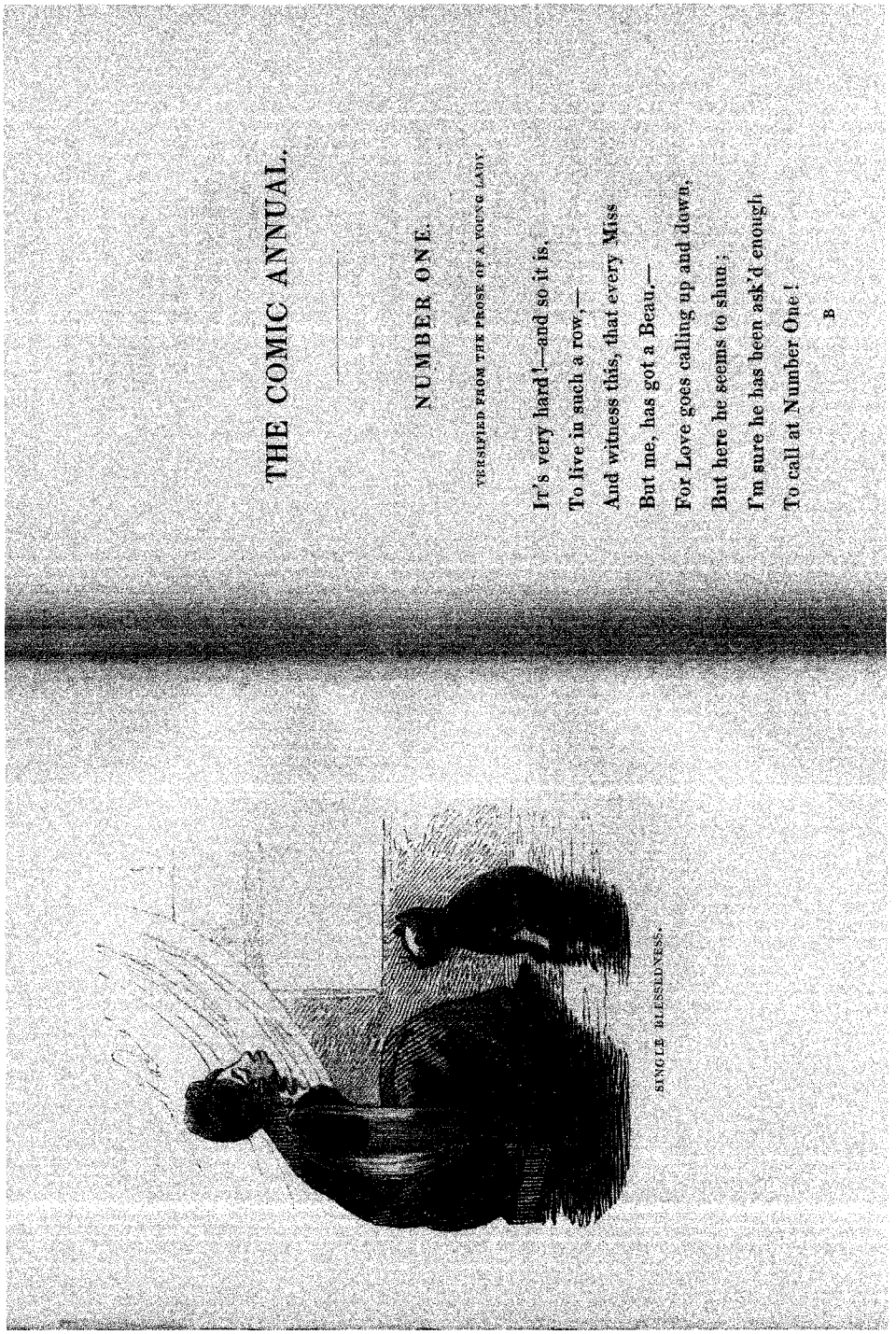
Poets, beware! never compare
Woman with ought in earth or in air;
Earth may be bright, air may be light,
But brightness and lightness in woman unite.
Can you suppose eyes are like sloes,
Or that her blushes resemble the rose?
Where shall we seek for sloes that can speak,
Or roses that rival an eloquent cheek?

Surely you ne'er saw lilies so fair
As the forehead that peeps thro' the curls of her hair!
Surely her lips red rubies eclipse,
The coral she wears and the nectar she sips!
Birds, in the Spring, sweetly may sing,
But Woman sings better than birds on the wing:
Then, Poets, beware! never compare
Woman with ought on earth or in air.

from 1830 *Musical Bijou*

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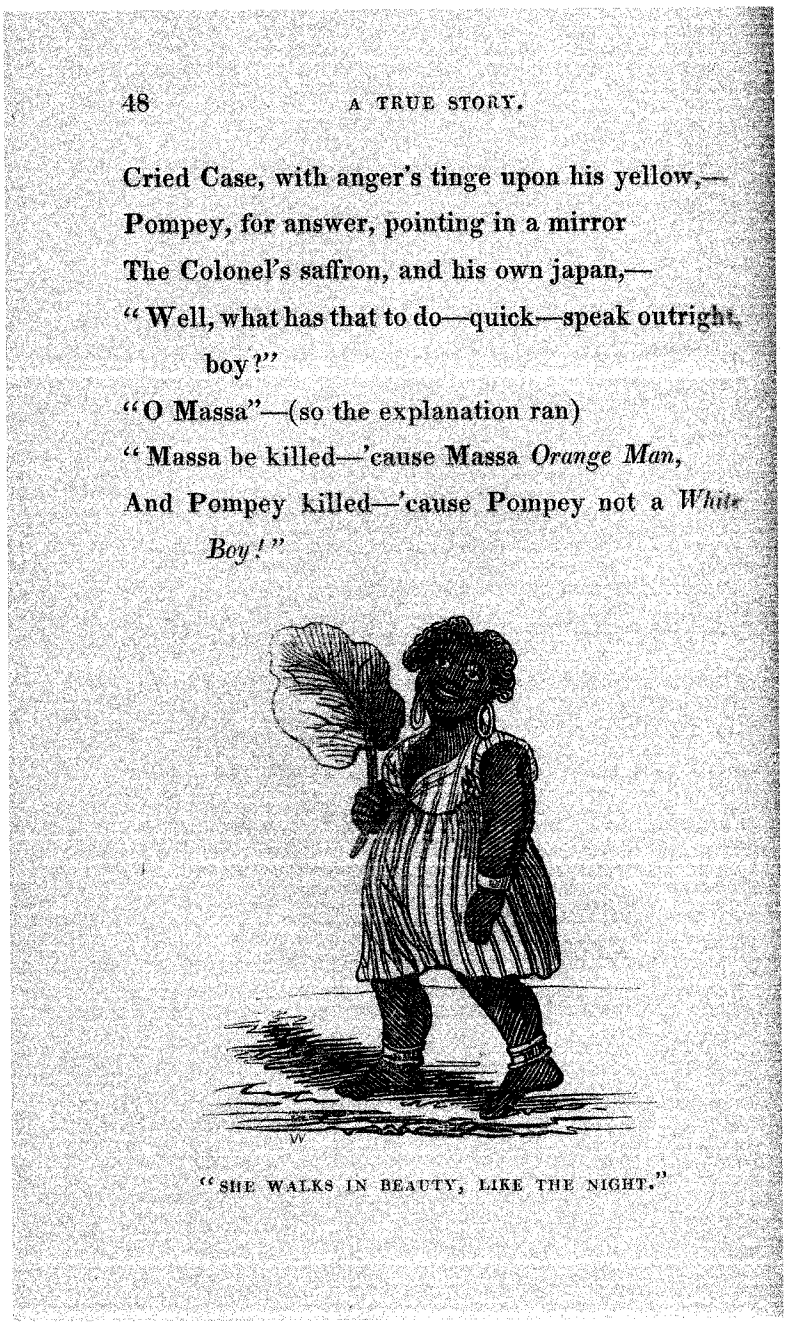
Figure 4.31



1830 *Comic Annual*
Woodcut Engraving
Parody of sentimental engraving & poetry

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Figure 4.32



48 A TRUE STORY.

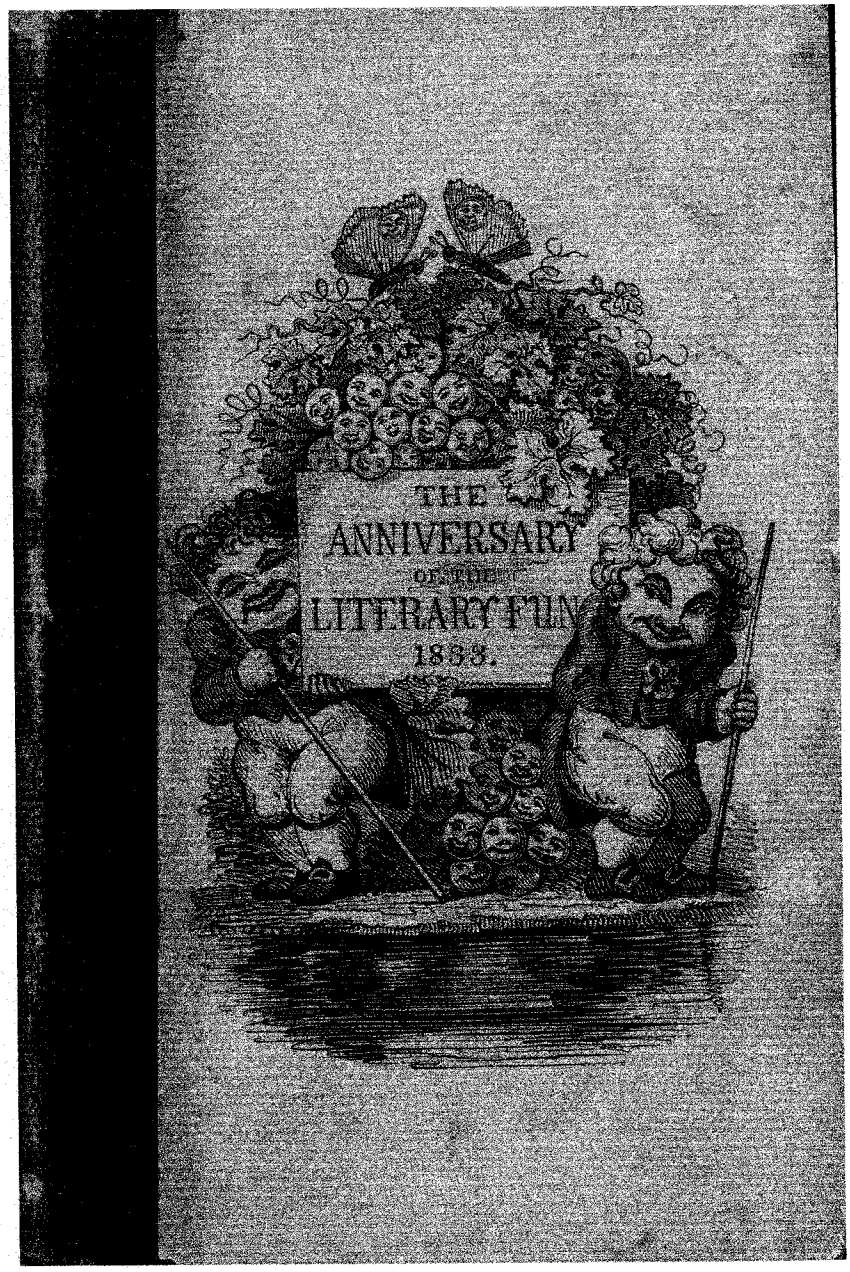
Cried Case, with anger's tinge upon his yellow,—
Pompey, for answer, pointing in a mirror
The Colonel's saffron, and his own japan,—
"Well, what has that to do—quick—speak outright, boy?"
"O Massa"—(so the explanation ran)
"Massa be killed—'cause Massa *Orange Man*,
And Pompey killed—'cause Pompey not a *White Boy!*"

"SHE WALKS IN BEAUTY, LIKE THE NIGHT."

from 1830 *Comic Annual*
Parody of Byron's "She Walks in Beauty"

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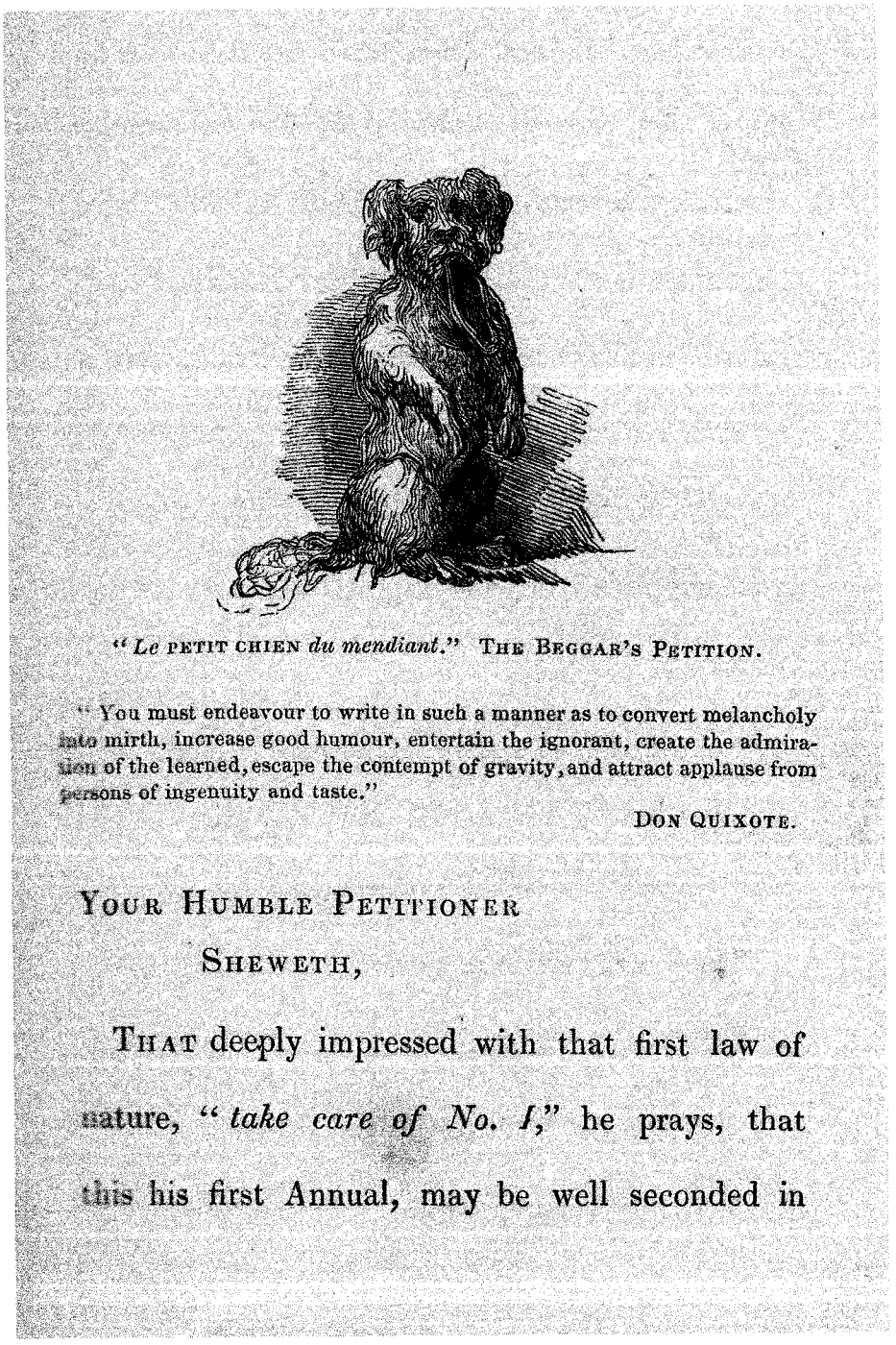
Figure 4.33



Hood's parody of the genre
Paper boards with leather spine (4" x 6.5")
(1830-1839)

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Figure 4.34



"*Le* PETIT CHIEN *du mendiant.*" THE BEGGAR'S PETITION.

"You must endeavour to write in such a manner as to convert melancholy into mirth, increase good humour, entertain the ignorant, create the admiration of the learned, escape the contempt of gravity, and attract applause from persons of ingenuity and taste."

DON QUIXOTE.

YOUR HUMBLE PETITIONER

SHEWETH,

THAT deeply impressed with that first law of nature, "*take care of No. 1,*" he prays, that this his first Annual, may be well seconded in

Editorial Begging in the Preface
1831 *[Falstaff's] New Comic Annual*

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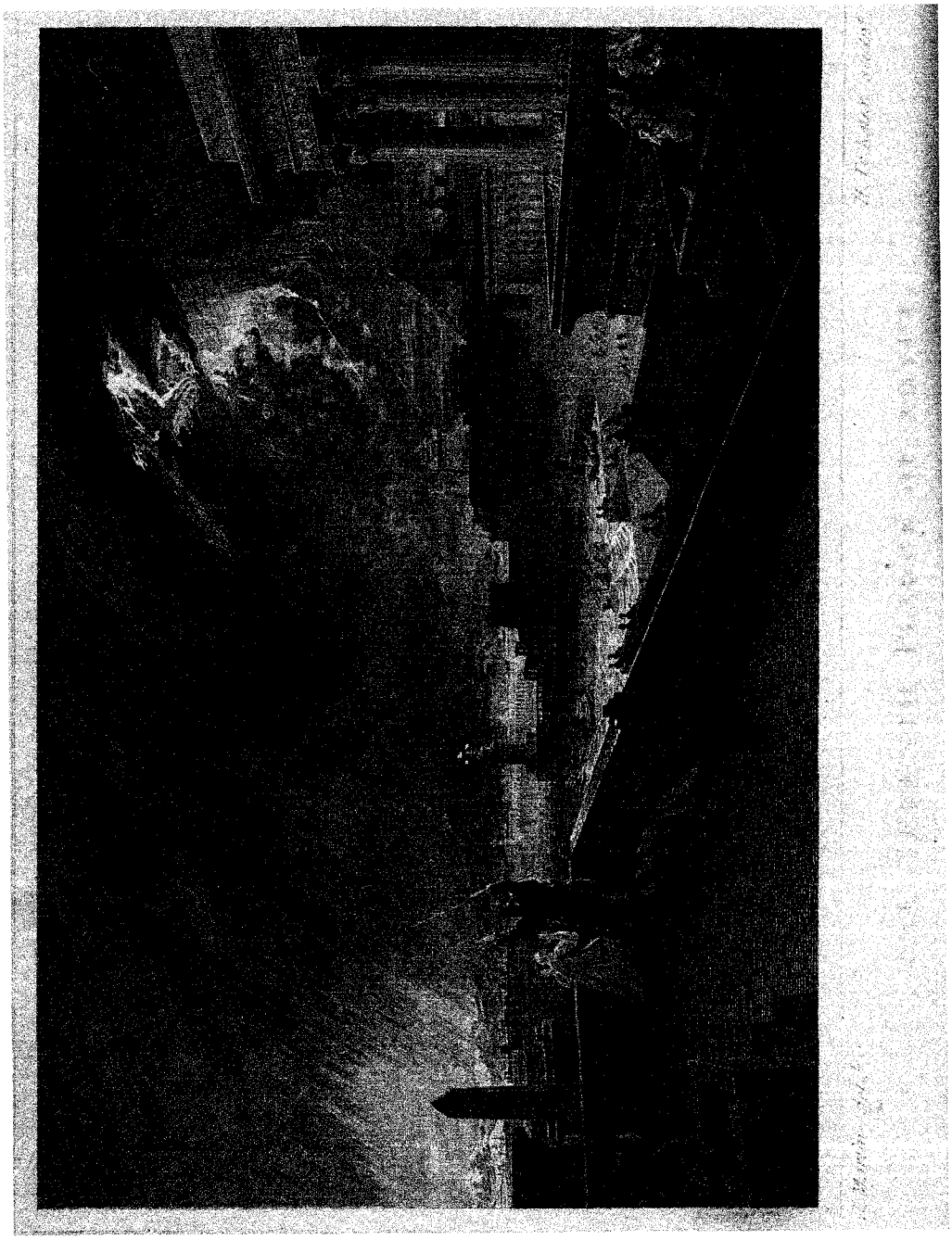
Figure 5.1



John Martin's "Seventh Plague of Egypt"
Oil on Canvas, 1823

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Figure 5.2

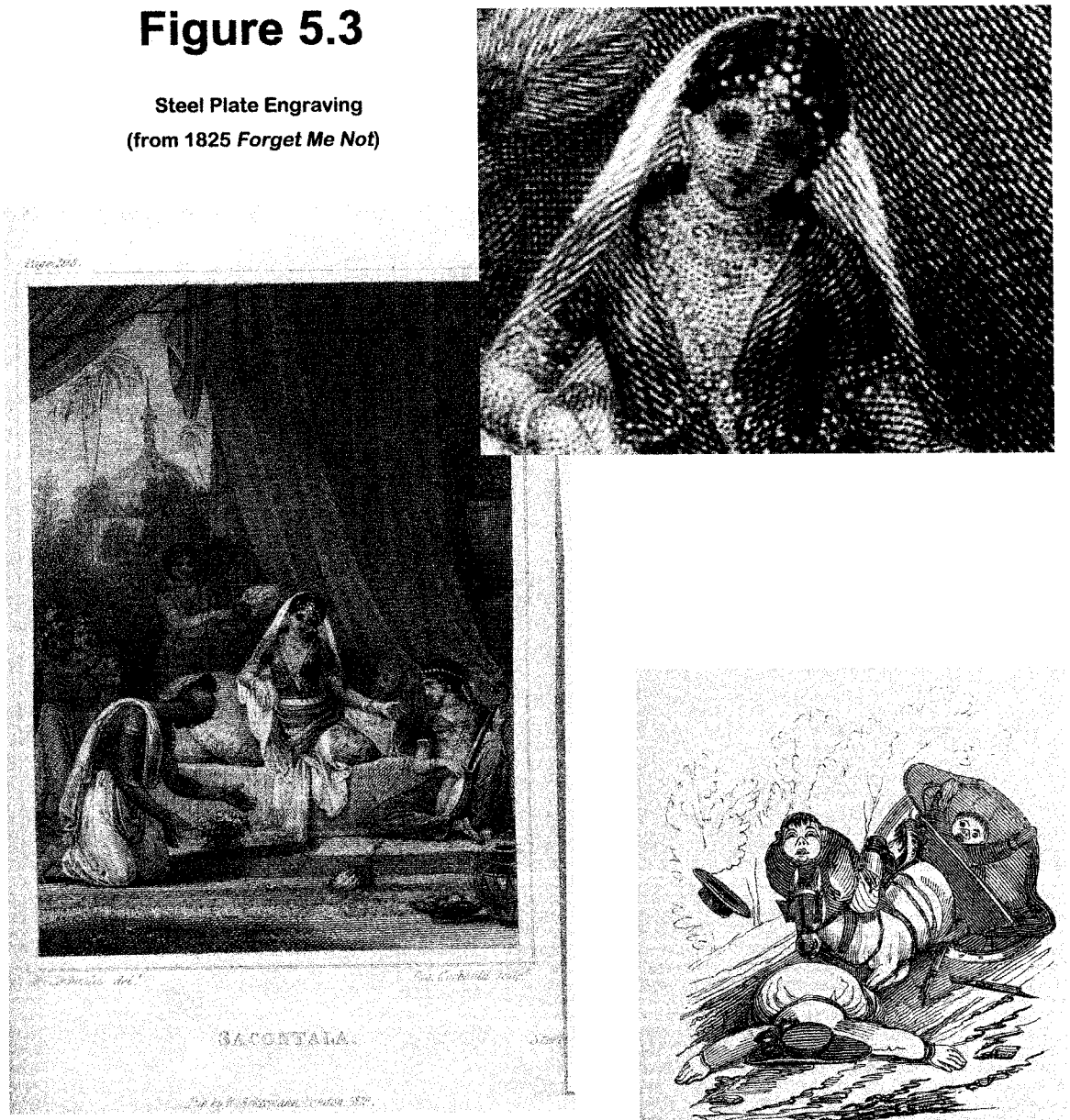


Engraver Henry Le Keux's rendering of John Martin's oil painting for 1828 *Forget Me Not*

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Figure 5.3

Steel Plate Engraving
(from 1825 *Forget Me Not*)





Woodcut Engraving
(from 1830 *Comic Annual*)

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Figure 5.4



from 1829 *Forget Me Not*

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Figure 5.5

"Constancy"
By James Bird (1829 *FMN*, 157-161)

She dwelt in her dear native vale, where the light
Of her loveliness shone like the planet of night,
That makes all clad in beauty more beautiful still,
Adds new charms to the valley, new grace to the hill!

O'er that spot nature's bounty profusely had thrown,
From her garner of treasures, rare gems of her own!
And its beautiful glades were as happy as fair,
For the pride of the valley, young Ada, was there!

Oh! the charm of her smile was so sunny and bright;
Her form, like seraph's, all graceful and light,
And her eloquent eye softly told that its ray
From the sun of her soul had just darted away!

Yes! she breathed the fair sylph of that sweet shaded spot,
Bloom'd the chaste, lovely flower of her vine-cover'd cot,
Where the beauty of nature enchantingly smiled--
Where the mother was blest in the love of her child.

And of Ada's font heart, there was *one*, who possess'd
All its hope--the devotion, the truth of her breast,
And whose love was to here as the flower to the bee,
Or the leaf that ne'er fades on the evergreen tree!

But the pride of her soul, the brave Seymour, was far
From the bowers of her home, 'mid the tumult of war;
With the fervour of youth, o'er the wide-rolling wave,
He had rush'd to the fight, with the noble and brave.

He departed!--The ocean divided them now,
And the care for his absence was mark'd on her brow,
Where anxiety's fear, the soft shading of sorrow,
Veil'd the bliss of to-day 'neath the hope of to-morrow!

Time fled--and he came not--and, and again,
Had the summer sun smiled o'er the deep, heaving main;--
Oh! How drear was the night, and how cheerless the day,
While he dwelt from her own lovely valley away!

Now the sweet blooming spring brought delight to the earth,
And the bud and the floweret rejoiced in their birth;
And though bright glow'd the scene which around her was spread,
Yet the spell of her heart, its enchantment, had fled!

He sent not--return'd not--she heard of his fame,
And her heart burn'd with joy at the tidings which came;
For the star of her being was cloudless or dim,
As Fate dealt her storm or her sunshine to him!

How slow wane the hours when the form we most prize
Far away!--far away!--is estranged from our eyes!
And the moments to Ada thus painfully wrought
The sad dread of suspense, the dejection of thought.

"He is gone!--and for ever!--if living, no more
Dwells his thought on the scenes he so valued before.
Seymour shares not the laurels he wins for his brown
With the heart that hath loved, and that worships him now!

"Yes! They tell me, my dear humble home from his thought
Is all vanish'd away like a dream that is nought.
No!--No!--he may fall in the morning of youth,
But his heart is the temple of virtue and truth!"

Thus she pensively mourn'd--and, though many a swain
Had bow'd down at the shrine of her beauty in vain;
Where her worshipperrs knelt, and exultingly told
Of their spacious domains and their treasures of gold,

Yet she heeded them not!--As the flower that will turn
to the light of its life, wheresoe'er it may burn;
So to Seymour her heart turn'd its hope, though the ray
That Could cherish that hope from her sight was away.

The sun was slow wending to seek for his rest,
In the sapphirine bower of his realm in the west,
While his beams softly play'd on the light waving trees
That now whisper'd their joy at the kiss of the breeze!

In that hour lovely Ada dejectedly sate
By the door of her cottage, she mused on her fate;
And though sweetly her bird trill'd his song to her ear,
Its soft music had lost the rich notes that could cheer.

And the book she most loved, which had often re-press'd
The dominion of sorrow that vanquish'd her breast;
Its page, once so prized, fail'd to comfort her now,
Or to chase the despair that o'ershadow'd her brow!

Hope died in her soul:--hark! a footstep is nigh,
And a shadow has caught the bright glance of her eye--
She turns--her breath quickens--before her he stands,
Her own Seymour!--the book from her tremulous hands

Now fell, as she sprang, like an arrow that flies,
Or a dove that darts swift to her mate in the skies,
While her heart all its truth, all its ardour confess'd,
As her fast changing cheek softly sank on his breast.

At that moment, the rose, which she wore in her bosom,
Fell down at her feet with it redolent blossom;
As though *now* all its charms had no fragrance nor worth,
Since that bosom possess'd all its treasure in earth!

Oh, Ada! dear Ada! the noon of they youth
Shall be bless'd for they constancy, virtue, and truth.
And, Seymour! brave Seymour! thy honour shall be
Thy sure passport to joy--beauty's garland to thee!

Oh, woman! what bliss, what enchantment, we owe,
To the spell of they heart, to thy solace below,
To thy truth so enduring--thy kindness and care
In the morning of joy, in the night of despair!

To thy soul's chosen Love thou unchanged wilt remain,
In health and in sickness, in pleasure and vain;
And, when closed are his eyes in Death's mortal eclipse,
Even then, still is his the last kiss of thy lips!

And over his grave thou wilt mournfully keep
They lone vigil of sorrow, to pray and to weep:
Yes! to pray--that his errors of heart be forgiven,
And that *thou* may'st yet meet him unsullied in heaven!

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"Constancy"
By Charles Swain (1829 *FMN*, 162-64)

"It is–it is the trumpet's note!--
Bright Hope once more is mine!
I see the glorious banners float,
The martial weapons shine!
I hear, like an approaching storm,
The warriors' heavy tread:
Albert! I seek in vain thy form:
O God!–canst thou be dead?

"One–bust one little moment more,
My heart forget to ache;
That time hath blessed joys in store–
Or griefs–to bid thee break!
Long years, since our farewell, have past
In misery and in gloom;
And, oh! if it should prove our last,
Welcome my shroud and tomb!

"Alas! How could I live–yet know
That thou, my love, wert slain;
That, gash'd and cold, they noble brow
Lay on the battle-plain:
That the fond voice, 't was bliss to hear,
In death had pass'd away:--
O, Albert, haste–or doubt and fear
Thy Genevieve will slay!

"Who calls?–the wind my ear deceives–
Again–'tis from the grove–
And, hark!–a step among the leaves–
'Tis he!–my life–my love!
O, welcome–welcome–to this breast,
Thou prized of all the most!--
This kiss–these tears–will speak the rest–
Alas! I thought thee lost!"

"My own fond girl–my graceful flower–
My beautiful–my pride–
How have I long'd for this blest hour,
When on the ocean wide!
And is, indeed, thy youthful heart
Still constant as my own?--
Then we have met, no more to part;
To live for love alone!

"O, I have many a tale to tell
Of woes and perils o'er;
Of fair and gallant youths that fell
Upon the Turkish shore!--
Of dreadful battles on the land,
And tempests on the sea;--
Still saved, by Heaven's protecting hand,
My Genevieve–for thee!"

"Yet thou look'st pale–thine arm is bound–
And faded is thine eye;
Ah me! I fear, from sight and sound,
Thou com'st but home–to die!--
But, no!–I will not speak of this,
Nor keep one thought of pain;
This hour is one of soul-felt bliss,
And many may remain!

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Figure 6.1

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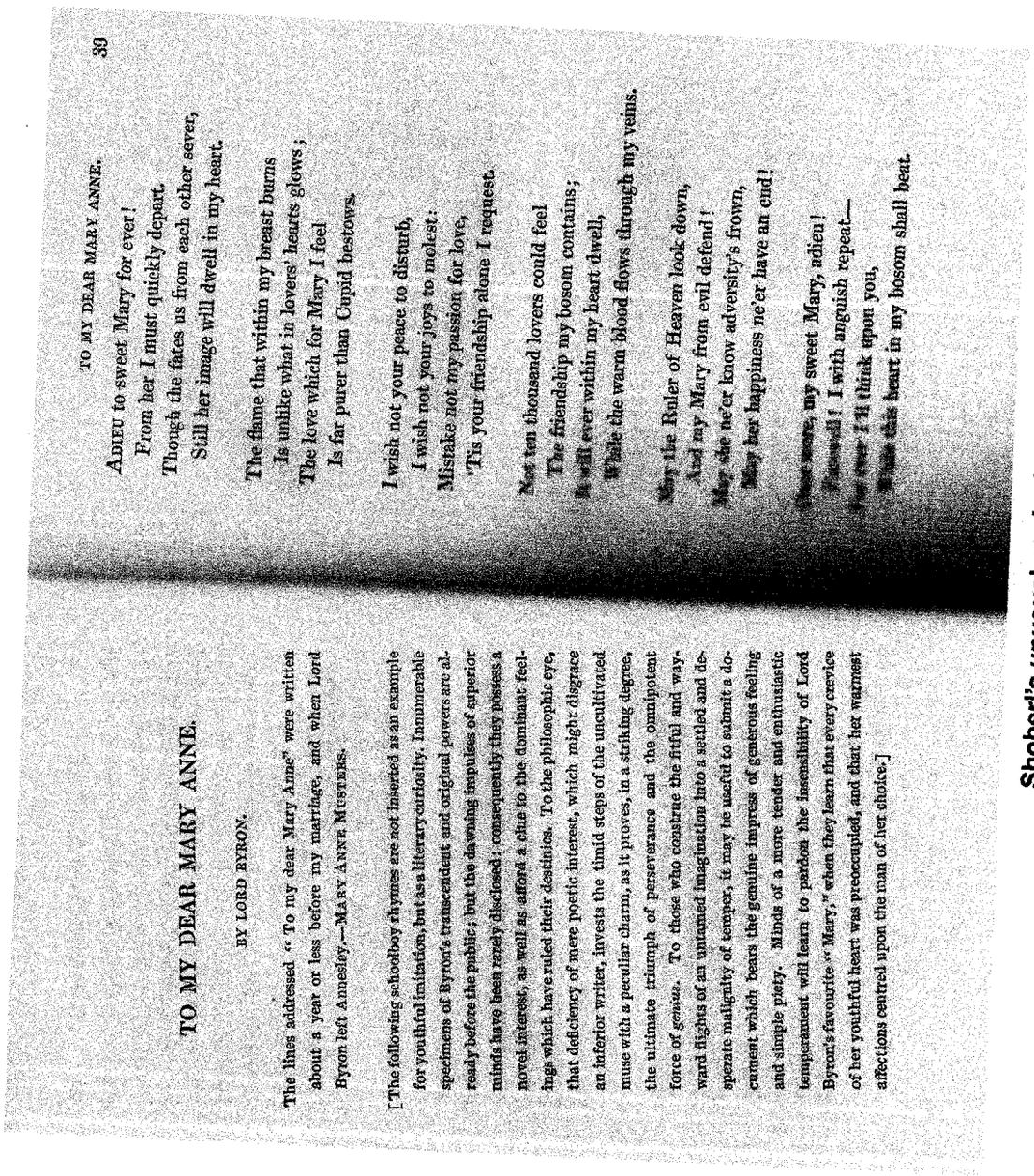
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***The Keepsake* (1829)**

Ed. Reynolds acquired writing from the literati at great expense.

Figure 7.1



TO MY DEAR MARY ANNE. 39

ADIEU to sweet Mary for ever!
From her I must quickly depart.
Though the fates us from each other sever,
Still her image will dwell in my heart.

The flame that within my breast burns
Is unlike what in lovers' hearts glows;
The love which for Mary I feel
Is far purer than Cupid bestows.

I wish not your peace to disturb,
I wish not your joys to molest:
Mistake not my passion for love,
'Tis your friendship alone I request.

Not ten thousand lovers could feel
The friendship my bosom contains;
It will ever within my heart dwell,
While the warm blood flows through my veins.

May the Ruler of Heaven look down,
And my Mary from evil defend!
May she ne'er know adversity's frown,
May her happiness ne'er have an end!

Dear mate, my sweet Mary, adieu!
Farewell! I with anguish repeat—
For ever I'll think upon you,
While this heart in my bosom shall beat.

TO MY DEAR MARY ANNE.

BY LORD BYRON.

The lines addressed "To my dear Mary Anne" were written about a year or less before my marriage, and when Lord Byron left Annesley.—MARY ANNE MUSTERS.

[The following schoolboy rhymes are not inserted as an example for youthful imitation, but as a literary curiosity. Innumerable specimens of Byron's transcendent and original powers are already before the public; but the dawning impulses of superior minds have been rarely disclosed: consequently they possess a novel interest, as well as afford a clue to the dominant feelings which have ruled their destinies. To the philosophic eye, that deficiency of mere poetic interest, which might disgrace an inferior writer, invests the timid steps of the uncultivated muse with a peculiar charm, as it proves, in a striking degree, the ultimate triumph of perseverance and the omnipotent force of *genius*. To those who construe the artful and wayward flights of an untamed imagination into a settled and desperate malignity of temper, it may be useful to submit a document which bears the genuine impress of generous feeling and simple piety. Minds of a more tender and enthusiastic temperament will learn to pardon the insensibility of Lord Byron's favourite "Mary," when they learn that every crevice of her youthful heart was preoccupied, and that her warmest affections centred upon the man of her choice.]

Shoberl's unusual apologia from 1830 *Forget Me Not*

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Figure 8.1



from 1829 *Forget Me Not*

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Figure 8.2



"The Mother and Child"
from 1825 *Literary Souvenir*

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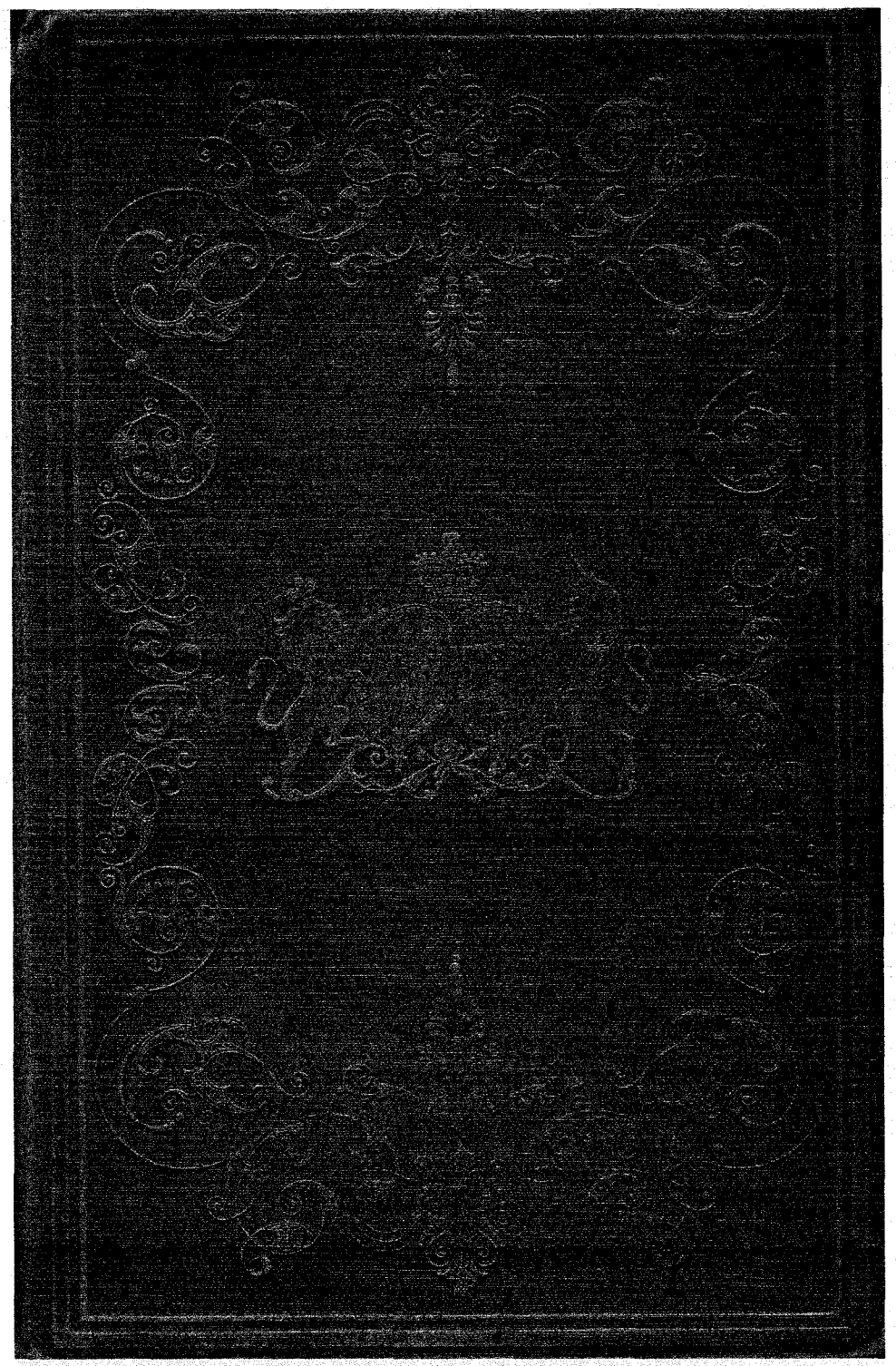
Figure 8.3



"The Fortune Teller"
from 1825 *Friendship's Offering*
(Early engaged engraving)

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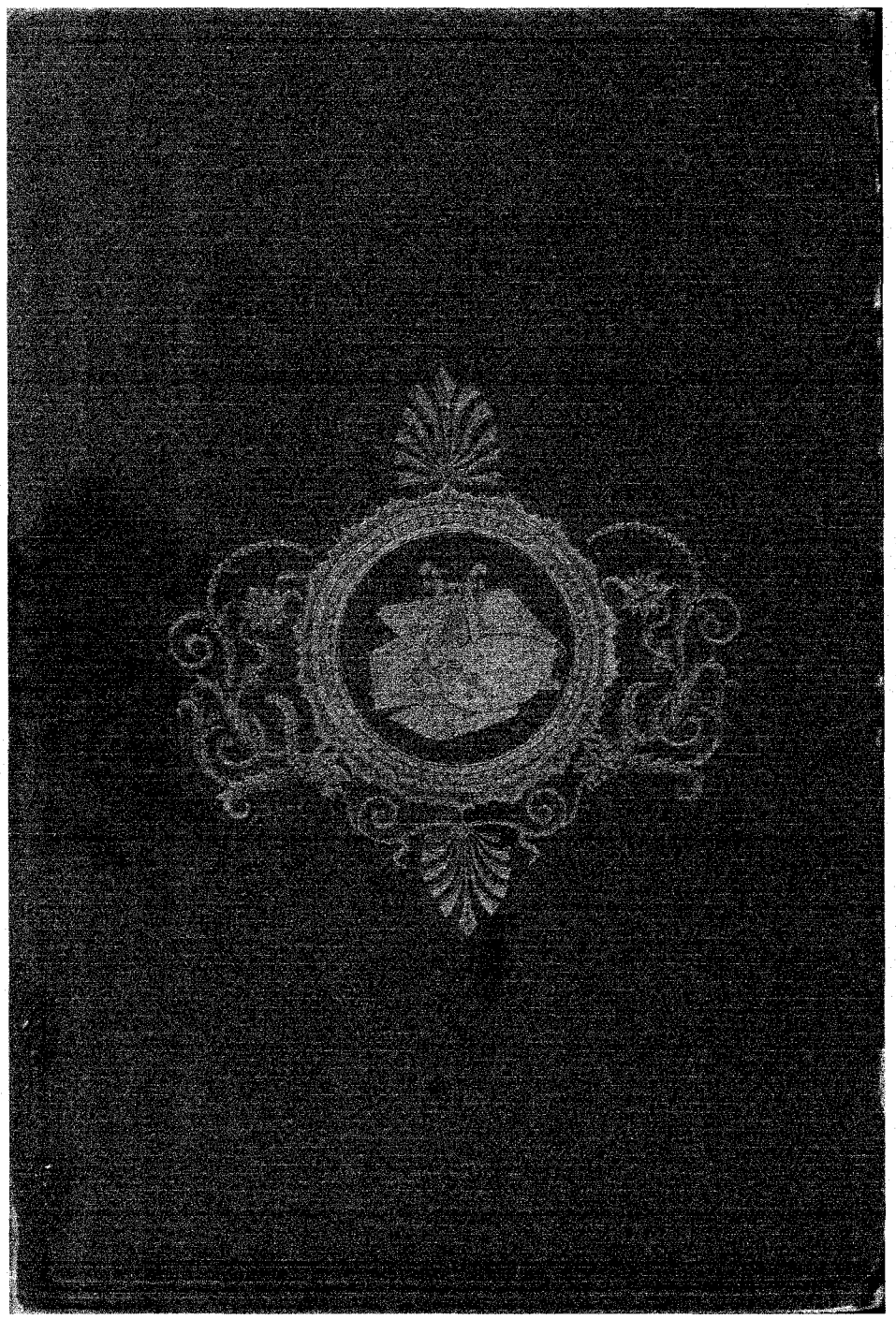
Figure 8.4



Quarto (5.5" x 8.5")
***Friendship's Offering* 1844**

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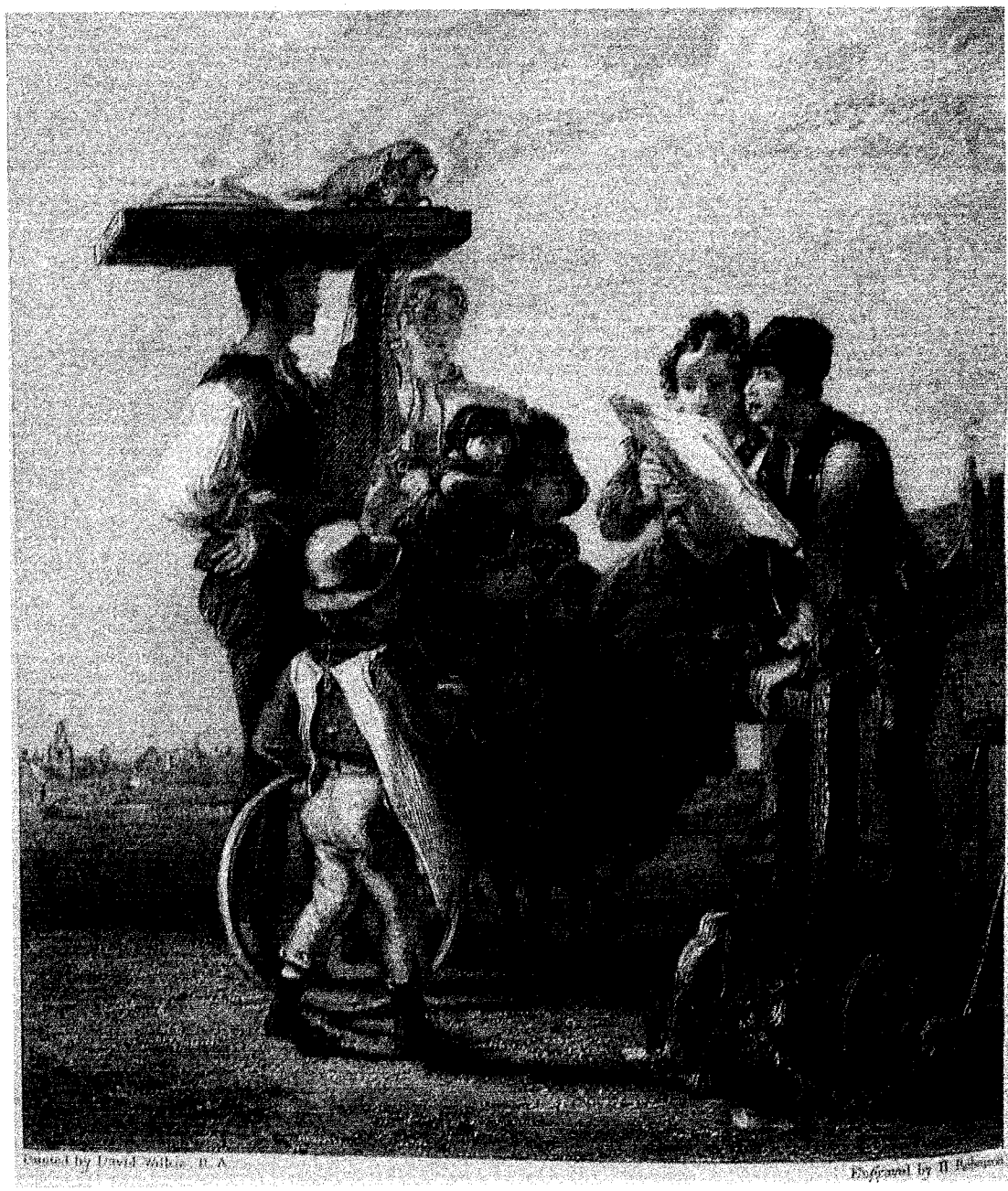
Figure 8.5



Crimson Silk-Covered Boards
***The Keepsake* (1841)**
Published by Longman (London), Appleton (New York) and Fisher (Paris)

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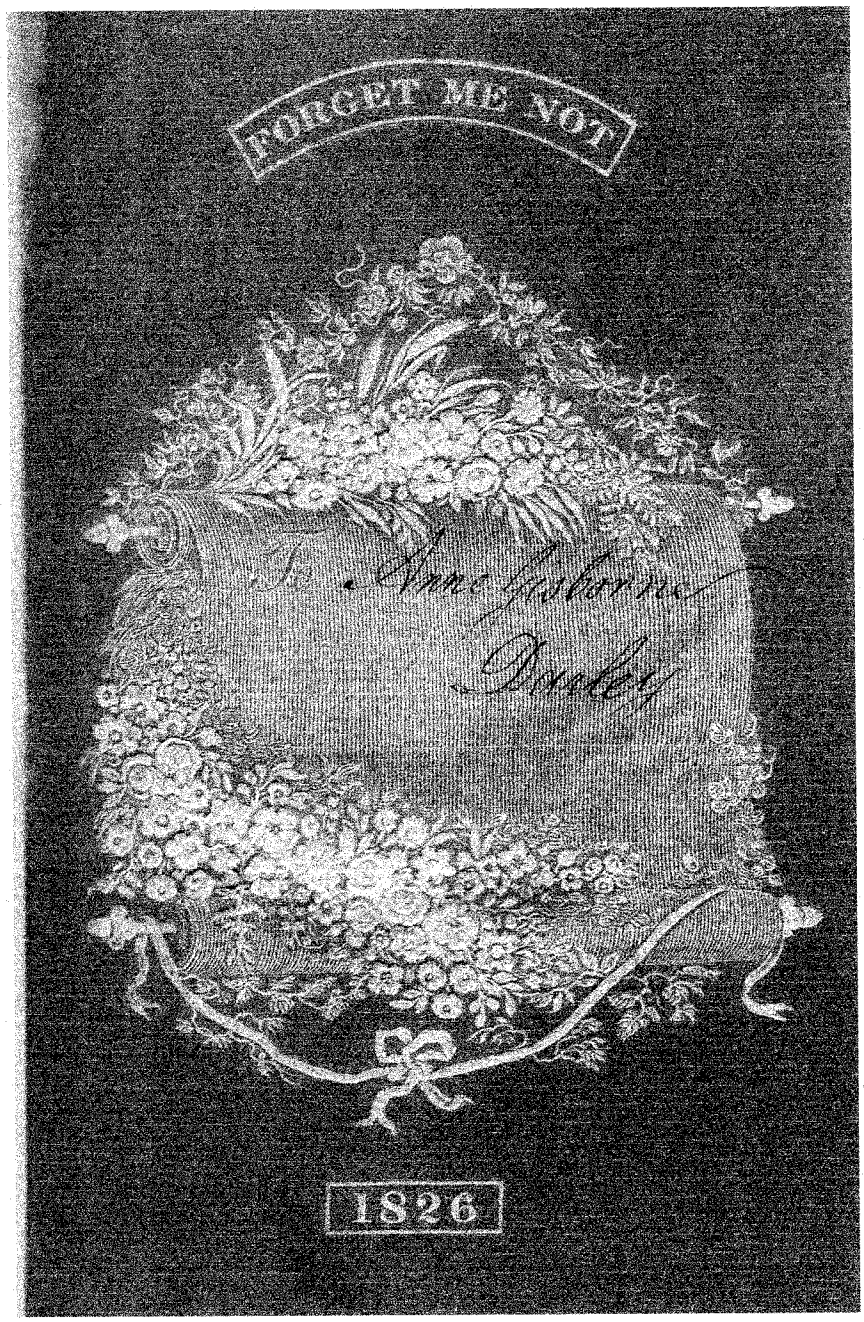
Figure 8.6



"Reading the News"
from 1830 *Friendship's Offering*

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Figure 8.7



Embossed Inscription Plate

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Figure 8.8



"The Brigand"
from 1827 *Friendship's Offering*

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Figure 8.9

Charles Lamb's Hesitant Contribution to Hood's 1829 *Gem* (17-19) "On an Infant Dying as Soon as Born"

I saw where in the shroud did lurk
A curious piece of Nature's work,
A floweret crushed in the bud,
A nameless Maid, in babyhood,
Was in her cradle-coffin lying;
Extinct, with scarce a show of dying:
So soon to exchange th' imprisoning womb
For darker prison of the tomb!
She did but ope an eye, and put
A clear beam forth – then strait up shut
For the long dark: ne'er more to see
Through glasses of mortality. –
Riddle of Destiny! who can show
What thy short visit meant, or know
What thy errand here below?
Shall we say that Nature, blind,
Check'd her hand, and chang'd her mind,
Just when she had exactly wrought
A finish'd pattern without fault?
Could she flag, or could she tire? –
Or lack'd she the Promethean fire,
(With her tedious workings sicken'd)
That should they little limbs have quicken'd?
Limbs so firm, they seem'd to assure
Life of health, and days mature;
Womanhood in miniature!
Limbs so fair, they might supply
(Themselves now but cold imagery)
The sculptor to make Beauty by; –
Or did the stern-ey'd Fate descry
That, Babe or Mother, one must die;
So, in mercy, left the stock
And cut the branch: To save the shock
Of Young Years Widow'd: and the pain
When Single State comes back again
To the lorn Man; who, 'reft of Wife,
Thenceforward drags a maimed life?
The economy of Heav'n is dark;
And wisest clerks have miss'd the mark,
Why Heaven's Buds, like this, should fall
More brief than Fly Ephemeral,
That has *his* day; while shrivell'd Crones
Stiffen with age to stocks and stones;
And crabbed use the conscience sears
In Sinners of an hundred years.
Mother's prattle, Mother's kiss,
Baby fond, thou ne'er wilt miss.
Rites, which Custom does impose;
Silver bells and baby clothes;
Corals redder than those lips
Which pale Death did late eclipse;
Music fram'd for infant's glee,
Whistle never tun'd for thee;
Though thou want'st not, thou shalt have them,
(Loving hearts were they which gave them)
Let not one be missing: Nurse,
See them laid upon the hearse
Of infant, slain by doom perverse, –
Why should Kings and Nobles have
Pictur'd trophies to their grave;
And we, churls, to thee deny
Thy pretty toys with thee to lie, –
A more harmless vanity?

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Figure 8.10

Prominent ("Canonical") Contributors
to British Annuals

Below is a survey of Romantic and Victorian authors who regularly published in the literary annuals. I acknowledge the problematic use of "canonical," primary, popular, prominent, etc. in restricting this list. However, for lack of a better word, "canonical" refers to authors regularly studied in Introduction to Romanticism or Victorian Period courses. This index was compiled from Andrew Boyle's *An Index to the Annuals 1820-1850* and Frederick Faxon's *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography 1823-1903.*

To view an index of each author's contributions to the annuals, visit the accompanying *Forget Me Not: A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Literary Annual.*

Baillie, Joanna
Barbauld, Mrs.
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett
Browning, Robert
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward
Byron, Lord
John Clare
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor
Dickens, Charles
Disraeli, Benjamin
Edgeworth, Maria
Fitzgerald, Edward
Hazlitt, William
Hemans, Felicia
Hogg, James
Hunt, Leigh
Jewsbury, Maria Jane
Lamb, Charles
Lamb, Lady Caroline
Landon, Letitia Elizabeth
Landor, Walter Savage
Mitford, Mary Russell
Polwhele, Rev. Richard
Reynolds, Frederic M.
Ruskin, John
Scott, Sir Walter
Shelley, Mary
Shelley, Percy Bysshe
Southey, Robert
Strickland, Susannah
Tennyson, Lord Alfred
Watts, Alaric Alexander
Wordsworth, William

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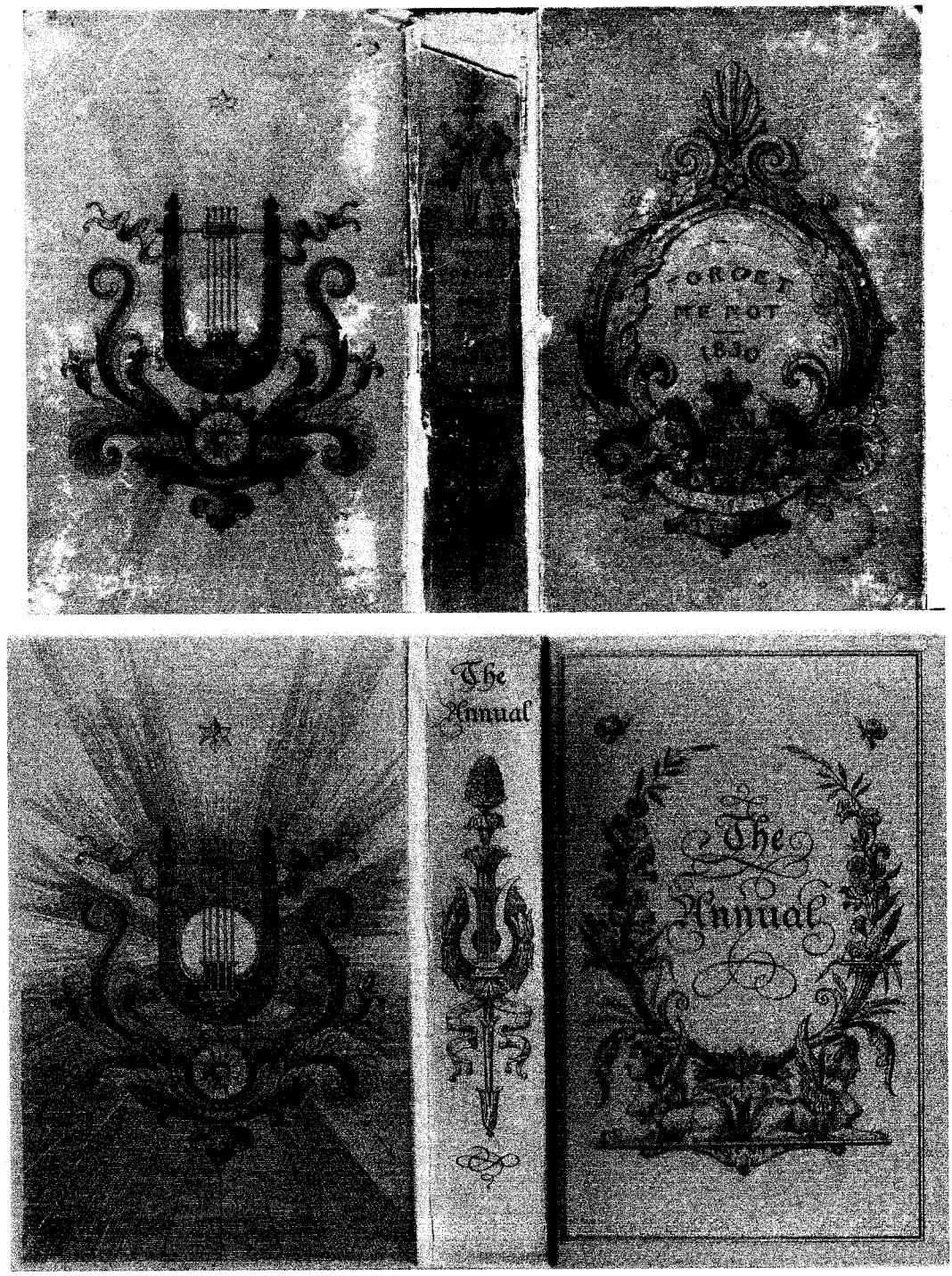
Figure 8.11



Letitia Elizabeth Landon (LEL)
from 1833 *Heath's Book of Beauty*

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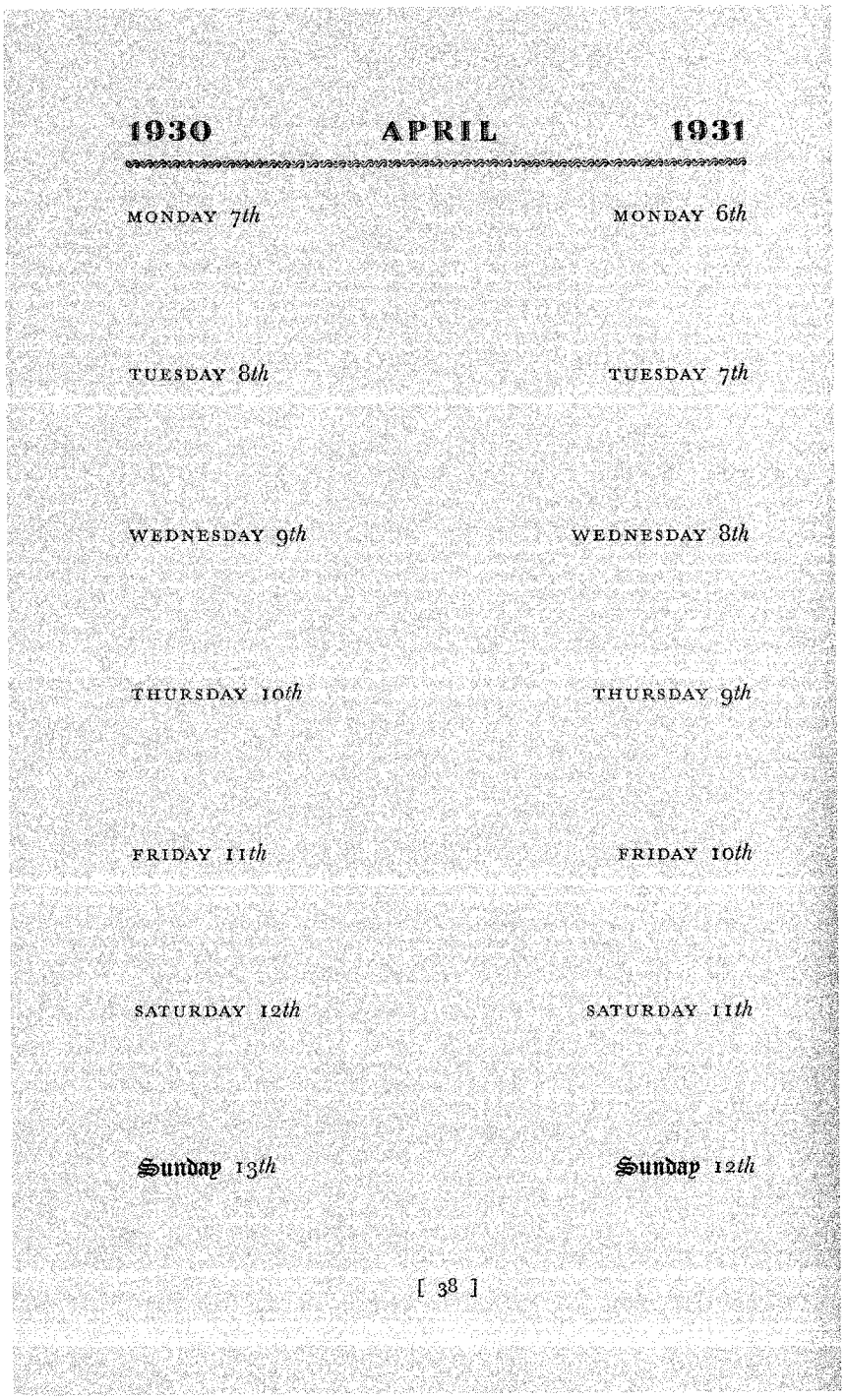
Figure 9.1



Similar design on Front Board; Same Design on Back Board
1830 *Forget Me Not*
1930 *The Annual*

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Figure 9.2



1930 APRIL 1931

MONDAY 7th — MONDAY 6th

TUESDAY 8th — TUESDAY 7th

WEDNESDAY 9th — WEDNESDAY 8th

THURSDAY 10th — THURSDAY 9th

FRIDAY 11th — FRIDAY 10th

SATURDAY 12th — SATURDAY 11th

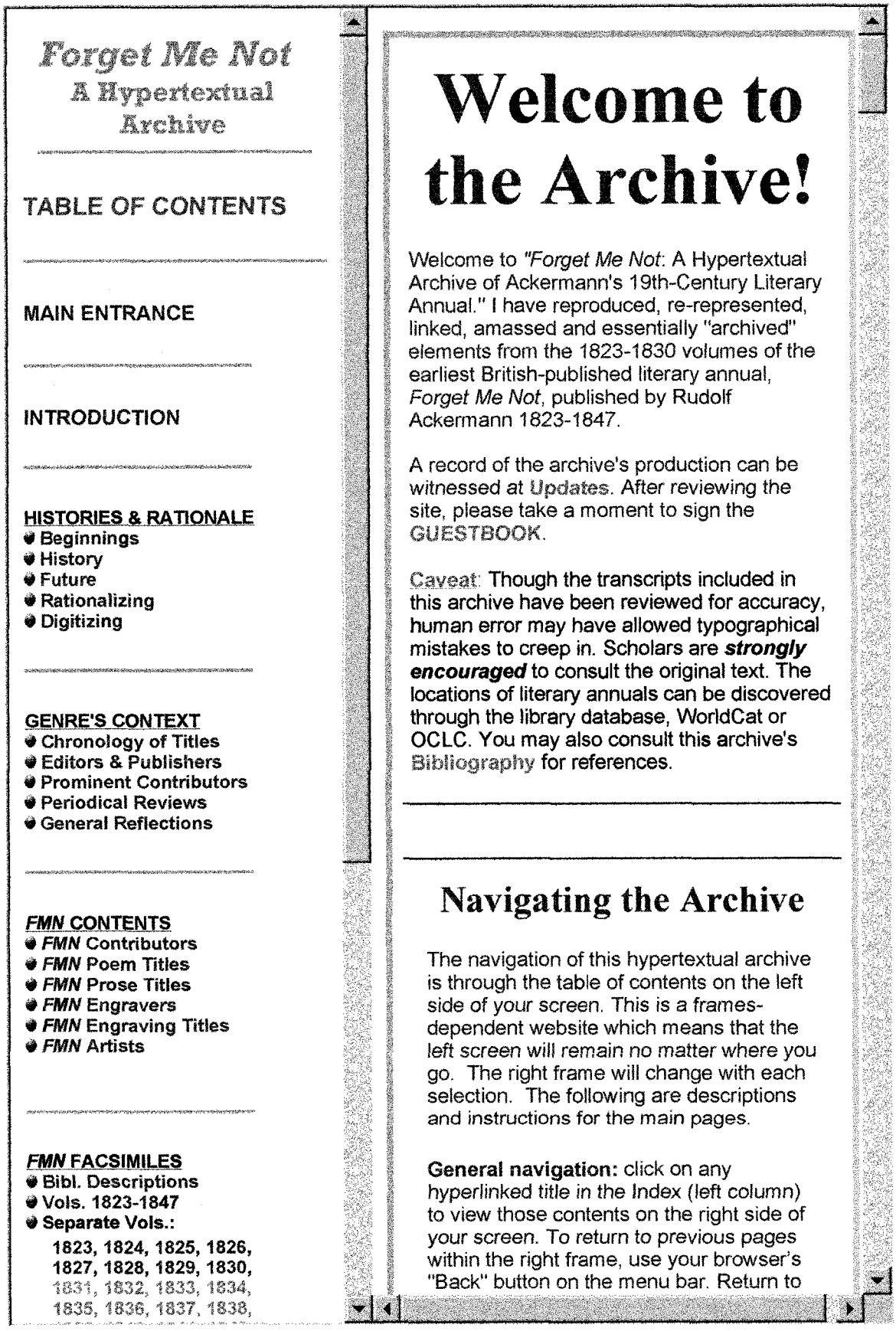
Sunday 13th — Sunday 12th

[38]

Weekly Calendar Page
from 1930 *The New Forget-Me-Not*

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Figure 9.3



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Figure 9.4

Forget Me Not

A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Literary Annual

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Images: *FMN* (1831) Front Paper-Covered Board
FMN (1824) Frontispiece Engraving

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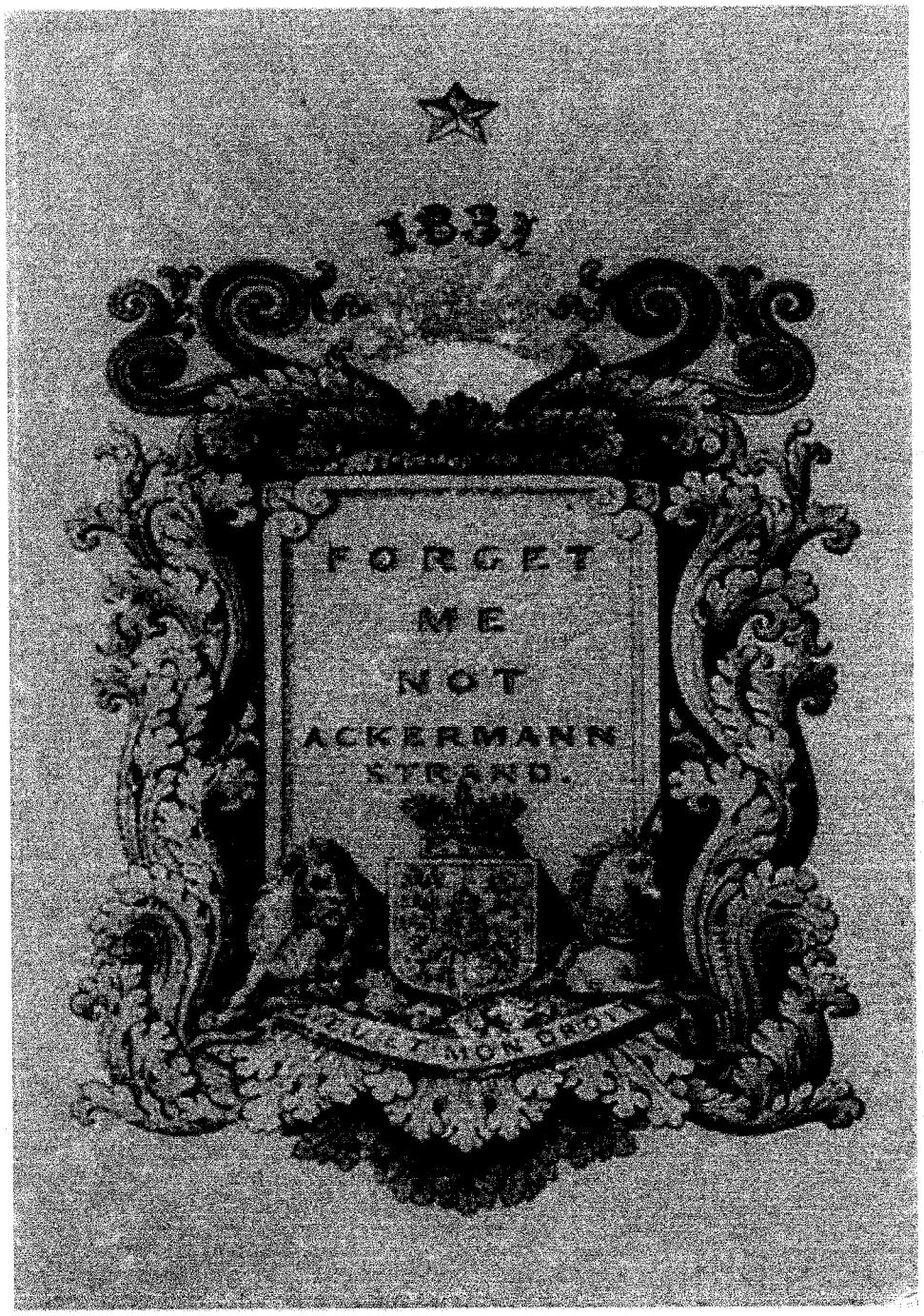
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Figure 9.5



Opening Graphic for Hypertextual Archive
1831 *Forget Me Not* Front Board

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Figure 9.6

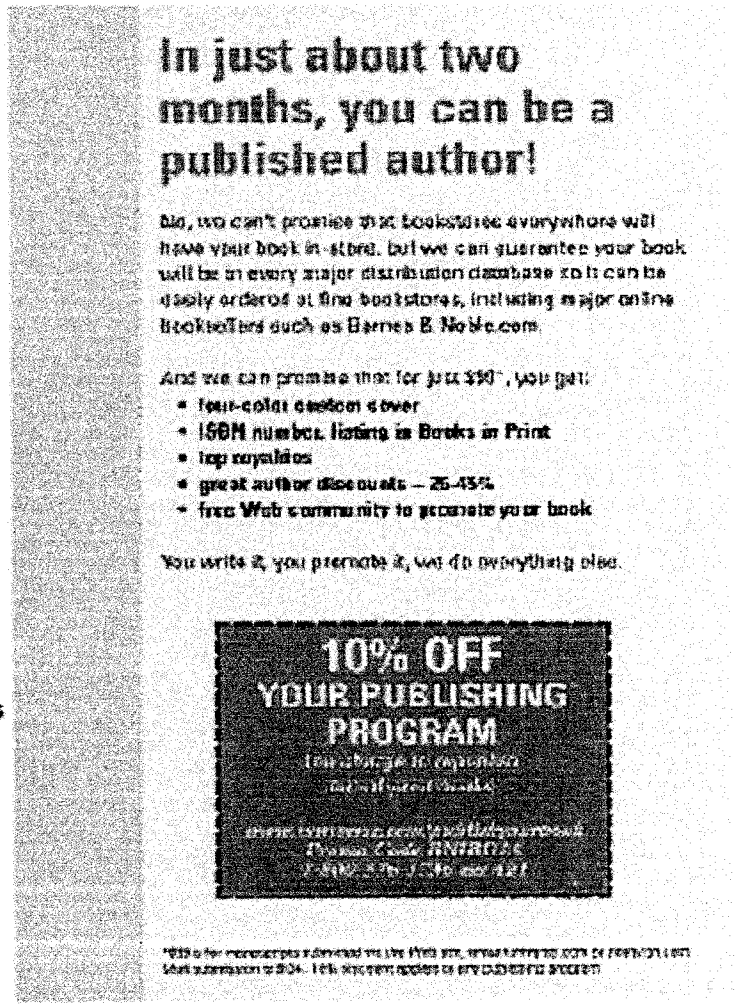


Hypertext Rollover Image
1824 *Forget Me Not* Frontispiece

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Figure 9.7





Self-Publishing Flyer
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distributed in their purchase bags
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