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The innovation of nineteenth-century annuals : a new social influence

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**The Innovation of Nineteenth-Century Annuals:
A New Social Influence**

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
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ABSTRACT

The overall image of giftbooks remains very negative for much of their critical history, and their contents are frequently depicted as unworthy of further attention. As a result, little is known about the social influences literary annuals triggered. By analysing the mediations between annuals and the context in which these books evolved, this thesis firstly tries to demonstrate their high popularity. As a social phenomenon of the nineteenth century, literary annuals cannot longer be ignored. To validate this proposition, advertisements published in periodicals of the years 1827, 1828, 1829, 1832, 1835 and 1838 have been analysed and some critical reviews written by several contemporary critics, especially William M. Thackeray and Christian Isobel Johnstone have been explored. Even though annuals were very popular with the reading public in the early nineteenth century, their negative reputation persists. Therefore, by examining the *Keepsake* from 1829 until 1839, in terms of numbers of male and female contributors, this project seeks to show that although male writers felt threatened by female authors their fears were groundless. However, the bad perception of annuals affected works by canonical authors such as Mary Shelley, whose tales have often been excluded from the recognised canon. This thesis is therefore focusing on the short stories Mary Shelley has provided for the *Keepsake*, in order to show that the techniques (frame narratives, first person narratives and the introduction of Gothic elements), she used, permitted her to write stories dressed up for the *Keepsake* audience by including moral behaviour. That annuals were sources of morality and public education cannot only be seen in these writings but also in the engravings and themes depicted. In addition, this project will contribute to future research on literary annuals as it reveals both the importance of tales over poetry, and the importance of Gothic and Oriental writing in the culture of the 1820s and 30s.

CONTENTS PAGE

List of Illustrations/Engravings	vii
List of Graphs and Tables	viii
Introduction	1
Nineteenth Century Annuals	1
Prior Research Conducted on Literary Annuals	12
Chapter 1	21
The Popularity of Annuals	21
The appearance of literary annuals in novel writings	22
Early print advertisements and the promotion of the <i>Keepsake</i>	29
Reception of nineteenth-century contemporaries	51
Thackeray and Johnstone	61
Thackeray and the annuals	64
Johnstone and the annuals	70
The <i>Keepsake</i> in Numbers	78
Chapter 2: The Short Story in the <i>Keepsake</i>	95
The Short Story	95
Mary Shelley in the <i>Keepsake</i>	105
The fame narrative	109
First person narrator	113
Shelley's life and personal influences in her <i>Keepsake</i> stories	116
Gothic Stories	121
<i>Keepsake</i> stories	136
Moral Stories	149
Chapter 3: Engravings in the <i>Keepsake</i>	164
Writing as Illustrations	180
Techniques Used to Illustrate Engravings	184
Reception of the Engravings and Variety of Themes	203
Depiction of the role of women	207
Historical Themes Depicted	220
Chapter 4: A New Interest in Foreign Cultures: Orientalism	230
Travel Annuals and the Orient	241
The Oriental Stories in the <i>Keepsake</i>	242

<i>The Bengal Annual</i>	271
<i>The Oriental Annual – Or Scenes in India</i>	293
Depiction of Human Sacrifice and Suttee death	309
Conclusion	325
Bibliography	331

List of Illustrations/Engravings

Figure 1	Steel engraving on separate page (Keepsake 1829)	168
Figure 2	Wood engraving incorporated in the text (Keepsake 1828)	169
Figure 3	Different stages to create an engraving (Heath 86)	172
Figure 4	Engraver and painter (Keepsake 1828)	174
Figure 5	Detail of the Vignette Title Page (Keepsake 1830)	175
Figure 6	Presentation Plate (Keepsake 1835)	177
Figure 7	Title Page (Keepsake 1828)	179
Figure 8	“Pepita” (Keepsake 1833)	186
Figure 9	“Lake of Albano” (Keepsake 1829)	188
Figure 10	"Helen Lagarde" (Keepsake 1837)	190
Figure 11	“Camilla” (Keepsake 1836)	193
Figure 12	“The Portrait” (Keepsake 1830)	194
Figure 13	“Interior of Zwinger Palace, Dresden” (Keepsake 1832)	198
Figure 14	“Princess Doria and the Pilgrims” (Keepsake 1830)	199
Figure 15	"Lucy" (Keepsake 1829)	201
Figure 16	“The Merchant and his Daughter” (Keepsake 1834)	208
Figure 17	“Caroline Dammerel” (Keepsake 1832)	212
Figure 18	“The unlocked-for return” (Keepsake 1833)	214
Figure 19	“The Mother” (Keepsake 1837)	214
Figure 20	“The Grecian Wife” (Keepsake 1837)	215
Figure 21	“Francis I and his Sister” (Keepsake 1830).	226
Figure 22	Reproduction of Anacreon’s Bengali poem (Bengal Annual 1830)	284

List of Graphs and Tables

Figure 1	Male & female contributors	79
Figure 2	Number of contributions written by men/women	80
Figure 3	Prose & poetry contributions	82
Figure 4	Poetry contributions	83
Figure 5	Prose contributions	85
Figure 6	Prose & poetry contributions written by male/female authors	85
Figure 7	Engravings & prose versus engravings & poetry	88
Figure 8	Contributions including engravings	89
Figure 9	Contributions by male & female writers incorporating engravings	90
Figure 10	Authors incorporating engravings	92
Table 1	Keepsake print-runs and sales from 1832 until 1844	37

The Innovation of Nineteenth-Century Annuals: A New Social Influence

Introduction: Nineteenth-Century Annuals

In the early nineteenth century, Rudolph Ackermann introduced the first literary annual, the *Forget-Me-Not for 1823* to the British market. Inspired by what he called ‘the elegant publications of the Continent,’¹ Ackermann combined features of the German Taschenbuch and the French Almanac. The result was a book that included poetry, prose and engravings in one volume. Such annuals were attractive little objects that could be displayed and cherished on the drawing-room table. The idea was a success, and the first *Forget-Me-Not* ‘sold in its thousands; even in tens of thousands.’² Hence, it is not surprising that Ackermann found many imitators. For example, *The Literary Souvenir for 1825* sold 6000 copies in the two weeks after its first appearance, a fact which earned the editor, Alaric A. Watts, the title of ‘Father of the Annuals’.³ Many other publishers followed, and a large number of annuals were published each year for the Christmas and New Year seasons. ‘[T]he number of these [annuals] now begin to be sickening, and the market is decidedly overstocked’ wrote a critic in 1829,⁴ unsuspecting of the large number of annuals still to come. Leigh Hunt wrote in the *Keepsake for 1828*: ‘If publications of this nature proceed as they

¹ Paula R. Feldman, ed., ‘Introduction,’ *The Keepsake for 1829* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2006), p. 13.

² Victoria Sackville-West, ‘Introduction,’ *The Annual*, ed. Dorothy Wellesley (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1930), p. ii.

³ Peter J. Manning, ‘Wordsworth in the Keepsake,’ *Literature in the Marketplace*, ed. John O. Jordan and Robert I. Patten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 44.

⁴ *John Bull* 30 Nov. 1829, p. 381.

have begun, we shall soon arrive at the millennium of souvenirs.’⁵ Hunt was right about the rapid expansion in the number of titles. By 1832, the reader could pick from sixty-three giftbooks and there were more than two hundred by the end of the decade.⁶ In 1839, the *Art Journal* highlighted the production costs of an annual. This article suggested that due to their popularity nearly £100,000 per year was expended on the production of annuals. Furthermore, it stated that for many years 150,000 volumes were in circulation; using this number it is possible to extrapolate that the public spent £90,000 on annuals during this period. The distribution of the money was as follows:⁷

Authors and editors	£6000
Painters	£3000
Engravers	£12000
Copper-plate printers	£4000
Printers	£3500
Paper makers	£5500
Binders	£9000
Silk manufacturers and Leather sellers	£4000
For advertising, &c	£2000
Incidental matters	<u>£1000</u>
	£50000
Publishers’ profits	£10000
Retail Booksellers’ profit	<u>£30000</u>
	£90,000

⁵ Leigh Hunt, ‘Pocket-Books and Keepsakes,’ *The Keepsake for 1828*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, 1827), p. 1.

⁶ Margaret Linley, ‘A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy,’ *Nineteenth Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 54.

⁷ *The Art Journal*, vol. 1-2 (London: Art Union Office, 1839), p. 172.

Although this was an expensive business, it was nevertheless a profitable one. It became a lucrative venture for publishers and booksellers for years to come, and consequently there were many different annuals published including the *Amulet* (1826), *Bijou* (1828), *Book of Gems* (1836), *Comic Offering* (1831), *Forget-Me-Not* (1823), *Friendship's Offering* (1824), *Heath's Picturesque Annual* (1832), *Hood's Comic Annual* (1830), *Keepsake* (1828), *Literary Souvenir* (1825), *Oriental Annual* (1834), *Pledge of Friendship* (1826) and *Winter's Wreath* (1828). As these examples demonstrate, the names of the giftbooks often indicate their purpose as 'gifts, tokens, souvenirs, mementos, keepsakes and offerings.'⁸ Others were named after flowers, plants or gems which symbolised friendship or the form of the text as miscellany gathered together much like a bunch of flowers. Thus, Ackermann started a new fashion, which would last until the 1850s.

Because of this multiplication of titles, publishers and editors had to find different ways to attract readers. As is suggested by their titles, *The Gem* and *The Bijou* were small in size and thus ideally suited to being given as private gifts.⁹ Attractive bindings were important – the *Keepsake* was bound in red silk, *The Literary Souvenir* appeared in different bindings such as blue velvet, red silk and green morocco leather. Other titles were thematically arranged. *The Amulet* included Christian themes among its pages and *The Book of Beauty* specialized in portraits of aristocratic women.¹⁰ In order to attract a younger audience, annuals for children were also published, including the *Juvenile Forget Me Not*

⁸ Frederick W. Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography 1823-1903* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1973), p. xv.

⁹ For more information on the size of annuals, see Anne Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 111; *The Morning Chronicle* 31 Dec. 1827; Morton D. Paley, 'Coleridge and the Annuals,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 1 (Winter, 1994), p. 1.

¹⁰ Harriet Devine Jump, 'The False Prudery of Public Taste: Scandalous Women and the Annuals, 1820-1850,' *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts – Divergent Femininities*, ed. Emma Liggins and Daniel Duffy (London: Ashgate, 2001), p. 2.

(1828), *Juvenile Keepsake* (1829), *Juvenile Scrap Book* (1836) and *New Year's Gift* (1829). As Peter Manning notes, the *Keepsake for 1828* featured three novelties that distinguished it from other annuals: Firstly, the engraved presentation plate in which the giver could inscribe his name and a personal comment to the receiver, secondly, it was much more expensive than its rivals – costing a guinea instead of the average 12s¹¹ – and finally¹² Heath kept his contributors anonymous.¹³ Anne Renier records a fourth feature, namely a change in format from pocket size to octavo.¹⁴ Hence, the *Keepsake* stood out from the other literary annuals, and according to William St. Clair it sold 15,000 copies every Christmas at its peak in the early 1830s.¹⁵ This success was not only due to innovations in the appearance of the *Keepsake* but also to the change of editors: William Harrison Ainsworth started editing in 1828, followed by Frederick Mansel Reynolds from 1829 until 1835. Caroline Norton became editor in 1836 and Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley succeeded her in 1837 and again in 1840. Reynolds took over again in the intervening years from 1838 until 1839. The Countess of Blessington edited the *Keepsake* successfully from 1841 until 1850. Marguerite Power succeeded after her aunt's death from 1851 until 1857. All of them tried to make the *Keepsake* a success with the reading public. It was first published in 1827, a few years after

¹¹ To find out more about the price, see Simon Eliot, 'The Business of Victorian Publishing,' *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Deirdre David (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 38 and William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 194.

¹² William Harrison Ainsworth, the editor of the first *Keepsake* gave several explanations why the names of the writers were kept anonymous: Firstly, many authors did not want to be known, as it was not gentleman- or lady-like, which brought about the custom of publishing anonymously or 'by the Author of X.' Secondly, editors tried to help those authors who were less famous. By not mentioning names, the reader had to judge each work by its own merit without being prejudiced and biased by the author's reputation. Thirdly, the editor was hoping that readers were intrigued by the concept and would buy the *Keepsake* in order to guess who the author of each piece could be.

¹³ Manning, 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake,' pp. 45, 47-8.

¹⁴ Anne Renier, *Friendship's Offering* (London: Private Libraries Association, 1964), p. 8.

¹⁵ St. Clair, p. 230.

the first appearance of the *Forget-Me-Not*, and it became a big success. It was printed from 1827 until 1856, and is thus the longest running annual, compared to the *Amulet* (1826 – 1836) and the *Forget-Me-Not* (1823 – 1847). The *Keepsake* was very popular and survived the longest on the literary market; much longer than the actual annual boom in the 1820s and 1830s.

The title of the first *Forget-Me-Not* attests to the type of occasion literary annuals were designed to celebrate, namely as a gift for Christmas, New Year and Birthdays. Paula Feldman states that because of their high price, the annuals were given on special occasions as gifts, which is why they were published before the holiday season. They were given by parents, siblings, sweethearts and close friends.¹⁶ The provincial booksellers Redford and Stephenson gave the periodical reader another idea: ‘THESE LITTLE WORKS are very appropriate Presents, as Memorials of Friendship or Esteem, for Prizes at School (more particular for Young Ladies), or for any other purpose which taste or fancy may direct.’¹⁷ Interestingly, this advertisement emphasises the fact that annuals were aimed at a predominantly female readership. As Barbara Benedict argues, in the eighteenth century, reading became an approved leisure activity for the middle and upper classes and was associated with the ‘moral improvement’ of the mind.¹⁸ Nevertheless, some social commentators believed that some forms of literature, especially novels, were dangerous for the female mind, and as a consequence women’s reading activities needed to be supervised. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, conduct literature was accepted and approved

¹⁶ Feldman, ‘Introduction,’ p. 10.

¹⁷ *Hull Packet and Humber Mercury* 13 Nov. 1827.

¹⁸ Barbara M. Benedict, ‘Readers, Writers, Reviewers, and the Professionalization of Literature,’ *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740-1830*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Jon Mee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 3.

as ‘particularly suitable for a female readership’ and ‘truly safe for young women to read.’¹⁹ Conduct books instructed and shaped the female mind, and ‘by the second half of the eighteenth century virtually everyone knew the ideal of womanhood they proposed.’²⁰ In the 1820s, however, conduct literature lost its popularity and was replaced by a vast number of annual publications, which according to Glennis Stephenson ‘address[ed], in a fictionalised form, many of the issues considered in the etiquettes books.’²¹ Annuals were considered as books for ladies but they were often bought by men and given as gifts: ‘What more suitable present for a gentleman to give a lady? or a nephew, anxiously hunting for a Christmas present for his aunt?’²² Annuals were generally considered as safe to read because, like conduct literature, they depicted an ideal of propriety and domesticity and hence were suitable for the female gender.

In ‘A Woman’s Book: The Keepsake Literary Annual,’ Kathryn Ledbetter challenges this idea and tries to prove that literary annuals were not a ‘guardian of middle-class propriety.’²³ She suggests that editors made the annuals appear to be proper and innocent but in reality they were not. The content could give its readers subversive ideas and hence disturb the decorum of domesticity and propriety.²⁴ This means in other words that the content might give readers a misleading impression of what is good or bad and thus corrupt their behaviour. One example she uses to prove her argument is the employment of disreputable editors.

¹⁹ Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: a Political History of the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 97.

²⁰ Armstrong, p.61.

²¹ Glennis Stephenson, *Laetitia Landon: The Woman Behind L.E.L.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 145. Quoted in *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts*, ed. Emma Liggins and Daniel Duffy (London: Ashgate, 2001), p. 3.

²² Sackville-West, p. iv.

²³ Kathryn Ledbetter, *A Woman’s Book: The Keepsake Literary Annual*. PhD Dissertation. (University of South Carolina, 1995), p. 2.

²⁴ Ledbetter, *A Woman’s Book*, p.2.

Heath hired not only male but many female editors with a bad reputation, like Lady Blessington or Caroline Norton. Ledbetter lists all of these and summarizes their scandalous lives. She concludes that editors with a bad reputation did not aim to depict domesticity or propriety. However, as Jump argues, the 'irony lies in the fact that each of these three women's personal lives was the subject of scandals of precisely the kind which the annuals sought to persuade their readers to avoid.'²⁵ Nevertheless, Jump believes that each editor had a different tactic to deal with the rumours surrounding their personal lives. Lady Blessington, for example, rejected stories and poems which she thought were not fit for the public, and in her own writing she punishes sinners severely, because the stories usually end with their fall and death. As a consequence, Lady Blessington's strategy was 'to remain [...] scrupulously moralistic in her annual writings' and to 'advocate[...] absolute purity of word and deed.'²⁶ Caroline Norton, on the other hand, wrote 'equally conventional' tales, but the heroines did not have to die.²⁷ She incorporated her life into her writings and portrayed the abuses and the suffering she endured during her marriage. Norton's strategy, therefore, was to 'construct[...] herself as a wronged innocent' in order to gain 'social rehabilitation.'²⁸ Furthermore, Jump emphasises the fact that 'both women remained [...] discreetly within the boundaries of the domestic ideology which those publications promoted.'²⁹

Nevertheless, it is questionable if conduct books and literary annuals can really be classified in the same category. Even though some short stories from the annuals might give the reader moral advice, the overall concept of both genres is different; the initial idea for the giftbooks is amusement, whereas for conduct literature it is education. Even if amusement

²⁵ Jump, p. 2.

²⁶ Jump, p. 8.

²⁷ Jump, p. 10.

²⁸ Jump, p. 11.

²⁹ Jump, p. 11.

was the main purpose, the vast majority of contemporary reviews suggest that the annuals were considered as suitable material for women to read.

Indeed, due to the fact that contemporary commentators often condemned them as books for ladies literary annuals were labelled as unworthy literature for many years to come. Many writers and critics of that time considered them as pretty looking books with inferior contents. Hence many authors objected to the annuals and considered them to be undeserving and worthless. Wordsworth for example, ‘referred to them as ‘the ornamental annuals, those greedy receptacles of trash, those bladders upon which the boys of poetry try to swim... it would disgrace any name to appear in an annual.’³⁰ Similarly, Charles Lamb confided in a letter to Bernard Barton that ‘I have stood off a long time from these annuals, which are ostentatious trumpery, but could not withstand the request of [...] a particular friend of mine. I shall hate myself in frippery, strutting along, and ‘Vying in finery with beaux and belles, / Future Lord Byrons and sweet L.E.Ls.’³¹ Many famous writers of the day agreed with Wordsworth and Lamb, and did not want to publish any of their works in annuals. William Makepeace Thackeray wrote several anonymous articles against them, because he believed that ‘[t]hey tend to encourage bad taste in the public.’³² Even more recent commentators echo this opinion. Gregory O’Dea, for example, regarded them as ‘little more than pretty baubles, handsomely designed and illustrated but notoriously devoid of serious literary merit,’³³ and

³⁰ Alison Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society – Fashionable Life and Literature From 1814 to 1840* (London: Constable, 1983), p. 250.

³¹ Charles Lamb, *The Letters of Charles Lamb: with a sketch of his life*, ed. Thomas Noon Talfourd (London: Edward Moxon, 1841), p. 59.

³² William Makepeace Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, 16: 96 (1837: Dec.), p. 757.

³³ Gregory O’Dea, ‘Perhaps a Tale You’ll Make It’: Mary Shelley’s Tales for The Keepsake,’ *Iconoclastic Departures: Mary Shelley after Frankenstein: Essays in Honor of the Bicentenary of Mary Shelley’s Birth*, ed. Syndy M. Conger, Frederick S. Frank and Gregory O’Dea (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), p. 62.

Gordon N. Ray declares; 'The *Keepsake* was the best of these series. Its literary contents cannot be defended, but it was handsomely produced, and its steel engravings, at least if they are after drawings by Martin or Turner, can be attractive.'³⁴ However, many authors writing in the 1820s and 30s eventually gave in to the persuasions of editors who wanted them to contribute to the annuals. Competition in the book market was fierce and if they wanted to sell their works, they had to write for mainstream publication. Manning has suggested that Wordsworth was thankful for the income that he gained from the *Keepsake*. Although Wordsworth's reputation had risen by the 1820s, he had not sold many of his own works and it was difficult to get satisfactory conditions for his *Poetical Works* (1827) from the publishers. Reynolds' generous offer of 100 guineas, as editor of the *Keepsake*, for a contribution to the annual was gratefully accepted.³⁵ Consequently, like Wordsworth, many famous authors of the day used the wealth of the annuals to their advantage.

Nevertheless, even if they were condemned by many writers, they were a great success with the reading public. For example, in November 1829, Countess Granville wrote a letter to her sister, Lady Carlisle, in order to thank her for the annuals they had received as a gift: 'Ladies Sandon, Mary Saurin, Harriet and Louisa Ryder, [are] devouring the two annuals you gave my girls. They had seen none and are enchanted, twittering like house-sparrows.'³⁶ In 1832, Frances Ann Butler wrote in her journal that she got an annual as a gift:

³⁴ Gordon N. Ray, *The Illustrator and the Book in England from 1790 to 1914* (New York: Dover Publication, 1991), p. 41.

³⁵ Manning, 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake,' pp. 50-51.

³⁶ Countess Harriet Granville, *Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville* (London: Longmans, Green, 1894), pp. 2+49.

...the beautiful annual he has bought for me, which is indeed, most beautiful. The engravings are from things of Stanfield's, taken on the Rhine, and made my heart ache to be once more in Europe.³⁷

These reactions show the importance of the book as a gift and the ways in which individual readers made sense of illustrations. This also raises the questions as to why the reaction of authors differed so much from that of the reading public.

In the early nineteenth century, periodicals were 'proliferating, rapidly increasing in popularity, and becoming a major sector in the market for print.'³⁸ Hence, periodicals had an immense influence on the book trade and the sales of literary annuals.³⁹ Stephen C. Behrendt states that periodicals were used to manipulate readers and that they 'existed [...], as instruments for shaping the competing versions of truth that they wished their readers to seem to discover for themselves – with the periodical's help, naturally.'⁴⁰ David Higgins puts this differently when he writes that critics were 'arbiters of taste,' who 'helped to shape the ideological consciousness of their middle-class readers.'⁴¹ Similarly, Manning quotes an example from the *Monthly Repository*, which stated that the annuals 'were never meant nor

³⁷ Frances Ann Butler, *A Journal* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1835), p. 293.

³⁸ G.N. Cantor, Sally Shuttleworth, eds., *Science Serialized: Representation of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2004), p. 1.

³⁹ Josiah Condor was worried that the periodicals might become so popular that instead of buying and reading books, people would only read reviews. Many periodicals included long extracts from the original works: 'We should be happy to commence with quoting the whole of the article, [...]. We must, however, content ourselves with one brief passage, [...].'³⁹ However, the reviews did not include any illustrations but would only give descriptions of them. Hence, if the reader of the review was interested in the original illustrations, he or she had to buy it. Consequently, the periodicals helped to boost the annual sales. [Cantor and Shuttleworth, p. 3].

⁴⁰ Stephen C. Behrendt, 'Foreword,' *Romantic Periodicals and Print Culture*, ed. Kim Wheatley (London: Frank Cass, 2003), p. viii.

⁴¹ David Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 1.

made for criticism! Enjoy them, or let them alone.⁴² In December 1828, the *Monthly Repository* poked fun at the literary annuals and stated that it was ‘impossible to write solemnly and austere about them; [because] they [were] so completely out of [their] critical province.’⁴³ Nevertheless it was their duty to give their ‘judgment’ and ‘guidance’ to the readers.⁴⁴ In many cases, critics did not like the annuals but had no choice but to mention them. Many critics would tear the content to pieces. The reason why they had to refer to many annuals was because they were too popular to miss. In ‘The Battle of the Annuals,’ published in 1835, Charles Robert Forrester alludes to this fact:

‘Gems of the world!’ he [*Oriental Annual*] blandly cried,
‘Stand firm, whate’er betide;
They’ll never *beat* us in the field,
We are too big---to *hide!*⁴⁵

In this personification of literary annuals, Forrester alludes to the negative reviews of critics. The *Oriental Annual* complains about their bad treatment and compares them to tigers: ‘Tis true, they roar like tigers fierce, /And threaten us with wipes--- [...].’⁴⁶ Ledbetter believes, however, that the reason for all this negative criticism was the fact that male writers feared being overrun by publications by female authors. Patrick H. Vincent supports this view, stating that ‘[n]ew literary institutions, including women’s magazines, foreign reviews, and

⁴² Manning, ‘Wordsworth in the Keepsake,’ p. 59.

⁴³ *Monthly Repository and Review of Theology and General Literature*, vol. 2, Dec. (London: Monthly Repository Office, 1828), p. 845.

⁴⁴ *Monthly Repository and Review of Theology*, p. 845.

⁴⁵ Charles Robert Forrester, *The Battles of the Annuals – A Fragment* (London: A. H. Baily & Co., 1835), p. 14. [my emphasis].

⁴⁶ Forrester, p. 15.

annuals, threatened the literary status quo.⁴⁷ While some male writers refused to contribute, female authors embraced the new means of publication in order to market their own work.⁴⁸ To conclude, annuals were condemned for a number of reasons; first because of their association with women, secondly because of the illustrations, thirdly because of their popularity on the literary market and fourthly because of the fear of male writers who saw them as a threat to their dominance of the literary world. As the opinions about the annuals were divided, this thesis will discuss amongst others both views in more detail.

Prior Research conducted on Literary Annuals

Interest in annuals as literary and historical artifacts began to develop in the early twentieth century. In 1912, Frederick W. Faxon published a bibliography on literary annuals and gift books. Faxon included an introduction in order to explain the annuals to a broader public. Although he talks about the origin of the form (which relates to British annuals), his main focus is on America.⁴⁹ In later editions of his work, supplementary essays by Eleanore Jamieson and Iain Bain were included. In ‘The Binding Styles of the Gift Books and Annuals’ (1973), Jamieson discusses the different kinds of binding such as silk, embossed morocco and leather that annuals were available in. She argues that the different bindings were designed in order to attract female readers.⁵⁰ Bain focuses his essay on the engravings in ‘Gift Book and Annual Illustration’ (1973) and states that the illustrations were an important factor for the success of the annuals. Faxon’s work was important in reviving annuals as a

⁴⁷ Patrick H. Vincent, *The Romantic Poetess: European Culture, Politics, and Gender, 1820-1840* (Durham: University of New Hampshire, 2004), p. 91.

⁴⁸ Vincent, *The Romantic Poetess*, p. 91.

⁴⁹ Frederick W. Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography 1823-1903* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1973).

⁵⁰ Eleanore Jamieson, ‘The Binding Styles of the Gift Books and Annuals,’ *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography 1823-1903*, ed. Frederick W. Faxon (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1973).

topic for study, although his work and the essays that accompanied it often repeat some of the clichés found in nineteenth-century criticism.

In 1930, Dorothy Wellesley produced an anthology that gave readers the opportunity to experience different poems and short stories taken from literary annuals published in the nineteenth century. Wellesley names the title and author of each piece but does not indicate which annual they were taken from. The introduction included in the volume is written by Victoria Sackville-West, who summarizes the origin of the annuals and gives explanations of their titles, content and form.⁵¹ Eight years later, Bradford Allen Booth reprinted the forgotten works of authors like John Gibson Lockhart, Maria Edgeworth, James Hogg, Marry Shelley, Mary R. Mitford, Allan Cunningham and Wilkie Collins in *A Cabinet of Gems* (1938). The content ranges from 1826 to 1880 and is taken from different annuals including the *Forget-Me-Not*, the *Keepsake*, the *Literary Souvenir* and the *Friendship's Offering*.⁵² Similarly, Ralph Thompson's *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books 1825-1865* (1936), refers to the giftbook fashion, the publishers and their profits and the contents of the annuals. Several American annuals are described in more detail, such as the *Atlantic Souvenir* (1825), the *Talisman* (1827) and the *Token* (1828). In 'Friendship's Offering: An Essay on the Annuals and Gift Books of the 19th Century' (1964), Anne Renier reveals the background of popular giftbooks and reproduces different annual covers taken from her own collection. Andrew Boyle's *An Index to the Annuals* (1967) was a major breakthrough in the study of annuals as it provides an index of all the authors writing for nineteenth-century literary annuals. Boyle made it possible to find out, for example, that Robert Southey wrote for *Friendship's Offering*, the *Literary Souvenir*, the *Amulet*, the *Bijou*, the *Keepsake* and the *Anniversary*. As

⁵¹ Dorothy Wellesley, *The Annual: being a selection from the Forget-Me-Nots, Keepsakes and other Annuals of the Nineteenth* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, [1930]).

⁵² Bradford Allen Booth, *A Cabinet of Gems – Short Stories from the English Annuals* (Berkeley, California: California University Press, 1938).

well as providing much needed evidence about the contribution of canonical authors to the annuals, Boyle's work helped to reveal a whole substratum of other less well-remembered authors involved in the production of annuals.

The early work on annuals formed a basis for the research of twentieth and twenty-first century critics.⁵³ Hence it is possible to find essays in edited books or journals, such as Christine Alexander's '“That Kingdom of Gloom”: Charlotte Brontë, the Annuals, and the Gothic' (1993), Peter J. Manning's 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake, 1829' (1995), Cindy Dickinson's 'Creating a World of Books, Friends, and Flowers: Gift Books and Inscriptions, 1825-60' (1996), Margaret Linley's 'A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy' (2000), Laura Mandell's 'Hemans and the Gift-Book Aesthetic' (2001), Harriet Devine Jump's '“The False Prudery of Taste”: Scandalous Women and the Annuals, 1820-1850' (2001), Jill Rappoport's 'Buyer Beware: The Gift Poetics of Letitia Elizabeth Landon' (2004), Sara Lodge's 'Romantic Reliquaries: Memory and Irony in the *Literary Annuals*' (2004) and Katherine D. Harris' 'Feminizing the Textual Body: Female Readers Consuming

⁵³There are only a few PhD theses on this topic, such as Kathryn Ledbetter's 'A Woman's Book: the Keepsake Literary Annual' (1995), Vanessa Warne, '“Purport and Design”: Print Culture and Gender Politics in Early Victorian Literary Annuals' (2002) and Harry Edward Hootman's 'British Literary Annuals and Giftbooks, 1823-1861' (2004).

the Literary Annual' (2005).⁵⁴ The focus of this work is mainly on individual authors writing for the giftbooks. For example, Linley focuses on L.E.L.'s writings and, like Ledbetter, suggests that female writers were perceived a threat by male authors. She further concentrates on L.E.L.'s writings and the incorporation of different engravings in her works. Alexander's work makes an important connection between the Gothic and literary annuals. Unlike other critics, Alexander does not only make reference to poetry but also mentions tales. Her focus, however, is not on the *Keepsake* but on writings published in the *Friendship's Offering*. Alexander further points her attention towards the Brontë sisters and highlights the fact that their own writings were influenced by the content of literary annuals as they owned and studied several exemplars in detail themselves.⁵⁵ As the title already suggests, Manning's essay focuses on Wordsworth and the *Keepsake*. He does not fail, however, to mention the differences between the *Keepsake* and other annuals, and gives useful information on the price of the publication, as well as on the *Keepsake* in general. Manning's essay is important as it provides detailed information on literary annuals without reworking the clichés of

⁵⁴ Christine Alexander, "'That Kingdom of Gloom': Charlotte Brontë, the Annuals, and the Gothic," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 47.4 (Mar., 1993), pp. 409-436; Peter J. Manning, 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake, 1829,' *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, ed. John O. Jordan, and Robert L. Patten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 44-73; Cindy Dickinson, 'Creating a World of Books, Friends, and Flowers: Gift Books and Inscriptions, 1825-60,' *Winterthur Portfolio* 31.1 (Spring, 1996), pp. 53-66; Margaret Linley, 'A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy,' *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 54-92; Laura Mandell, 'Hemans and the Gift-Book Aesthetic,' *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 6.1 (2001); Harriet Devine Jump, "'The False Prudery of Taste': Scandalous Women and the Annuals, 1820-1850,' *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities*, ed. Emma Liggins (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2001); Jill Rappoport, 'Buyer Beware: The Gift Poetics of Letitia Elizabeth Landon,' *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 58.4 (March 2004), pp. 441-473; Sara Lodge, 'Romantic Reliquaries: Memory and Irony in the *Literary Annuals*,' *Romanticism* 10.1 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004) and Katherine D. Harris, 'Feminizing the Textual Body: Female Readers Consuming the Literary Annual,' *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 99.4 (2005), pp. 225-40.

⁵⁵ Heather Glen's *Charlotte Brontë: The Imagination in the History* also makes the connection between the Brontës and the annuals.

nineteenth-century criticism. As these examples show, critics have used a range of different critical approaches to examine literary annuals. However, most articles ignore the short stories and focus primarily on the poetry contributed by famous authors like L.E.L, Hemans and Wordsworth. In most cases, however, they focus on one popular writer and discuss for example the annual form or provide an insight into women's writing and female culture. Different from other articles and chapters on the annuals, this thesis will focus on the much-ignored short stories published in the *Keepsake*. One chapter will look at a canonical author, Mary Shelley, whose tales have not been taken as much into account by other critics as one would expect.⁵⁶ Furthermore, interesting tales by other less popular writers, such as Ralph Bernal will be mentioned and looked at in more detail.

⁵⁶ Critics writing about Shelley and the annuals:

Charlotte Sussman, 'Stories for the Keepsake,' *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Shelley*, ed. Esther Schor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 163-79. Judith Pascoe, 'Poetry as Souvenir: Mary Shelley in the Annuals,' *Mary Shelley in Her Times*, ed. Betty T. Bennett and Stuart Curran (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 173-84. Gregory O'Dea, 'Perhaps a Tale You'll Make It': Mary Shelley's Tales for The Keepsake,' *Iconoclastic Departures: Mary Shelley after Frankenstein: Essays in Honor of the Bicentenary of Mary Shelley's Birth*, ed. Syndy M. Conger, Frederick S. Frank and Gregory O'Dea (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), pp. 62-78. A. A. Markley, 'Mary Shelley's 'New Gothic': Character Doubling and Social Critique in the Short Fiction,' *Gothic Studies* 3.1 (April 2001), pp. 15-23; Paul A. Cantor, 'Mary Shelley and the Taming of the Byronic Hero: 'Transformation' and The Deformed Transformed,' *The Other Mary Shelley: Beyond Frankenstein*, eds. by Audrey A Fisch, Anne K. Mellor, Esther H. Schor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 89-106. Laurie Langbauer, 'Swayed by Contraries: Mary Shelley and the Everyday,' *The Other Mary Shelley: Beyond Frankenstein*, ed. Audrey A Fisch, Anne K. Mellor, Esther H. Schor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 185-203; Burton R. Pollin, 'Mary Shelley as the *Parvenue*,' *Review of English Literature* 8.3 (1967), pp. 9-21.

Critics mentioning Shelley in their articles:

Christine Alexander, 'That Kingdom of Gloom': Charlotte Brontë, the Annuals, and the Gothic,' *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 47.4 (March 1993), pp. 409-436 [on Mary Shelley and 'The Invisible Girl']. Arnold Schmidt, 'Political Reform and Mary Shelley's Short Fiction,' *Atenea* 21.1-2 (2001), pp.25-32 [on Mary Shelley and 'The Sisters of Albano']. Maria Schoina, 'Leigh Hunt's 'Letters from Abroad' and the 'Anglo-Italian' Discourse of the Liberal,' *Romanticism* 12.2 (2006), pp. 115-125 [on Mary Shelley and 'A Tale of the Passions'].

Paula R. Feldman, Kathryn Ledbetter and Terence Allan Hoagwood have made an important contribution to the study of annuals in the context of nineteenth-century print culture. Ledbetter and Hoagwood's *Colour'd Shadows: Contexts in Publishing, Printing and Reading Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers* (2005) and Ledbetter's *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals: Commodities in Context* (2007) includes chapters on annuals and Feldman's introduction to a reprinting of the *Keepsake for 1829* (2006), and 'Women, Literary Annuals, and the Evidence of Inscriptions' (2006) provide important discussion of production and consumption. In the former, Feldman provides an overview of literary annuals and explains where they came from. She further gives an insight on the *Keepsake*; its production, binding, content, cost and the reluctant contributions by several authors. Feldman's aim is to permit 'a twenty-first century audience to experience and to judge for itself that popular literary taste and style, which was, in its own time, so immoderately reviled and adored.'⁵⁷ Feldman made the *Keepsake for 1829* available in traditional book form but many contemporary scholars have used the internet in order to make their ideas, and the contents of the annuals, known to a broader public. Hence, Harry Hootman,⁵⁸ Katherine D. Harris (2001-2006),⁵⁹ Laura Mandell (2003),⁶⁰ Hoagwood and Ledbetter,⁶¹ and Lindsey Eckert (2009)⁶² have made individual research available on the web for everyone to see.

⁵⁷ Feldman, 'Introduction,' p. 25.

⁵⁸ Harry E. Hootman, 'British Annuals and Giftbooks,' accessed on 28 Jan. 2008 <www.britannials.com/>

⁵⁹ Katherine D. Harris, 'Forget Me Not - A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th-Century Literary Annual,' accessed on 28 Jan. 2008 <<http://www.orgs.muohio.edu/anthologies/FMN/Index.htm>>.

⁶⁰ Laura Mandell, ed. 'The Bijou; or Annual of Literature and the Arts 1828,' accessed on 25 Febr. 2005 <<http://www.orgs.muohio.edu/anthologies/bijou/>>.

⁶¹ Terence Allan Hoagwood, and Kathryn Ledbetter, ed., 'L.E.L.'s 'Verses' and The Keepsake for 1829,' *Romantic Circles*, accessed on 28 Jan. 2008 <<http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/lel/keepsake.htm>>.

⁶² Lindsey Eckert, 'Nineteenth-Century British Literary Annuals: An Online Exhibition of Materials from the University of Toronto,' accessed on 29 Mar. 2011 <<http://bookhistory.fis.utoronto.ca/annuals/index.html>>.

Other organizations and university libraries have dedicated web pages to literary annuals and giftbooks, including the American Antiquarian Society and Florida State University.⁶³

To view these internet pages is to witness the reemergence of a long-forgotten and neglected print culture phenomenon. Renier argues that many authors who earned their living from writing found a secure source of income in the literary annuals. Some of these writers, like Mary Shelley and Mary Russell Mitford are still well known today but others have been forgotten.⁶⁴ It is therefore important to study literary annuals in more detail in order to rediscover worthy authors and update the literary canon. This reinvestigation of the context in which much literary work was first produced is proving particularly useful for studies of female writers, such as Hemans and Landon, whose work was rediscovered by feminist critics during the 1970s and 80s. However, there are still many forgotten names yet to be uncovered. According to Renier, Henry Neele, for example appeared in several issues of the *Forget-Me-Not* and, several decades later, was still known as ‘a talented young author whose works [were] read with interest and profit.’⁶⁵ He is now, however, entirely forgotten. But why is it important to do research on ‘unworthy’ literature? Is this literature really so ‘unworthy’? Or was it called ‘unworthy’ because it was mainly read by women? These are some of the questions that this thesis is trying to resolve. The prejudice and fear of other male authors

⁶³ Neil Fraistat, and E. Jones Steven, eds., *Romantic Circles*, University of Maryland, accessed on 5 Sept. 2010 <www.rc.umd.edu/>.

University Libraries, Rare Books & Special Collections, University of South Carolina, accessed on 5 Sept. 2010 <www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/britlit/litann.html>; ‘Gift Books and Annuals,’ *American Women*, 29 Aug. 2010 <<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awgc1/gift.html>>; Richard H. Gassan, *From Revolution to Reconstruction*, University of Groningen 14 Oct. 2010 <http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/E/carey_lea/carey04.htm>; ‘Albums,’ *American Antiquarian Society*, accessed on 2 Sept. 2004 <www.americanantiquarian.org/annuals.htm>; *Gift Books, Literary Annuals, and Children’s Annuals in Special Collections*. Florida State University, accessed on 1 Sept. 2010 <www.fsu.edu/~speccoll/giftbooks.htm>.

⁶⁴ Renier, p. 14.

⁶⁵ Renier, p. 14.

seem to be, however, the main reasons for this belief. As one of the longest running annuals, the *Keepsake* is the main focus of this study and stands for other popular giftbooks of this time. The main focus, however, will be placed on the short story rather than poetry, as this is the most neglected aspect of these texts within current academic interest in annuals as important cultural artefacts.

Chapter One is divided into three parts: first, the popularity of literary annuals; second, the reception of nineteenth-century contemporaries and third, the *Keepsake* in terms of numbers. As literary annuals had such a negative reputation, it is interesting to have a look at different periodicals and journals and see if they were often publicised in them. In the second part, it is of interest to look at different critics in order to establish why the annuals had a lowbrow reputation and whether every reviewer shared the same opinion. Furthermore, it is exciting to see, for example, whether male authors were indeed threatened by the publication of female writers and to define how many female and male authors included their works in literary annuals and gift books. However, due to the vast amount of annuals on the market, chapter One focuses solely on one annual; the *Keepsake* from 1829 until 1839.⁶⁶ Hence, this chapter will outline the *Keepsake* in numbers, detailing for example the number of prose and poetry contributions and the number of male authors writing for the *Keepsake* during this time period.

Chapter Two examines the short stories in the *Keepsake*. Looking at the research conducted in recent decades, it becomes clear that critics mainly focus on the poets and their poetry. Consequently this thesis will look in more detail at the ignored short stories. This chapter initially discusses different stories by Mary Shelley. As a canonical author, it seems

⁶⁶ The year of publication of the *Keepsake* is not the same as the year advertised in its title. This means that for example the *Keepsake for 1828* was published in 1827. The references hereafter given in the text will refer to the title and not to the year of publication. Hence a quote taken from the *Keepsake for 1830* for example will be referenced (*Keepsake* 1830).

significant that many of her tales that were published in annuals have been ignored by critics. Because Shelley published for many years in the annuals, it is interesting to have a closer look at some stories published in the *Keepsake*. Furthermore, this chapter also focuses on certain themes, such as the Gothic and moral element from different short stories from the *Keepsake* in general.

Chapter Three focuses on another important aspect of the annuals; the engravings. This chapter explores the popularity and origin of the engravings, as well as analysing and discussing many of the ‘illustrations’ included in the *Keepsake*. Furthermore, this section will show how important engravings were for the popularity of annuals and how well literature and art complemented each other in this context.

In Chapter Four, after discussing several oriental elements of the *Keepsake*, the focus shifts to examples of travel annuals; the *Oriental* and the *Bengal Annual*. Keeping in mind that publishers had to find innovative ideas to sell their annuals, it is understandable why many subgroups emerged. Even in a particular category, the annuals were not all the same in format and hence this chapter highlights the differences between each travel annual mentioned above.

Chapter 1: The Literary Annuals as Social Phenomena of the Nineteenth Century

The Popularity of Annuals

John Barnard notes that the most popular genre between 1770 and 1830 was religion. Nevertheless, novels became another popular genre that could not be ignored, as over 2,000 titles were published between 1800 and 1829.⁶⁷ It is significant that many contemporary novelists chose to refer to the annual phenomenon in their novels and that later writers such as George Eliot, who grew up during this period, used their work to describe the cultural importance of the annuals.

Newspapers and periodicals, which were very popular at this time, often contained reviews and comments on the annuals. According to Barnard, newspapers were vital for advertising books, as they ‘reached every corner of the kingdom.’⁶⁸ The *Keepsake* was widely advertised, each notice attempting to bring the annual to the public’s attention and make it compete with its rival annuals. The *Keepsake* was therefore highly visible to the periodical and newspaper readers of the 1820s and 30s.

Both novels and the periodical press are important to this study as they provide vital information about the way these texts impacted upon contemporary culture. They sparked people’s interest, stimulated sales and helped make the annuals popular all over the country. The following section examines the response to the annuals in a range of different novels and

⁶⁷ John Barnard, ‘Print Culture and the Book Trade,’ *Romanticism - An Oxford Guide*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 75.

⁶⁸ Barnard, p. 85.

demonstrates that different advertisement techniques were used to keep the annual phenomenon alive.

The appearance of literary annuals in novel writings

A sign of the enormous popularity of literary annuals is the fact that they frequently appear in novels. The most popular novels usually cited in this context are William M. Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1847-48), in which Ffine, the maid steals at her departure amongst others 'six gilt albums, Keepsakes, and Books of Beauty'⁶⁹ and George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871) in which Mr. Ned Plymdale had bought 'the last 'Keepsake,' the gorgeous watered-silk publication which marked modern progress at that time.'⁷⁰ Eliot even depicts in the discussion between Plymdale, Rosamond and Lydgate the different reactions to literary annuals. Lydgate is not interested in them and demotes them as 'silly' and inferior literature. Plymdale, on the other hand, defends them vehemently: 'There are a great many celebrated people writing in the "Keepsake," at all events, he said, in a tone at once piqued and timid. "This is the first time I have heard it called silly."' ⁷¹ This scene is significant because it demonstrates the different reactions of contemporaries; the annuals were either praised and loved or despised and ridiculed.

However, this is not the only novel in which Eliot referred to literary annuals and giftbooks. The *Keepsake* also appears in *Mill on the Floss* (1860). Bob Jakin, a salesman comes to visit Maggie one day and gives her 'a superannuated 'Keepsake' and six or seven numbers of a 'Portrait Gallery.''⁷² He is fascinated by the *Keepsake* engravings of the ladies as there were 'some wi' curly hair and some wi' smooth, an' some a-smiling wi' their heads o'

⁶⁹ William M. Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 691.

⁷⁰ George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ed. David Carroll (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 253.

⁷¹ Eliot, *Middlemarch*, p. 254.

⁷² George Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 282.

one side, an' some as if they were goin' to cry,--look here,--a-sittin' on the ground out o' door, dressed like the ladies I'n seen get out o' the carriages at the balls in th' Old Hall there.⁷³ Jakin remained awake that night just looking at them.⁷⁴ The following day, however, he gives them to Maggie as they are 'more fittin' company for [a] Miss' and points out that 'the man at the book-stall [said] they was a fust-rate article.'⁷⁵ Eliot illustrates two important aspects; first they are suitable for ladies – but also read by men – and secondly the annuals are of the highest quality and very fashionable. Like Eliot, Gustave Flaubert writes in fascinated detail about surreptitious readings of the annuals in *Madame Bovary* (1857), when he depicts girls secretly reading the annuals in their dormitory at night. Flaubert also describes the engravings that can be found in the giftbooks:

Handling their handsome satin bindings with great care, Emma stared in dazzled amazement at the names of the unknown authors, most of whom had used a title – count or viscount - when signing their contribution. She shivered as she blew the tissue paper off each engraving; it would lift up half folded, then gently fall back against the opposite page. There, behind the balustrade of a balcony, a young man in a short cloak would be clasping in his arms a young girl wearing a white dress, with a purse at her girdle; or else there would be a portrait of an unnamed English noblewoman with golden curls, her large pale eyes staring at Emma from beneath a round straw hat. Some ladies reclined in carriages gliding through parks, with a greyhound bounding along in front of the trotting horses, which were driven by two little postilions in white knee breeches. Others lay dreaming on sofas, an open letter beside them, as they gazed

⁷³ Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, p. 282.

⁷⁴ Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, p. 282.

⁷⁵ Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, p. 282.

at the moon through a half-open window partly concealed by black drapery. Innocent maidens with tear-stained cheeks blew kisses at turtledoves through the bars of a Gothic birdcage or, smiling, heads coyly bent to one side, plucked petals off a daisy with tapering fingers that curved up at the tips like Turkish slippers. And of course, there were also sultans with long pipes, lolling in arbours in the arms of dancing girls, and Giaours, and Turkish sabres, and fezzes; and, above all, the monochrome landscapes of Dithyrambia, where palms and pine trees often grow side by side, with tigers on the right and a lion on the left, Tartar minarets in the distance and in the foreground Roman ruins, with a kneeling camel or two beyond; all of this framed by a neatly groomed virgin forest, and showing a great perpendicular sunbeam shimmering on the water where – scratches on steel-grey background – a few carefully spaced swans are floating.⁷⁶

This short paragraph concentrates on the main material features of the literary annuals, including their elegant bindings, tissue paper covered illustrations, but also reveals something about their contents. Flaubert refers to the romantic, gothic and oriental themes, *Keepsake* editors often used for illustration and writing and the presence of aristocratic names on the contents page.

Other novels suggest how annuals functioned as part of the furniture of modern middle class life. In *The Heiress: a novel* (1845), Ellen Pickering describes them as books to display on the drawing-room table: ‘Albums filled and to be filled; a French almanac, and old ‘Forget me Not,’ a new ‘Keepsake,’ with some flowers and butterflies more brilliant than

⁷⁶ Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 35-36.

nature, were scattered in elegant negligence on the principal table.⁷⁷ In this example, Pickering also hints at the presentation plates available in some publications, in which the giver or receiver is able to personalize the volume by filling in a comment and a name. Interesting is also the fact that there is an ‘old’ *Forget-Me-Not* and a ‘new’ *Keepsake* volume on the table. Considering the fact that the *Forget-Me-Not* was published until 1847 and the *Keepsake* until 1856, this might imply that the *Forget-Me-Not* was no longer as popular with the reading public as the *Keepsake* had become. Nevertheless, examples of this kind cannot only be found in novels written after the actual annual boom.

Certain authors even wrote about this phenomenon in the heyday of the literary annuals and giftbooks, like the O’Hara family in *The Smuggler: A Tale* (1833), Anne Manning in *Village Belles – A Novel* (1833), Lady Catherine Pollock Manners Stepney in *The New Road to Ruin: A Novel* (1833), Eliza Leslie in *Pencil Sketches: Or, Outlines of Character and Manners* (1833), Thomas Hood in *Tylney Hall* (1834) and Charles Dickens in *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839).⁷⁸ Although these writers depicted the annual phenomenon in their novels, they did so in different ways. They either mentioned the annuals in passing, like Manning who referred to their contents, or the O’Hara family who described the writing practices of their time. By contrast, Hood who demonstrated, like Eliot in *Middlemarch*, opposite opinions by depicting a fight between father and daughter over the literary annuals. The father describes the annuals in this paragraph as ‘idle stuff’ and in order to demonstrate

⁷⁷ Ellen Pickering, *The Heiress: a novel* (Carolina: BiblioBazaar, 2008), p. 92.

⁷⁸ O’Hara family, *The Smuggler: A Tale* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833); Anne Manning, *Village Belles – A Novel* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1833); Lady Catherine Pollock Manners Stepney, *The New Road to Ruin: A Novel* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833); Eliza Leslie, *Pencil Sketches: Or, Outlines of Character and Manners* (1833) (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1935); Thomas Hood, *Tylney Hall* (London: A. H. Baily and Co., 1834) and Charles Dickens, *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1839).

his disapproval, throws the annual across the room.⁷⁹ The daughter, on the other hand, cannot endure her father's conduct, turns away from him and declines him as her father. Hood clearly demonstrates that literary annuals were a genre clearly favoured by female readers, whereas men mostly disapproved of them. A less dramatic scene can be found in Leslie's *Pencil Sketches*; Laura is fascinated by literary annuals and envies her friend Augusta for having a whole set of the annual series, the *Pearl*. When Laura tries to discuss them, Augusta misunderstands, however, and starts talking about real pearls instead. Laura realizes that 'any further attempt at a conversation on books would be unavailing' and changes the topic.⁸⁰ Leslie indicates in this paragraph two types of female readers; on the one hand, the kind who like literature and are interested in literary discussion, and on the other, the kind that is more interested in the decorative value of the annuals. In *Nicholas Nickleby*, Dickens' character, Sir Mulberry, was happy to have his wife's picture engraved and dispersed in the annuals, whereas in Pollock's novel, the character Montague was glad that Fanny was not contributing to the annuals. Thackeray provides another important example as he does not only mention annuals briefly, but uses them as a theme running through the whole story.

Thackeray not only condemned and denounced annuals in his reviews but in his own fiction. In the Bildungsroman, *The History of Penndenis* (1849),⁸¹ the main character Pen realizes that he has to start earning a living on his own and begins a career as a writer. Thackeray depicts him as a mediocre romantic writer. Therefore, this character turns out to be what Thackeray calls in 'Our Annual Execution,' 'a twaddling rhymester who fills a page in

⁷⁹ Hood, p. 366.

⁸⁰ Leslie, p. 162.

⁸¹ William M. Thackeray, *The History of Penndenis*, eds. Tapio Riikonen and David Widger. 25 July 2009, accessed on 9 Sept. 2010 <www.gutenberg.org/files/7265/7265-h/7265-h.htm>. (Hereafter referred to as 'Penndenis' in the text).

an Annual.’⁸² For Thackeray, the problem consists of the consequences of such poetry, as it leads every dabbler to believe him or herself to be ‘a Byron the Second’ (Annual Execution, p. 34). As in his reviews, Thackeray uses *Pendennis* to call the public’s attention to the fact that the writers who contributed to the literary annuals were not all Byrons.

In the Chapter ‘In which the Printer’s Devil comes to the Door,’ Thackeray describes many elements familiar to a nineteenth-century literary audience. He mentions, for example, the fashionableness of literary annuals, the way that the books look, and the style of the contributors. However, Thackeray does not refer to well-known annuals but instead invents his own giftbook. One of the most popular annuals in his novel is ‘The Spring Annual,’ ‘a beautiful gilt volume [...] edited by the Lady Violet Lebas’ (Pendennis, p. 340). Like real annuals, the fictitious ‘Spring Annual’ ‘number[s] amongst its contributors not only the most eminent, but the most fashionable, poets of [their] time’ (Pendennis, p. 340). Thackeray further refers in this chapter to the fact that many young nobles were writing for literary annuals, like Young Lord Dodo, the Honourable Percy Popjoy and Bedwin Sand. Although invented, these satiric names mirror real contemporary writers such as Lord Morpeth, the Honourable Henry Liddell and Leitch Ritchie. Thackeray is being satirical about the annuals and the contributors of aristocratic names and believes the books to be mediocre productions for the middle class.

As already discussed, Thackeray frequently reviewed annuals, but in this novel switches sides, imagining Pen as the subject rather than the perpetrator of one of these reviews:

⁸² William M. Thackeray, *Our Annual Execution* (Philadelphia: H.W. Fisher and Company, 1902), p. 34. (Hereafter referred to as ‘Annual Execution’ in the text)

In the very next number of the Pall Mall Gazette, [...] [was published] an article which by no means amused Arthur Pendennis, who was himself at work with a criticism for the next week's number of the same journal; and in which the 'Spring Annual' was ferociously maltreated by some unknown writer. The person of all most cruelly mauled was Pen himself. His verses had not appeared with his own name in the 'Spring Annual,' but under an assumed signature. As he had refused to review the book, Shandon had handed it over to Mr. Bludyer, with directions to that author to dispose of it. And he had done so effectually (Pendennis, p. 379).

Thackeray does not go into detail but it becomes clear that Pen's contribution was not highly praised. Writers often wrote their poems or short stories under a pen name in order to keep their identity anonymous, which is why Pen was asked to write the review himself but refused. To Pen's later regret, someone else took over and did not mince their words. Whether Thackeray knew for certain that positive reviews were written by people who themselves contributed to literary annuals thus guaranteeing positive reviews cannot be confirmed. However, in his review published in *Fraser's Magazine* (1832), Thackeray makes fun of Frederic Schoberl, the editor of the *Forget-Me-Not*, and implies that Schoberl had written his review himself: 'Mr. Schoberl very coolly sits down to write a critique on his own volume, which he delivers with a piece of arrant self-complacency truly laughable.'⁸³ Most of the reviews cannot be assigned to a particular author as they were published anonymously, but as Thackeray suggests in his novel as well as in this critique, this technique of 'puffing' might have been used to increase sales. Thackeray clearly did not favour literary annuals and

⁸³ 'The Annuals,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and County*, 2:11 (1830: Dec.), p. 661.

regularly wrote against them in both literary reviews and his novels. Despite the fact that he occasionally praised individual writers, he obviously despised the annual form including the engravings. The visual arts were a particular favourite of Thackeray, but he believed that the annuals were encouraging readers to develop bad taste in art. Therefore, Thackeray wrote several reviews trying to convince the public to read ‘worthy’ literature instead.

As these examples from different novels show, contemporary texts did not ignore the annual phenomenon. Like the reviews in periodicals and journals, the reception of annuals was, however, split. The reasons for this will be looked at in more detail further on in the thesis. It should be added, however, that this split was most probably due to those well-known writers, like Thackeray, who felt threatened by the appearance of new authors. The literary annuals provided a new platform for unknown writers, facilitated their publication and made other sales more difficult. Later writers were aware of the popularity of annuals in the early nineteenth century and had to include them in order to depict a realistic context. Consequently, readers would have been aware of the literary annual boom and would not be surprised to find it mentioned in novels.

Early print advertisements and the promotion of the *Keepsake*

In the early nineteenth century publishers had different techniques for bringing their books to the public’s attention. Chief among these were adverts in newspapers and periodicals, but the publishers also used catalogues, puff pieces, literary gossip columns and the end pages of publications. James Secord states that in general, in order to make a book pay, ‘the work had to be advertised, carried on trains, placed in shops, talked about, excerpted and reviewed.’⁸⁴ In *Victorian Sensation*, Secord describes the marketing of *Vestiges of the*

⁸⁴ James Secord, *Victorian Sensation* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 126.

Natural History of Creation, a very popular book in the 1840s. The publisher, John Churchill gave 150 copies out of the 750 that were printed away because the anonymous author did not want *Vestiges* to be ignored by the reading public. The books were delivered to many different institutions, organisations and individuals; to ‘periodicals; to the leading men of science in London, Oxford and Cambridge; to the major libraries of universities, mechanics’ institutes, and literary and philosophical institutions; and to educational writers, politicians, and authors’ in order to make it known.⁸⁵ The publicity did not stop here; Churchill publicised the book additionally by introducing *Vestiges* in the catalogue of every book he published. Furthermore, Churchill advertised the first edition in the daily and weekly metropolitan newspaper press as well as the main newspapers in London.⁸⁶

Like Churchill the publishers of annuals used a variety of different modes of advertising. They often inserted adverts in other books that they published. Several annuals including the *Amulet*, the *Bijou*, the *Fisher’s Drawing Room Scrap Book* or the *Fisher’s Juvenile Scrap Book*, contain an insert at the back that listed other publications. (Interestingly this is not the case for each volume of the series. It is possible to find for example adverts in the *Amulet for 1827 and 1833* but not in the *Amulet for 1836*.) The *Forget-Me-Not* (1835), for example, promoted the version of the text aimed at children:

THE JUVENILE FORGET ME NOT; a Christmas, New Year’s, and
Birthday Present, for 1830 to 1835. Embellished with beautiful
Engravings and Vignette, after designs by eminent Artists. Price 8s.

⁸⁵ Secord, p. 126.

⁸⁶ Secord, p. 127.

Proofs of the plates, before letters, in a neat portfolio, 20s.; ditto, with letters, ditto, 14s.⁸⁷

This small advert does not only promote one year of this annual but refers to the previous years too, allowing the reader to know that he/she can still buy copies and that they are not out of print yet. A bigger advert for the *Juvenile Forget-Me-Not for 1833* can be found in the *Amulet* (1833), in which the publisher advertises on one page the arrival of the new volume. Such advertisements were a brilliant way of catching readers who had already decided to buy or borrow one of these texts.

Newspaper advertising was, however, clearly the most important method of getting news about new publications to the market. In the nineteenth century newspapers were very expensive because they were heavily taxed, which is why advertisers could be sure that people would read the whole newspaper and see their advertisement. The publishers of the *Keepsake* also promoted their annual in different newspapers. It is not possible to find out, however, how many advertisements there were as there is no database including every single newspaper, periodical and journal article from the nineteenth century. It is therefore only possible to get an idea of the frequency of advert publications by checking for example the *Nineteenth-Century British Library Newspapers* – database for *Keepsake* entries; limiting the search to the years 1829 and 1830.⁸⁸ Given that they were designed as Christmas and new year gifts, literary annuals were advertised in the period before Christmas and into the following year. Hence, in November 1829, publishers were advertising annuals for 1830. Advertisements found in the beginning of the next year (January, February etc.) advertise the

⁸⁷ Frederic Shoberl, ed., *Forget Me Not; a Christmas and New Year's Present* (London: Ackermann and Co, 1835), p. 357.

⁸⁸ The search was limited to two years, as the database does not include enough material for the following years in order to depict a valid result. There are only two entries for 1831, 1832 and 1833, and one entry for 1835. 1834 and 1836 until 1840, do not provide any items at all.

annuals for 1830 too. At the end of the year, however, the round of advertising started again for the annuals for 1831. This means in other words, that the database results for 1829 show, for example, entries for the *Keepsake for 1829* and 1830. The database search for 1829 shows that out of 124 entries, five have to be deducted due to technical difficulties, as they were impossible to view. Another sixteen examples mention different literary annuals, such as the *Juvenile* and the *Zoological Keepsake* and therefore are of no further interest. A further 39 entries are not applicable as the newspapers mention different kind of keepsakes, including a race horse that went by that name. The remaining 64 entries are of interest because they provide a variety of different *Keepsake* advertisements. The search for 1830 yields similar results. The database revealed 64 entries on 'The Keepsake.' As in the previous search, four had to be deducted because of faulty displays, 19 entries mentioned other Keepsakes like *The Zoological Keepsake*, *The Juvenile Keepsake* and *Le Keepsake Français*, one entry consisted of the word 'Keepsake' in an index and one mentioned a watch, another type of keepsake. Consequently, out of a total of 64 entries, 39 provide relevant information about the *Keepsake*. Like Chambers's *Vestiges*, the *Keepsake* was promoted in different newspapers, including major London newspapers such as *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Morning Post* and *The Standard*, and regional newspapers including *The Caledonian Mercury*, *The Aberdeen Journal*, *The Liverpool Mercury*, *The Belfast News-Letter*, *the Derby Mercury*, *The Hull Packet and Humber Mercury*, *The Leicester Chronicle*, *The Newcastle Courant*, *The Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* and *The York Herald*. For the former, forty adverts promote the annual and only four the *Keepsake* illustrations – which were available separately. It is important to note that nine adverts were placed by libraries and auctioneers who advertised annuals in general, while a further fifteen consist of criticism, gossip and excerpts. That the advertisements appeared from January until May and from September until December is significant when it comes to understanding the publisher's advertising strategies; annuals

were not considered to be summer reading, and the publisher was particularly attuned to getting references to his texts into the newspaper press from September onwards in order to get as many sales as possible during the all important Christmas and New Year period.

Looking through the periodicals of the years 1827, 1828, 1829, 1832, 1835 and 1838, different types of advertisement can be found. First of all, the advertisements are specifically designed for potential readers, bookshops and circulating libraries, and are thus aimed at the distribution of the *Keepsake*.⁸⁹ On 30th September 1827, *The Examiner* printed an advert in which the public was introduced to a new literary annual and was informed about its publication date on the 1st November. The date is significant because it confirms that annuals were considered as gifts for Christmas and the New Year and as a consequence had to be advertised before that season. *The Keepsake* was praised very highly in this advert, which highlighted the fact that it was designed for people of ‘refined taste and intellect.’⁹⁰ Furthermore, it emphasised not only the high standard of the engravings but that of the literary contributions too. The proprietor made sure that they used ‘contributions of the master spirits of the day’ in order to have a collection of ‘the wit and imagination of the best living writers.’ In addition, the advertisement mentioned that the reason for the ‘high permanent value’ of the ‘pictorial illustrations’ was the use of steel plates. That the pictures were essential to the success of the annuals can also be seen in this advertisement. It lists not only the famous artists of the day, from whom the engravers had worked, such as J.M.W. Turner, Thomas Stothard, H. Corbould, E.P. Stephanoffe, R. Smirke, but the engravers themselves. These included William Finden, Charles Rolls, E. Portbury, E. Goodall, J.

⁸⁹ St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 189.

⁹⁰ *Examiner*, 30 Sept. 1827.

Goodyear and most importantly Charles Heath.⁹¹ It does not include, however, a list of contributors of the famous writers. This kind of advert also included a detailed account of the size and price of the annual and indicated that a limited number of impressions could be bought as ‘Proof Impressions’ on ‘large paper for the Collector of fine engravings.’⁹² On 13th October 1827, *The Morning Chronicle* printed a similar advert, praising the *Keepsake for 1828* for including engravings; ‘the most splendid Specimens of the Graphic Art.’ Instead of listing the artists and engravers, however, this advert included a table with the title, the artist and the engraver of each illustration.⁹³ Iain McCalman notes that prints were highly fashionable between 1776 and 1832 and remained popular until they were displaced by photographs in the late nineteenth-century. The print market allowed the circulation of paintings and drawings that were otherwise not accessible to everyone.⁹⁴ The demand for prints was so high that Blake wrote in 1800: ‘There are now, I believe, as many Booksellers as there are Butchers & as many Printshops as of any other trade. We remember when a Print shop was a rare bird in London.’⁹⁵ This shows that there was a market for prints and that they were, like annuals, highly fashionable in the nineteenth century.

It would be wrong to presume, however, that writers were never mentioned in the adverts. *The Morning Chronicle* of 18th December 1828 listed all the contributors of the *Keepsake for 1829*, which included Sir Walter Scott, Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Normanby and the ‘Author of Frankenstein.’ On 26th October, *The Examiner* not only listed the ‘authors

⁹¹ Charles Heath, the proprietor of the *Keepsake*, was a well-known engraver in the early nineteenth century. Heath plays an important role in the annual movement and therefore a later chapter will look at Heath and the engravings in more detail.

⁹² *Examiner*, 30 Sept. 1827.

⁹³ *Morning Chronicle*, 13 October, 1827.

⁹⁴ Iain McCalman, *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776-1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 207.

⁹⁵ McCalman, p. 213.

of the highest eminence,’ but affirmed that it consisted of ‘a List of Contributors [which] has never before been presented to the public.’⁹⁶ This shows that the proprietor tried to advertise the *Keepsake* in a way that made it interesting for three different groups of readers: First, those who are interested in the engravings, secondly, those who are interested in the literary contributions and thirdly, those interested in the whole collection. Knowing that there are many rival annuals, the proprietors had to do publicity in order to make their annual stand out from the crowd.

In the early years of its publication, *the Keepsake* was advertised in many different newspapers and periodicals. In 1838, however, the style of adverts appears to change. They are shorter than in previous years: ‘Under the Superintendence of Mr. Charles Heath, just published, [...], The Keepsake for 1839.’⁹⁷ The size, price, and a short sentence on the splendid embellishments are also included. This might be an indication that the *Keepsake* was a well-established giftbook people would buy without major advertisement. In February of the same year, the proprietors included a variety of favourable reviews from the *Court Journal*, the *Sunday Times*, the *St. James’s Chronicle* and the *Spectator* for *The Keepsake for 1838* in their advertisements, stating that:

‘The Style in which this Volume is produced, renders it beautiful amongst the beautiful. To look upon the Binding – is to purchase.’ – *Court Journal*.

‘The Volume for 1838, is superior in every respect to any that have preceded it.’ – *Sunday Times*.

⁹⁶ *Examiner*, 26 Oct. 1828.

⁹⁷ *Examiner*, 21 Oct. 1838.

‘A very enchanting Collection of Poetry and Romance, just suited for cheerful Fire-side Relaxation in the gloomy Winter Months.’ *St. James’s Chronicle*.

‘The Engravings of the Plates have a Degree of Depth, Richness, and Finish, that we find in no other Annual in equal Perfection. – *Spectator*.⁹⁸

The critiques were well chosen, because this short advert touches upon the high quality of the binding, the literature, the engravings and the whole volume in general. Finding this advert in a February edition of a periodical might imply that the quantity of *Keepsakes* sold was not as numerous as in former years and that, as a consequence, they had to be advertised after the Christmas and New Year’s season. This is, however, a common advertising technique for the annuals. Nevertheless, it is of interest to see whether there is a difference in print-runs and sales over the years. John Heath referred to print-runs and sales of the *Keepsake* from 1832 until 1844 (years of publication) in *The Heath Family Engravers*.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *Newcastle Courant etc*, 16 Feb. 1838.

⁹⁹ This paragraph will concentrate on the years 1832 until 1838, as this thesis focuses mainly on the 1830s only. The numbers for 1839 are not available and therefore are not mentioned.

John Heath, *The Heath Family Engravers, 1779-1878*, Vol.2 (London: Scholar Press, 1993).

KEEPSAKE¹⁰⁰	PRINTED			SOLD			Paid to
YEAR	SMALL	LARGE	TOTAL	SMALL	LARGE	TOTAL	C. Heath
1832	7376	231	7607	6918	159	7077	
1833	6808	171	6979	6498	112	6610	£3000
1834	6111	122	6233	5097	70	5167	£2950
1835	3868	110	3978	3277	41	3318	£2950
1836							£3000
1837	5268	74	5342	3531	45	3576	£2920
1838		3696			2978		£1250

Table 1 *Keepsake* print-runs and sales

Heath distinguished between the two different formats sold each year. In 1832, for example, 7376 small and 231 large volumes were printed. Considering that Charles Heath claimed to have sold 15,000 copies of the first volume, *The Keepsake for 1828*, five years later the print-run was already considerably less with 7607 volumes.¹⁰¹ The numbers steadily decreased, with 6979 *Keepsakes* printed in 1833 and 3696 in 1838. It is noticeable, however, that the number of printed volumes increased again to 5342 volumes in 1837. The numbers for 1836 are not available so it is not possible to know whether that increase had begun in the previous year. Print-run numbers are, however, not the same as sales. In 1832, 530 volumes were not accounted for and in 1833 369 volumes remained unsold. The following year, only 66 *Keepsakes* were left unsold but in 1835 this had increased to 660 volumes. (Like the print-runs, there are no figures for 1836). In 1837, the numbers more than tripled to 2080 volumes

¹⁰⁰ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 84.

¹⁰¹ St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 230.

and in 1838, a comparably low number of 718 books were still available.¹⁰² Considering these numbers, one could presume a very high loss for Heath. The payments made to Heath, however, show a different picture, because he obtained almost the same amount (between £2920 and £3000) each year. Only in 1838, there was a significant difference with a payment of only £1250.¹⁰³ It is not clear how Heath maintained this profitability, as the figures indicate a steady decrease in sales. Whether this maintained income represented profit from sales or whether he received a fee for being the owner of the annual is difficult to establish.

Charles Heath received, however, much higher payments for the *Keepsake* than for the *Picturesque Annual* or the *Book of Beauty*. In 1834, he received for example £1046 and in 1837, £1250 for the *Book of Beauty*. Looking at payments for the *Picturesque Annual* from 1834 until 1841, Heath received between £1120 and £1850; an average of £1438. Even if the numbers decreased, the *Keepsake* did not cease publication until 1857. Furthermore, it is important to add that the numbers sold, and referred to above, only relate to the year of issue. Considering later advertisements in the year, however, there were also some sales thereafter not included in the count.¹⁰⁴ It would therefore be of interest to look into the number of advertisements each year and see whether adverts had an effect on the sales of the *Keepsake*.

The second type of advertisement are those placed by smaller bookshops. Many booksellers who wanted to sell literary annuals informed the public that they were available in their shops. In December 1828 an advert in the *Aberdeen Journal* announced that ‘John Kiloh [...] has received the following Annuals for 1829’¹⁰⁵ and in 1832, Goddard & Brown

¹⁰² Volumes unsold in the year of publication were sold thereafter. Furthermore, some volumes were given away as gifts to critics and authors. Those volumes were used for publicity and it is not possible to know how many were actually unsold.

¹⁰³ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 84.

¹⁰⁴ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 84.

¹⁰⁵ *Aberdeen Journal*, 24 Dec. 1828.

placed a notice in the *Hull Packet* announcing that a number of ‘elegant Publications’ were ‘now ready for the inspection of their Friends and the Public.’¹⁰⁶ Such adverts always included a list of the different annuals people could obtain from the bookseller who placed the advert. For example, in October 1835 the Newcastle bookseller, Emerson Charnley advertised that people may get *The Oriental Annual*, *The Landscape Annual*, *The Drawing Room Scrap Book* and *the Christian’s Keepsake* from his shop and, that in a few days’ time, some other annuals, including the *Keepsake* were to be available for sale too.¹⁰⁷ Mudie and Sons, stationers from London, advertised in *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* their ‘playing cards,’ for ‘very low prices.’¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, they used the occasion to advertise the *Keepsake* and other annuals, which could be bought at ‘Reduced Prices.’¹⁰⁹ It is not clear whether they were selling second-hand copies of the annuals, or new volumes at a cheaper than average price, but Mudie’s adverts are interesting because they suggest that London readers could get hold of cheaper copies with relative ease. Another interesting advertisement was included in *The Morning Chronicle* by Rudolf Ackermann, who advertised the annuals for sale in his premises: ‘JUST PUBLISHED, for 1829, and may be had of R. Ackermann, jun. 191, Regent-street: - The Forget Me Not, 12s.; The Keepsake, 11 1s.; The Anniversary, 11 1s.; The Literary Souvenir, 12s; The Friendship’s Offering, 12s.;[...].’¹¹⁰ This shows that proprietors did not only sell their own publications but those of their rivals too. What is important about all of these advertisements is the fact that they show that literary annuals were popular all over the country, and that the literary annual boom was not only a temporary fashion in London. The widespread advertising campaign for the *Keepsake*, with adverts being placed in newspapers and periodicals published in London and

¹⁰⁶ *Hull Packet and Humber Mercury*, 23 Oct. 1832.

¹⁰⁷ *Newcastle Courant etc.*, 31 Oct. 1835.

¹⁰⁸ *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 13 Dec. 1829.

¹⁰⁹ *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 13 Dec. 1829.

¹¹⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, 27 Nov. 1828.

provincial English towns and cities such as Newcastle, Hull, Derby, Oxford, Portsmouth, Bristol, Liverpool, Southampton, Preston, Exeter, Manchester, Colchester, Blackburn, Leeds, as well as Scotland and Ireland (Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Belfast and Dublin), suggests that annuals were amongst the best-known and most widely available books of the period.

The third kind of advertisement also proves that the *Keepsake* was very popular. St. Clair states that in the nineteenth century many circulating libraries were attached to bookshops, in order that customers could decide whether they wanted to buy or rent.¹¹¹ As early as 1828, Watson's Circulating Library in Aberdeen was promoting annuals for sale.¹¹² Similarly in November 1835, Taylor's library was advertising the 'Annuals for the year 1836' alongside a great variety of books 'constantly on Sale.'¹¹³ The Coupland and Nightingale's Library and Reading Room in Southampton also advertised that it stocked annuals for sale.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, one could not only buy annuals in libraries. The advert for the James Chambers' Library shows that it was possible to borrow the *Keepsake* from their library in 1829. This library advertised that a large number of periodical publications and literary annuals were available. The library charged a monthly fee for rentals – 'for one volume at a time 3s., for two volumes 4s and for three volumes 5s.'¹¹⁵ This was not a unique phenomenon; the next year, the same library included the *Keepsake*, the *Amulet*, the *Literary Souvenir*, the *Forget-Me-Not*, the *Gem* and the *Bijou* in its collection.¹¹⁶ In 1832, the London based Hodgson's British and Foreign Library advertised their 'instant supply of the New Publications' like the Landscape and Picturesque Annuals, the *Keepsake*, [...], and all the

¹¹¹ St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 237.

¹¹² *Aberdeen Journal*, 10 Dec. 1828.

¹¹³ *Essex Standard, and Colchester, Chelmsford, Maldon, Harwich, and General County Advertiser*, 13 Nov. 1835.

¹¹⁴ *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian*, 3 Nov. 1838.

¹¹⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 Mar. 1829.

¹¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 Oct. 1829.

other Annuals, [...] in every variety for the ensuing year.’ The subscription fee was either, £5 5s for one year, £3 3s for six months or £1 16s for 3 months.¹¹⁷ Stephen Colclough refers to these two different types of libraries in *Consuming Texts* as ‘those that charged for each book borrowed and those that demanded a subscription.’¹¹⁸ The only difference between the two was that ‘Circulating Libraries that charged annual, six-monthly or quarterly rates tended to have a larger stock.’¹¹⁹ In *A Nation of Readers*, David Allan argues that the development and increase of libraries helped to spread the quantity and the diversity of literary texts available for the public to read and hence helped to increase the reading public.¹²⁰ Consequently, the Circulating Libraries played an important role in the nineteenth century because they made books more affordable and available for everyone.¹²¹ As the evidence examined here suggests, the *Keepsake* and other literary annuals were widely stocked by these libraries. This suggests a quite different class of reader to those usually associated with the annuals. These were not only books politely given as gifts, but rented and read for a few days or weeks.

The Hull Packet and Humber Mercury provides an additional sort of advertisement. On 12th August 1828, a combined advert by Moon & Co, London and Rees Davies, Hull, was published, advertising prints available in their shops for sale. Among them were prints from the *Keepsake* and the *Forget-Me-Not*: ‘Proofs and Etchings, (25 only printed) of the *Keepsake*, 1828, £7 7s. Large paper *Keepsake*, £3 13s. 6d. Proofs of the *Forget Me Not*, 1828, including Martin’s splendid Print, 35s.’¹²² It is interesting to see that the *Keepsake* and the *Forget-Me-Not* were the only annuals listed in this joint advertisement. It is not clear,

¹¹⁷ *Age*, 25 Nov. 1832, p. 377.

¹¹⁸ Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts – Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 90.

¹¹⁹ Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, p. 90.

¹²⁰ David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: the lending library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008).

¹²¹ Stuart A. P. Murray, *The Library: An Illustrated History* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2009), p. 196.

¹²² *Hull Packet and Humber Mercury*, 12 Aug. 1828.

however, whether it was possible to get prints from other annuals; either way, the *Keepsake* and the *Forget-Me-Not* were either the only ones available, or were the most popular and represented all the other annuals in general. That advert placed by Robert Jennings, in October of the same year, announced the publication of nineteen *Keepsake* illustrations. This advert provides the reader with the name of the main engraver, Charles Heath, as well as those of the artists, who included Lawrence, Turner and Stothard. Furthermore, the print collector is told the different kind of print possibilities, as well as the price: ‘Proofs, 2l.2s; India Proofs, with the Writing, 3l. 3s; India Proofs, without Writing, 4l. 4s.; Proofs on India, with the Etching, 5l. 5s.’¹²³ In certain cases, the advert emphasises the fact that only a very small number of prints were available; ‘25 only printed.’ This gives the prints even more value and thus urges the collector to act fast if he/she wants to own one. Keeping in mind that the whole *Keepsake* would cost £1 1s (or 21s. or one Guinea) the single prints were far more expensive. M.A Richardson justifies the high price of the annual by quoting a critic from the *Literary Gazette*: ‘We do not exaggerate, when we say that we consider several of the Plates to be singly worth the Price of the Vol. – a Guinea a Piece.’¹²⁴ Interestingly, Jennings’ advert tells the reader that it is still possible to get ‘a very few Copies of the Illustrations for 1828.’¹²⁵ Using the advertisement to announce the arrival of the new prints enabled printers to remind the public of the ‘very few’ other prints still available from the previous year. This phenomenon holds true with books too.¹²⁶

Many of these adverts which refer to annuals provide important insight into the nineteenth century book industry. For instance, some adverts suggest that it was possible to

¹²³ *Morning Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1828.

The advertisement shows that the prints for the *Keepsake* were available in different formats. India proofs are prints printed on a special type of paper. The illustrations available are explained in the chapter on engravings.

¹²⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 17 Nov. 1827.

¹²⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1828.

¹²⁶ *Morning Chronicle*, 5 Dec. 1828.

order annuals in advance. In 1827, George Scaum ‘invites the attention of his Friends to the numerous ANNUALS now on sale – [...] orders for which will be thankfully received.’¹²⁷ In order to be able to decide, the buyer had the possibility to visit certain booksellers and look over sample engravings before ordering the annual: ‘J.F. has now Specimen of the Engravings ready for Inspection.’¹²⁸ There were two different ways for booksellers to get possession of the annuals in order to sell them on to the public; either by receiving them from the publisher or wholesaler or by printing them themselves. Not all annuals were printed in London as the advertisement for E. Charnley in Newcastle makes clear.¹²⁹ Other bookshops would get their supply from London: ‘John Kiloh [...] has just received a supply of LONDON ALMANACKS, [...], The KEEPSAKE.’¹³⁰ Furthermore, all the adverts from the proprietor and the booksellers include the price of the annuals. Customers were thus aware that the *Keepsake* was more expensive than its rivals; with 21s or one Guinea for small octavo (and 2l. 12s.6d for royal octave) for the *Keepsake* and 12s for the *Forget-Me-Not* for example. As already noted, however some booksellers were prepared to sell these titles at a discount. That the competition was fierce among the sellers can be seen in an advert published in *The Morning Chronicle*: ‘BOOKSELLERS’ MONOPOLY. – Twenty per Cent Discount allowed notwithstanding;’ advertising the *Keepsake for 1833* for 17s.¹³¹ Similarly, W.H. Smith’s tactic was to sell the annuals at a cheaper price than usual: ‘W.H. Smith [...] respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, and Public, he again offers those splendid Publications, the ANNUALS, at his usual Reduced Price [...].’¹³² Instead of asking the publishers’ price at 21s, W.H. Smith sold them for 18s instead. It is normal that the proprietors of the annuals were

¹²⁷ *Hull Packet and Humber Mercury*, 20 Nov. 1827.

¹²⁸ *Newcastle Courant etc.*, 11 Oct. 1828.

¹²⁹ *Newcastle Courant etc.*, 15 Dec. 1827.

¹³⁰ *Aberdeen Journal*, 19 Dec. 1827.

¹³¹ *Morning Chronicle*, 21 Nov. 1832.

¹³² *Age*, 1 Jan. 1832, p. 8.

not happy about his prices: ‘[...] notwithstanding the continued combination of the Publishers to force him to increase his charge.’¹³³ Both of these advertisements suggest that it was possible to buy the annuals from London booksellers at less than the price usually demanded by the publishers. Despite W.H. Smith’s strategy was to sell more for a cheaper price, there were other sellers who tried to deceive buyers by selling ‘Imperfect copies’ of the annuals. Wilson, the bookseller warned the readers in his advert to be aware of flawed versions: ‘The Public are cautioned against Imperfect copies of these splendidly Embellished Works, which are selling at reduced prices.’¹³⁴

Royal A. Gettmann notes that some publishers, like Henry Colburn were not satisfied with the advertising columns of newspapers and periodicals because they wanted to reach a broader audience. In order to catch the attention of people who were not searching for advertisements for books, the publishers tried to incorporate their books into the news of the moment. According to Gettmann, ‘the most effective way of doing this was to hint at associations between the book and actual persons whose conduct had made them objects of public curiosity.’¹³⁵ Gossip could therefore be used as another form of advertisement and it played another important factor for the *Keepsake*. Ned Schantz argues that gossip is a typical tool for women ‘to sustain themselves on a daily basis and to intervene in the machinations of men.’¹³⁶ This is an interesting point, considering that gossip was used in order to inform the reading audience about annuals, their engravers and contributors. It could be seen as an appropriate device for this type of advertisement, which talks about a book considered as being a book for ladies. In a series called ‘The Mirror of Fashion,’ published in *The Morning*

¹³³ *Age*, 1 Jan. 1832, p. 8.

¹³⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 20 Dec. 1827.

¹³⁵ Royal A. Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 62.

¹³⁶ Ned Schantz, *Gossip, Letters, Phones; The Scandal of female Networks in Film and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 11.

Chronicle, the reader is told interesting facts, scandals and rumours about the forthcoming volume of the *Keepsake*. This incorporated news about contributors. For example, in September 1828, the reader was made aware that Sir Walter Scott was to contribute:

‘My Aunt Margaret’s Mirror,’ ‘The Tapestryed Chamber,’ ‘The Laird’s Jock,’ and ‘A Scene at Abbotsford,’ are the names of four Stories written by Sir WALTER SCOTT, which will appear in the forthcoming volume of the *Keepsake*.¹³⁷

Scott was a very popular author in this time period and many people would buy the annual in order to get the latest writings by him. In other instances of gossip, some columnists believed they recognized certain characters from the stories. In December 1828, the *Morning Chronicle* reported that: ‘The curious ‘Historical Fragment,’ written by Sir JAMES MACINTOSH, and inserted in the *Keepsake*, is, we understand, avowedly intended for a character of the late Mr. CANNING.’¹³⁸ Another example can be found a few weeks later: ‘The subject of the story of ‘The Old Gentleman,’ inserted in the *Keepsake* for the current year, is a most respectable individual, well known as a pedestrian about town, who, as the *last of the Stuarts*, enjoys a pension from Government.’¹³⁹ In this case, the person is not directly named, as in the former, but contemporaries would recognize the person in question. Obviously, this kind of statement would make certain people buy the *Keepsake* in order to check whether they too recognized the person in question. *The Morning Chronicle* was not the only periodical that provided literary gossip. One important aspect which interested the reading public and which can be found in many newspapers was that of money and the production costs of the *Keepsake*:

¹³⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, 6 Sept. 1828.

¹³⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, 1 Dec. 1828.

¹³⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, 22 Dec. 1828.

We have been informed that Sir Walter Scott has engaged to furnish two tales and a poem for the *Keepsake*, for which he is to be paid the almost incredible sum of 1,000 guineas; Well might Johnson say there were no Mæcenases but the booksellers.¹⁴⁰

Another example mentions the large fee Scott was offered for his contributions: '[...]. Some smaller tales, intended for this Series, we are informed Sir Walter has consigned to the 'Annual Keepsake,' for a 'con-sid-er-a-tion.''¹⁴¹ In contrast to those male earners, L.E.L. would receive far less money for her contributions. According to St. Clair, she received £2 2s (42 shillings) for each poem and only £100 for writing all the contributions in one year for the *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*.¹⁴² Nevertheless, considering that the norm in 1816 for a retired senior commander in the Royal Navy was about £5 (100 shillings) a week and that Landon had to live on £120 a year, the salary Heath and Reynolds offered and paid was spectacular.¹⁴³ Thus it was not surprising that readers found this kind of news in the gossip columns, as it was astonishing for people to hear about the high payments.

Money was an important aspect of what interested people in periodicals and it is not surprising that it was often talked about in the gossip articles. In another paragraph of newspaper gossip, readers were thus told about the '*Immense Expense of Annuals*'¹⁴⁴ and that Thomas Moore refused the offer for his contributions:

It is stated that the proprietor of the 'Keepsake' offered Mr. Thomas Moore a guinea per line for an article of poetry on any subject and of any

¹⁴⁰ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc*, 21 Apr. 1828.

¹⁴¹ *Morning Chronicle*, 17 Apr. 1828.

¹⁴² St. Clair, *Reading Nations*, p. 230.

¹⁴³ St. Clair, *Reading Nations*, pp. 194-195.

¹⁴⁴ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc*, 1 Dec. 1828.

length he chose; an offer which the other engagements of Mr. Moore did not allow him to accept!'¹⁴⁵

The 'Immense Expense of Annuals' did not only include the expenditure for contribution costs, but for the binding too. That is why it is not surprising to find in the article that 'About 100.000 volumes will be printed altogether, and the sum paid for binding alone is estimated at £10,000.'¹⁴⁶ The expense of the *Keepsake* was of interest to the readers, as it indicated richness in the content and look of the annual, which gave it great value as a book for the drawing-room table. Consequently, these high payments and reported gossip sparked interest, and stimulated sales, as people wanted to satisfy their curiosity and find out whether the contributions were worth it or not.

Another type of gossip news was a review of the past year included in *The Age*. The columnist wrote that in the month of April Lord Morpeth stopped writing for the *Keepsake*: 'Frothy Morpeth [...] gives up writing in the Keepsake greatly to the satisfaction of Heath, the proprietor.'¹⁴⁷ Another rumour provided by the *Age* was as follows:

Our correspondent, No-Jew (whom we suspect to be HOBHOUSE), need not make such a fuss about it. The letters of Lord BYRON, published in the *Keepsake*, were sold to that annual for a valuable consideration, some fifteen or sixteen pounds, by the Honourable DOUGLAS KINNAIRD. Why should not K. turn a penny by Lord BYRON as well as TOM MOORE [sic].¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc*, 1 Dec. 1828.

¹⁴⁶ *Aberdeen Journal*, 15 Oct. 1828.

¹⁴⁷ *Age*, 3 Jan. 1836, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ *Age*, 29 Nov. 1829, p. 380.

It seems that one of their correspondents did not approve of the insertion of Byron's letters in the annual. It is not quite clear if the columnist is ironic or if he really meant it. Thomas Moore was offered by Reynolds the enormous sum of £600 for a single contribution for the *Keepsake*. Moore refused, because he believed that contributing would ruin his reputation: 'The fact is, it is my *name* brings these offers, & my name would suffer by accepting them.'¹⁴⁹ That is why Moore was outraged when he found out that one of his works was published without his permission and without paying any money for it.¹⁵⁰ Moore wrote in his journal that Reynolds:

got hold of some lines which I wrote one day after dinner (about ten years since) in Perry's Copy of Lalla Rookh, he, without saying a single word to me, clips this doggerel into his book, and announces me brazenly on the List of his Contributors. Thus, not having been able to *buy* my name, he tricks me out of it, and gets gratis what I refused six hundred pounds for.¹⁵¹

As a consequence, the situation of Byron and Moore is not the same. Unlike Moore, Byron died in 1824 before the publication of the *Keepsake*. Kinnaird was Byron's banker and his literary agent who attended to Byron's finances, and was implicated in the publications of his works.¹⁵² He was a close friend and owned the letters. Consequently, he could sell some of Byron's correspondence to Reynolds and earned money with them. Reynolds purchased them legally, whereas Moore's contribution was stolen and no one – except Reynolds – benefitted from it. The *Keepsake* was highly visible to newspaper readers of the 1820s and 30s, who were told when and where they could buy the annual, how good the engravings and the literature were, and which well known authors and engravers were to appear in the forthcoming volume. Annuals maintained their popularity by

¹⁴⁹ Feldman, 'Introduction,' p. 22.

¹⁵⁰ Feldman, 'Introduction,' p. 24.

¹⁵¹ Feldman, 'Introduction,' p. 22.

¹⁵² Ralph Lloyd-Jones, 'Kinnaird, Douglas James William (1788–1830)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

manipulating the existing sources for publication. Gossip columns were therefore a means to spark interest in the literary annuals.

As well as gossip, some newspapers and periodicals reproduced whole poems. *The Examiner* published, for example, Coleridge's 'Epigram'¹⁵³ and *The Derby Mercury* reproduced L.E.L's 'The Adieu.'¹⁵⁴ These short poems give the reader an idea of what sort of writing he/she would be able to find if they buy the volume.¹⁵⁵ Similar to other adverts, this reproduction might make the reader buy the annual too. Although not as famous as Scott, Coleridge's work was in high demand in the early nineteenth century and as a consequence, the reader would be attracted to annuals to discover his new work.¹⁵⁶ Due to the length of the tales, it was uncommon to publish whole short stories, and therefore it was frequent to use lengthy extracts instead. However, due to the fact that Mary Shelley's 'The False Rhyme' (*Keepsake* 1830) was rather short, it can be found in its entirety in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*.¹⁵⁷

The *Keepsake* also benefitted from other notices that brought it to the attention of potential readers. For example, in 1829, *The Morning Chronicle* ran an advertisement for the auctioneer Evans of Pall Mall who was selling 'THE Valuable LIBRARY of a Gentleman,' that included the 'Keepsake for 1828 & 1829, 2 vols. Large paper, proof plates, very scarce; and many other scarce literary books.'¹⁵⁸ The same holds true for Mr. Southgate, another auctioneer who offered in the same year 'a valuable COLLECTION of BOOKS in every department of Literature' for sale.¹⁵⁹ These collections were probably being sold because of death or debts, but these adverts are interesting for two reasons.

¹⁵³ *Examiner*, 9 Nov. 1828.

¹⁵⁴ *Derby Mercury*, 28 Nov. 1832.

¹⁵⁵ Another example can be found in *Liverpool Mercury etc* in 1835, in which they reproduced Mrs. Opie's 'The Princess Victoria,' or three years earlier in 1832, *The Leeds Mercury* rereleased The Honourable Henry Liddle's 'The Moors.'

[*Liverpool Mercury etc*, 9 Oct. 1835; *Leeds Mercury*, 3 Nov. 1832.]

¹⁵⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 3 Nov. 1832.

¹⁵⁷ *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, 24 Oct. 1829, p. 288.

¹⁵⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, 25 Apr. 1829.

¹⁵⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, 2 Feb. 1829.

First of all, their collections included many ‘extremely rare’ books with titles one would expect to find in a gentleman’s library.¹⁶⁰ However, being known as a ladies’ book, it is interesting to find two specimens of the *Keepsake* in the collection sold by Evans and a variety of annuals auctioned by Southgate. In other words, this evidence suggests that the annuals were not only owned by women but by men. Secondly, it shows that the annuals were an important phenomenon in the nineteenth century because private libraries could not be imagined without them.

If annuals were to be found in every gentleman’s library, something of their ubiquity is also suggested by those adverts for other businesses that used the social significance of these books as a tool to sell other products. A good example of this is Robert Warren’s advertising campaign for blacking or polish. The advert that appeared in *The Age* for his ‘Easy-abining and Brilliant Blacking’ stated that although the *Keepsake*, the *Forget Me Not* and all the other ‘Splendid Annuals’ were very popular, they were still not as popular as his own product because he sold millions of cans every year.¹⁶¹ This verse shows that many people bought the annuals to put them on display and to ‘boast’ about their grand possessions. Nevertheless, Warren says that there are even more people buying his blacking than people who buy ‘picture-books.’ It is interesting too that the literary annuals are described as ‘picture-books’, because it gives the blacking a much higher significance and value. It is clear that Warren joined in with the trend by using the annuals as a hook to capture potential customers, and the fact that these adverts appeared in many different journals would have increased the visibility of the annuals as a form amongst early nineteenth-century readers. Another example of the popularity of the *Keepsake* can be found in *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*. At first sight it is not clear what annuals and sports have in common. Quickly the reader realises that in the category of first class races, Mr. Knatchbull’s racing horse, *Keepsake* lost against Mr. Biggs’s *Blende*.¹⁶² This mirrors again the popularity of the annuals, as a gentleman named his horse after a popular annual. Although one can say that the horse’s owner might have named it before the first

¹⁶⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, 25 Apr. 1829.

¹⁶¹ *Age*, 29 July 1832, p. 248.

¹⁶² *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 Dec. 1829.

publication and appearance of the *Keepsake*, there were already many other annuals on the market, which might have influenced Mr. Knatchbull with his choice.

This section has examined a variety of advertisements used by the publishers of annuals to publicise their new works, and by booksellers and librarians to promote renting or sales. The competition between different annuals was fierce and hence publishers had to make sure that their work was widely known and bought by the public. These different examples have shown that annuals were omnipresent in magazines and periodicals, and that due to the variety of adverts the reader was aware of their existence and presence on the literary market. Furthermore, this section has shown the importance of these books as an integral part of the nineteenth century society. The following section will discuss another important factor which helped to spread the knowledge of the existence of the *Keepsake* even further; the critiques of contemporary critics.

Reception of nineteenth-century contemporaries

Linley and Ledbetter believe that male writers felt threatened by the increasing numbers of female writers participating in the literary market and therefore the periodicals tried ‘to establish certain forms of theoretical and political knowledge as masculine and middle-class,’ while ‘publishers began defining the women’s market in the 1820s and the juvenile market at the end of the decade through gift books and annuals.’¹⁶³ This idea certainly goes some way to explain the negative criticism levelled at literary annuals, which often associated them with female writers and readers. Linley also suggests that another reason for the negativity of these views was hinted at by Alaric Watts: the ‘critics favour single-authored texts.’¹⁶⁴ In the introduction to the *Literary Souvenir* (1831) Watts refers to a ‘particular class of critics’ who are impossible to please, as they ‘do not hesitate to visit

¹⁶³ Linley, p. 54.

¹⁶⁴ Linley, p. 60.

whatever faults they may chance to discover in the few, upon the whole body.¹⁶⁵ Watts suggests that if one contribution is condemned as bad, the author is damned for all of his/her other contributions. Nevertheless, Watts implies that it is not uncommon to republish those writings:

It is worthy of remark, that several of the Cynics, who affect to regard so lightly the literature of annual volumes, are but too happy to publish, from time to time, in the periodicals over which they preside, the rejected articles of such miscellanies. [...] Why that which is good on one sheet of paper should be bad upon another, it is difficult to conceive.¹⁶⁶

This suggests that rather than favouring single-authored texts, these critics were responding to the overall context of the annual and thus declared a preference for texts printed in other contexts (journals and periodicals), rather than annuals. That is why Watts was glad that it 'is well for the interests of literature, that the 'balance of power' will generally be found to be in the hands of more liberal critics.'¹⁶⁷

The reception of literary annuals was not purely negative. On the contrary, giftbooks and annuals provoked both negative and positive reactions among contemporary critics and writers. Reviews and criticism on literary annuals flourished between September and January in monthly periodicals and weekly papers. Critics discussed in particular detail the binding, illustrations and contributions. In most cases, the best or weakest contributions were selected and discussed at length. Often, the good stories or poems were reprinted or represented via generous quotations. Opinions on literary annuals varied and increased with the growth of

¹⁶⁵ Alaric A. Watts, ed., *The Literary Souvenir* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1831), pp. viii-ix.

¹⁶⁶ Watts, *Literary Souvenir*, 1831, pp. ix-x.

¹⁶⁷ Watts, *Literary Souvenir*, 1831, p. x.

annual publications. This section of the chapter seeks to clarify the reception of the *Keepsake* by exploring some critical reviews written by several contemporary critics, especially William M. Thackeray and Christian Isobel Johnstone, whose opinions widely differed. As Manning notes, any kind of publicity is good publicity for the editors.¹⁶⁸ Hence he suggests that nineteenth-century criticism ‘served less as arbiters of praise or blame than as allies in publicity.’¹⁶⁹ By analysing the critics of contemporary authors, this section therefore firstly aims to uncover the discourse via which literary annuals were mediated as giftbooks to their readers and secondly, to prove that already in the nineteenth century, there was continuing debate whether literary annuals could or could not be considered as being worth reading.

The critic of the *New Monthly Magazine* explained in 1828 the origin of literary annuals: ‘all the world knows that we are indebted for them to the Germans.’¹⁷⁰ The critic does not stop here but boasts about the superiority of his own nation: ‘as in most other instances, where we have borrowed from the inventions of strangers, we have improved them beyond all hope of foreign competition.’¹⁷¹ The reviewer brags about and favours the British copy over the German original and sets as the tone of the article a positive attitude towards the giftbooks. The *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* agreed with this view, adding another strand of commentary on the illustrations. The reviewer explains that the circulation of engravings was previously restricted to the wealthy, and by 1833 ‘what primarily was a luxury, which wealth alone could purchase, gradually falls, by reason of its easy attainment [...] into a homely necessary of civilized existence.’¹⁷² Both reviews are particularly positive about the

¹⁶⁸ Manning, ‘Wordsworth in the Keepsake,’ p. 52.

¹⁶⁹ Manning, ‘Wordsworth in the Keepsake,’ p. 59.

¹⁷⁰ ‘The Annuals,’ *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 23: 91 (1828: July), p. 461. (Hereafter referred to as NMM July 1828)

¹⁷¹ NMM, July 1828, p. 461.

¹⁷² ‘The Annuals,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 2: 10 (1833: Jan.), pp. 524-525. (Hereafter referred to as TEM Jan. 1833)

engravings and are well disposed towards literary annuals in general, which are seen as a sign of a progressive culture. That is why this latter critic believes that ‘society at large has been benefited, a new enjoyment opened up, and the great moral good which ever [sic] results to a civilized community from the cultivation, diffusion, and encouragement of the arts and sciences, is silently but surely spreading its blessings.’¹⁷³ The reviewer of the *New Monthly Magazine* was of the same opinion. He argued: ‘the number of exquisite engravings dispersed through the kingdom by the various Annuals will do wonders in exciting and refining the taste for art.’¹⁷⁴ The reviewers thus believed that the annuals were helping British readers to improve their minds and taste.

The critics not only paid tribute to giftbooks in general but to specific annuals on the literary market. Thus, it is possible to broaden the topic and to discuss critiques of different annuals, including the *Forget-Me-Not* and the *Bijou*, but this chapter will focus mainly on the reception of the *Keepsake*. In 1833, the *Literary Gazette* praised the prose contributions in the *Keepsake*:

Mr. Reynolds has been very fortunate in his contributions this year; as far as the prose, i.e. the principal department, is concerned. There are some singularly brilliant and original stories.¹⁷⁵

Similarly, the *Metropolitan Magazine* stated that the contributions were of excellent quality:

The articles from the pens of all these writers, who have earned a well-deserved fame, are in their best manner. Whatever Annual may compete with, we feel assured that none will surpass it.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ TEM, Jan. 1833, p. 524.

¹⁷⁴ ‘The Annuals for 1832,’ *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 32: 127 (1831: July), p. 455.

¹⁷⁵ ‘The Keepsake,’ *Literary Gazette*, 897 (1833: Nov.), p. 739.

Another favourable example can be found in ‘The Annuals for 1839,’ in which the reviewer admires the ‘elegance and excellence’ of the 1839 *Keepsake* version:

This annual, with the sweet old English name, appears for 1839 with more than its usual elegance and excellence. The plates are all good; but a few are *choice*.¹⁷⁷

These examples show different positive attributes of the *Keepsake*; the prose contributions, the writers and the engravings. The *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, therefore states in 1834 that ‘[t]he arts of drawing, engraving, and bookbinding, have here been carried to an extent formerly inconceivable.’¹⁷⁸ In other words, the reviews were responding to the annuals as a particularly new and exciting print phenomenon that combined all of the wonders of modern print culture – illustration, short stories and writers who had begun to take on a star status. Appearance and illustration were, however, of particular significance. The reviewer of the *Monthly Magazine* describes the *Keepsake for 1828* as a ‘gem’ with an ‘exquisite series of embellishments’ that ‘excels every one of its rivals.’¹⁷⁹ Several engravings are mentioned by the title and the review concludes:

Thus far our praise is justly due to ‘The Keepsake,’ and it will have been seen that we measure it out with no reluctant hand, as we consider the volume certainly the first of its kind in point of embellishment, that has ever been produced in this or in any other country.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ ‘The Keepsake for 1836,’ *Metropolitan Magazine*, 14: 56 (1835: Dec.), p. 114.

¹⁷⁷ ‘The Annuals for 1839,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 5:60 (1838: Dec.), p. 790.

¹⁷⁸ ‘The Annuals,’ *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, 146 (1834: Nov. 15), p. 333.

¹⁷⁹ *Monthly Review*, vol. 7 (London: Hurst, Robinson, 1828), p. 66.

¹⁸⁰ *Monthly Review*, vol. 7, p.66.

After highlighting the positive aspect of the first *Keepsake*, and the superiority of British print culture, the reviewer points out his disappointment with the literary contributions:

But if we do not mistake the prevailing taste of our fair countrywomen, to many of whom this work will no doubt be presented, we think that, after they have feasted their eyes on the engravings, they will look into the written matter for entertainment of a still more engaging and more permanent nature. We can assure them that if they do, they will be extremely disappointed. They will find in it scarcely a single page, either of poetry or prose, which is at all likely to please their taste, still less to instruct their understanding.¹⁸¹

The reviewer is particularly conscious of the annuals as gifts for women and believes that the literary annuals should contain material ‘in the way of dainties for the mind, as well as for the eye.’¹⁸² It was in part a response to this type of criticism that Charles Heath replaced the first editor, William Harrison Ainsworth with Frederic Mansel Reynolds and sought contributions from some of the most popular writers in the country, including Scott, Coleridge and Wordsworth.¹⁸³ Although, Heath made the effort to change the literary contributions, the negative criticism did not completely cease in the coming years. The *Literary Gazette* wrote for example in 1835 that ‘[t]he literary contents of the *Keepsake* this year may be divided into two parts – the common-place, and the wretchedly bad.’¹⁸⁴ According to the *Literary Gazette*,

¹⁸¹ *Monthly Review*, vol. 7, pp. 66-67.

¹⁸² *Monthly Review*, vol. 7, p. 67.

¹⁸³ Many critics disapproved of the literary contributions of the first edition. Consequently, Heath and Reynolds looked for famous authors to ameliorate its reputation. Heath spent large amounts of money on their contributions. Scott was asked to be the new editor but refused the proposed amount of £800 per year. In the end, he accepted £500 for his contributions but he managed to negotiate to have the copyright back after three years (Feldman, ‘Introduction,’ pp. 7-25).

¹⁸⁴ ‘The Keepsake for 1835,’ *Literary Gazette*, 929 (1834: Nov.), p. 750.

‘[a]n Annual ought to be a collection of all that is lightest and most graceful in literature.’¹⁸⁵ Instead the reader gets ‘rubbish.’ This is, however, not only the case for 1835 *Keepsake* version, because the critic adds: ‘But, truly, the pocket-books of ten years ago do not contain greater rubbish than the volume we now dismiss.’¹⁸⁶

Looking through different periodicals, one should not only expect negative reviews of literary annuals. In December 1835, the *Metropolitan Magazine* praised the *Keepsake* as a ‘splendid Annual’ and a volume of ‘great excellence.’¹⁸⁷ Similarly, *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* argued that the 1838 *Keepsake* included ‘a list of contributors that is perfectly dazzling,’ a ‘table of matters that is copious and diversified’ in a review that praised its content as altogether ‘pleasant.’¹⁸⁸ Even in 1847, long after the annual boom, the reviewer for the *New Sporting Magazine* was able to praise the *Keepsake* as ‘exquisite’ in that it is ‘furnished with some articles of considerable taste and talent.’¹⁸⁹ As these examples have shown, the reception of the literary content varied over the years, although negative reviews were often much more potent and engrossing than those which praised annuals for their ‘pleasant’ contents.

Not all reviews liked the contents of individual annuals, and others were worried about the proliferation of titles. For example an article on ‘The Annuals’ that appeared in *Fraser’s Magazine* in 1830 looked unfavourably on the large number of annuals available on the literary market: ‘If one of the yearlings fail (in the word of the wise Mahmoud) another

¹⁸⁵ *Literary Gazette*, 929, 1834, p. 750.

¹⁸⁶ *Literary Gazette*, 929, 1834, p. 750.

¹⁸⁷ ‘The Keepsake for 1836,’ *Metropolitan Magazine*, 14: 56 (1835: Dec.), p. 114.

¹⁸⁸ ‘The Keepsake,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 3: 36 (1836: Dec), p. 811.

¹⁸⁹ ‘The Keepsake, 1847,’ *New Sporting Magazine* (1847: Jan.), p. 66.

will spring up in its place, so that there need never be cause for despair.’¹⁹⁰ After establishing that he would preserve only two or three titles and ‘put an extinguisher to the rest,’ the critic reveals that he would keep the *Friendship’s Offering* and the *Amulet*, as ‘they combine sensible writing with clever prints.’¹⁹¹ The *Keepsake*, however, ‘we would abolish at a blow’ because

The character of painting is quite lost in the little morsels of prints which they contain. [...] We ought not to be in a state to require magnifying glasses before we can see the work of the engraver. That is not the object of art. The use of an engraving is to multiply truly and extensively pictures of merit. If we reduce the head to one-tenth of the size of a silver two pence, this cannot be accomplished.¹⁹²

The reason for this vehement response was therefore due to the fact that the critic believed the *Keepsake* to be ‘very injurious to art, and not favourable to literature.’¹⁹³

Why were these reviewers so opposed to the annuals? One reason might be that the literary market appeared glutted by what *Fraser’s Magazine* called the ‘Legion of Forget-Me-Nots.’¹⁹⁴ According to William Whewell, Ackermann ‘produced a revolution in holyday books’ which had left readers overstrained by the choice of titles available.¹⁹⁵ In 1828, this point was highlighted by *The Examiner*, which summarized the impact of literary annuals on the public:

¹⁹⁰ ‘The Annuals,’ *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, 2:11 (1830: Dec.), p. 544. This article is not attributed to a critic, but I believe that its satiric style and the dislikes are coherent with other reviews by Thackeray.

¹⁹¹ *Fraser’s Magazine*, 2:11, 1830, pp. 544-545.

¹⁹² *Fraser’s Magazine*, 2:11, 1830, p. 545.

¹⁹³ *Fraser’s Magazine*, 2:11, 1830, p. 545.

¹⁹⁴ ‘A Gossip about the Christmas Books,’ *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, 43:253 (1851: Jan.), p. 37.

¹⁹⁵ *Fraser’s Magazine*, 43: 253, 1851, p. 37.

Without exaggeration, there is scarcely a drawing-room or boudoir in London that has not this volume on its table – indeed, such is the rage for it, that to be without it almost implies absence of taste in any person possessing the means of purchasing it.¹⁹⁶

This essay brilliantly captures the way in which annuals operated as signs of fashion and taste, to be displayed in the ‘drawing-room or boudoir.’ However, some critical voices were worried that they were more fashionable than good, and that some critics praised them merely because it was fashionable to do so:

A political writer who permits himself to be influenced by party is an object of hatred; while the critic, who in his strictures, follows blindly the stream of fashion, is merely contemptible. As for ourselves, having bid defiance to faction in another department of our journal, we are not disposed to submit to leading strings of any kind in this. We do not think it necessary to sneer when writing of the ‘illustrations of an annual.’¹⁹⁷

This reviewer argues that those critics running with the ‘stream of fashion’ are pitiful and that he/she is not willing to do so. Reviews of this kind question the impartiality of some other critics and make the reader aware that they cannot trust the opinion of every critic they read. Negative criticism of this sort was particularly common and shows distaste amongst some critics for mainstream bourgeois culture and the mass-produced artefacts with which it was associated.

Not only reviewers were opposed to literary annuals, but writers too. One reason why contemporary authors were against annuals was that they blamed the books for a fall in the

¹⁹⁶ *Examiner*, 13 Jan. 1828.

¹⁹⁷ *Era*, 4 Nov. 1838.

amount of sales of their own literary works. In 1839, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* noted that 'during the seventeen years [...] the Annuals have flourished in England, a million and a half of money has been expended upon them by the public.'¹⁹⁸ This statement implies that the public's investment in the annuals left very little to be spent elsewhere. Southey had the same presentiment in 1828, when he remarked that poetry did not sell as well as it used to because 'the Annuals are now the only books bought for presents to young ladies, in which way poems formerly had their chief vent.'¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Lee Erickson suggests that the publication of the *Forget-Me-Not* and the *Literary Souvenir* in 1826 'could be said to account for the decline in poetry publication.'²⁰⁰ However, not every contemporary of Southey thought this way. *Chambers's* disagreed saying: 'They are issued at a period of the year when trade is proverbially 'dull,' and when bookselling is especially so. They create business when, according to the Irishman, there is 'nothing stirring but stagnation.'²⁰¹ In 1829, the *Mirror of Literature* confirms that the public prefers a miscellany to a volume of a single writer. Hence, the giftbooks are 'a species of literature which presents us with the pleasing facility of holding yearly communion with our poets and authors, without being subjected to the tedium of awaiting their protracted appearance in a more voluminous shape.'²⁰² These opinions differ clearly: one group blames literary annuals for the decline in poetry sales, while the other believes that readers prefer collections of different authors.

Contrary to the belief of those contemporary writers who were against the annuals, many authors benefitted from their collaborations to these volumes, even though they had

¹⁹⁸ 'The Annuals,' *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 412 (1839: Dec. 21), p. 383.

¹⁹⁹ Charles Cuthbert Southey, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1855), p. 463.

²⁰⁰ Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), p. 29.

²⁰¹ *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 412, 1839, p. 383.

²⁰² 'The Annuals,' *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, 14: 396 (1829: Oct. 31), p. 275.

less single-author sales. For example, Tennyson, as a young and unknown poet used this opportunity to publish in a popular form in order to make his name (better) known to a broader public. As Kathryn Ledbetter states, '[h]is appearance in an annual could enhance his reputation, uniting him with contemporary authors in a publication that glorified literature in the finest, most beautiful material display then possible in the publishing world.'²⁰³ Manning further suggests that even more experienced writers could benefit from contributing as they could 'learn[...] new tricks.'²⁰⁴ According to Manning, Wordsworth's creations for the *Keepsake* therefore 'rejuvenated' his style and 'diversif[ied] and lighten[ed] his repertory.'²⁰⁵ Wordsworth therefore used 'chivalric, Russian, medieval' and 'oriental' themes in his contributions for the *Keepsake*, 'far removed from the native English landscapes and earnest tones of his characteristic work.'²⁰⁶ Even though many contemporaries blamed the annuals for the unpopularity of their own works, it seems clear that many writers profited from the possibility of making their name known to a broader audience and the potential to develop their craft.

Thackeray and Johnstone

Two of the most influential contemporary critics of the annual form are William M. Thackeray and Christian Isobel Johnstone. According to Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, the latter is 'an important but under-rated figure in the annals of nineteenth-century journalism.'²⁰⁷ Pamela Perkins adds that 'Christian Johnstone's name was not a familiar one

²⁰³ Kathryn Ledbetter, *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals: Commodities in Context* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), p. 17.

²⁰⁴ Manning, 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake,' p. 62.

²⁰⁵ Manning, 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake,' p. 62.

²⁰⁶ Manning, 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake,' p. 62.

²⁰⁷ Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 323.

in the literary world, [but] she was by no means ‘obscure’ as an author, as she had built a reputation through her previous books and in doing so had added significantly to the value of her future publications.²⁰⁸

For more than 12 years, Johnstone was editor and journalist for *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* (1832-1846), an important reformist periodical of that time.²⁰⁹ Although in the 1830s many annuals were edited by female writers, most periodicals and journals still employed male editors. Alexis Easley notes that Johnstone was trying to stay away from public attention by publishing her books anonymously or under the pseudonym Margaret Dods and hence ‘shaped her career within the context of anonymous print media.’²¹⁰ The reason for this near invisibility was, according to the editors of the *Wellesley*, the result of her divorce, because Johnstone ‘preferred to off-set her ‘sins’ by as much respectability and privacy as possible.’²¹¹ Although, Johnstone’s identity as the editor of *Tait’s* was known in some circles, her name gave the illusion of her being a male editor and therefore ‘the anonymity of periodical editing still enabled her to address a broader audience.’²¹²

Thackeray, on the other hand, was not an editor but a prolific contributor of criticism to periodicals and journals. He wrote under several witty pen names, including George Savage Fitzboodle, Michael Angelo Titmarsh, Major Gahagan, Ikey Solomons, and Charles

²⁰⁸Pamela Perkins, ‘Scarcely Known to Fame’: The Literary Identities of Christian Isobel Johnstone,’ *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p. 221.

²⁰⁹ Alexis Easley, *First Person Anonymous: women writers and Victorian print media, 1830-1870* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), p. 62.

²¹⁰ Easley, p. 62.

²¹¹ Quoted in Perkins, p. 225.

²¹² Easley, p. 62.

James Yellowplush.²¹³ As Titmarsh, Thackeray wrote reviews of different literary annuals for *Fraser's Magazine*.²¹⁴

Johnstone and Thackeray had the same work ethic, although the outcome was very different. In her essay 'On Periodical Literature,' Johnstone explained the role of journalists and periodicals. She believed that critics have a responsibility towards their readers and that they have to give direction and 'lead to what is worthy, and pure, and faithful' with 'an earnest, [...] almost religious, spirit of truthfulness.'²¹⁵ As Easley suggests, Johnstone believed that by improving the literary taste of the public reviewers could change society and ameliorate the British people.²¹⁶

Like Johnstone, Thackeray believed that it was the duty of the critic to give a truthful and trustworthy opinion without prettifying the facts. Not surprisingly, Thackeray attacked in 1830 other critics who he believed proved 'themselves to be quite unworthy of the posts [they] fill' because they choose 'to indulge in such unseemly praises and indecent raptures as may mislead the painters, authors, and the public.'²¹⁷ As they are both known for their lasting influence and for the sincerity of their critiques, it is very interesting to see how they cover literary annuals in their reviews.

²¹³ Peter L. Shillingsburg, 'Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811–1863),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

²¹⁴ Brake and Demoor, p. 620.

²¹⁵ Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'On Periodical Literature,' *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 3, ed. William Tait and Christian Isobel (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1833), p. 324.

²¹⁶ Easley, p. 65.

²¹⁷ William M. Thackeray, 'The Annuals,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and County*, 2:11 (1830: Dec.), pp. 33-34.

Thackeray and the annuals

In 1832, Thackeray wrote a review for *Fraser's Magazine*, discussing several annuals for the following year, including *Friendship's Offering*, the *Amulet*, the *Book of Beauty*, the *Literary Souvenir* and the *Forget-Me-Not*. The extracts that are going to be analysed in the following section are going to make clear that Thackeray does not condemn everything about, or everyone in, the literary annuals. On the contrary, as Donald Hawes states, Thackeray used 'parody, ridicule, and sharp comment, but [did] not withhold[...] praise where it was due.'²¹⁸ Thackeray's interest focused mainly on the illustrations without, however, ignoring the literary contributions.

In his critiques, one could thus read that the engravings of *Friendship's Offering* are 'beautiful,' the illustrations of the *Amulet* are 'feliculously selected and admirable executed;' and that the *Amulet* included 'beautiful and brilliant productions, and gems of sparkling lustre and the truest water.'²¹⁹ The *Literary Souvenir*, on the other hand, did not match up: 'The illustrations are better far than the 'literary matter;' although even these fall below the excellence of the *Amulet* and *Friendship's Offering*.'²²⁰

In addition, he did not shrink from giving personal advice to some of the writers, even though he was aware that they were unlikely to take it: 'Mrs. Norton indulges in too much twaddle for our taste: we could, if we dare, advise her to think more and write less.'²²¹ A harsher critique can be found of Mrs. Hall whose story 'Lost Beauty' was described as

²¹⁸ Donald Hawes, 'Thackeray and the Annuals,' *Ariel*, 7 (1976), p. 27.

²¹⁹ William M. Thackeray, 'The Friendship's Offering, Amulet, Book of Beauty, and Annual Pocket-Books,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and County*, 6:36 (1832: Dec.), pp. 653 + 655.

²²⁰ Thackeray, *Fraser's Magazine*, 6: 36, 1832, p. 668.

²²¹ Thackeray, *Fraser's Magazine*, 6: 36, 1832, p. 654.

‘altogether unworthy of one who has written some admirable stories, and who appears, by practice, to be every day acquiring strength.’²²² Thackeray was not only negative, however. A writer, close to his heart was ‘the fair Letitia Eliza Landon:’

[she] is a favourite of ours, and we know that she can and will do many better things than those she has already produced, full as those are of the demonstrations of expanding genius. Praise of no ordinary quality is due to this lady.²²³

Unlike the other contributors, Thackeray describes Landon’s circumstances and life in detail; probably in order to make her a favourite of the readers too. He praises her writings and her work as an editor and states that the *Book of Beauty* ‘is a gem of the first waters’²²⁴: ‘Here are fitting themes for the pen and imagination of Miss Landon. She has executed her part well, and the volume is excellent in all its parts.’²²⁵ Donald Hawes suggests, however, that his positive remarks are due to his friendship with William Maginn, the editor of *Fraser’s Magazine*, who was in a relationship with Landon.²²⁶

Thackeray did not only mention writers but also the engravers. An often quoted review of Thackeray is ‘A Word on the Annuals’, published in *Fraser’s Magazine* in December 1837. In this article he argues that the claim regularly made by publishers and proprietors of the literary annuals encouraged the artists and their art in order to awaken public attention towards the painter. This statement is, according to Thackeray, however, wrong. Instead, Thackeray believes that ‘the poor painter is only the publisher’s slave’ and that;

²²² Thackeray, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 6: 36, 1832, p. 665.

²²³ Thackeray, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 6: 36, 1832, p. 668.

²²⁴ Thackeray, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 6: 36, 1832, p. 669.

²²⁵ Thackeray, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 6: 36, 1832, pp. 669-670.

²²⁶ Donald Howes, ‘Thackeray and the Annuals,’ *Ariel*, 7 (1976), p. 19.

[In order] to live, he must not follow the bent of his own genius, but cater, as best he may, for the public inclination; and the consequence has been, that his art little better than a kind of prostitution.²²⁷

It follows that the artists do not have any creative freedom but have to produce ‘art’ according to public taste.²²⁸ Thackeray believes that this explains, why ‘[t]here is not one of these beauties, with her great eyes, and slim waist, that looks as if it had been painted from a human figure,’ ‘or the fat indecency in ‘the Pansies’ whose shoulders are exposed as shoulders never ought to be and drawn as shoulders never were.’²²⁹ Thackeray comes, however, to the artists’ defence. He is sure that the artists are able to create better art: ‘But these artists (Miss Corboux and Mr. Uwins) have shown how much more they can do: it is only the taste of the age which leads them to degrade the talent with which they are gifted, and the art which they profess.’²³⁰ Consequently, even though the painter abuses his talent, ‘he must live [as] he has no other resource.’²³¹ Thus, Thackeray criticises that the artists are not producing their art for the art’s sake but for the fees they could get.

What was true for the artists was as well true for many writers. Even if Thackeray recognizes the talent of several writers, such as; ‘Miss Landon, a woman of genius [and] Miss Mitford, a lady of exquisite wit and taste,’ he was aware that these writers were capable of producing better literature.²³² While Thackeray is recognising their talent by stating that:

²²⁷ William Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, 16:96 (1837: Dec.), p. 758.

²²⁸ Edgar F. Harden, *Thackeray the Writer: From Pendennis to Denis Duval* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p. 43.

²²⁹ Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ p. 758.

²³⁰ Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ p. 761.

²³¹ Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ p. 758.

²³² Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ p. 758.

Miss Landon writes so many good things, that it would be shame to criticize anything indifferent from her pen – Miss Mitford has made the English reader pass so many pleasant hours, that we must pardon a few dull ones. The wonder is that the either of the ladies can write so well, and affix to this endless success in paltry prints, verses indifference sometimes, but excellent so often.²³³

he wonders as well why these authors degrade themselves:

‘She will pardon us for asking, if she does justice to her great talent by employing it in this way?’ ‘An inferior talent (like that of many of whom we have been speaking) must sell itself to live – a *genius* has higher duties; and Miss Landon degrades hers, by producing what is even indifferent.’²³⁴

This shows that pursuant to Thackeray some contributors had talent but did not always use it accordingly. Thus he had no difficulty to point out when an author had gone astray. By addressing L.E.L. in person in this review, Thackeray tries to bring her back on the ‘right’ path and to convince her to do justice to her talent.

Even though Thackeray recognizes the talent of some authors publishing in the literary annuals, the giftbooks themselves were frowned upon. Thackeray uses the metaphor of the crowded market, arguing that it is unnecessary to examine every single book because they all ‘tend to encourage bad taste in the public’ as ‘a little sham sentiment is employed to illustrate sham art.’²³⁵ As a consequence, he argues, ‘there is not one plate in the whole two

²³³ Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ p. 762.

²³⁴ Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ p. 763.

²³⁵ Thackeray, ‘A Word on the Annuals,’ pp. 757-758.

hundred which can be recalled to memory the day after it has been seen. It's a shame, that so much time and cleverness should be wasted upon things so unproductive.'²³⁶

Like the critics of the *Examiner* and the *Era*, Thackeray condemns annuals for being fashionable objects put on display in bookcases and drawing-room tables, and connects them to gift-giving and female reading practices:

But seriously [...] is the style of literature to continue to flourish in England? Is every year to bring more nonsense like this, for foolish parents to give to their foolish children; for dull people to dawdle over till the dinner-bell rings; to add something to the trash on my lady's drawing-room table, or in Miss's bookcase?²³⁷

As this extract shows, Thackeray does not only dislike the annuals published for 1838, but also giftbooks in general.

'A Word on the Annuals' was not the only review Thackeray wrote on literary annuals,²³⁸ and Gary Simons attributes 'The Annuals of 1841' (*The Times*, 1840) to him, as the mocking style, the likes and dislikes are consistent with his other reviews. Even though it is not possible to definitely assign this article to Thackeray, Simons believes him to be the disparaging critic of this piece.²³⁹ As in the criticism already mentioned, Thackeray depicts the annuals as 'trash' in order to convince his readers to stop buying them. Vanessa Warne

²³⁶ Thackeray, 'A Word on the Annuals,' p. 761.

²³⁷ Thackeray, 'A Word on the Annuals,' p. 761.

²³⁸ Other reviews were, for example, 'The Annuals' (*The Times*, 1838), 'Our Annual Execution' (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1838), 'A Second Lecture on the Fine Arts' (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1839), 'About a Christmas Book' (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1845) and 'A Grumble about the Christmas Books' (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1847); the last two only referring to literary annuals in general.

²³⁹ Gary Simons, 'Thackeray's Contributions to the Times,' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Volume 40, Number 4, Winter 2007, p. 345.

has argued that Thackeray saw himself as ‘a defender of taste and morality’ who in his reviews ‘tries to influence the practices of artists and publishers.’²⁴⁰ Thackeray’s aim was to ‘educate reading audiences about art [and] morality’ and Warne believes that he tried to direct ‘middle-class consumers away from annuals and towards newspapers and magazines.’²⁴¹

However, contrary to his critical reviews, Thackeray did himself contribute two short stories and two poems to the *Keepsake*. Warne suggests that in his reviews Thackeray attempted to influence the taste of his readers and therefore consistently referred to annuals as ‘trash’, but his willingness to work for the *Keepsake* shows that he was a jobbing writer able to move between genres in order to gain money.²⁴² Paradoxically, Thackeray is doing exactly the same thing that the writers of the literary annuals were often accused of doing; writing what they are asked to supply for money. Thackeray often points out that the only reason for reviewing annuals is their popularity in the literary market. According to Peter L. Shillingsburg, Thackeray always wrote for money and his writing on the annuals reflects the need to publish on subjects that publishers and readers were interested in.²⁴³ Indeed, Thackeray’s willingness to take work wherever he could get it may well suggest that his reviews of annuals played into a developing discourse of condemnation that, rather like his work for the annuals, fulfilled the needs of a particular generic context.

²⁴⁰ Vanessa Warne, ‘Thackeray Among the Annuals: Morality, Cultural Authority and the Literary Annual Genre,’ *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Volume 39, Number 2, Summer 2006, p. 172.

²⁴¹ Warne, ‘Thackeray Among the Annuals,’ p. 172.

²⁴² Warne, ‘Thackeray Among the Annuals,’ p. 175.

²⁴³ Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Pegasus in Harness – Victorian Publishing and W.M. Thackeray* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), p. 200.

Johnstone and the annuals

Thackeray was not the only critic to write prolifically about the annuals. Christian Isobel Johnstone wrote over 400 articles between 1832 and 1846 for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, many on the literary annuals.²⁴⁴ For example, in 1837, Johnstone wrote about the importance of annuals as gifts:

We know that thousands of Annuals now travel regularly down into the provinces, either as gifts sent *home*, or as town presents given in interchange for the turkeys, goose-pies, and hams which London levies every winter from those kindly rural neighbourhoods where a new book or a picture hardly ever went before. [...] There are few rings or broaches, given as *souvenirs*, that we would compare in value with 'Finden's Tableaux'; or London caps and turbans with 'Fisher's Drawing Scrap-Book.' Yet it is precisely this kind of trinketry, and millinery, and dainty cakes and bon-bons, of which these modern elegancies in art and literature are taking place as friendly gifts and tokens. In the natural march of refinement, the change was inevitable.²⁴⁵

Johnstone suggests that annuals demonstrate progress and were a new form of consumerism. Both elements were, however, connected to feminine refinement.²⁴⁶ As a consequence, the annuals linked 'rural neighbourhoods' which were previously disparate locations, and improved the character of people. Thus, like criticism and reviews, annuals helped to improve

²⁴⁴ Hilary Fraser, Judith Johnston, Stephanie Green, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 38.

²⁴⁵ Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'The Books of the Season,' *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1837), p. 678. [referred to by Linley, p. 69.]

²⁴⁶ Linley, p. 69.

the literary taste of the reading public, change society and ameliorate the people. This is also highlighted in her review 'The Annuals for 1839' (1838). Johnstone argues that readers are able to learn and profit from the annuals:

for there is something to give intellectual pleasure, something to admire and to profit by, in the humblest Annuals, while among them are embodied some of the most finished performances of living artists and authors.²⁴⁷

She concludes by saying that 'the interest of all concerned, is every season improving the new literary manufacture in one respect or another, and sometimes in all.'²⁴⁸ However, even though she praises the quality of the annuals, Johnstone is not blind to their imperfections. Like the other critics, she is worried that annuals may appear a little too trivial and advises editors to make improvements in the next edition: 'But on the whole, we desiderate a little more of the real and the earnest in future 'Keepsakes,' both in picture and writing.'²⁴⁹ This shows that even though Johnstone favours the concept of annuals, she does not hesitate to give advice or point out negative aspects about the actual content. This is in opposition to Thackeray, who likes the authors but does not like the literary annuals.

As noted earlier, Johnstone's definition of journalism was based on what Alexis Easley defines as, 'positive social change.'²⁵⁰ She believed that it was the responsibility of the journalist to improve 'the self-culture and political consciousness of the British people' by giving direction.²⁵¹ Perkins agrees that 'Christian Johnstone saw the role of the periodical

²⁴⁷ 'The Annuals for 1839,' *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 5: 59 (1838: Nov.), p. 682.

²⁴⁸ 'The Books of the Season,' *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 4: 48 (1837: Dec.), p. 796.

²⁴⁹ Johnstone, 'The Books of the Season,' *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1837, p. 796.

²⁵⁰ Easley, p. 65.

²⁵¹ Easley, p. 65.

editor as being fundamentally educational' and adds that Johnstone suggests in an article of *Johnstone's Magazine* 'the idea of an editor as a schoolmaster.'²⁵²

Like Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of Women's Rights* (1792), Johnstone promoted the improvement of women's education and the expansion of employment prospects.²⁵³ In her work as an editor, Johnstone drew attention to many female writers, including Catherine Gore, Mary Howitt, and Mary Russell Mitford. For example, Easley states that under her editorship 'the number of female contributors increased from about 19% to 37%.²⁵⁴ This is important as it shows that 'Johnstone played an important role in legitimizing women's authorial careers.'²⁵⁵ During her career, Johnstone was always interested in women's subjects and perspectives and thus tried to improve women's education and employment opportunities.²⁵⁶ Connors and MacDonald suggest that many writings by Johnstone are 'this mixture of traditional behaviour and the suggestion of an alternate course is frequently encountered.'²⁵⁷

Interestingly, De Quincey noticed Johnstone's pursuits to educate readers and paid tribute to her in April, 1839:

Mrs. Johnstone, of Edinburgh, has pursued the profession of literature – the noblest of professions, and the only one open to both sexes alike – with even more assiduity, and as a *daily* occupation; and, as I have every reason to believe, with as much benefit to her own happiness, as to the

²⁵² Perkins, p. 266.

²⁵³ Easley, p. 69.

²⁵⁴ Easley, p. 69.

²⁵⁵ Easley, p. 69.

²⁵⁶ Easley, p. 69.

²⁵⁷ Linda E. Connors and Marie Lu MacDonald, *National Identity in Great Britain and British North America* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), pp. 109-110.

instruction and amusement of her readers: for the petty cares of authorship are agreeable, and its serious cares are ennobling.²⁵⁸

De Quincey believes, as does Easley later, that Johnstone cares for her readers and tries to improve the literary taste of the public.²⁵⁹ Ian Duncan believes that the literary taste of her readers was not the only matter close to her heart but that tales, as a literary genre, were important too. While she was writing for the *Schoolmaster*, tales were already the most important feature in ‘The Story-Teller,’ – ‘besides original works by herself and other British authors [...] – translations and condensations of foreign fiction’ were included.²⁶⁰ Johnstone tried to boost the tale, like other periodicals did ‘for Voyage, Travels, memoirs and Histories.’²⁶¹ She declared that she tried ‘[t]o select and *condense*’ literature for her readers, in order to educate them.²⁶² Even though critics have not given much attention to her works, she is an important figure as she promoted the annuals and the literary female writer.

As an editor, Johnstone had a special interest in the work of female writers and tried to bring their work to the reading public. Given that many women wrote for and edited annuals, it is not surprising that annuals feature so frequently in her reviews. What is more, Johnstone employed a large number of female contributors, including Harriet Martineau, Catherine Gore, Eliza Lynn Linton, Mary Russell Mitford, Amelia Opie and Mary Howitt, who are amongst the most important female writers of the period.²⁶³ As Laurel Brake and

²⁵⁸ Thomas De Quincey, ‘Lake Reminiscences, from 1807 to 1830,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, vol.6 (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1839), p. 253. [referred to by Ian Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow: the novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 44.]

²⁵⁹ Easley, p. 65.

²⁶⁰ Ian Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow: the novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 299.

²⁶¹ Duncan, p. 299.

²⁶² Duncan, p. 299.

²⁶³ Fraser, Johnston, and Green, p. 38.

Marysa Demoor state, 'she was not afraid to take up the cudgels on women's behalf.'²⁶⁴ As literary annuals were considered a female genre, it is not surprising that Johnstone opposed Thackeray's view of them. Indeed, M. W. Hyde has even argued that 'many of her articles were explicitly feminist, in a moderate respectable way.'²⁶⁵ This cannot be said of her reviews of literary annuals, however. Easley explained that even though 'Johnstone was eager to address the Woman Question' as an editor, she was cautious when writing her reviews, trying to 'assume a moderate, meliorist stance.'²⁶⁶ This could be due to 'her own lingering conservatism' or because she was afraid of 'alienating readers.'²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Johnstone managed to set female writers apart and to demonstrate their talent to a broader audience.

Johnstone was aware that literary annuals were a useful platform for the careers of female authors, as they were already considered a female genre. In December 1836, for example, Johnstone wrote a critical review of a number of literary annuals, including *Heath's Book of Beauty*, *Friendship's Offering*, and the *Keepsake*. For the latter, she notes that 'without changing character, the fashionable Annual has changed its editor.'²⁶⁸ This statement is important as it suggests that although the editor is new, the overall concept of the old but proven *Keepsake* remains the same. She further remarks on the 'perfectly dazzling' list of contributors and the 'copious and diversified' table of matters.²⁶⁹ (Altogether 'the volume forms [according to Johnstone] a pleasant light melange.'²⁷⁰ Johnstone further added that:

²⁶⁴ Brake and Demoor, p. 324.

²⁶⁵ M.W. Hyde quoted in Fred Hunter, 'Johnstone, Christian Isobel (1781–1857),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

²⁶⁶ Easley, p. 69.

²⁶⁷ Easley, p. 69.

²⁶⁸ 'The Keepsake,' *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 3: 36 (1836: Dec.), p. 811.

²⁶⁹ *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 3:36, 1836, p. 811.

²⁷⁰ *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 3:36, 1836, p. 811.

All the verses are mellifluous, and of about the average merit of annual poesies. Their merit is their brevity and variety. It is pleasant and edifying to see lords and ladies even dabbling in literature and the Fine Arts.²⁷¹

Johnstone celebrates those aspects of the annuals that Thackeray disliked. She approves of the ‘light’ and ‘pleasant’ writings contributed by lords and ladies and concludes that ‘*The Keepsake* will, we think, be a favourite.’²⁷² Where male writers tended to disapprove of fashion, Johnstone describes the *Keepsake* as a ‘fashionable annual.’

As already noted, Thackeray saved his positive comments for talented writers such as L.E.L. In the article ‘The Books of the Season’ (1837), Johnstone also points out a female writer:

The poetry of none of our brilliant female authors shews so many indications of a kind and thoughtful woman’s heart as the verse of Mary Howitt, independently altogether of her rare talents. In the Annuals of the present season, the distinctive attributes of her pure and benevolent mind are conspicuous.²⁷³

This is extravagant praise. Howitt is the most brilliant of an array of ‘brilliant female authors.’ Contrary to Thackeray, Johnstone does not advise Howitt to use her talent differently and stop writing for literary annuals as she does not perceive the giftbooks as a negative phenomenon. Indeed, the annuals are here seen to embody all that is best in *female* culture. It is Howitt’s ‘woman’s heart’ – her ability to use her ‘pure and benevolent mind’ –

²⁷¹ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 3:36, 1836, p. 811.

²⁷² *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 3:36, 1836, p. 811.

²⁷³ ‘The Books of the Season,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 4: 47 (1837: Nov.), p. 687.

that makes her work so attractive to Johnstone. If Thackeray condemns the annuals because they are full of ‘twaddling’ images designed for female readers, Johnstone praises them as a female space.

A month later, Johnstone writes another review, this time praising the new look of the *Keepsake*: ‘The old favourite has put forth new claims to favour. It’s size is now *perfection* – that *juste milieu*, equally appropriate to true elegance.’²⁷⁴ She does not only approve of the new size but believes that ‘The binding [...] is certainly the most tasteful we have seen this year. The style ought to be called boudoir bindin.’²⁷⁵ Johnstone emphasises the fact that the look of the annuals is as important as the content because both components have to mirror ‘true elegance’ and taste. Consequently, ‘The letter-press is beautiful, [and] the fancy pictures are graceful.’²⁷⁶ Johnstone is therefore not surprised that the *Keepsake* is so popular among its readers: ‘There, fair and gentle reader! ‘The Keepsake’ has hooked you.’²⁷⁷ Again, everything that critics, such as Thackeray, thought of as negative about the annuals is here turned into a positive, including the association of the annuals with ‘the boudoir’. Fashionability is here reworked as ‘elegance’, ‘taste’ and positive feminine qualities – such as beauty and grace – are associated with the *Keepsake*’s engravings.

Johnstone’s and Thackeray’s objectives were quite different. Thackeray depicted the failures of the literary annuals in order to stop their commercial success. Johnstone, on the other hand, interested in the new publishing possibilities for women, favoured the annuals and encouraged readers to buy them. Anne K. Mellor’s essay on feminism gives an explanation of the different viewpoints of Thackeray and Johnstone. Mellor states that at the beginning of the nineteenth century women became the primary target for works of literature,

²⁷⁴ ‘Books of the Season,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 4: 47, 1837, p. 796.

²⁷⁵ ‘Books of the Season,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 4: 47, 1837, p. 769.

²⁷⁶ ‘Books of the Season,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 4: 47, 1837, p. 796.

²⁷⁷ ‘Books of the Season,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 4: 47, 1837, p. 796.

as they had more time to read than men. As a consequence, male critics and writers viewed women as threats. There were three different reasons for this fear. First, it was feared that ‘female readers might trivialize literature.’²⁷⁸ This means in other words, that male authors were afraid that women would change the literary canon with their ‘bad’ taste. Previously, well-educated men managed the canon, but with more women reading, they were beginning to gain influence. Secondly, reading gave women different ideas and exposed them to previously unknown desires. This explains why reading was considered as a dangerous free time activity as it could potentially prevent women from completing their domestic duties. The third and most important reason (also pointed out by other critics such as Ledbetter) why male authors and readers considered women to be a threat was the new market which opened up to women, as ‘women readers preferred to read novels, poems, plays and books of general information written by other women.’²⁷⁹ Female authors got the opportunity to publish their own works without major trouble.²⁸⁰ Consequently, male writers believed that their own works sold less due to this phenomenon. Different from Thackeray, who shared these fears with his male contemporaries, Johnstone tried to encourage women’s reading and writing. The literary annuals were therefore useful in this perspective and helped to bring women writers to the fore. Nevertheless, even though Johnstone encouraged publications in the *Keepsake*, one has to keep in mind that she sometimes argued that annuals were not always sufficiently serious or moral.

²⁷⁸ Anne K. Mellor, ‘Feminism,’ *Romanticism - An Oxford Guide*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 183.

²⁷⁹ Mellor, *Romanticism – An Oxford Guide*, p. 183.

²⁸⁰ Mellor, *Romanticism – An Oxford Guide*, p. 183.

The *Keepsake* in Numbers

The previous section has shown that literary annuals were very fashionable and widely read. Nevertheless, they were not well received by everyone. The question that arises is why this is the case. Kathryn Ledbetter's explanation for the negative reception of the annuals is that female authors were seen as a threat to their male counterparts who vehemently fought against their popularity.²⁸¹ Annuals certainly provided an opportunity for women, as both editors and authors, to compete in a male dominated market and carry out a professional activity. Margaret Linley has also argued that various contemporary male writers tried to discourage female authorship. Southey, for example, informed Charlotte Brontë that 'literature cannot be the business of a woman's life, and it ought not to be!' and Charles Lamb stated that if L.E.L.

belonged to me, I would lock her up and feed her on bread and water till she left off writing poetry. A female poet, or female author of any kind, ranks below an actress.²⁸²

According to Hannah Barker, 'male identity was shaped by work, while the feminine was associated with domesticity.'²⁸³ Female editors challenged this view and executed work which was considered as rather 'unfeminine.'

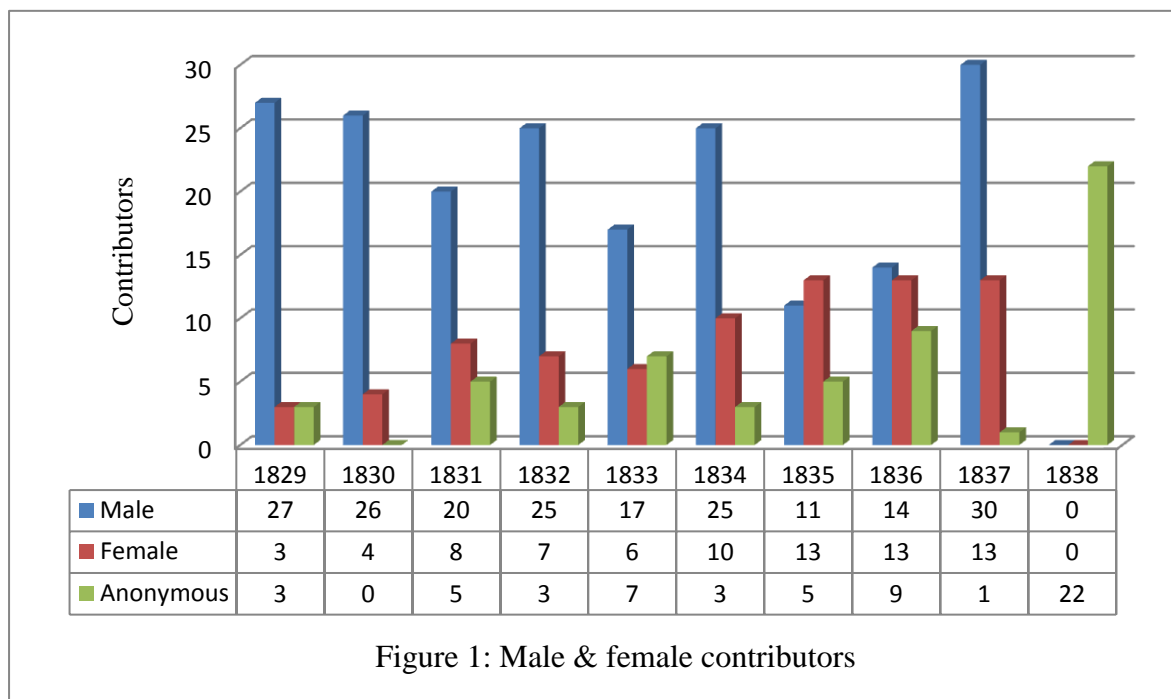
²⁸¹ Terence Allan Hoagwood and Kathryn Ledbetter, *'Colour'd Shadows' – Contexts in Publishing, Printing, and Reading Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 76. [cf. Kathryn Ledbetter, 'A Woman's Book: The Keepsake Literary Annual,' Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1995.].

²⁸² Linley, p. 62.

²⁸³ Hannah Barker, 'Women and Work,' *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 142.

As a consequence, male writers and critics attempted ‘to feminize the nature of their work’ in order to make the annuals less valuable as ‘normal’ literature. Barker explains that ‘[...] this process of feminization often included an element of de-skilling, either in real terms – in that jobs were made easier – or because, once work was deemed ‘women’s work’, it was often reclassified as unskilled.’²⁸⁴ This holds true in the case of the *Keepsake* and other annuals. Harriet Devine Jump, on the other hand, believes that women writers felt more comfortable in supplying annuals with ‘the kind of restrictive domestic ideology which was the specialization of the annuals’ and hence more women wrote for the annuals than men.²⁸⁵ To what extent is this assumption supported by the actual evidence of who wrote for the annuals – did women really write more often for the *Keepsake* than men?

The data shows that in the ten years of *Keepsake* production, from 1829 until 1839, the contributors were in fact mainly male. For example, in the *Keepsake for 1829*, there were 27 male and three female contributors.



²⁸⁴ Barker, ‘Women and Work,’ p. 142.

²⁸⁵ Jump, p. 3.

Even if the three anonymous contributions are assumed to have been written by female authors, male contributors are still far more dominant. This distribution remains more or less the same during the ten-year time frame. Figure 1 shows a small rise in female contributors, from three in the 1829 version to 13 in 1837. Only the 1835 and 1836 *Keepsakes* are more balanced in their female/male contributor numbers. Nevertheless, we also have to consider the anonymous contributions for both years. One could now presume that this change illustrates the threat of women becoming more powerful in the literary domain, but in the following year, the *Keepsake for 1837*, the number of male contributions more than doubled again.

Nevertheless, it is possible that even if the number of male contributors was higher,

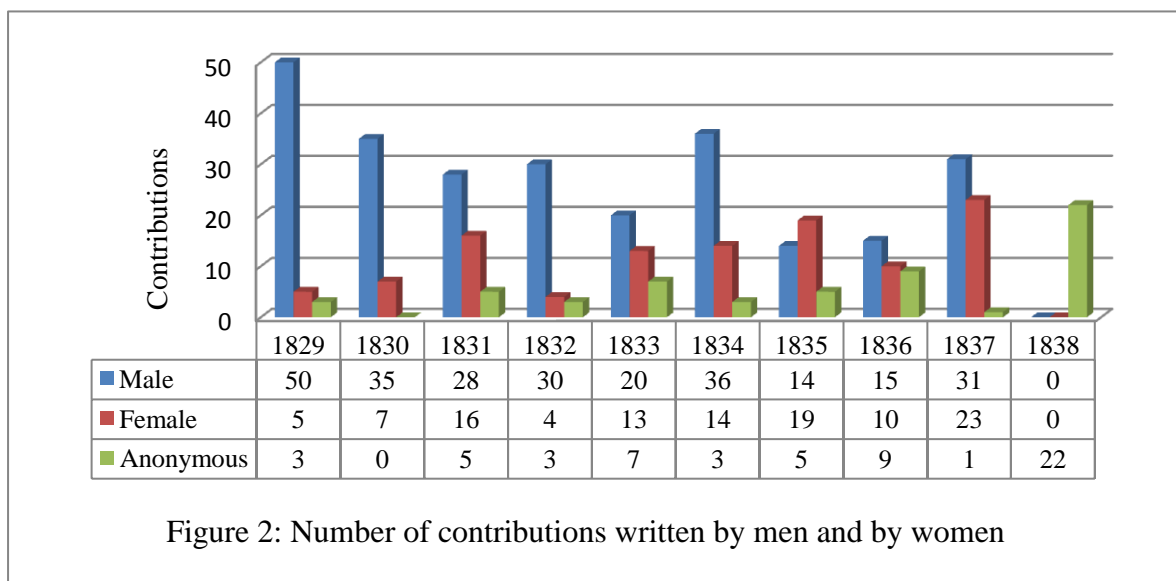


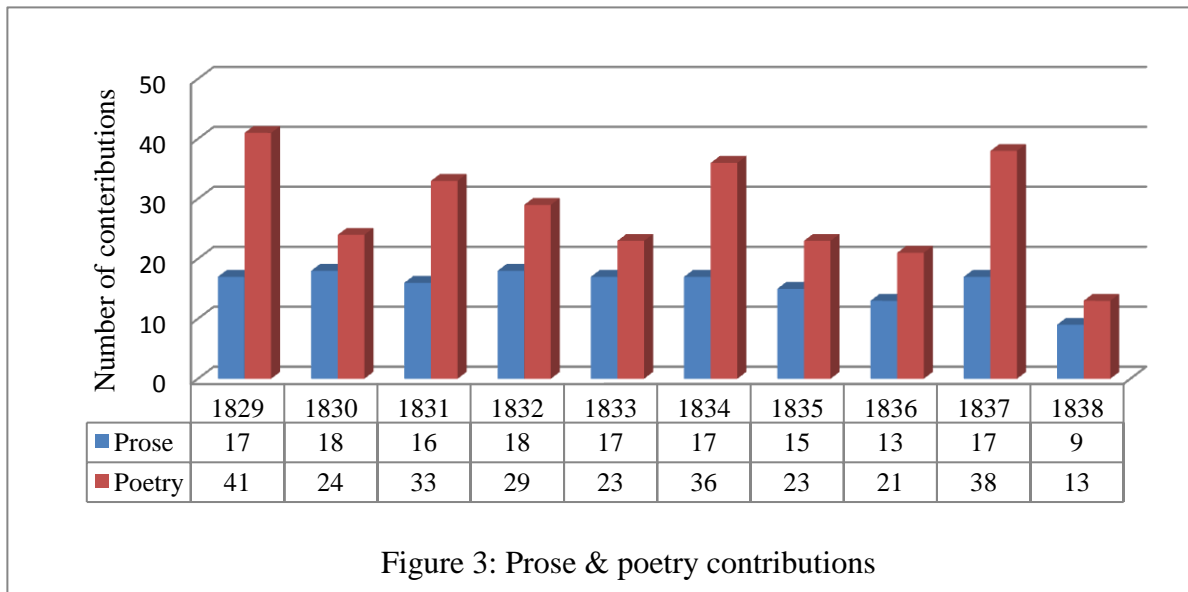
Figure 2: Number of contributions written by men and by women

each female writer might have contributed more than one piece of writing and hence the annual was still female dominated. The numbers are, however, clear [figure 2]. In 1829, for example, there were 50 contributions written by men, and only 5 by women. Even if one adds the 3 anonymous pieces of writing, this is still a male dominated text. This holds true for the *Keepsake for 1830*, with 35 male and 7 female contributions, and the *Keepsake for 1834*, with 36 male, 14 female and 3 anonymous contributions. Although contributions by male writers are higher, the number of female contributions was rising, with five in 1829 and 23 in 1837.

Only in the *Keepsake for 1835* are the numbers reversed, with 14 contributions by men and 19 by women. One could thus argue that the fears of male authors were misguided, as they were still the dominant group in the *Keepsake* and therefore the literary market. Nevertheless, the fact that women contributed to these books and that these books were read by women set a new trend.

According to St. Clair, annuals ‘had become a ladies’ genre’ and ‘[p]oetry seemed suddenly to have lost its long primacy as the most highly regarded literary genre and as the form most favoured by readers.’²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the statistics show that poetry formed a big part of the *Keepsake*. In the years from 1829 until 1837 [figure 3], for example, there were always somewhere between 21 and 41 poems in each edition. Long verses like Thomas Moore’s *Lalla Rookh* (1817) were very fashionable at this time, but the *Keepsake* included mostly short poems of two or fewer pages, and there was an abundance of sonnets. There were always between 13 and 18 tales included, but considering the fact that the tales were always much longer in length, they made up a considerable amount of each volume. In 1829, poetry contributions outnumbered prose pieces by more than double. In 1838, however, the amount was almost equal, with nine pieces of prose compared to thirteen poetry contributions.

²⁸⁶ St. Clair, p. 413.



In the *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era 1760-1850*, Scott Hess states that even though reviewers tried to discourage women from writing, many female poets were as successful as their male colleagues and as a consequence, writers like Felicia Hemans and L.E.L were not only recognized, but became famous as poets in the early nineteenth century.²⁸⁷ Therefore it is not surprising to find work by both Hemans and Landon in the *Keepsake* and there has been a good deal of recent work on them as contributors.²⁸⁸ However, recent criticism has tended to ignore the number of male annual contributors, whilst at the same time paying little or no attention to the prose short story. It is therefore interesting to explore whether poetry was mainly written by men or by women and, moreover, which group

²⁸⁷ Christopher John Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Area 1760-1850* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004), p. 881.

²⁸⁸ Jill Rappoport, 'Buyer Beware: The Gift Poetics of Letitia Elizabeth Landon,' *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (March 2004), pp. 441-473; Serena Baiesi, 'Fashionable Poetry in Annuals and Gift-Books,' *Letitia Elizabeth Landon and Metrical Romance* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 97-136; Paula R. Feldman, 'The Poet and the Profits: Felicia Hemans and the Literary Marketplace,' *Keats-Shelley Journal*, Vol. 46, (1997), pp. 148-176; Laura Mandell, 'Hemans and the Gift-Book Aesthetic,' *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text*, 6.1 (June 2001), accessed on 24.04.2011 <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc06_n01.html>.

wrote mainly prose texts. Were female writers staying within their boundaries or were they indeed a threat to male authors?

Between 1829 and 1837 the *Keepsake* contained more poetry by men than women

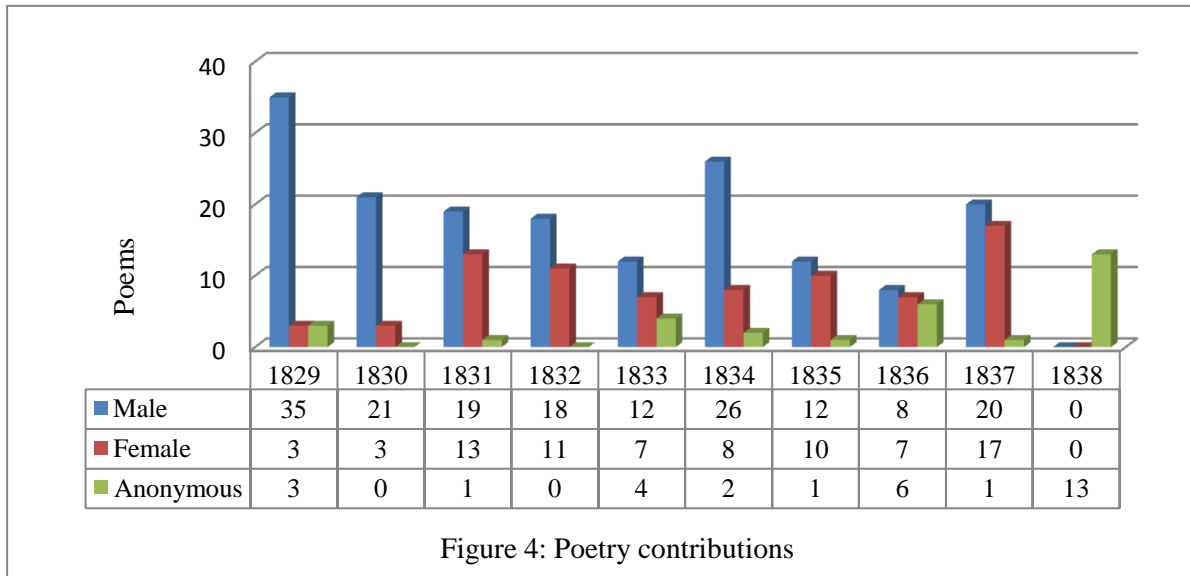
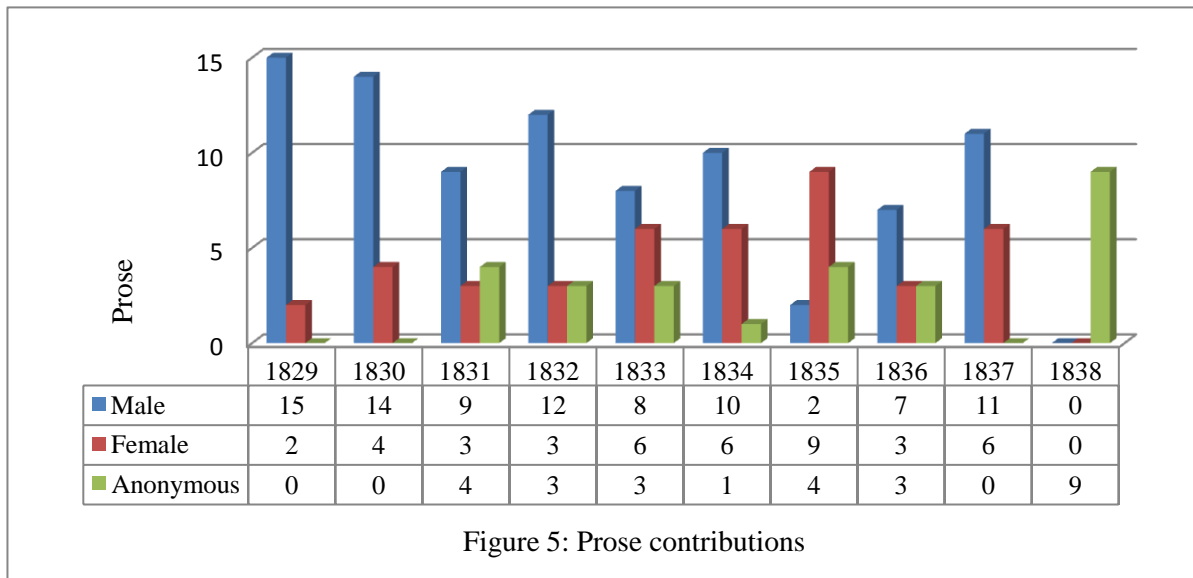


Figure 4: Poetry contributions

[figure 4]. Male authors contributed between 8 and 35 poems per year, whereas women contributed between 3 and 17. Only in 1835, 1836, and 1837 were contribution numbers almost identical with 10 female to 12 male, 7 female to 8 male and 17 female to 20 male poetry contributions respectively. Given that poetry was still largely perceived as a male genre, this result is not surprising. Does it hold true, however, that women wrote mainly prose?

In this case too, there are more male than female contributions [figure 5]. Male writers contributed between 2 and 15 tales per year between 1829 and 1837, whereas women contributed between 2 and 9 (an average of 9,8 prose contributions per year for male and 4.7 tales for female writers). Only in 1835, were there more prose texts written by women than by men, with 9 to 2 contributions and 4 anonymous ones. This is not surprising considering the fact that the number of male writers was much greater than the female ones.



By looking closely at the poetry and prose contribution per year by men and women respectively [figure 6], it is clear that the *Keepsake* contained more poetry than prose. The charts demonstrate that male writers contributed more poetry than prose between 1829 and 1837, but it is surprising that women contributed more poetry than prose too (only in the 1830 version the roles are reversed). This could imply that poetry was still far more important than prose contributions and hence was included in bigger numbers in the annuals. This discovery explains why many scholars have focused on poetry contributions and ignored the prose texts. Nevertheless, as the following discussion will prove, prose was a very important

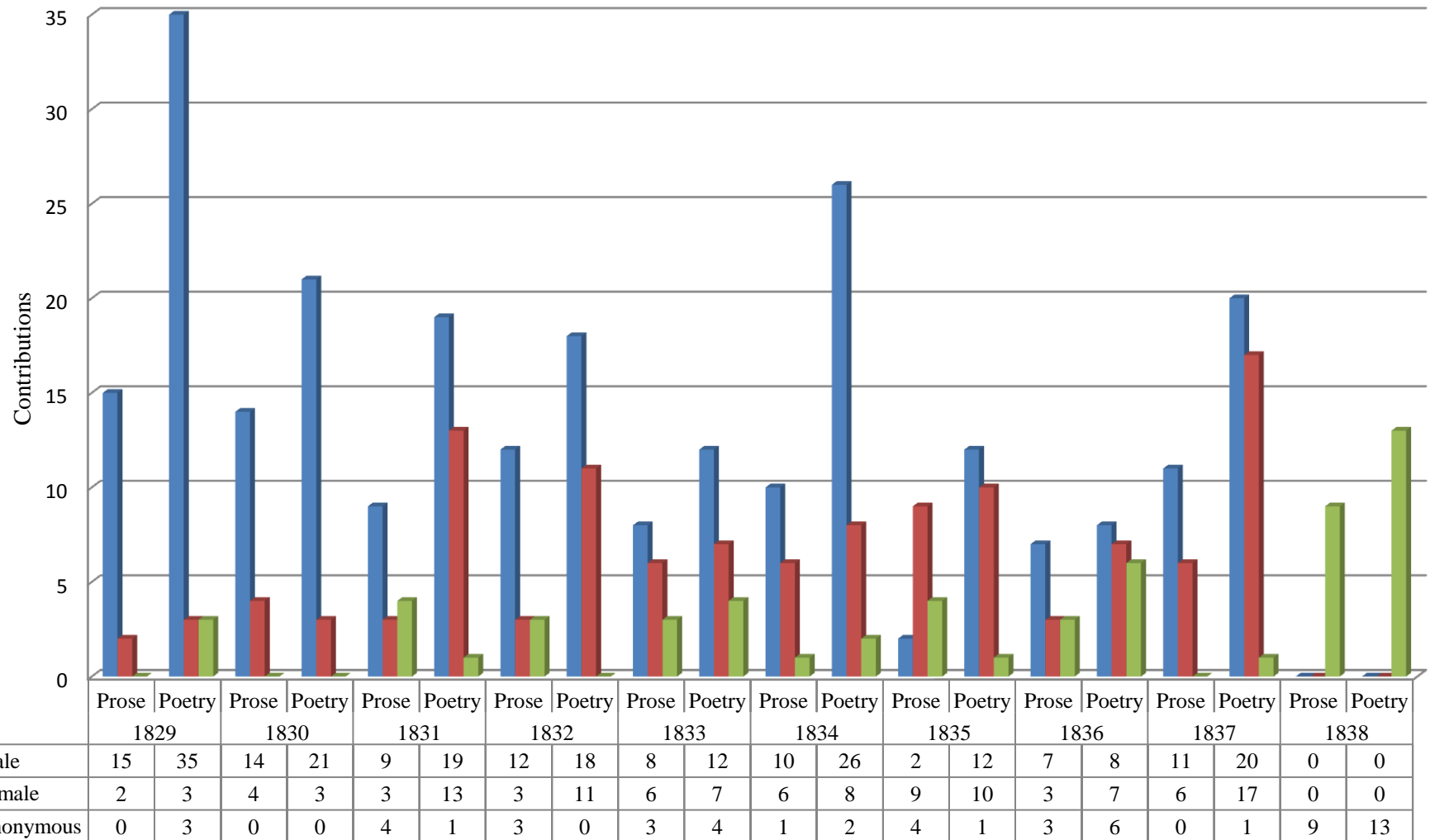


Figure 6: Prose & poetry contributions written by male and by female authors

element of the annuals even if the statistical evidence does not support this; they were still more easily connected to engravings.

One major selling point of annuals was the engravings, with their ‘extreme elaboration and delicacy.’²⁸⁹ Due to major technical change and innovations, it was possible to produce very high quality prints by the early 1820s. The engravings were no longer produced with wood and copper but with steel plates, which allowed much longer print runs. Although the production of steel rather than copper plates was much more expensive, the latter could only produce around 100 impressions before they needed to be expensively repaired or replaced. The former, however, could print many thousands of impressions, with the first impression being as good as the last, without any deterioration.²⁹⁰ At first engravers copied famous paintings, but they later turned to work by contemporary artists, such as J.M.W. Turner.²⁹¹ This was a very innovative idea. Few people had the money to commission and own new paintings and most of the works by these famous artists were housed in difficult to get at private collections. Thus, people who did not have the opportunity to see the originals could buy the annuals instead.²⁹² Consequently, it is not surprising that the prints were sometimes ‘used to ornament the chimney-pieces of houses of the middle class.’²⁹³ It was very time consuming for engravers to do a plate and therefore quite expensive. It took Charles Warren thirteen weeks to finish one illustration for Scott’s *The Lady of the Lake* for which he was finally paid 50 guineas.²⁹⁴ Alaric Watts, the editor of the *Literary Souvenir*

²⁸⁹ ‘Forget-me-not; a Christmas, New Year’s, and Birth-day Present, for MDCCCXXXV,’ *Analyst: a quarterly journal of science, literature, natural history, and the fine arts*, 5 (1834: Dec.), p. 356.

²⁹⁰ Iain Bain, ‘Gift Book and Annual Illustrations,’ *Literary Annuals and Gift Books A Bibliography 1823-1903*, ed. Frederick W. Faxon (Surrey: Private Libraries Association, 1973), p. 19.

²⁹¹ Renier, p. 12.

²⁹² Renier, p. 13.

²⁹³ *The Art Journal*, Volume 1-2 (London: Art Union Office, 1839), p. 172.

²⁹⁴ Bain, p. 22.

wrote in his advertisement in 1829 that the engravings are a very costly element of the annuals: ‘If the copyright and copper-plate printing be taken into account, only two of the engravings in the present volume will have cost less than a hundred guineas, — and some from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy guineas each, before they meet the eye of the public.’²⁹⁵ Engravers could be paid as much as £150 for a single plate and the actual artist or the owner of the painting had to be paid too.²⁹⁶ Charles Heath had the advantage that he could save money by doing most of the engravings himself. Due to the fact that he was a well-known engraver, his reputation enhanced his sales too.²⁹⁷ Given that the engraving of steel plates was a lengthy process, some of the authors who contributed to the annuals were asked to write a tale or poem to illustrate the engraving rather than the other way round.

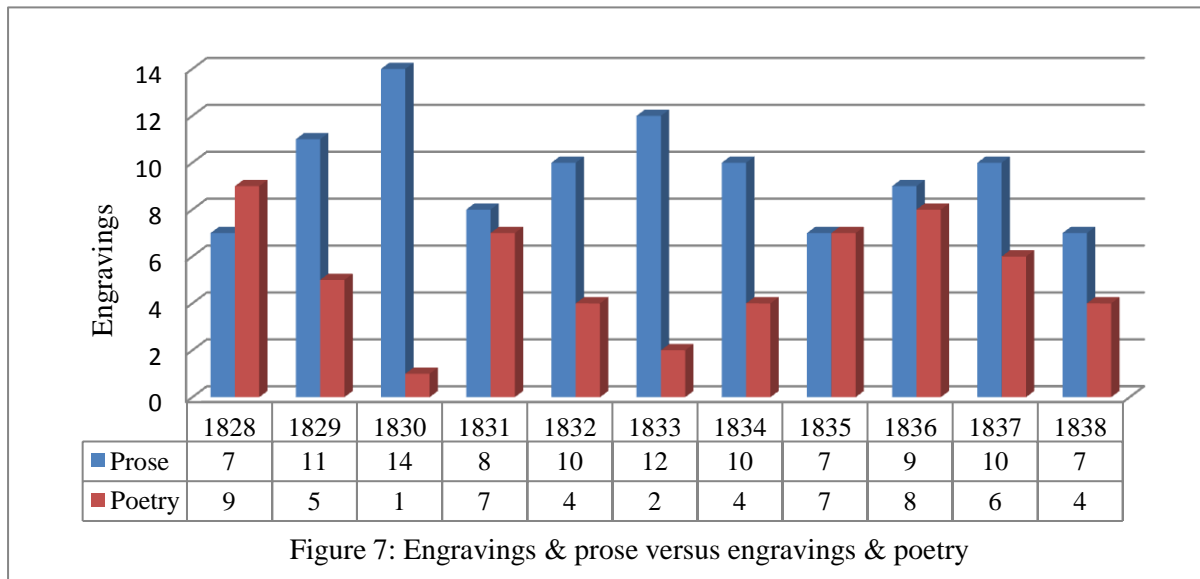
In the ten year time frame examined, the *Keepsake* included between eleven and seventeen engravings (frontispiece and presentation plates excluded) in each volume, which were mainly given over to the illustration of prose tales. Indeed, 1828 was the only year in which there were more poetry than prose contributions illustrated (9 poems to 7 tales) [figure 7].

²⁹⁵ Alaric A. Watts, ed., *The Literary Souvenir* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1829), p. viii.

²⁹⁶ Faxon, p. xxii.

²⁹⁷ Articles and books refer to Heath’s extraordinary talent and the numerous works he completed. The *Universal Biographical Dictionary* from 1850, ‘containing the lives of the most celebrated characters of every age and nation,’ describes Charles Heath as ‘one of the best engravers of his time.’ In 1811, Benjamin West praised Heath: ‘My motives for making choice of this engraver were from a conviction of his superiority in drawing the human figure, as well as his taste in cutting the copper with firmness and precision, which are the requisites for an able engraver in this department of art. [...] I therefore do not know of any engraver more capable of that than Mr. Charles Heath.’

A Universal Biographical Dictionary (Hartford: S. Andrus and Son, 1850), p. 431; Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol. 2, pp. 11-12.



In the *Keepsake for 1835*, the 14 engravings in the annual were attached to 7 prose and 7 poetry contributions. In 1830 and 1833, the difference between illustrations for poetry and prose is very significant. Of the 15 engravings included in the 1830 annual, 14 accompanied prose, and only one a poem. In 1833 the annual included 14 engravings, of which, only two were attached to poems. This is an important discovery, because it suggests that the prose tale was of more importance to contemporary readers than has previously been suspected. It is also why the second chapter of this thesis focuses mainly on short stories, as poetry was previously considered to be the most important feature of literary annuals and has therefore been the centre of the attention of critics, including Glennis Stephenson and Nanora Sweet.²⁹⁸ The numbers show, however, that this interest was misguided. Therefore, further discussion and interpretation are due to the much ignored short stories.

²⁹⁸ Glennis Stephenson, 'Letitia Landon and The Victorian Improvisatrice: The Construction of L.E.L.,' *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 30, No.1, (Spring, 1992); Naora Sweet & Julie Melnyk, eds., *Felicia Hemans: Reimagining Poetry in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

Were the texts designed to go with the engravings produced by male or female writers and what does this tell us about the nature of the annuals? In the period from 1829 until 1837, on average, female authors wrote between three and nine pieces to accompany illustrations, whereas men wrote between 6 and 13 [figure 8]. Contributions by women are constantly

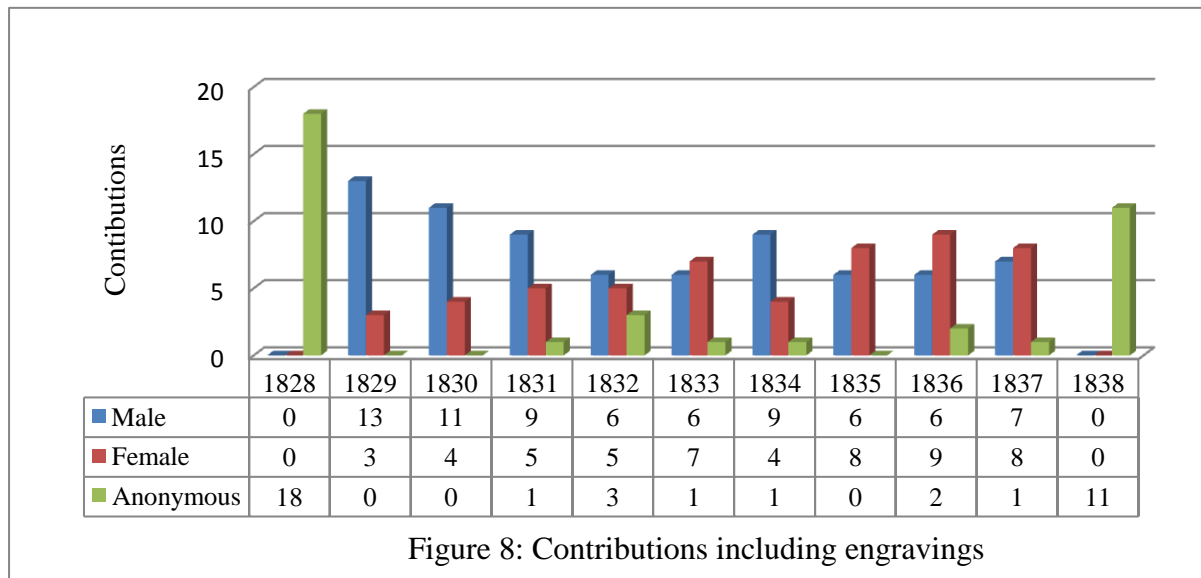


Figure 8: Contributions including engravings

rising in this period,²⁹⁹ and only drops by 3 contributions in the *Keepsake for 1834* from the previous year (going down from 7 pieces in 1833 to 4 in 1834) and one contribution in the *Keepsake for 1837* (dropping from 9 contributions in 1836 to 8 in 1837). However, the distribution of male contributions is very different. In the *Keepsake for 1829*, the number is at its highest with 13 pieces written by male authors to accompany illustrations. The numbers gradually fall until they reach their lowest point of 6 contributions for the *Keepsake for 1832*. They remain at this number for three more years, 1833, 1835 and 1836. The number then climbs, however, to 9 tales in 1834 and 7 in 1837.

Looking at these results more closely [figure 9], it is clear that illustration most frequently occurred in conjunction with male authored prose texts. This holds true for each *Keepsake* from 1829 to 1837, except for 1835, when there were four ‘poetry’ illustrations and

²⁹⁹ The contributions for the 1828 and the 1838 *Keepsake* were all anonymous and it is not known how many contributions were written by men or women.

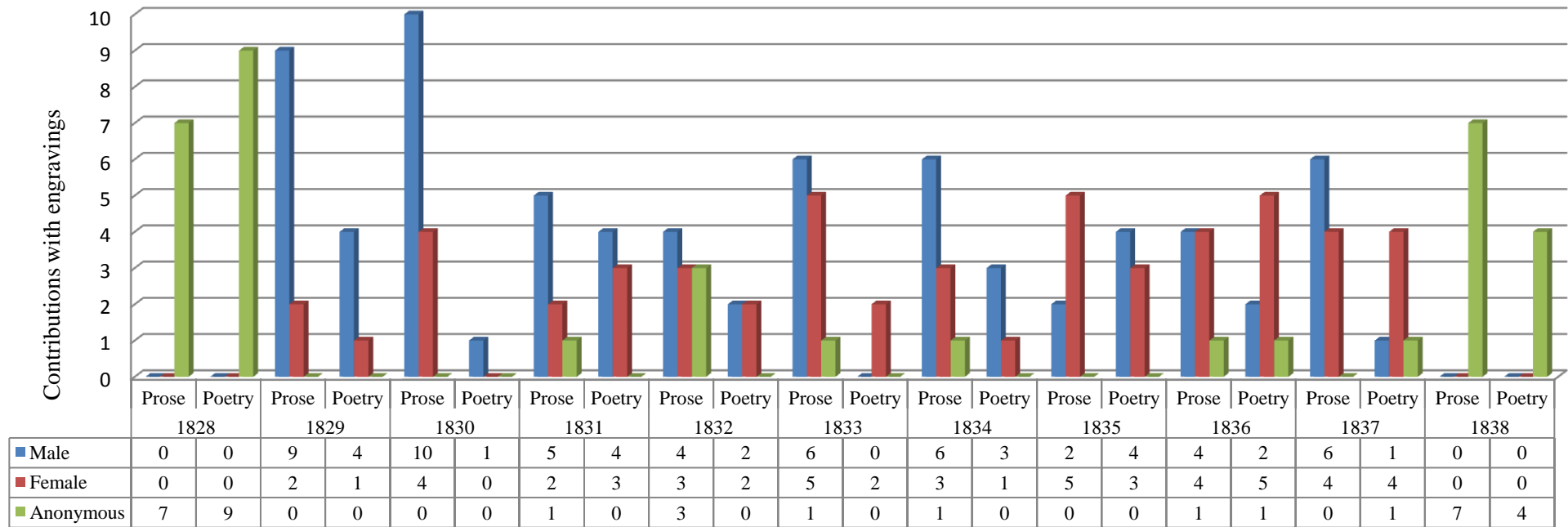


Figure 9: Contributions by male & female writers incorporating engravings into poetry and prose

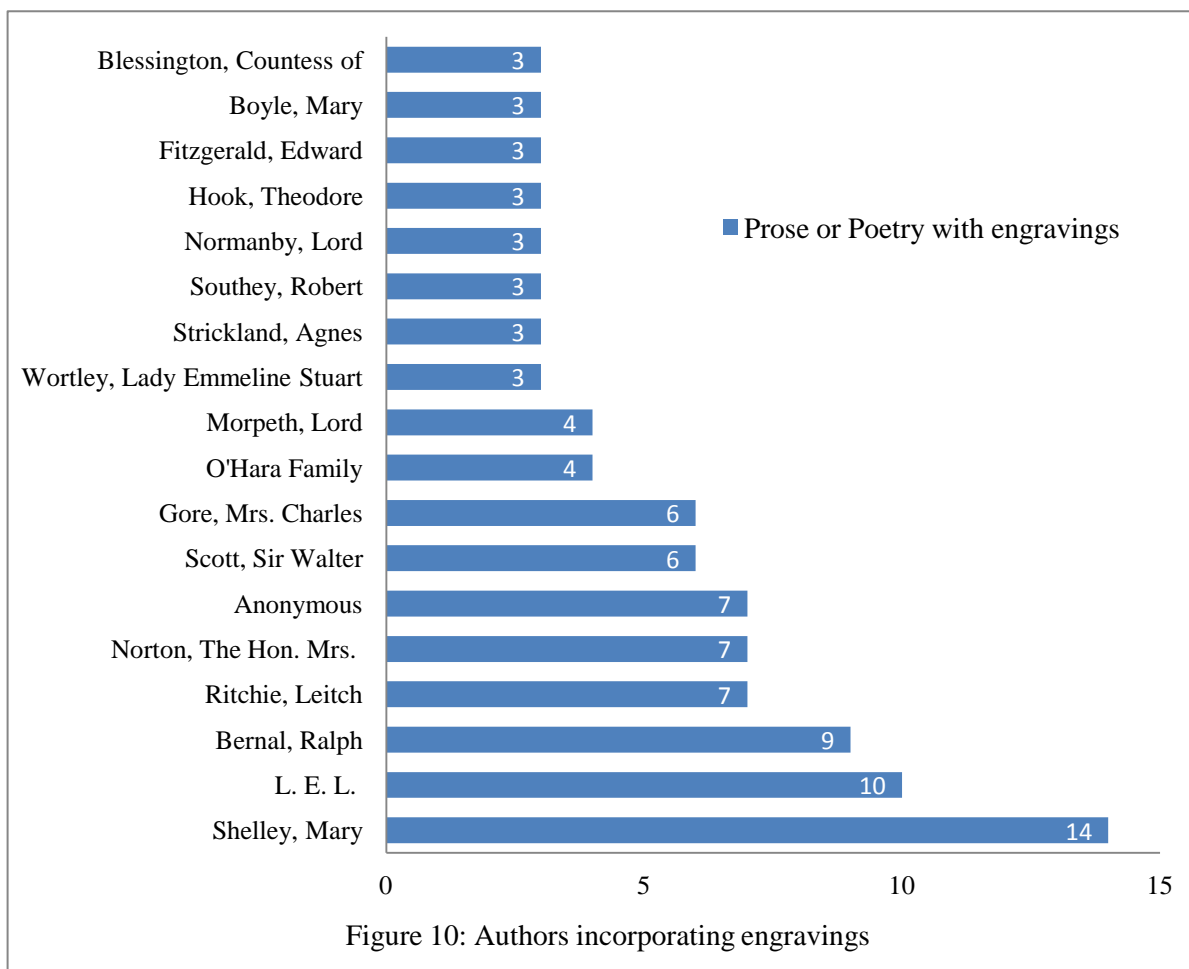
two prose. In the *Keepsake for 1829*, 1830, 1833 and 1837, the numbers of prose contributions are significantly higher, with for example 10 to 1 in 1830, and 6 to 0 in 1833.

Is this also true for the female writers? In the *Keepsake for 1831* and 1836 female poetry had more illustrations than prose contributions (with 2 prose to 3 poetry illustrations for 1831 and 4 to 5 for 1836). In the other years, however, prose contributions incorporated more illustrations than poetry. The difference is, however, not as obvious as with their male counterparts. The *Keepsake for 1830* included 4 prose and no poetry contributions, and for 1833, the results were 5 to 2.

The five authors who were asked most frequently to write pieces that accompanied illustrations were Mary Shelley, L.E.L (Letitia Elizabeth Landon), Ralph Bernal, Leitch Ritchie and The Hon. Mrs. Norton. Shelley had the most requests with 14 illustrated tales, while L.E.L. provided 10 illustrated pieces and Bernal 9 [figure 10]. Leitch Ritchie and The Hon. Mrs. Norton share fourth place with 7 contributions each. Between 1823 and 1839 Shelley published twenty-one stories in giftbooks and periodicals, of which sixteen appeared in the *Keepsake*.³⁰⁰ It is extraordinary to consider that 14 were written to accompany engravings. Landon contributed 16 pieces from 1829 until 1838 and incorporated 10 engravings. Bernal included 16 contributions of which 9 accompanied engravings. Of the remaining authors, Leitch Ritchie wrote all of his 7 works to engravings and The Hon. Mrs. Norton wrote 7 out of 11 contributions for this purpose. The first five women of the ranking commissioned to write for an engraving were Shelley (14), L.E.L (10), Mrs. Norton (7), Mrs. Charles Gore (6) and Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley (3) and the top five men were Bernal (9), Ritchie (7), Sir Walter Scott (6), the O'Hara Family (4) and Lord Morpeth (also 4). Perhaps most surprising is the fact that although Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley wrote 17

³⁰⁰ Charlotte Sussman, 'Stories for the Keepsake,' *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Shelley*, ed. Esther H. Schor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 164.

pieces for the *Keepsake*, only four were used for embellishments. A similar male example is F. Mansel Reynolds, who despite writing 13 pieces had only one with an engraving. This shows that those authors who contributed most were not necessarily (or not always) the same writers who were commissioned to write for an engraving. One explanation for this might be that engravings were in most cases accompanied by longer texts. Reynolds, for example, who was also the editor of the *Keepsake* from 1829 until 1835 and 1839, contributed mostly short poems, perhaps to fill gaps. Another reason might be that only famous writers were commissioned to write stories or poems. This means that the illustrations were incorporated into literature written by those authors who were in high demand with the reading public.



Considering the fact that the numbers have demonstrated which authors were more often commissioned most to write a story or poem to illustrate an engraving,³⁰¹ it becomes clear that many of these writers are still known in the twenty-first century, including Landon and Shelley. Therefore these figures are important as they indicate and highlight the popularity of the authors of this period. Others, like Bernal, have been forgotten but were important in the nineteenth-century. Consequently, the annuals include as well long forgotten texts by disregarded authors who are still interesting to consider. What is more, the figures do not only indicate the popularity of writers, but rediscover the popularity of short prose. This section showed that this popularity was linked to the engravings. Contrary to what was expected, poetry was not the most important literary feature in the annuals and therefore more research should be conducted in this domain. These numbers have shown the importance of engravings and provide a link between engravings and prose texts. Both forms are connected and contribute to the success of the literary annuals. Therefore, chapter 2 is analysing the short stories and chapter 3 is focusing on the engravings of the literary annuals.

Conclusion

Literary annuals were considered as suitable for a female readership, and hence were given to mothers and daughters as gifts. Nevertheless, the literary content was also often perceived as bad quality. That is why not much research has been done in this domain and many literary annuals have fallen into oblivion.

³⁰¹ The fact that engravings were commissioned before the prose is dealt with in more detail in chapter 3 ('Engravings in the Keepsake'), especially in 'Writing as Illustrations' and 'Techniques used to illustrate Engravings.'

First, this chapter has proven that the *Keepsake* was highly popular in the nineteenth century and secondly, that annuals were a social phenomena of the same time period. This could be demonstrated as the annuals were mentioned in novels, like Eliot's *Middlemarch*. Furthermore, they were highly advertised in journals and periodicals. It was a considerable business and a lot of money was spent to make annuals known. Thus, one cannot ignore such an important aspect of the literary culture of nineteenth-century Britain.

In addition, this chapter has shown that there is a lot of misleading information about the giftbooks available. Authors were considered for instance as scribblers writing contributions without literary merit. Examples have revealed, however, that writers, such as Landon, Shelley and Scott are still popular today. Furthermore, annuals were perceived as an important stepping stone for women and a threat for male writers. Nonetheless, as the statistical information has exposed, literary annuals are a new trend and an opportunity for male and female writers alike. Even though the importance of the engravings had already been established, this chapter has highlighted the importance of prose over poetry and has made the link between engravings and short stories.

As a consequence, more research needs to be conducted in order to understand the importance of these annuals. The following chapter focuses on two aspects, important for the success of annuals: prose texts and engravings.

Chapter 2: The Short Story in the *Keepsake*

The Short Story

Nineteenth century annuals included two main literary components; poetry and prose. Critics, such as Kathryn Ledbetter and Vanessa Warne, have discussed the poetry contributions in the annuals in connection to some popular writers such as L.E.L., Hemans and Coleridge. Some short stories written by authors like James Hogg or Mary Shelley have attracted the interest of critics such as Christine Alexander, Emily W. Sunstein or Charlotte Sussman. However, even though Mary Shelley is a canonical author, several of her short stories remain unexplored. This leads one to question why contemporary scholars have not paid more attention to her, and other writers' short fiction from the literary annuals.

As a literary genre, the short story is often said to have originated in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this does not mean that critics agree unanimously upon the exact moment of its birth.¹ Some scholars see Edgar Allan Poe as the forefather of the genre and the 1880s and 1890s with the work of Robert Louis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling and H.G. Wells, as the beginning point of the modern short story.² Contemporary witnesses agree that the late nineteenth century was a very exciting period for short fiction writers. H.G. Wells for

¹ Even though scholars agree that the nineteenth century gave rise to the modern short story, tales and stories have always existed in oral tradition. Charles E. May, therefore believes that 'the wellsprings of the form are as old as the primitive realm of myth.' Tim Killick also acknowledges the genre's long ancestry including ancient mystic tales, Bible stories, folklore and wonder tales, animal fables, fairy stories, and moral exemplars. For May some brief episodic narratives, like Giovanni Boccaccio's *The Decameron* (1348-1353), represent the root of the short story. [See Tim Killick, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century – The Rise of the Tale* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2008); Charles E. May, *The Short Story - The Reality of Artifice* (London: Routledge, 2002)].

² Killick, p. 6.

example, wrote in his introduction to *The Country of the Blind* (1911) that ‘People talked about them [short stories] tremendously, compared them, and ranked them. That was the thing that mattered [in the 1890s].’³ This phenomenon occurred much earlier in America and France as the short story was for many decades favoured in those countries. The British reading public took, however, according to Henry James, ‘their fiction rather by the volume than by the page.’⁴ Different from other countries, the three-volume novel was a very popular format in nineteenth century Britain and various critics believe that the short story could only start to develop when ‘triple-decker’ books disappeared and one-volume novels emerged.⁵

In the first half of the century, more precisely in the 1820s and 1830s, short stories were seen as a by-product of, and in many cases as filler material to complete, the three volumes of the triple-decker convention. This sometimes happened when the main narrative was not long enough to fill three volumes on its own.⁶ Tim Killick references, for example, John Galt’s *Rothelan; a Romance of the English Histories* (1824), which was printed in three volumes. The third volume includes three additional tales, published under ‘The Quarantine; or, Tales of the Lazaretto.’⁷

Other scholars, such as Erin Fallon and Santiago Rodriguez Guerrero-Strachan, suggest that the wide variety of American magazines and periodicals on the American literary market stimulated American writers to produce a greater number of short stories than British writers.⁸ The latter explanation thus implies that the British literary market simply consisted

³ H.G. Wells, *The Country of the Blind and Other Stories* (1911) (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), p. 4.

⁴ Valerie Shaw, *The Short Story: A Critical Introduction* (London: Longman, 1998), p. 5.

⁵ Shaw, p. 5.

⁶ Harold Orel, *The Victorian Short Story – Development and Triumph of a Literary Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 2; Killick, p. 34.

⁷ Killick, p. 34.

⁸ Erin Fallon, ed., *A Reader’s Companion to the Short Story in English* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), p. xxi; Santiago Rodriguez Guerrero-Strachan, ‘Récit, story, tale, novella,’ *Romantic Prose Fiction*, Gerald Ernest

of books. This was, however, not the case. A large number of periodicals and magazines were being published in the United Kingdom before the 1880s and 90s. For example, in the first half of the nineteenth century, fiction was included in magazines such as:

John Aikin's *Athenaeum* (1807-9); the *Dublin and London Magazine* (1825-6); the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (1829-33); the *Dublin University Magazine* (1833-80), [...]; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* [...]; the *London Magazine* (1820-9); the *Literary Magnet of Belles-Lettres, Science, and the Fine Arts* (1824-6), [...]; the *Metropolitan* (1831-57), [...]; *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* (1830-82), [...]; *the Shilling Magazine* (1845-8), [...]; *Sherwood's Monthly Miscellany* (later to be called the *London Monthly Magazine*), [...] [(1838 -)]; *Bentley's Miscellany* (1837 on) [...].⁹

These are only a few examples of the range of periodicals and magazines available in the early nineteenth century and they illustrate that the '1830s were a particularly active decade in the history of English periodicals.'¹⁰ In *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Tim Killick calls attention to the vast amount of short fiction which has never been examined, and Carol Polsgrove's discussion of British short-fiction in the 1820s notes the increasing importance of short fiction in magazines and periodicals. In order to demonstrate that short fiction was becoming more popular, Polsgrove points out that the *New Monthly*

Paul Gillespie, Manfred Engel, Bernard Dieterle, eds. (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008).

⁹ Orel, p.8.

¹⁰ Orel, p. 8.

Magazine published an increasing number of stories; rising from 4 in 1821, to eleven in 1830 and to thirty-three in 1839.¹¹

The *Keepsake* is part of this trend. Each issue from 1829 until 1838 included between 9 and 18 prose stories in each volume, an average of 15.7 stories per volume. Even though Sir Walter Scott, for example, did not understand why ‘the world seem mad about ‘Forget me nots’ and Christmas boxes,’¹² he accepted the offer of £500 for his prose contribution in the *Keepsake for 1829*. This was not Scott’s only contribution as he further wrote for the *Forget-me-not*, the *Friendship’s Offering*, the *Literary Souvenir*, the *Bijou*, the *Gem*, the *Christmas Box* and the *Diadem*.¹³ Shelley wrote mainly stories for the *Keepsake* but she did not solely write for Reynolds and its other editors. In 1832, Shelley contributed ‘Proserpine’ to the *Winter’s Wreath* and ‘The Elder Son’ appeared in *Heath’s Book of Beauty* in 1835.¹⁴ In 1836, she authored ‘The Pole’ for the *English*.¹⁵ She further wrote for journals and magazines such as *The Liberal: Verse and Prose from the South*, the *London Magazine*, the *New Monthly Magazine* and the *Court Magazine*.

Like Polsgrove, Killick briefly mentions the literary annuals which played an important role in the circulation of short stories. He believes that ‘The annuals and giftbooks hold a small but significant place in literary history’ and that early nineteenth-century short fiction published in giftbooks – as in general – needs more attention by scholars.¹⁶ Short

¹¹ Carol Polsgrove, “They Made It Pay: British Short Fiction Writers, 1820-1840,” *Studies in Short Fiction*, 11:4 (1974: Fall), p. 417.

¹² S.C. Hall, *Retrospect of a Long Life: 1815 to 1833* (New York: R. Bentley, 1883), p. 176.

¹³ Andrew Boyle, *An Index to The Annuals*, vol.1 (Worcester: Andrew Boyle, 1967), p. 258.

¹⁴ Mary Shelley, “Proserpine,” *Winter’s Wreath for 1832* (London: Wittaker, Treacher, and Co, 1831); Mary Shelley, “The Elder Son,” *Heath’s Book of Beauty*, ed. The Countess of Blessington (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1834), pp. 83-123; Mary Shelley, “The Pole,” *The English Annual for 1836* (London: Edward Churton, 1836), pp. 32-74.

¹⁵ Harry E. Hootman, “British Annuals and Giftbook,” 28 Jan. 2008 <<http://britannualstext.com/ch4.html>>

¹⁶ Killick, pp. 7 + 30.

fiction was an important and developing form in the early nineteenth century and writers often had to adapt their work to the demands of the periodicals and annuals that included such work. In a letter to her friend Gisborne, Shelley refers to the difficulties she faced in having to shorten her stories in order to make them fit for the annuals:

When I write for them [annuals], I am worried to death to make my things shorter & shorter – till I fancy people think ideas can be conveyed by intuition – and that it is a superstition to consider words necessary for their expression.¹⁷

Shelley's letters suggest some of the difficulties of producing a story destined to fill the limited space offered by the annuals. In the same letter to Gisborne, Shelley discusses a tale, which she believes to be beautiful but too long to be published in a giftbook:

But there arises a strong objection from the strength of the story – As the merit lies in the beauty of the details, I do not see how it could it {be} but cut down to one quarter of its present length, which is as long as any tale printed in an Annual.¹⁸

Being aware of the demands that annuals and periodicals place upon authors who wish their work to be included in them, Shelley does not see how Mr. Gisborne could reduce the story's length in order to make it suitable for publication. One could thus presume that length is the defining element of short stories.

The short story is, however, more difficult to define. Like any other literary form, the characteristics of the short story vary 'according to the period in which it is being written'

¹⁷ Mary Shelley, "To Maria Gisborne," 11 June 1835, cited in *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Shelley*, ed. Esther Schor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 164.

¹⁸ Mary Shelley, "To Maria Gisborne," 11 June 1835, cited in Schor, p. 164.

(Shaw 20). The *OED* defines the short story ‘as story with a fully developed theme but significantly shorter and less elaborate than a novel,’¹⁹ and M.H. Abrams describes it as ‘a brief work of prose fiction’ which ‘like a novel, [...] organizes the action, thought, and dialogue of its characters into the artful pattern of a plot.’²⁰ These two examples illustrate that many definitions of the short story are closely linked to the novel and fit the type of tales that can be found in the *Keepsake*. In 1842, in his review of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *Twice-Told Tales* (1837), Edgar Allan Poe established his definition of the short story as follows: ‘[...] in almost all classes of composition, the unity of effect or impression is a point of the greatest importance. It is clear, moreover, that this unity cannot be thoroughly preserved in productions whose perusal cannot be completed at one sitting.’²¹ For Poe, the most important factor in any kind of writing is its unity, which can only be provided if the story is rather short, and the reader can get through it in a very short time. *Keepsake* stories are, however, in most cases much longer than one would nowadays expect a short story to be. It was therefore not uncommon to find tales of more than 30 pages in giftbooks. Lord Normanby’s ‘Clorinda, or the Necklace of Pearl’ from the *Keepsake for 1829*, for instance, has 39 pages. Scott’s contribution ‘The House of Aspen, a Tragedy’ (1830) is even longer at 65 pages. ‘The Wedding, a Tale’ by Charles Phipps from the *Keepsake for 1832* is composed of 30 pages, Sheridan Knowles wrote ‘The Widowed Bride’ (1834) in 39 and Charles Phipps’ ‘Autobiography of a Scottish Terrier’ (1836) consists of 38.²²

¹⁹ “Short story,” *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 12th ed. 2008.

²⁰ M.H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 7th ed. (Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1999), p. 286.

²¹ Edgar Allan Poe, “Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Twice-Told Tales*,” in *Edgar Allan Poe – Literary Theory and Criticism*, ed. Leonard Cassuto (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1999), p. 58.

²² Lord Normanby, “Clorinda, or the Necklace of Pearl,” *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 315-353; Sir Walter Scott, “The House of Aspen, a Tragedy,” *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 1-66.; Charles Phipps, “The Wedding, a Tale,” *The Keepsake for 1832*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831), pp. 289-318; Sheridan Knowles, “The Widowed Bride,” *The Keepsake for 1834*, ed.

The length of the short story was an issue in the first half of the nineteenth century. V.S. Pritchett states that in the early part of the nineteenth century, many tales looked like ‘unused chapters of longer works.’²³ W.D. Howells, who was an author, editor and critic, commented on this process and stated that the two genres should not be confused:

The right novella is never a novel cropped back from the size of a tree to a bush, or the branch of a tree stuck into to ground and made to serve for a bush. It is another species, destined by the agencies at work in the realm of unconsciousness to be brought into being of its own kind, and not of another.²⁴

Here, Howell makes it clear that short story and novel are not the same genre and that it would be wrong to think that a short story is a shortened novel.²⁵ However, as novel-writing was very popular in the United Kingdom, many early nineteenth century authors believed that their contributions to the annuals should be novels in shortened form. As Adrian Hunter points out quite rightly the short story was often treated as a condensed novel by writers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and as a consequence it was down to the writer’s skill to squeeze as much information as he/she could fit into a few thousand words.²⁶

Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1833), pp. 250-288 and Charles Phipps, “Autobiography of a Scottish Terrier,” *The Keepsake for 1836*, ed. The Honorable Mrs. Norton (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1835).

²³ Shaw, p. 5.

²⁴ L. A Pittenger, ed., *Short-Stories* (Charleston: BiblioLife, 2007), p. 14.

²⁵ According to the *OED*, a novella is ‘a short novel or a long short story.’ In the introduction of *Selected Short Stories of William Dean Howells*, Ruth Bardon expresses that Howell used these terms; short story and novella interchangeably. “Novella,” *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 12th ed. 2008; Ruth Bardon, ed., *Selected Short Stories of William Dean Howells* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1997), p. xxiv.

²⁶ Adrian Hunter, *The Cambridge Introduction to the Short Story in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 1.

It seems that it had begun to take on its own form by the 1820s, and that Shelley is conscious of this phenomenon. Only later in the century did Victorian writers realise that tactical and artful omissions could be used to suggest and imply meaning, rather than stating it directly.²⁷ Kipling referred to this phenomenon as the ‘economy of implication.’²⁸ In the *Keepsake* stories, writers did not save words in order to imply certain elements. At the beginning of the story certain components might have been hinted at but in the end, at the latest, those elements were picked up and resolved. In Shelley’s ‘The Evil Eye,’ for example, the reader presumes that Dmitri is the father of Zella and at the end Camaraz’ explanation confirms this presumption and clears the case.²⁹

Length was therefore a major concern when writing short stories for periodicals, magazines and annuals. In his review, Poe defines another important point of short fiction; he states that the writer has to process ‘a certain unique or single *effect*’ in his/her short story and use certain events, which will ‘best aid him[/her] in establishing this preconceived effect.’³⁰ Shaw rephrases this statement by saying that every word included in the story had to contribute to the ‘single effect.’³¹ This also holds true in ‘The Evil Eye.’ Shelley makes use of numerous meta-narratives in her short story. Each meta-narrative can stand on its own, but they are all needed in order to resolve the story and bring the family members back together again. The frame stories are therefore a necessity in order to contribute to the single effect of reconciliation and family reunion. In this case it is not every word, but every frame story that is important to bring the story together.

²⁷ Hunter, *Cambridge Introduction*, p. 2.

²⁸ Shaw, p. 7.

²⁹ Mary Shelley, “The Evil Eye,” *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 150-175. (It will be discussed in more detail in the second part of this chapter.)

³⁰ Poe, p. 59.

³¹ Shaw, p. 10.

Several questions arise from this discussion; is there a difference between the short stories published in periodicals and those published in literary annuals? Is there a distinction between the short fiction of for example *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Keepsake*? Or between Dickens' short tales from the 1830s and the *Keepsake* stories? In *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Killick argues that the short story is one of the key cultural phenomena of the early nineteenth century. Short stories could therefore be found in magazines and periodicals alike, such as *Blackwood's Magazine*.

Furthermore, it is important to mention Charles Dickens in connection with short stories. Dickens was a very popular writer in the nineteenth century who was mostly known for publishing his novels in serialized form. Nevertheless, he wrote a large number of prose narratives, which appeared mostly in his own magazines, *Household Words* (1850-9) and *All the Year Round* (1860-95). Earlier in his career, Dickens wrote, however, *The Pickwick Papers* (1836-37), which included different kind of stories loosely related and combined into one.³² In *Sketches by Boz* (1836), Dickens created in short comic sketches scenes depicting London's lower and middle classes. As in all his work, Dickens provides a vivid illustration of ordinary people and their lives in order to depict the social injustices of his own time.

The *Keepsake*, on the other hand, does not deal with contemporary society in this direct fashion. Literary annuals were purchased by the middle-and the upper-classes for their content. They were considered as being safe to give as gifts to family members and friends because many of the short stories in the literary annuals had some educational value. Morals, either hidden or openly displayed would tell the reader the proper way to behave in society. Ralph Bernal's 'The Delusion of Three Days' (*Keepsake for 1830*) is a good illustration of this moral suasion. The narrator starts the tale explaining that prejudice is a big problem in

³² Hunter, *Cambridge Introduction*, p. 12.

people's lives.³³ His friend Herbert has very high expectations in his future wife and believes that only a woman who is 'mistress of all or most of these desirable accomplishments' can make him happy (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 136). In England, Herbert cannot find any woman who can live up to his expectations. Therefore, he travels to Germany to meet an old acquaintance who introduces him to Madame de Steinbron. He is at once taken by admiration; a 'lover of first sight' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 140). When he finds out that her leg was amputated after a severe accident, Herbert returns to England disappointed. The moral of this story is that Herbert is far too demanding in his choice of a wife. By searching the perfection instead of love he ends up being lonely. This short story, on the example of Herbert, tries to show how our destiny can be impacted by our own behaviour and how important it is to search for love instead of physical perfection. Thus, by searching perfection, Herbert ends unhappy and disappointed. This example of a typical short story published in the *Keepsake* makes clear that the moral of the story as well as the educational value of it was a very important element, permitting today to distinguish short stories published in literary annuals from others.

Even though Killick states that literary annuals were important for the dissemination of short stories, he fails to account for the actual stories in the annuals in any way. Part two of this chapter will therefore focus on short stories written by a canonical author; Mary Shelley, and part two on tales by other *Keepsake* writers. The former will discuss Shelley's writing techniques, especially the use of frame stories and first person narration, as well as the Gothic themes running through her tales. This section will mainly focus on the way Shelley used these techniques in order to transmit the moral statement literally construed. Finally, the third section will try to show that not only Shelley was trying to educate the reading public but that most of the stories contained in the *Keepsake* aimed that goal in a subtle way.

³³ Ralph Bernal, "The Delusion of Three Days," *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 136-144.

Mary Shelley in the *Keepsake*

During the nineteenth century, Mary Shelley was famously known as ‘the author of Frankenstein.’ *Frankenstein; or, the Modern Prometheus* was, however, not the only work Shelley published in her lifetime. Frederick S. Frank states that she published approximately forty tales, six novels and four plays after her most popular novel.³⁴ There is a large amount of criticism on Shelley’s novels and some fairly recent publications on her tales that explore her use of Gothic elements, such as the *doppelgänger* motif, techniques associated with short tales, and the inclusion of engravings in her stories.³⁵ Even though Shelley is a canonical author, there are still several of her short stories left unexplored³⁶ and the question arises why contemporary scholars have not paid more attention to her short fiction.

Many scholars, such as O’Dea, divide Shelley’s writing career into two categories: the writings she provided on commission and those illustrating her literary capability. The latter are often described as more valuable literature than the former. The explanation for this can be found in the negative nineteenth-century perception of annuals. Literary annuals were often frowned upon and many canonical authors looked down on them. Nonetheless many of them accepted, at one point or another, the large fees paid to contribute to them. In the preface of the *Keepsake for 1829*, Frederic Reynolds affirms that ‘in prosecution of this design, and on the various departments of the *Keepsake*, the enormous sum of *eleven*

³⁴ Frederick S. Frank, “Mary Shelley’s Other Fiction: A Bibliographical Census,” *Iconoclastic Departures: Mary Shelley After Frankenstein : Essays in Honor of the Bicentenary of Mary Shelley’s Birth*, ed. Syndy M. Conger, Frederick S. Frank and Gregory O’Dea (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), p. 295.

³⁵ A.A. Markley, “Mary Shelley’s New Gothic;” Paul A. Cantor, “Mary Shelley and the Taming of the Byronic Hero: ‘Transformation’ and The Deformed Transformed” and Gregory O’Dea, “‘Perhaps a Tale You’ll Make It’: Mary Shelley’s Tales for The Keepsake.”

³⁶ Unexplored short stories are for example “The Dream” (Keepsake 1832), “The Brother and Sister: An Italian Story” (Keepsake 1833), “The Parvenue” (Keepsake 1837) and “The Pilgrims” (Keepsake for 1838).

thousand guineas has been expended'³⁷ (*Keepsake 1829*, p. iii). Many writers and critics of the time considered them to be pretty-looking books with inferior literature. Alfred Lord Tennyson, for example, referred to them as 'vapid books' and believed that 'there is neither honour nor profit [in them].'³⁸ Even today this view still seems to exist. O'Dea for example regarded them as 'little more than pretty baubles, handsomely designed and illustrated but notoriously devoid of serious literary merit.'³⁹ Gordon N. Ray declares that '*The Keepsake* was the best of these series. Its literary contents cannot be defended, but it was handsomely produced, and its steel engravings, at least if they are after drawings by Martin or Turner, can be attractive.'⁴⁰ That the negative, nineteenth-century, perception of the value of annuals was adopted by many twentieth-century critics may be the reason for the exclusion of some of Shelley's tales from the recognised canon. Even if the reputation of the annuals was not always positive, it was, nevertheless, an important source of income for her.

After the death of her husband, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Mary Shelley struggled to earn enough money to provide the best education for her son Percy. Although she received a small allowance from Sir Timothy Shelley, he was always reluctant to pay for his grandson and Shelley had to fight for his financial help. For example, on 14th March 1828, Shelley wrote to William Whitton for a larger allowance:⁴¹

There will be a few extras, books &c. – [...] – I trust therefore I am not indiscreet in asking you to represent this to Sir Timothy, and to mention

³⁷ [Reynolds' emphasis].

³⁸ Alfred Tennyson, *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, ed. Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon, Jr. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 146.

³⁹ O'Dea, p. 62.

⁴⁰ Gordon N. Ray, *The Illustrator and the Book in England from 1790 to 1914* (New York: Dover Publication, 1991), p. 41.

⁴¹ William Whitton was Sir Timothy's lawyer. Whenever Mary Shelley wanted to ask Sir Timothy for money, she had to do so via Whitton.

that I shall find difficulty in making the present arrangement. At the same time present my acknowledgements for his kindness to Percy, & for the provision with which he is good enough [sic] to supply me.⁴²

Looking through her correspondence, it is possible to find several letters of this kind and it is clear that Shelley struggled to finance her son's education.

Shelley was a professional writer who tried to earn her living by her pen. Unsurprisingly, in many of her letters, she asked publishers for work. On 19th February 1828, she wrote a letter to John Murray stating her capability to do a translation: 'And I should not hesitate to undertake a work that required an intimate acquaintance with it [Italian].'⁴³ In June of the same year, Shelley wrote to John Bowring after an illness: 'Is it now too late to write the critique I promised? If not I will set about it instantly.'⁴⁴ These extracts show that Shelley was very flexible in her compositions and that she would therefore follow the demand of the publishers and editors and write on commission. Shelley's difficult circumstances after her husband's death and the struggle for money are for many scholars the explanation for Shelley's commercialism in the later part of her career. O'Dea even describes her as a hack writer and scribbler, who wrote on commission rather than exploring her own literary genius.⁴⁵ Thus, Shelley contributed to the annuals to have an income, and as a consequence has added to the negative reputation of the giftbooks.

A final explanation can be found in the social development of Britain: In *Colour'd Shadows*, Terence Allan Hoagwood and Kathryn Ledbetter explain the negative reception of annuals. They believe that male writers felt threatened by female writers and the popularity of

⁴² 29. to William Whitton, 14th March 1828, in Betty B. Bennett, ed., *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, vol.II. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1983), p. 29.

⁴³ 27. to John Murray, 19th February 1828, in Bennett, p. 27.

⁴⁴ 45. to John Bowring, 11 June {1828}, writes after an illness, in Bennett, p. 45.

⁴⁵ O'Dea, p. 62.

the giftbooks. Male writers did not want women to have the possibility of writing and to provide for themselves. Hence, 'male publishers and authors met the challenge of these new women workers in the trade with mixed responses.'⁴⁶ These 'new women' were 'breaking genre and gender barriers' and consisted of 'women readers, writers, editors, engravers, artists, and other literary professionals.'⁴⁷ In other words, the male publishing world felt threatened by the rise of female professionals, such as Mary Robinson, Felicia Hemans, L.E.L., Lady Blessington, Harriet Martineau, Lady Morgan, Caroline Norton, Mary Russell Mitford and Mary Shelley. Hoagwood and Ledbetter further state that:

Literary annuals of the 1830s and 1840s, in particular, created early economic opportunities for these women as writers and editors, who threatened to usurp male power by taking their place beside men in the publishing community.⁴⁸

Shelley was such a female writer for whom, literary annuals and giftbooks were a major source of publication. Between 1823 and 1839, she published twenty-one stories in giftbooks and periodicals, out of which sixteen in the *Keepsake*.⁴⁹ Shelley did not perceive the annuals in a negative light and for many years, submitted three tales per year to the *Keepsake*. In a letter written in June 1828 to her friend Jane William Hogg, Shelley reminded her to return her giftbooks: 'Would you send to Hardings Library directed to Miss Robinson – the 2 Annuals you have of mine – I want them – & Mr R [Robinson] wd [sic] bring them me.'⁵⁰ Shelley was thus aware of their popularity and would use them for her husband's and her own benefit. It is thus clear that Shelley did not perceive publishing in annuals to be degrading; on

⁴⁶ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, p. 76.

⁴⁷ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, p. 75.

⁴⁸ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, p. 77.

⁴⁹ Sussman, p. 164.

⁵⁰ 42) To Jane Williams Hogg, {5 June 1828}, in Bennett, p. 42.

the contrary, she favoured her contributions in the *Keepsake*. In a letter to her friend Maria Gisborne, dated 11 June 1835, Shelley wrote: ‘you read the best thing I ever wrote in the *Keepsake*.’⁵¹ Shelley also used the popularity of the *Keepsake* to change her husband’s negative reputation for the better by including several of his unpublished works. As Hootman notes, Shelley submitted a large number of her husband’s works to different annuals after his death, including the *Keepsake*, the *Poetical Album*, the *Laurel*, the *Lyre*, the *Book of Gems* and the *Pledge of Friendship*.⁵²

Three probable reasons have been identified that could explain the bad reputation of her writings. However, regarding the important number of contributions and her success, one should have a look at her writing style.

The fame narrative

In several of her *Keepsake* stories, Mary Shelley uses a narrative technique similar to that of *A Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, namely a frame narrative and several shorter embedded tales within the story. These narratives or framing structures are an element that can be found in many of her stories. In ‘Euphrasia – A Tale of Greece’ (*Keepsake* 1839), Shelley tells the story of Euphrasia and her brother Constantine who were taught by their adoptive father to take on gender specific roles in order to be prepared for Greece’s independence from the Turks.⁵³ Shelley depicts Constantine as a warrior and his sister as a scholar. When their father dies, Euphrasia stays in Athens but her brother takes on the role that he has been trained for and joins the army to fight for Greece. Worried about his sister

⁵¹ 246) To MARIA GISBORNE, Harrow, 11 June {1835}, in Bennett, p. 246.

⁵² Hary Hootman, accessed on 28 Jan. 2008, <www.britannials.com/mes/mesp1-2.php?siteID=britannials&pageref=3>.

⁵³ Mary Shelley, “Euphrasia – A Tale of Greece,” *The Keepsake for 1839*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1838).

when her letters cease, Shelley depicts Constantine return to Athens only to find that his home has been destroyed and his sister captured. After setting fire to the palace in attempt to rescue his sister, Constantine leaves her body in a convent and goes back to fight for his cause. However, this main narrative is preceded by a frame story and second narrative that takes up the first seven pages of the tale. The opening paragraph depicts a group of friends travelling from Brighton to spend the Christmas season together, whose journey is interrupted by heavy snowfall. In order to pass the time, Harry Valency, one of the travellers, tells of his experiences as a young man during the Greek revolution to entertain his fellow travellers. The story goes back in time to when Valency was eighteen years old. He recalls that he was eager to fight and soon attached himself to the Greek Chief Constantine and his army. During an ambush, the Greek army was overpowered by the Turks and only Constantine and Valency survived the battle. Wounded while saving Valency, Constantine was badly injured. Valency, on the other hand, was injured too and was unable to move. In order to save the boy, Constantine managed to fetch water for both of them. When the boy wanted to help the chief in return, the latter refused as he knew that he would die. It is at this moment, while waiting for help to come, that Constantine tells the story that makes up the body of Shelley's text. The engraving incorporated into the story, entitled 'Constantine and Euphrasia' thus shows Constantine trying to save his sister. However, the main story does not end here but returns to Valency's narrative. Shelley explains that Valency fell asleep and when he woke up, the chief had died. This narrative takes us back again to Valency and his fellow travellers and he explains that he recovered from his wounds in Cefalonia and returned later to his home country. As the story of the hero and heroine is the main focus of the story, Shelley does not give more details of the narrator's unlucky situation. The tale ends before help comes to free the carriage from the snow and before they can continue their journey.

O'Dea states that Shelley was personally connected to the Greek revolution as her friend Byron died for its cause in 1824.⁵⁴ Like most of the characters in this tale, Shelley only experienced the revolution from afar and hence had to try to bring the news home. This could only be achieved through the framing devices that she uses, connecting British travellers to the Greek revolution. Consequently there is a parallelism between the travellers waiting for help, and Constantine and Valency waiting for rescue. Therefore it is not surprising that Constantine should tell his story to Valency, who many years later is encouraged to tell his own. By telling the story during a snowstorm in Sussex, Shelley brings the story to Great Britain and to the readers of the *Keepsake*.⁵⁵ Similarly framed narratives can be found in 'The Sisters of Albano' (*Keepsake 1829*), 'The Evil Eye' (*Keepsake 1830*) and 'The Mourner' (*Keepsake 1830*).⁵⁶

The most complicated framing situations Shelley created are found in 'The Evil Eye' (*Keepsake 1830*), where smaller stories or meta-narratives are used in order to explain details of a more complicated narrative. The story opens with Katusthius Ziani who returns to Corinth to find out that his father had left his property to Cyril Ziani, a newly acknowledged son. Katusthius decides to visit his friend Dmitri in order to get help to regain his whole inheritance. They abduct Constans Ziani, and his father Cyril and his grandfather Camaraz set out to find him and bring him back home. Shelley embeds many other tales into this main plot, including themes of adoption, religious conversion, strong friendships between men, abduction and murder. The stories embedded into the main plot complicate the overall narrative. Nevertheless, those stories play central roles in the main plot and could not be left

⁵⁴ O'Dea, p. 76.

⁵⁵ O'Dea, p. 70.

⁵⁶ Mary Shelley, "The Sisters of Albano," *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 80-100; Mary Shelley, "The Mourner," *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 71-97.

out, as important character traits are explained. Taking all the stories together, the narrative forms a whole and explains itself.

In her discussion about *Thousand and One Nights*, Katherine Binhammer states that the small stories could stand by themselves and that they are also integral to the narrative as a whole.⁵⁷ This holds true for Shelley's sub-narratives too. Interestingly, in one self contained embedded narrative, one finds out about Dmitri's past and the loss he had to go through which clearly changed his character. Shelley describes Dmitri as someone who has 'tak[en] delight in blood' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 152) but has not always been this way. Dmitri has changed from being someone of 'a better creed,' 'inlisted under a more chivalrous rule' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 151) into someone 'ferocious and hard-hearted' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 152); someone whose 'mind became reckless. His countenance more dark; men trembled before his glance, women and children exclaimed in terror, 'The Evil Eye!'' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 152). It is explained that this drastic change took place because a tragedy had befallen him. One day, after coming back from an expedition, he found his house plundered by the Mainotes, his wife dead and his child abducted. For many years, he had tried to find his daughter: 'He was exposed to a thousand dangers – underwent incredible hardships: he dared the wild beast in his lair, the Mainote in his port of refuge; he attacked, and was attacked by them' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 152). Dmitri's embedded narrative therefore explains his actions in the main plot. Constans reminds him of his own child, and thus he is not willing to kill him. Instead he looks after him and protects him from Katusthius. The moment Dmitri finds out, however, that Constans is a Mainote, he wants to revenge his family again. Thus, Shelley uses the technique to create on the one hand suspense and make Dmitri's actions impulsive and

⁵⁷ Katherine Binhammer, *The Seduction Narrative in Britain, 1747-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 77.

unpredictable to the reader. On the other, however, this meta-narrative renders Dmitri a more likeable character because his negative character traits are understandable, if not acceptable.

First person narrator

In tales like ‘Ferdinando Eboli’ (*Keepsake 1829*), ‘The Sisters of Albano’ (*Keepsake 1829*), ‘The Swiss Peasant’ (*Keepsake 1831*) and ‘The Invisible Girl’ (*Keepsake 1833*), Shelley uses a first-person narrator who retells a story, first recounted to them by a now absent figure.⁵⁸ The narrator of the ‘Swiss Peasant’ states for example that:

A true tale was lately narrated to me by its very heroine, the incidents of which haunt my memory, adorned as they were, by her animated looks and soft silvery accent. Let me try to record them, stripped though they must be of their greatest charm (*Keepsake 1831*, p. 122).

By letting the reader know that the narrator is retelling a story, the author creates a sense of truthfulness, while at the same time indicating that each tale is changed by its telling. The narrator of the tale ‘Euphrasia’ takes this a little bit further, when he tells in the beginning that he repeats a story already retold to him:

His tale was afterwards repeated to me, and, as I heard it, I wish to recount it now; yet. Hearing it only at second-hand, I shall tell it lamely, and spoil the lively earnest interest he spread over every detail; while he who told it to me had but a vague recollection of dates and names of places, and even some of

⁵⁸ Mary Shelley, “Ferdinando Eboli,” *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 195-218; Mary Shelley, “The Swiss Peasant,” *The Keepsake for 1831*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1830), pp. 121-146; Mary Shelley, “The Invisible Girl,” *The Keepsake for 1833*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1832), pp. 210-227.

those of persons had entirely escaped him. However, such portion as reached me of the story, I will set down.⁵⁹

The narrator wants to be as truthful as possible, although the person who told him the story did not remember all the details. Therefore the reader is aware that some scenes might have been polished in order to make it easier to consume. This technique enables Shelley to describe characters and actions in more detail and makes long dialogue unnecessary.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Shelley explains in a review that ‘fiction must contain no glaring improbability.’⁶¹ Thus the fictitious element permits the writer to reach the overall goal of transmitting guiding principles of a moral life. By indicating that the story has been retold, the reader has the feeling of getting personally involved in a true story. As a consequence, the writer is creating a probable story, without including historical facts. In addition, the more likely the story is, the more acceptable its outcome will be. Thus the morality of the story gains of importance.

Another kind of first person narrator is used in ‘The Parvenue’ (*Keepsake 1837*).⁶² This narrator has experienced the whole tragedy herself.

Why do I write my melancholy story? Is it a lesson, to prevent any other from wishing to rise to rank superior to that in which they are born? No! miserable as I am, others might have been happy, I doubt not, in my position: the chalice has been poisoned for me alone! Am I evil-minded – am I wicked? What have been my errors, that I am now an outcast and a

⁵⁹ Charles E. Robinson, ed., *Mary Shelley: Collected Tales and Stories with Original Engravings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p. 296.

⁶⁰ Robinson, p. xiii.

⁶¹ Robinson, p. xv.

⁶² Mary Shelley, “The Parvenue,” *The Keepsake for 1837*, ed. Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortly (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1836), pp. 209-221.

wretch? I will tell my story – let others judge me; my mind is bewildered, I cannot judge myself (*Keepsake 1837*, p. 209).

Fanny, who is the heroine of the tale, sets the mood for the story, and the reader is aware that she must have gone through an awful tragedy. She is an outcast and the reader wonders what she has done. As Fanny explains, she was born into a large farmer's family, which despite its poverty, was working together in enjoyment. After a fire in the family home, during which her father was crippled, Fanny married Lord Desborough who had rescued her from the fire.

Shelley's story does not conclude with a happy ending but with Fanny's rejection of her husband. Fanny prefers to use his wealth to help her family and the poor, whereas Lord Desborough refuses to fulfil her family's constant financial demands. Shelley hints at the moral of the story by showing the effects of moral weakness in certain characters.⁶³ Shelley's narrative suggests that everyone in Fanny's family was happy and did not need much money until the day she married Lord Desborough. The people and their characters change and they become greedy and mean. They do not care about Fanny and place her in a difficult situation because they are only interested in their own benefit. The father started to speculate, her sister's husband was many thousand pounds in debts and her half siblings importuned and robbed her. Her mother was the only person who foresaw the dilemma and told Fanny to resist their demands and stay with her husband. Again, by using this technique, Shelley can draw mini lessons for moral behaviour to her audience. In this story, Shelley is not attacking class and money per se, but argues that money can render even the closest family members selfish and can thus ruin an individual or a family.

Immorality and its consequences is thus an important element of Shelley's stories. Aligned to this idea, Kerry McKeever has argued that Shelley condemns fathers who fail to

⁶³ Robinson, p. xv.

act like fathers.⁶⁴ Like Fanny's father, the father in Shelley's unpublished *Mathilda* fails to protect his daughter and does not act as a father should. According to Sussman, 'marriage is an all-or-nothing choice' for Fanny. Either she decides to stay with her husband and remain within the institution of marriage, or she can stay with her family and resist the conventional structures of society and lose her status and value.⁶⁵ As long as Fanny is an obedient wife, she is socially accepted but as soon as she decides in favour of her mother, she loses her respectability. As a consequence, her health deteriorates.

As Sussman suggests, 'The Parvenue' demonstrates, on the one hand, the difficulties of raising one's social status through marriage. On the other hand, it criticises Lord Desborough's unwillingness to support the poor.⁶⁶ By using a first-person narrator, the reader is given Fanny's experience via a firsthand account and therefore believes the story to be truthful and accurate. Betty T. Bennett and Stuart Curran argue that 'the confessional first-person form and the sympathetic and auto biographical authenticity underwrites the fiction.'⁶⁷ By using this narrative form, Shelley stays true to what the Godwin and Shelley circle call the 'spread of truth,' or 'enlightenment through nonviolent and interpersonal means.'⁶⁸

Shelley's life and personal influences in her *Keepsake* stories.

Shelley's life was affected by the Godwin-Shelley circle, being the daughter of Godwin and Wollstonecraft, and the wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar have stated that 'She studied her parents' writings, alone or together with

⁶⁴ Kerry McKeever, "Naming the Daughter's Suffering: Melancholia in Mary Shelley's *Mathilda*," *Essays in Literature*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Fall, 1996, pp. 190-205.

⁶⁵ Sussman, p. 175.

⁶⁶ Sussman, p. 175.

⁶⁷ Betty T. Bennett and Stuart Curran, *Mary Shelley in her Times* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), p. 155.

⁶⁸ Bennett and Curran, p. 155.

Shelley, like a scholarly detective seeking clues to the significance of some cryptic text.⁶⁹ Her family's writings therefore influenced Shelley's own works in the radical tradition. During their lifetimes, all of them tried to change the world with their radical thinking, even though their writings were not always well received.⁷⁰ Wollstonecraft's and Godwin's most important publications were written in response to Edmund Burke's *Reflection on the Revolution in France* (1790) and Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791). In Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), she pleaded, for example, for a better education for women and for equal rights with men. In *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793), Godwin argues that all forms of government are tyrannical and that they keep rational beings from applying pure reason. In order to change this, Godwin wishes the human to receive complete freedom and all forms of government to be eliminated. According to Andrew McCann, Godwin's writing is a 'work of political-philosophy, rather than a direct contribution to a political controversy.'⁷¹ Nevertheless this publication 'put[s] Godwin at center of radical political culture.'⁷²

P.B. Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) was inspired by Greek mythology and tells the story of Prometheus who was punished by Jupiter for giving fire to the people. He was tied down to a mountain and daily tortured by an eagle tearing out his heart and

⁶⁹ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 223.

⁷⁰ "The Shelley-Godwin Circle," The National Endowment for the Humanities, <<http://shelleygodwinarchive.org/>>.

⁷¹ Andrew McCann, "Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Modern Morals and Manners." *The Literary Encyclopedia*. Ed. Robert Clark, Emory Elliott and Janet Todd, 8 Jan. 2001, accessed on 14 July 2012 <www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=5358>

⁷² McCann, accessed on 14 July 2012, <www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=5358>.

tormented with visions of war, industrial urbanization and the failure of the French Revolution.⁷³ In his introduction, P.B. Shelley revealed:

Let this opportunity be conceded to me of acknowledging that I have, what a Scotch philosopher characteristically terms, ‘a passion for reforming the world[...]’.⁷⁴

Like Wollstonecraft and Godwin, P.B. Shelley used his talent to arouse the public to make changes to society. Shelley was aware of their thinking and it influenced her own writings. For example, in *Falkner* (1837),⁷⁵ Shelley treats ‘the female as model of courage, dedication, and intellectual accomplishment.’⁷⁶ This holds particularly true for Maria in ‘The Sisters of Albano’ (*Keepsake 1829*) and Fanny Bernese in ‘The Swiss Peasant’ (*Keepsake 1831*). Like Elizabeth Raby in *Falkner*, Fanny is an orphan and both girls suffer from the deaths of their families but are taken in by people who protect and educate them. As Bennett argues, as a result, Elizabeth and Fanny are able to take decisions and think for themselves.⁷⁷ For example, Fanny prevents the mutineers from killing Madame de Marville’s son, by falsely stating that they are married:

She rushed forward – she caught the upraised arm of one – ‘He is no aristocrat!’ she cried; ‘he is my husband!’ – Will you murder one who, forgetting his birth, his duty, his honour, has married a peasant girl – one of yourselves?’ (*Keepsake 1831*, p. 140).

⁷³ Jørgen Riber Christensen, “Prometheus Unbound,” accessed on 14 July 2012

<www.hum.aau.dk/~riber/prometheus.htm>.

⁷⁴ Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* (London: C. and J. Ollier, 1820), p. xiv.

⁷⁵ Mary Shelley, *Falkner* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837).

⁷⁶ Betty T. Bennett, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley – An Introduction* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 97.

⁷⁷ Bennett, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, p. 103.

Fanny does not hesitate in telling the lie, even though she might lose Louis, the person she really loves. Fanny stays with the de Marville family even though she could have stayed with Louis and left them to their own fate. Elizabeth Raby stays with her adoptive father Falkner too when he is accused of a crime. *Falkner* may also be linked to ‘The Parvenue.’ In that the portrayal of the abuses of authority can also be found in the latter. The father uses his patriarchal authority to put pressure on his daughter in order to get money from her husband. In addition, Fanny has the choice of staying with her husband and living a respectable life or of resisting his wishes and losing him, the safety of marriage and her status and wealth. That is why she has to accompany her sister into exile when she decides against her husband and must live abroad with her sister’s family. Consequently, she has to live according to the rules of society or abide the consequences.

This societal use of power can also be found in *Lodore* (1835).⁷⁸ Bennett states that in this text, ‘the personal tribulations in *Falkner* are played out in an environment of societal power, exemplified by the class system as well as by the legal system. The privileges of wealth and class are made obvious.’⁷⁹ In many of Shelley’s *Keepsake* stories, like ‘The Parvenue’ or ‘The Swiss Peasant,’ the women depicted find themselves in a patriarchal world in which they have to play according to the rules of society.

Her parents writings were, however, not Shelley’s only source of inspiration and it is possible that her own experiences served to develop new stories. In ‘The Invisible Girl,’ Rosina and Henry Vernon are in love but his father Sir Peter does not approve the match as she is a poor orphan, below his son’s social status. When he hears of their attachment, Sir Peter chases her out of his house. When he realises, however, that she is gone, his conscience forces him to try to bring her back:

⁷⁸ Mary Shelley, *Lodore* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani and Co., 1835).

⁷⁹ Bennett, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, p. 101.

The truth was, that though Sir Peter went to frightful lengths to prevent the marriage of the heir of his house with the portionless orphan, the object of his charity, yet in his heart he loved Rosina, and half his violence to her rose from anger at himself for treating her so ill (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 220).

When Henry finds out that Rosina is missing, he looks for her, finds her and brings her home again, where the father finally approves their relationship. During her absence, Sir Peter swore that ‘he would willingly lay down his life, could he see her again, even though it were as the bride of his son’ (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 220). Shelley describes in this short story how love can overcome social boundaries. The happy ending Shelley bestows upon her characters was denied to herself. After the death of her husband, Shelley tried to maintain good terms with her father-in-law, Sir Timothy, but he ‘relentlessly opposed every timid overture.’⁸⁰ He even refused to let them into the house and only contacted them via his lawyer. The allowance she finally received was not enough to support herself and her son without her writings. Miranda Seymour specifies the reason for his hostility:

[Sir Timothy] remained convinced until his death that it was Mary herself who had worked to fuel Shelley’s contempt for his father and for his inheritance. This had been the one certainty on which Sir Timothy had based his twenty-year refusal to meet his daughter-in-law; the battle did not end with his death.⁸¹

Depictions of class issues, social values, politics, the penal system and education are not only found in *Lodore* and *Falkner*, but in a lot of Shelley’s short stories too.⁸² For example, depictions of politics can be found in ‘The Sisters of Albano’ (*Keepsake 1829*), in

⁸⁰ Miranda Seymour, *Mary Shelley* (New York: Grove Press, 2000), p. 49.

⁸¹ Seymour, p. 49.

⁸² Bennett, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, p. 103.

‘Ferdinando Eboli – A Tale’ (*Keepsake 1829*) and in ‘The Brother and Sister: An Italian Story’ (*Keepsake 1833*), class issues in ‘The Swiss Peasant’ (*Keepsake 1831*) and in ‘The Invisible Girl’ (*Keepsake 1833*). Illustrations of social values are shown in ‘The Brother and Sister: An Italian Story’ (*Keepsake 1833*), ‘The False Rhyme’ (*Keepsake 1830*) and in ‘Euphrasia, a Tale of Greece’ (*Keepsake 1839*), prisons can be found in ‘Euphrasia, a Tale of Greece’ (*Keepsake 1839*), ‘The Sisters of Albano’ (*Keepsake 1829*) and in ‘Ferdinando Eboli – A Tale’ (*Keepsake 1829*) and education is an issue in for example ‘The Swiss Peasant’ (*Keepsake 1831*) and ‘Transformation’ (*Keepsake 1831*).⁸³ However, even if Shelley is influenced by the writings of her family and even if she challenges socially serious ideas, she is still dressing the stories for the *Keepsake* audience by inducing a moral behaviour.

Gothic elements

Another important technique used in Shelley’s stories is the introduction of Gothic motifs and effects. The word Gothic was first used in connection with a German tribe, the Goths who were also responsible for the fall of the Roman Empire. The meaning of the term ‘Gothic’ evolved over the years; as the Goths were only remembered as the destroyers of the Roman civilization, the term came to be used for everything medieval. David Punter and Glennis Byron argue that in the eighteenth century, ‘Gothic’ ‘could be used in structural opposition to ‘classical.’⁸⁴ This means in other words, the Gothic was ‘chaotic,’ ‘ornate and convoluted,’ ‘excessive and exaggerated, the product of the wild and the uncivilized, a world that constantly tended to overflow cultural boundaries,’ whereas the classical was seen as

⁸³ Mary Shelley, “The False Rhyme,” *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 265-268; Mary Shelley, “Transformation,” *The Keepsake for 1831*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1830), pp. 18-39.

⁸⁴ David Punter and Glennis Byron, *The Gothic* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), p. 7.

‘well ordered,’ ‘simple and pure,’ ‘a world of clear rules and limits.’⁸⁵ In an aesthetic sense, ‘Gothic’ was first used in connection with architecture, art and landscape gardening.

Horace Walpole’s *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story* (1764) is considered to be the first Gothic novel. The story is set in the middle ages and introduced many features of the Gothic genre, like labyrinths, ruined castles, bad weather, clanking chains and supernatural events. Other important Gothic works are William Beckford’s *Vathek* (1786), Ann Radcliffe’s *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), Matthew Lewis’s *The Monk* (1796) and Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818). M.H. Abrams states that ‘The principal aim of such novels was to evoke chilling terror by exploiting mystery and a variety of horrors.’⁸⁶ Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik agree that those texts should generate fear: ‘the Gothic text challenges the reader with the question ‘What are you afraid of?’ and, in bringing this question to the surface, therapeutically evokes feelings of horror, terror and revulsion.’⁸⁷ Consequently, authors ‘needed to cultivate certain shock tactics, [in order] to jolt their audiences out of their lethargy.’⁸⁸ This was, however, for some critics a reason to frown upon Gothic novels. As was already mentioned in a previous chapter, many critics believed that novels, including Gothic novels, corrupted the female mind and hence were a ‘moral danger for the innocent reader.’⁸⁹

Nevertheless, female readers were attracted by this type of reading and as novels had a fast growing female readership, Gothic literature became important to female writers and readers alike. Glennis Stephenson agrees that female short story writers were encouraged to work in a genre that was seen as less serious and less profitable as ‘an increased literacy and

⁸⁵ Punter and Byron, p. 7.

⁸⁶ M. H. Abrams, ed., *The Glossary of Literary Terms*, 7th ed. (Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1999), p. 111.

⁸⁷ Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik, *Gothic and the Comic Turn* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), p. 2.

⁸⁸ David Stevens, *The Gothic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 19.

⁸⁹ Stevens, p. 24.

leisure among middle and upper-class women created a greater demand for literary periodicals, magazines, and annuals, this in turn led to an increased need for women writers to cater to the tastes of this growing market.⁹⁰ For this reason, it is not surprising that some writers managed to earn a living by their pen. Radcliffe, for example received an enormous amount for her publications. In 1826, an article in *La Belle Assemblée* pointed out her financial success:

For the ‘Mysteries of Udolpho’ Mrs. Radcliffe received ‘from Messrs. Robinson £500, a sum then so unusually large for a work of fiction, that Mr. Cadell, who had great experience in such matters, on hearing the statement, offered a wager of £10 that it was untrue. By ‘The Italian,’ although considerably shorter, she acquired about the sum of £800.’⁹¹

Hence, Gothic writers could achieve considerable fame and wealth in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.⁹² Writers like Ann Radcliffe, Mary Shelley and Emily Brontë were soon associated with the development of the Gothic novel.⁹³ According to Stevens, female writers were excluded from ‘the male-dominated ‘higher arts’ of poetic and philosophical discourse’ and therefore tried to express themselves in a different form.⁹⁴ This form rapidly received its own identity and developed different key characteristics. Stevens lists the following six key characteristics which can be found in Gothic literature:

- A fascination for the past, particularly – but not exclusively – the medieval era.

⁹⁰ Glennis Stephenson, *Nineteenth-Century Stories by Women* (New York: Broadview Press, 1997), p. 9.

⁹¹ *La Belle Assemblée on Court and Fashionable Magazine*, vol. 3 (London: Geo. B. Whittaker & Oliver and Boyd, 1826), p. 298.

⁹² Stevens, p. 30.

⁹³ Stevens, p. 23.

⁹⁴ Stevens, p. 23.

- A liking for the strangely eccentric, the supernatural, the magical, and the sublime, sometimes subtly intermingled with the realistic.
- Psychological insights, especially into sexuality, through (at best) fascinating and intricate characterisation, or (at worst) stereotypical caricatures.
- Representation and stimulation of fear, horror, the macabre and the sinister, within the context of a general focus on the emotional rather than the rational.
- Frequently exotic settings and locations, although this tendency may be contrasted to a more ‘domestic’ Gothic tradition, especially found amongst American texts.
- Plots within plots, often with multiple narrators, and other stylistic characteristics such as the use of ‘tableaux’ and overt symbolism.⁹⁵

As Stevens has pointed out, each characteristic need not be employed in order to form a Gothic story. This is as well true in the case of Shelley who uses Gothic elements such as ghosts, ghostly warnings, mysterious ugly goblins, stormy nights, and mysterious lights, doublings and doppelgänger to enrich her stories. The heyday of Gothic literature is usually assumed to last from the 1790s until 1820s, but as Christine Alexander argues the many Gothic stories included in literary annuals suggest that this termination date is not accurate.⁹⁶ The annuals were home to many Gothic texts and Shelley’s ‘The Invisible Girl’ (*Keepsake 1833*), ‘The Dream’ (*Keepsake 1832*), ‘The Brother and Sister: An Italian Story’ (*Keepsake 1833*) and ‘Ferdinando Eboli’ (*Keepsake 1829*) are important contributions to the genre.

⁹⁵ Stevens, pp. 46-47.

⁹⁶ Alexander, ‘That Kingdom of Gloom,’ p. 414.

However, Shelley incorporated also Gothic features which were not mentioned by Stevens. In 'The Dream,' she describes a story of an innocent young heroine and a cruel villain.⁹⁷ Shelley makes effective use of emotions as gothic elements and tells us the story of the young Countess Constance de Villeneuve who prefers to live on her own and mourn the death of her family and the future she could have had: 'She had closed her gates against every visitant; and [...] vowed herself to loneliness and weeping' (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 23). She wants to stay in the castle away from civilization but the villain, here embodied by the king, wants her to marry. Constance, however, prefers to become a nun and live in seclusion instead.

The wish for seclusion on the one hand and the confinement on the other are important Gothic elements. In the female Gothic tradition, the heroine is often a prisoner locked away at 'home.'⁹⁸ Gilbert and Gubar explain that the 'Imagery of enclosure reflects the woman writer's own discomfort, [and] her sense of powerlessness.'⁹⁹ The reason for this discomfort and powerlessness could be due to the 'debilitating alternatives her culture offers her;' women are not supposed to be writers and earn a living by the pen.¹⁰⁰

In 'The Invisible Girl,' another kind of Gothic villain is depicted; the evil sister. In this tale Rosina, Henry and Sir Peter are described as living together in harmony until the day the evil sister appears:

All at once an ominous personage made its appearance in Vernon-Place, in the shape of a widow sister of Sir Peter, who, having succeeded in killing her husband and children with the effects of her vile temper, came, like a

⁹⁷ Abrams, p. 111.

⁹⁸ Punter and Byron, p. 26.

⁹⁹ Gilbert and Gubar, p. 84.

¹⁰⁰ Gilbert and Gubar, p. 57.

harpy, greedy for new prey, under her brother's roof (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 217).

The description of the sister is extremely exaggerated as befits the Gothic form. Soon the reader understands that it is due to her presence that Rosina is turned out of the house and Henry is sent abroad.

Pursuant to Peter L. Thorlev, the villains are always necessary in order to 'provide vicarious thrills.'¹⁰¹ Under the influence of the evil sister, who 'restrained and inflamed his rage,' Sir Peter begins to disapprove of the children's attachment and sends them away (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 217). Transgression, in this case depicted through the transgressive sister, is a common Gothic element. Fred Botting notes that 'Gothic novels frequently adopt [a] cautionary strategy, warning of dangers of social and moral transgression by presenting them in their darkest and most threatening form.'¹⁰² Even though this character has only a minor role in the story, the reader soon realizes that she threatens the family's harmony. By her actions, she transgresses her role and almost destroys everyone's happiness. Botting further describes the usual outcome of this type of Gothic story: '[...] after escaping the monsters and penetrating the forest, subterranean or narrative labyrinths of Gothic nightmare, heroines and readers manage to return with an elevated sense of identity to the solid realities of justice, morality and social order.'¹⁰³ In Shelley's tale the heroine also escapes from the evil aunt and hides in an old ruin. In the end, she is found and she returns home. She understands that she is loved and that she belongs to this family. Order and the family are restored. This unbalanced triad, consisting of the villain, the hero and the female cannot only be found in 'The Invisible Girl,' but also in 'Ferdinando Eboli' and 'The Brother and Sister.' In most cases, however,

¹⁰¹ Peter L. Thorlev, *Byronic Hero Types and Proto* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 53.

¹⁰² Fred Botting, *Gothic* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 5.

¹⁰³ Botting, p. 5.

the villain is a man, trying to seduce the female. Nevertheless, in this story, the villain is a woman trying to intrigue and to harm.

Like Stevens, Allan Pritchard also refers to the medieval settings of such stories, and adds in 'The Urban Gothic of *Bleak House*,' that 'romantically distant settings [like secluded castles] had usually been regarded as essential for Gothic fiction.'¹⁰⁴ Therefore, Shelley often uses villas or castles in remote places to highlight the Gothic feel of her tales. In 'The Brother and Sister: An Italian Story' (*Keepsake 1833*), for example, Flora finds shelter in a remote villa from her guardian and enemy. The medieval castle is not the only link with the past; Shelley sets the story in the same time period. The same holds true in 'The Dream.' Even though the story does not take place in the medieval period, it occurs during the reign of Henry IV, two hundred years before Shelley's time. The fascination for the past can also be seen in 'Ferdinando Eboli,' which takes place in Naples under the reign of Murat, king of Naples. The reason why Shelley sets her stories in an earlier period might be a 'nostalgic idealisation of the past as opposed to a complicated and unacceptable present.'¹⁰⁵ Gilbert and Gubar argue that female writers often 'created submerged meanings, meanings hidden within or behind the more accessible, 'public' content of their works.'¹⁰⁶ This means in other words that a different time period might have helped female writers to put their ideas across without shocking contemporary audiences.

In 'The Dream,' Shelley depicts for example the desperate situation of Constance who is supposed to marry. Typically for this time period, Constance should not have a say but should do as she is told. Shelley gives her, however, the possibility to decide her own fate. Consequently, this short story hints already at the possibility of equal rights between man and

¹⁰⁴ Allan Pritchard, "The Urban Gothic of *Bleak House*," *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Mar., 1991), p. 435.

¹⁰⁵ Stevens, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ Gilbert and Gubar, p. 72.

woman and mimics some ideas of Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).

By contrast, Markley believes that 'Constance is an exaggerated figure of the grieving woman and that this exaggeration shows Shelley's capabilities as a humorist:

She exaggerates Gothic convention, [...] poking fun at some examples of popular fiction, including the 'constant' woman whose blind devotion to the dead and to religious folk belief inhibits her present life and happiness until she is saved from the restrictions she has created for herself.¹⁰⁷

Even though Shelley is mourning the death of her own husband and children, she is using this theme in 'The Dream' and gives it a comic treatment. Horner and Zlosnik suggest 'that it is perhaps best to think of Gothic writing as a spectrum that, at one end, produces horror-writing containing moments of comic hysteria or relief and, at the other, works in which there are clear signals that nothing is to be taken seriously.'¹⁰⁸

The moments of horror and terror can clearly be identified in Shelley's story 'The Dream,' in which Shelley links fascination for the past¹⁰⁹ with the image of the forest. Constance often goes to the forest; 'the antique wood, associated to her with every dear recollection of her past life' (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 24). In this particular story, the two main characters, Gaspar and Constance were never meant to be together as their families were foes. Their families would not have allowed it and therefore they had to meet in secret. The forest therefore stands not only for love and happiness but the forbidden.

¹⁰⁷ Markley, 'Mary Shelley's 'New Gothic,'' pp. 108 &110.

¹⁰⁸ Horner and Zlosnik, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Stevens, p. 47.

This setting is, however transformed into a Gothic moment by an instant of terror when Constance hears something disturbing close by: ‘A rustling among the boughs now met her ear – her heart beat quick – all again was still’ (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 24). She is scared and annoyed at herself for being so easily afraid and thus tries to convince herself that she is imagining things: ‘‘Foolish girl! [...] dupe of thine own passionate fancy’’ (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 24):

Again the bushes were stirred, and footsteps were heard in the brake. She rose; her heart beat high: it must be that silly Manon, with her impertinent entreaties for her to return. But the steps were firmer and slower than would be those of her waiting-woman; and now emerging from the shade, she too plainly discerned her intruder (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 25).

Constance is afraid when she hears noises and does not know who the intruder is. She is paralysed and waiting for the trespasser to show her/himself, hoping that it is her maid. In ‘The Gothic Vocabulary of Fear,’ Eric Carlson describes two different Gothic fears: expectant fear and shocked fear. The former ‘may be associated with trembling and may lead to action,’ the latter ‘is associated with surprise and paralysis.’¹¹⁰ This moment of terror and fear transforms a place associated with love into a space of Gothic horror. The forest depicts an ideal Gothic setting, as it illustrates first ‘some form of obscurity or mystery,’ a common factor in Gothic literature.¹¹¹ Secondly, the forest is a frightful place, especially at night and consequently ideal for this type of story. In addition, the use of unknown sounds gives the story a haunting and frightening atmosphere, which is common in Gothic fiction. The dimension of fear and anxiety is of relevance as it announces the existence of dangerous risk. Even if one could argue that the description of these anxious feelings, should trigger intense

¹¹⁰ Eric Carlson, ‘‘The Gothic Vocabulary of Fear,’’ *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 111, No. 3 (July 2012), p. 285.

¹¹¹ Stevens, p. 54.

emotions of fear and shivering, and creating thus a mysterious feeling, it is more likely that the appeal of terror should demonstrate Constance's psychological anxiety as she is meeting Gaspar in secret and is thus not respecting her family's wish.

Another dangerous and superstitious place is St. Catherine's bed, which can only be reached by boat. Markley suggests that Shelley 'takes the Gothic setting to the extreme' as St. Catherine's bed is an extremely dangerous place.¹¹² Therefore Constance trembled when she arrived at the river bank. She believes that it is the only way to find out whether she is allowed to be with Gaspar or not. In order to get her answers she has to:

Sleep in St. Catherine's bed, to rest on a narrow ledge overhanging the deep rapid Loire, and if, as was most probable, the luckless dreamer escaped from falling into it, to take the disturbed visions that such uneasy slumber might produce for the dictate of Heaven (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 31).

Even though there are not any ghosts involved, Constance asks for some spiritual help. This help is to come from 'beyond or above the natural, rationally explainable world' (Stevens 49); in the form of a dream. In much early Gothic fiction, it is women that dream, not men. As Margaret Anne Doody argues 'Heroes are not dreamers' and it is mainly women, who are 'weaker than men, [and] not in control of their environment, [who] are permitted to have dreams.'¹¹³

In Shelley's text Constance hopes to get answers to her questions from the dream and will act according to its outcome. This clearly shows that Constance is aware of the dilemma she faces, as she is trapped between social norms and her inner emotions. In addition, the

¹¹² Markley, 'Mary Shelley's 'New Gothic,'' p. 109.

¹¹³ Margaret Anne Doody, "Deserts, Ruins, and Troubled Waters: Female Dreams in Fiction and the Development of the Gothic Novel," *Genre* 10 (1977), p. 529.

Catholic element in this tale should not be forgotten. Anti-Catholicism is often present in Gothic tales. And some critics like Montague Summers believe that Catholic motifs were only decorative: ‘The authors employed abbotts [sic] and convents, friars and cloisters, [...], because such properties were exotic, they were mysterious, and capable of the highest romantic treatment.’¹¹⁴ Wendy C. Graham, however, suggests that ‘Anti-Catholicism in Gothic literature was a reflection of the religious animosity that had prevailed in England throughout the centuries.’¹¹⁵ Victor Sage argues that during the reign of George III, people were told to hide their catholic beliefs:

[George III] had suggested to one wealthy Catholic landowner, Mr. Weld of Lulworth, that he build his family chapel disguised as a Mausoleum in order to circumvent the law that proscribed Catholic assemblies within locked doors.¹¹⁶

Consequently, Graham believes that ‘This forced secrecy was later used by Gothic writers to create an air of clandestine evil surrounding the Catholic protagonists in their novels.’¹¹⁷ Frank H. Wallis detects a Gothic ‘prejudice against Roman Catholicism’ that ‘involves stereotypes about adherents, clergy, doctrines, rituals, and politics of that religion.’¹¹⁸ Robert Kiely takes this idea further and states that ‘the trappings of the Roman Church provided an exotic background, but, more than that, they were symbols of superstition, fanaticism, and odd behaviour.’¹¹⁹ In ‘The Dream,’ Shelley describes such a superstitious ritual and the odd

¹¹⁴ Montague Summers in Maria Purves, *The Gothic and Catholicism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2009), p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Wendy C. Graham, *Gothic Elements and Religion in Nathaniel Hawthornes’s Fiction* (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 1999), p. 34.

¹¹⁶ Victor Sage, cited in Graham, *Gothic Elements*, p. 35.

¹¹⁷ Graham, *Gothic Elements*, p. 35.

¹¹⁸ Frank H. Wallis, cited in Graham, *Gothic Elements*, p. 34.

¹¹⁹ Robert Kiely quoted in Purves, p. 3.

behaviour of Constance. Shelley depicts a helpless heroine who does not know how to act properly. The castle, the forest and the chapel portray an ideal Gothic setting, as they reinforce her inner fear and consciousness about the conflicting situation the main protagonist is facing.

Shelley often uses Gothic settings in her stories to examine ideas about love and social status. In 'The Invisible Girl,' Shelley could well be drawing on her own experience, and attempting to rewrite it for the better through her fiction. Additionally, in an attempt to change the world, Shelley wants to show how these situations could be dealt with in reality.

The romantic setting is given, but the stories often incorporate Gothic elements, including ruins, towers, dark forests, a 'witch'-sister and a storm. Like in a lot of Shelley's Gothic short stories, the storm symbolizes evil, terror and the power of nature. In *Frankenstein*, Shelley depicts the dangerous aspect of the storm by demonstrating its destructiveness as the following morning, the narrator finds an oak tree 'entirely reduced to thin ribands of wood [and it becomes clear that he] never beheld anything so utterly destroyed.'¹²⁰ Thus, characters try to get away from it and find shelter to wait until it has passed. Being far away from civilization, the narrator only manages to find a ruined 'dreary looking tenement'. This abandoned place is the setting for the main story as well as the starting point of the frame story. The storm is important as it forces the narrator to take cover and allows him to find out about Rosina and Henry Vernon. Shelley does not omit the storm in the main plot but continues with a tempest, almost causing the boat to sink:

They were yet far distant when the shifting wind began to exert its strength,
and to blow with violent though unequal puffs. Night came on pitchy dark,

¹²⁰ Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein: Or, The Modern Prometheus* (London: G. and W.B. Whittaker, 1823), p. 57.

and the howling waves rose and broke with frightful violence, menacing to overwhelm the tiny bark that dared resist their fury. (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 213)

In this story, the tempest does not show its power of destruction like in *Frankenstein*, but sets a dark and threatening atmosphere, strengthened by the fact that it occurs during the night. Furthermore, it also mirrors Henry's feelings and his inner condition. He was very happy once but was transformed into 'the most woeful mourner that ever clung to the outer trappings of grief' (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 216). After their dangerous manoeuvre at sea, 'He had forgotten his danger, [...]: his thoughts were occupied on the horrors of his own fate, and the unspeakable wretchedness that sat like a night-mare on his heart' (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 216). Henry is afraid that Rosina died and that he will never see her again. His sadness and desperation are therefore reflected in the ugly weather outside.

During the storm, the crew struggles to keep the ship on course. Suddenly it becomes easier to navigate because a mysterious light helps them through the dark night. The crew quickly finds a supernatural explanation for this phenomenon. Thus they believe that a fairy has helped them. It is then that Henry learns the rumours of the tower, the mysterious light and the invisible girl. He is told that the mysterious light 'burns in an old tumble-down tower, built on the top of a rock which looks over the sea' (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 214); some people believe that it is burnt by witches, and others by smugglers. Two searches have already been conducted in order to establish the source of the light but they 'found nothing but the bare walls of the tower' (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 215). Another sailor believes that 'it is burnt by the ghost of a maiden who lost her sweetheart in these parts; he being wrecked, and his body found at the foot of the tower: she goes by the name among us of the 'Invisible Girl'' (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 215). The light has been seen by the inhabitants on several occasions but they were unable to detect the person or people who are at its source. Thus, different stories of ghosts and fairies occur which create a distinctive Gothic atmosphere of fear and anxiety,

as well as of relief; fear because people cannot explain the appearance of the light and relief because the light helped the sailors to overcome the storm in safety. The location of the tower is therefore both terrifying and inviting. Shelley describes this incomprehensible phenomenon in order to hint at the supernatural. This scene imposes, therefore, eeriness upon the love story of Henry and Rosina.¹²¹ In the end, Henry finds neither ghost nor fairy but is able to discover Rosina in the tower. The mystery is solved and the supernatural confuted. Not every author tended to resolve the supernatural elements of their stories in the end and ‘seek rational closure through explaining the apparent mystery.’¹²² Ann Radcliffe, for instance, ‘tended to explain the apparently supernatural elements rationally, thus ultimately comforting her readers into a sense of security.’¹²³ Some authors preferred to keep the supernatural element unresolved. Punter and Byron refer to those two groups of writers in *The Gothic*. They argue that closure can often be found in ‘female Gothic’ (works written by women in the Gothic mode), whereas in ‘male Gothic’ (works written by men in the Gothic mode¹²⁴) ‘the text [...] resists narrative closure [and] the supernatural, for example, tends to be left unexplained.’¹²⁵

The question arises as to why Shelley is using the Gothic as a writing technique? Katherine D. Harris states that Gothic stories were ideal for the literary annual genre as editors believed them to be ‘appropriate for young, middle-class, female readers.’¹²⁶ As this

¹²¹ Matthew Lewis adapts the same technique in ‘The Narrative of the Bleeding Nun.’

George E. Haggerty, “Fact and Fancy in the Gothic Novel,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Mar., 1985), p. 385.

¹²² Stevens, p. 53.

¹²³ Stevens, p. 53.

¹²⁴ The term ‘female Gothic’ was first referred to by Ellen Moers in *Literary Women* (1976). (Punter and Byron, p. 278).

¹²⁵ Punter and Byron, p. 279.

¹²⁶ Katherine D. Harris, ‘Undoing the Good: The Uncivilizing Nature of Gothic Short Stories in Early Literary Annuals,’ 19 July 2012 <http://ah.brookes.ac.uk/conference/presentation/undoing_the_good/> .

new genre was very popular, editors benefited from it for their own publications. Harris further indicates that the literary annual:

Was the middle class's beautifully packaged version of entertainment that shielded readers not from the impropriety of the Gothic tradition, but invited readers to secretly enjoy it. They could hide behind the beauty of the literary annual form and point to its ornamented hard covers - indeed, fancy and imagination were freed.¹²⁷

As mentioned in the previous chapter, literary annuals were highly popular and were forming part of the nineteenth-century society. Shelley was aware of this popularity of Gothic fiction and used it to her advantage: She wanted to sell her writings in order to pay for the expenses of her family.

Robert D. Mayo notes that after the 1820s, the Gothic short story was no longer popular and therefore a decline in publications could be observed.¹²⁸ Julian Wolfreys states that in general critics agree upon the dates of raise and decline of Gothic writings: 'It was given life in 1764 with the publication of Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* [and it] died allegedly somewhere around 1818 or 1820, with the publication of, respectively, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* or Charles Maurin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*.'¹²⁹ Considering, however, Shelley's short stories published in the *Keepsake*, the Gothic vocabulary can still be found in many of her tales, as well as in short stories by other writers, such as Scott's 'The Tapestry Chamber' (*Keepsake 1829*), George Agar Ellis' 'A Tragedy of Other Times' (*Keepsake 1830*) and Colley Grattan's 'The Curate-Confessor of Virofloy – A real ghost

¹²⁷ Harris, 19 July 2012 <http://ah.brookes.ac.uk/conference/presentation/undoing_the_good/> .

¹²⁸ Robert D. Mayo, "How Long was Gothic Fiction in Vogue?" *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan. 1943), pp. 58-64.

¹²⁹ Julian Wolfreys, *Victorian Hauntings – Spectrality, Gothic, the Uncanny and Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 8.

story' (*Keepsake 1833*).¹³⁰ It follows that the interest in Gothic themes and stories was still present after the 1820s in many literary annuals and giftbooks. Consequently, this section has highlighted Shelley's Gothic stories which could be, on the one hand, frightening and scary, and comic on the other. Often Shelley's Gothic stories had a moral statement, which made them suitable for literary annuals and its reading public. The following section will look at some other interesting Gothic stories by unknown authors in order to analyse if this conclusion holds true for other authors' contributions.

Keepsake Stories

Contrary to other annuals that included stories more specific to a particular genre, like *Hood's Comic Annual* (1830-39), *Flowers of Loveliness* (1836-41) or the *Oriental Annual* (1834-40), the *Keepsake* included a wide variety of short stories.¹³¹ There were three major kinds of fiction included in the *Keepsake*: Gothic, moral and oriental stories. As the previous section has demonstrated, Gothic themes were still fashionable among the reading public. Additionally to those stories already mentioned, including themes of ghosts, ruins, castles, stormy nights and doppelgänger, it is possible to find tales which have on the one hand a cruel and horrifying character and on the other a comic and funny voice. Thus, Gothic vocabulary was used in many different ways. Stories like 'Doratheia' (*Keepsake 1830*), 'The Deserted Chateau' (*Keepsake 1835*) or Lord George Agar Ellis Dover's 'A Tragedy of Other

¹³⁰ Walter Scott, "The Tapestried Chamber," *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 123-142; George Agar Ellis, "A Tragedy of Other Times," *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 129-132, and Colley Grattan, "The Curate-C Confessor of Virofloy – A real ghost story," *The Keepsake for 1833*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1832), pp. 67-81.

¹³¹ *Hood's Comic Annual*, for example, consisted of puns, humorous poems and stories by Thomas Hood. *Flowers of Loveliness* included a series of twelve poems which accompanied different engravings depicting female figures, each standing for a different flower and the *Oriental Annual* only incorporated stories which took place in India.

Times' (*Keepsake 1830*) tell a frightening Gothic horror story, whereas 'The Ghost Laid' (*Keepsake 1828*) and 'The Ghost Story' (*Keepsake 1835*) take a comic turn.¹³² Horner and Zlosnik suggest 'that it is perhaps best to think of Gothic writing as a spectrum that, at one end, produces horror-writing containing moments of comic hysteria or relief and, at the other, works in which there are clear signals that nothing is to be taken seriously.'¹³³

This chapter will initially examine the first category and move on to the second kind. The third category, consisting of oriental stories will not be discussed in the present chapter but in the final chapter of this thesis. (Additionally to the several oriental stories published in the *Keepsake*, the final chapter will discuss two different nineteenth century travel annuals; the *Oriental* and the *Bengal Annual*.)

In contrast to Mary Shelley's Gothic stories, 'Doratheia', 'The Deserted Chateau' and 'A Tragedy of Other Times' are of a disturbing character. The anonymously authored 'The Deserted Chateau' includes a Gothic scene in which the lover of the Comtesse de Mersêt is buried alive by her angry husband after she denies his presence in her room. Immediately after the Comte's departure, the comtesse tries to destroy the newly-built wall behind which her lover is imprisoned:

Scarcely had he left the apartment, when she rang the bell violently, to summon Rosalie; and in a voice that was rendered fearful of excess of agitation, cried, 'To work! to work!' Then frantically [sic] seizing an iron bar

¹³² The Author of the Hungarian Tales, "Doratheia," *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 280-290; "The Deserted Chateau," *The Keepsake for 1835*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1834), pp. 262-274; "The Ghost Laid," *The Keepsake for 1828*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1827), pp. 286-300 and "The Ghost Story," *The Keepsake for 1835*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1834), pp. 251-259 .

¹³³ Horner and Zlosnik, p. 15.

which Rosalie, by her direction, brought for the purpose, commenced demolishing the yet undried work of Philippe. Desperate were her efforts, in the hopes of being able to repair the destruction of the walled-up doorway, before the dreaded return of the comte. Despair lent her energy, and a voice within, which penetrated to her sharpened and her nervous ear alone, encouraged her to proceed. Already a part of the brickwork had yielded, and she was in the act of applying a yet more vigorous blow for the removal of the remaining impediments, when the comte, pale and menacing, stood before her. She shrieked not – spoke not – but fell insensible on the floor (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 273).

The comtesse falls sick but nothing makes her husband destroy the wall because ‘[she had] sworn on *that* crucifix, there is *no one* there’ (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 274). In the end both characters die. Like many of Shelley’s Gothic tales, this story includes a frame narrative and embedded stories. The first part of the tale is set in the present and gives the description of a deserted and decayed chateau. The second part goes back in time and is set in 1816. In this section, a notary is ordered to see the Comtesse de Mersêt in order to write down her will. No one understands the comtesse’s orders and it is only in the third section of the tale that the Gothic events are set out. Rosalie Lebas, the maid confesses to a priest that she had seen what had occurred in the castle. She had noticed that the comte had accused his wife of having an affair and that he had closed the oratory with a brick wall afterwards. The author of this story turns the Gothic element up a degree. This plot is rather shocking as no one believes such behaviour to be possible. It seems well adapted to the discussion of transgressive sexual relationships, the break-down of marriages and violence. Even though this kind of story seems to go against the annual’s reputation for idealised femininity, normality is often restored at the text’s conclusion.

The description of the landscape at the beginning of the story sets the tone of the tale; words and phrases such as ‘old,’ ‘lone,’ ‘what has once been a garden,’ ‘melancholy neglect,’ ‘The espaliers are grown into labyrinths,’ ‘their traces are nearly lost,’ ‘in times past,’ ‘the remains,’ ‘falling into decay,’ ‘melancholy associations,’ ‘the sight of so desolate and ruined a scene,’ ‘the ivy, which hangs its pendants from the ruined walls’ depict on the one hand melancholy and sadness (*Keepsake 1835*, pp. 262-263) and on the other a mystery to be solved: ‘There is neither life nor brightness about this deserted mansion; all is gloomy, and empty, and silent. It seems as if an invisible hand had every where traced the word *‘Mystery!’*’ (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 263) For many years, the inhabitants and the readers do not understand the Comtesse de Mersêt’s letting the mansion decay and are intrigued by mysterious changes and happenings. The introduction further points out that not many people know about the incident: ‘its history being known but to few—those few shrink from a further investigation into its dark secrets’ (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 263). The reader has been chosen to know the ‘dark secret’ and is prepared for a sad and perhaps dangerous story. At the end, he/she understands that the dark secret is about murder and revenge. The castle is an ideal setting for, what Carol Ann Howells calls, ‘a distinctive Gothic environment which is both fairytale and menacing.’¹³⁴ The foreign or historical location serve to distance and reassure the reader, who does not need to worry about such things happening in the here and now.

‘A Tragedy of Other Times’ returns to the theme of being buried alive. Again this text is set in the recent past. In this tale a mason agrees to work for three men who take him to a secret location where he witnesses a bizarre scene:

¹³⁴ Coral Ann Howells, *Love, Mystery, and Misery – Feeling in Gothic Fiction* (London: Athlone Press, 1995), p. 24.

They entered, dragging with them a beautiful young woman, whose dishevelled black hair, streaming eyes, and disordered dress, proved, at the same time, her misery, and the compulsion under which she was suffering (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 130).

She falls on her knees and asks for pity but ‘in spite of her screams and resistance, [is] forced into the niche, where she [is] bound with cords’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 131). The mason is asked to wall her up and when he refuses, is threatened himself. Reluctantly, he does what he is told, all the time threatened by drawn swords:

Till at length, while the shrieks of the victim became every instant more dreadfully piercing, as the wall rose upon her which was to shut her out from life, the tragedy was completed, and the niche was hermetically sealed with solid masonry (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 131).

After he finishes his job, the mason is taken home in the same mysterious manner and when he is alone again, he decides to see the governor to relate to him what has happened. For weeks the police search houses but without success. The atmosphere created in this short story is mysterious, dark and scary. The mason is not only taken to an unknown place but blindfolded in order to make sure that he has no idea where he really is. The reader is intrigued by what will happen to the mason and frightened by the outcome. The room to which he is finally taken is dark; covered in black cloth. The masks are another frightening element, which ensure that the mason and the reader are unable to identify the murderers. Both stories are horrifying as the culprits get away with murder. They take no pity on their victims and do not forgive their deeds. Although shocking, things are very different in both cases; in ‘The Deserted Chateau,’ the husband orders the murder of his wife’s lover. This is not done directly, but indirectly as he asks his wife whether there is someone hidden in her

room. He does not show pity because his wife has sworn that there is no one with her. The husband washes his hands of the affair because if there is no one in her chamber, none can be harmed by its walling up. At the end, even though the comte is not convicted; everyone dies; the comte in Paris and his wife in their castle. The circumstances of the comte's death are mysterious as there is no explanation for it. Unlike his wife, who cannot live with the blame of her lover's death, he is not ill. It is likely, however, that he dies because he is aware that he has killed someone. It is possible that despite his pretence that there was no one present, he is aware that there was and is not able to live with the guilt. In this case, no one survives, because the wife was not able to tell the truth and confess the affair. The second story leaves more questions because the reader does not know why the woman had to be killed. Several men decide the woman's fate and it is obvious that she died. It is clear that in the first story, the woman bears part of the blame; she lied to her husband which caused her lover's death. This is not the obvious reason in the second story. The reader does not know why these men want to punish the woman, but the narrator suspects that the woman has acted against the normal rules of society and therefore had to be punished:

This mysterious murder remained, and still remains unexplained and unpunished; but conjecture imagined it to have been an act of family vengeance. According to this solution, the masks were the father and brothers of the unfortunate lady, who was considered in some way or other to have dishonoured her race. They were also supposed to have been strangers from some distant part of the country, who had come to the neighbourhood of Paris for the purpose of completing this vindictive act, and had gone away again after its perpetration. (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 132)

This is the narrator's own presumption and not something he has seen himself. Hoagwood and Ledbetter suggest that 'The best escape a nineteenth-century woman could realistically

hope for was the imaginative fantasies provided by literature.’¹³⁵ This means in other words that these stories allow the reader to explore illegitimate fantasies about misdemeanours and crime. Hoagwood and Ledbetter, further, indicate that not only the literary content of the annuals, but also the engravings stimulated the female mind:

These pictures, designed to excite the middle-class female reader’s desire for romance and satisfy her yearning to demonstrate a sophisticated knowledge of art, depicted female sexuality and women’s inferior position in the domestic hierarchy.¹³⁶

Consequently, female readers are able to overcome social boundaries and their inferior position when they peruse the literary annuals. Gilbert and Gubar have further pointed out that women who are captured, fettered, trapped and buried alive are common illustrations in ‘female Gothic.’¹³⁷ They are used to depict the entrapment of the female writer in a male society. Female writers have to accept the strictures of patriarchal society, even though they want to reject them. Therefore, ‘The female Gothic articulates women’s dissatisfactions with patriarchal society and addressed the[ir] problematic position [...] within that society.’¹³⁸ Furthermore, according to Howells, Gothic writers are ‘inheritors of [a] moralistic doctrine’ and hence many works ‘were written for the sake of ‘Example and Warning.’’¹³⁹ Although the story does not have a real ending as the woman is never found and the reader does not know why she was killed and punished in this manner, Ellis gives the audience a possible explanation which should shock and frighten the female readers. According to the author, it is

¹³⁵ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, p.120.

¹³⁶ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, p. 120.

¹³⁷ Gilbert and Gubar, p. 83.

¹³⁸ Andrew Smith and Diana Wallace, “The Female Gothic Then and Now,” *Gothic Studies*, Vol. 6, Nr. 1, May 2004, p. 2.

¹³⁹ Howells, p. 14.

most probable that this lady dishonoured her family and therefore had to be punished. The reader is indirectly told that if one behaves according to the decorum, a dreadful end will be prevented. Hence, an awful story is used in order to teach a female audience how terrifying patriarchal power can be. Similarly, 'The Deserted Chateau' tells the reader that one should not cheat and lie as the consequences of a small lie may be greater than anticipated.

An 'example of warning' can also be found in 'Doratheia' (*Keepsake 1830*). Mrs. Charles Gore tells the sad story of two sisters, Doratheia and Miranda. Miranda is very happy until she finally realizes that Worsley, the man of her affection, does not love her but her sister. She is filled with jealousy, and when Worsley proposes, she loses her head. Miranda tortures Doratheia and binds her hands together with a cord: 'But he [Worsley] fled, - leaving my sister - *my victim* - at my merciless disposal' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 289). Her father returns at this moment and is shocked when he sees his daughters. He wants an explanation for Doratheia's treatment. Miranda does not want to tell him the truth and informs him that Doratheia had brought shame over their family:

And I saw that *his* heart, too, was in her cause, - that I had lost all, - that I was alone on earth; - and an evil instigation, a demon's suggestion, put words of horror into my mouth. - I told him that his Doratheia had turned unto shame; that his child had become a castaway; that my sister was the minion of Worsley's illicit love (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 290).

Outraged that Doratheia had an affair with Worsley before they were wed, the father kills his youngest daughter at once. The moment the father takes the blow, Miranda knows that she cannot be forgiven: 'It was but a blow! - In a moment the sprinkling of her innocent blood was upon me - *the baptism of my eternal condemnation!*' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 290). In this story, one can find two different messages. First, elopements, affairs and everything

connected to a relationship before marriage have very bad connotations as those actions can stain and destroy a whole family. The outcome of a single indiscretion is described in many stories. Austen for example describes in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) the elopement of Lydia with Wickham. Everyone knows that Wickham will not be interested in Lydia for as long as ‘She has no money, no connections, [and] nothing that can tempt him to.’¹⁴⁰ And as a consequence, everyone knows that ‘she is lost for ever [sic].’¹⁴¹ Mr. Darcy manages to find the couple and marries them in order to limit the damage they have already done. Everybody knows that Wickham is not a good husband to Lydia but in order to save face, there is happiness when they are united. The reaction in ‘Doratheia’ is extreme as the father does not give his daughter a chance to justify herself. Death is the only way to punish Doratheia for her actions.

Consequently this tale emphasises the fact that women should not behave indecorously, especially as not every parent might be understanding enough to live with the shame. Secondly, it is obvious that the author wants to depict the negative aspects of jealousy. Even though Miranda has practically raised Doratheia, she is so jealous of her sister that she is not put off from wrongly accusing her. She knows that her accusations will have bad consequences for her sibling but this does not stop her from lying. Furthermore, ‘Doratheia’ shows how jealousy can destroy everything; Miranda will never be able to marry Worsley. Everyone will know that she lied about her sister and she will lose everything. Even though the author does not make the point explicitly, it is clear that Miranda will be alone, her family will turn their back on her and she will lose everything.

‘The Ghost Laid’ (*Keepsake* 1828) and ‘The Ghost Story’ (*Keepsake* 1835) are very different from the tales discussed above. Both are versions of the comic Gothic in which a

¹⁴⁰ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. Robert P. Irvine (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002), p. 287.

¹⁴¹ Austen, p. 287.

supernatural event turns out to be a joke or a trick played by one or more of the characters in order to gain an advantage over the other figures depicted in the text. Julian Wolfreys discusses the comic Gothic in his *Victorian Hauntings*, where he suggests that Dickens is one of its instigators.¹⁴² The following examples show, however, that comic Gothic was already part of mainstream culture before Dickens. In the former, written by W. Harrison Ainsworth, Mary Spencer is in love with Walter Markham but the parents do not approve of the union. Walter leaves and promises to come back and marry her later. In the mean time a Gypsy woman foresees that Mary will marry Tylson; a man who had drowned several weeks ago. The mother and squire see a ghostly figure inside the house and when they finally manage to get inside, they find the girl senseless on the floor with a ring on her finger. The mother wants the gypsy woman to discard the spell and get rid of the ghost. In the night, Mary returns with Walter. It gets clear that Walter did not leave the town to make his fortune but that he formed the plan in tricking Mary's parents into liking him. The writer includes ghosts which are part of the Gothic convention. Howells states that in most cases 'The ghost figure gives the mysterious warnings [...] which the hero receives, though finally the phenomenon is revealed to have been extraordinary rather than supernatural.'¹⁴³ Mary's mother perceives a ghost-like figure in the kitchen. By putting a ring on her daughter's ring finger, the ghost has given a clear warning that Mary belongs to him and that she cannot wed someone else. Her other suitors hear the story the next day understand the warning and stay away from her. They do not want to be haunted too and prefer to search their luck elsewhere. In the end, only Walter is brave enough to take on the ghost. Jim Hansen suggests in *Terror and Irish Modernism* that ghosts 'are the betrayed dead returning to see that justice is done. [...] [They] make [...]

¹⁴² Wolfreys, pp. 25-53.

¹⁴³ Howells, p. 20.

an insistent claim on the living characters: recall the past and set it right.’¹⁴⁴ Hansen refers to *Hamlet* in which Hamlet’s father rises up from the dead to claim justice.¹⁴⁵ The situation in this story is, however, different. Although, the reader is not explicitly told, one expects that there was not any ghost and that Walter has staged everything in order to convince the parents. By using superstitious elements, Walter manages to manipulate the parents in order to get his will.

‘The Ghost Story’ is another comic Gothic text, in which an Irish figure fools the English. According to Wolfreys, the Irish were often represented as monstrous in the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁶ Consequently, the reader expects this character to behave badly. Michael R. Booth states, on the other hand, that in the theatre tradition an Irishman ‘had been a comic and sentimental type for generations and flourished vigorously throughout the century in melodrama, drama, and comedy as well as farce.’¹⁴⁷ The Irishman is further described as ‘a clever, [...] credible rogue with a heart of gold, despite his innate capacity for deception.’¹⁴⁸ Different from Wolfreys, Booth’s description of the Irishman lets us assume a comical outcome of the story. Bromley accommodates O’Reilly in an uncomfortable room under the roof. The next morning, O’Reilly tells them that he has seen a ghost during the night. O’Reilly challenges them and claims that Williamson will not dare to change rooms with him in order to face the ghost himself: ‘Do you hear that O’Reilly doubts your daring to face the fair intruder of his peaceful slumbers’ (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 256). Williamson orders his belongings to be brought into the other room, because he is not ‘infected with the

¹⁴⁴ Jim Hansen, *Terror and Irish Modernism: The Gothic Tradition from Burke to Beckett* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), p. 96.

¹⁴⁵ Hansen, p. 95.

¹⁴⁶ Wolfreys, p. 53.

¹⁴⁷ Michael R. Booth, *Prefaces to English Nineteenth-Century Theatre* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 116.

¹⁴⁸ Booth, *Prefaces to English Nineteenth-Century Theatre*, p. 117.

nonsense he [O'Reilly] detailed to [them that] morning' (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 256). The following day, everyone is curious to find out whether Williamson has seen the same ghost. He denies but tells them that something different had befallen him:

After falling asleep, I awoke, half suffocated by a strong smell of sulphur, accompanied by an extraordinary clattering, apparently produced by some one [sic] running wildly around the room, for I heard a rush through the doorway, and the sound continued till it seemed to die away in the corridor (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 257).

Although Williamson finally believes O'Reilly's story after his own experience, Mr. Brindsell still believes that there is some deception and asks O'Reilly if he can sleep in his room for one night instead and find an explanation for the happenings. Different from O'Reilly and Williamson, Brindsell was only 'inconvenienced by the coldness of the chamber, he had heard or seen nothing, save the rats, to disturb his repose' (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 257). O'Reilly had always refused to tell them what the lady-ghost actually told him when she came to see him during the night. After the third day, however, O'Reilly breaks his silence. He reproduces the conversation between himself and the ghost, who has some advice for him:

'I'm come to give, and deil a thing else. Imagination's my name; it's in Ireland I chiefly reside, and my advice to you is, whenever you get popped into a room, uncomfortable, like this same, invent a ghost story; and, my conscience on it, it's fools enough ye'll be after finding, ready to occupy it, whilst you sleep asily in their beds the while, without any disturbance at all, at all, O'Reilly dear.' Wid that, it's the last I saw of her' (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 258).

It gets clear that O'Reilly has tricked everyone. In order to give closure to the supernatural element, Miss Saymour wants the explanation for what Williamson experienced in the room:

‘Och! Miss Saymour, dear, and it’s no great secret. A black cat with a walnut shell to each foot of her, and a thrifle (just the laest bit in the world) of my cigar tinder tried to the tail of it, makes the divil’s own hubbub when let into a room, without mentioning to it the why or the wherefore, and like a Christian in the same predicament, makes it rin to the door with the speed of light’ (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 258).

After confessing his ruse, O'Reilly jumps into his vehicle and '[drives] away as fast as the unfortunate quadruped could gallop' (*Keepsake 1835*, p. 258). In this story, O'Reilly uses his wit and the curiosity of people in order to get his way. Everyone is interested in what the ghost has told him, which helps O'Reilly to implement his ruse. The reason everybody believes O'Reilly is that a lady had recently died in the same chambers. Everybody seems to expect the ghost to be this woman who has something to clarify. After being able to spend two nights in a more comfortable room, O'Reilly explains that he had made the lady ghost up. The supernatural phenomena, including the ghost and the noise, are explained. Contrary to the two first tales, in which people were murdered and punished, the two latter stories have funny and witty endings, and no one is hurt. The main protagonists are able to use their wit in order to get their own will. Hence, they manipulate the superstitious beliefs of others and play them to their advantage.

The Gothic novel was between 1790 and 1820 the most popular kind of fiction in England.¹⁴⁹ The examples given have shown, however, that the Gothic short story could still be found in many literary annuals after the 1820s. The term 'Gothic' is vast and several

¹⁴⁹ Howells, p. 1.

Gothic modes have been hinted at, such as the female, the male and the comic Gothic. Even though some critics, such as Victor Sage and Julian Wolfreys have started looking at comic Gothic, for example, it does not seem to be fully established in Gothic studies at this point.¹⁵⁰ Consequently, it would be of interest to examine some examples other literary annual short stories. As Allan Smith points out, ‘The Gothic is not merely a literary convention or a set of motifs: it is a language, [...], which provides writers with the critical means of transferring an idea of the otherness of the past into the present.’¹⁵¹ As an examination of some short stories has shown, however, it was also a means to transfer a contemporary idea into the present by setting it in the past in order to protect readers from shock. The education and moral value can thus not be ignored. It is therefore important to have a look at the so called moral stories.

Moral stories

These stories probably facilitated the popularity of literary annuals as they provided a positive image among readers. Katherine D. Harris suggests that:

Within the first decade of the annual’s success, male editors, authors, and publishers presented readers with an idealized femininity that approximated the propriety, education, and social instruction offered by earlier and more narrowly didactic conduct manuals.¹⁵²

As a consequence, they were often given as gifts to female family members and friends. Harris further states that the producers tried to make the annuals both proper and highly

¹⁵⁰ Horner and Zlosnik, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ Victor Sage and Allan Lloyd Smith, eds, *Modern Gothic: A Reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 1.

¹⁵² Katherine D. Harris, “Forget Me Not! The Popular Phenomenon of Literary Annuals.” accessed on 29 Dec. 2010 <www.sjsu.edu/faculty/harris/FMNWork/FMN_Proposal.pdf>.

attractive for its readers.¹⁵³ Consequently, the term ‘moral tales’ is used for every story with some kind of teaching character. This means, in other words, that ‘moral tales’ are stories with a moral as well as some educational value, teaching the reader good from evil. Thus they have the capacity to stimulate and instruct the reader. The three categories consisting of Gothic, moral and oriental stories were not always strictly separated, as Gothic or oriental stories could have a teaching character too.

Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that moral stories do not have their beginnings in the nineteenth century. Already in the eighteenth century, with publications like John Gregory’s *A Father’s Legacy to His Daughters* (1774) or Lady Sarah Pennington’s *A Mother’s Advice to Her Absent Daughters* (1761), readers were able to read up on ‘the ideal of womanhood they proposed.’¹⁵⁴

Reading became very important in middle-class life, even though it was seen as dangerous for the female mind. As St Clair argues, some social commentators even believed that literature, especially novels, could corrupt the hearts of young women.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, conduct literature was accepted and approved as ‘particularly suitable for a female readership’ and ‘truly safe for young women to read.’¹⁵⁶ The cause of the high demand for conduct literature at that time can be found in the social changes that were taking place. Many middle-class families gained wealth through industrialization and mingled in higher circles. Therefore conduct books helped to establish and diffuse rules which could be of use for both men and women. Moreover, as Davidoff and

¹⁵³ Harris, accessed on 29 Dec. 2010 <www.sjsu.edu/faculty/harris/FMNWork/FMN_Proposal.pdf>.

¹⁵⁴ Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 61.

¹⁵⁵ William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 283.

¹⁵⁶ Armstrong, p. 97.

Hall point out, hierarchy, paternalism and dependence were needed to assure a dependable social system. It was important to establish those values on a small scale, that of the family in order to apply it on a larger scale, that of the state.¹⁵⁷ In order that girls would grow into the role of a domestic woman, conduct books introduced them to such ideas and ideals and instructed them how to become ‘desirable to men of a good social position.’¹⁵⁸ Consequently, conduct books might be seen as a literary device to educate and instruct people and enforce social control upon them. One aspect of conduct literature was conduct-novels. Even though novels were perceived as giving a negative example to their readers and as a consequence causing appalling behaviour, novels were very popular and widely read. As many writers, like Gregory, Fordyce, Chapone and More believed that ‘the reading of [...] texts influences the minds, and therefore, the behaviour, of the readers,’ they tried to influence and teach their readers with their writings and beliefs.¹⁵⁹ The titles of such works made their purpose quite clear; Chapone’s *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773) and Fordyce’s *Sermons for Young Women* (1766) serve as an example of this. Conduct books and novels such as these show what their authors expected of women and men. For instance, More’s conduct-novel *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1808) seems to include almost all the ‘ideas about the proper relations of men and women in the middle and upper classes.’¹⁶⁰ They establish gender roles and describe how they want everyone to behave, especially ladies. The aim of conduct books was to teach and educate, whereas giftbooks were introduced to please the eye and to amuse. Consequently, the teaching stories in the *Keepsake* gave more subtle suggestions on behaviour than conduct books and novels. By comparing both genres, one can see that in the annuals, the moral was not always as obvious, and in certain cases messages could be hidden.

¹⁵⁷ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes – Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 168.

¹⁵⁸ Armstrong, p. 59.

¹⁵⁹ St. Clair, p. 268.

¹⁶⁰ Davidoff and Hall, p. 168.

In addition, different methods of teaching readers could be identified such as the description of a clear moral ending, the introduction of hidden messages that need the interpretation of the reader and the representation of behaviour which should be omitted. The following examples are going to illustrate these different writing techniques by showing a variety of short stories with a mixture of different messages and suggestions.

‘Love in a Mist’ (*Keepsake 1828*) is a comic tale in which the author describes the importance of marriage and the effects the appearance of a bachelor can have on single ladies.¹⁶¹ The social pressure to marry is also depicted in Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* (1813). When Elizabeth Bennet refuses the proposal of Mr. Collins, she is shocked to find out that her friend Charlotte has accepted him instead:

‘You must be surprised, very much surprised—so lately as Mr. Collins was wishing to marry you. But when you have had time to think it over, I hope you will be satisfied with what I have done. I am not romantic you know. I never was. I ask only a comfortable home; and considering Mr. Collins's character, connections, and situation in life, I am convinced that my chance of happiness with him is as fair, as most people can boast on entering the marriage state.’¹⁶²

Charlotte is aware that Collins is not the best match but she prefers to marry him rather than risk staying unmarried all her life. The shame of staying single is depicted in ‘Love in a Mist’ too. The narrator describes ‘two old maids [who] had long been the stockfish of the village’ (*Keepsake 1828*, p. 109) and explains that they have always tried to find a suitable husband: ‘We can most truly and seriously assure our readers, that the sin of oldmaidenhood [sic] did

¹⁶¹ ‘Love in a Mist,’ *The Keepsake for 1828*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1827), pp. 109- 117.

¹⁶² Austen, pp. 154-155.

not lie at the door of either of these ladies. On the contrary, their efforts to divorce themselves from celibacy had been numberless.¹⁶³ As a consequence, ‘both ladies laid siege. They besieged him [Mr. Elderberry], in hopes that he would beseech them, or one of them; but each flattered herself with the hope of being the lucky she, and of disappointing the other.’¹⁶⁴ This phenomenon is also explored in *Pride and Prejudice*, when Austen writes:

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife. However little known the feelings or views of such a man may be on his first entering a neighbourhood, this truth is so well fixed in the minds of the surrounding families, that he is considered as the rightful property of some one [sic] or other of their daughters.¹⁶⁵

These passages show that women had to find a husband in order to be respected in society and to have a stable and financially secure life. Marriage in this time was thus important for security, as women were protected and looked after without any concern about money and responsibilities.¹⁶⁶ The author of this story also ridicules this aspect of marriage and makes fun of the two old ladies.

This comic tale, also similar to that of Austen, is far less radical. It is part of the tradition of mocking old maids. Jan Thirsk explains in *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, why ‘old maids’ are stock comic characters:

¹⁶³ *Keepsake 1828*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁶⁴ *Keepsake 1828*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁶⁵ Austen, p. 43.

¹⁶⁶ M.A. Nicole Gast, *Marriages and the Alternatives in Jane Austen's 'Pride and Prejudice'* (München: GRIN Verlag, 2005), p. 4.

English patriarchal society required that, like the state, the household should be headed by a man. The woman heading her own household contradicted the patriarchal theory; the ungoverned woman was a threat to the social order. Hence the great pressure on young single woman to marry, and the mockery of the ‘old maid’ who failed to do so.¹⁶⁷

Even though these ladies are already advanced in years, they still have not given up hope that they will find someone to marry. Nevertheless, this story does not only poke fun at spinsters, but also raises issues about appropriate modes of behaviour.

L.E.L.’s ‘One Peep Was Enough; or, the Post-Office’ (*Keepsake 1833*) is also a comic-moral tale. Unable to repress their curiosity, a group of women check a letter and try to decipher its content which reads: ‘We will settle the matter to-morrow at dinner, but I am sorry you persist in poisoning your wife, the horror is too great’ (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 303).¹⁶⁸ Shocked by the content, they call the police. The police interfere but when the stranger, his wife and a friend find out the reason for the arrest, the group bursts out laughing. In the letter in question, the gentleman had been discussing a new book with his friend and had not been planning a murder as the women had assumed:

‘Mr. Williams came here for that quiet so necessary for the labours of genius: he is writing a melodrama called ‘My Wife’ – he submitted the last act to me, and I rather objected to the poisoning of the heroine. This young lady is my daughter, and we are on our way to the sea-coast. Mr. Williams is only wedded to the Muses.’ (*Keepsake 1833*, pp. 305-306)

¹⁶⁷ Mary Prior, ed., *Women in English Society 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 26.

¹⁶⁸ L. E. Landon, “One Peep Was Enough; or, the Post-Office,” *The Keepsake for 1833*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1832), pp. 301-306.

Contrary to ‘The Ghost Laid’ and ‘The Ghost Story,’ the reader expects this kind of outcome because of the tone set by the introduction to the story:

All places gave their peculiarities: now that of Dalton was discourse – that species of discourse, which Johnson’s Dictionary entitles ‘conversation on whatever does not concern ourselves.’ Everybody knew what everybody did, and a little more. Eatings, drinkings, wakings, sleepings, walkings, talkings, sayings, doings – all were for the good of the public; there was not such a thing as a secret in the town (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 301).

The women are far too curious and one presumes that they misread the letter. As in the previous tale, the reader is told not to jump to conclusions as all the facts are needed in order to be able to judge someone. Nosiness was perceived as a negative quality and therefore the author further implies that one should not get involved in things which are none of one’s business. Everything that results from curiosity can only be bad and should thus be omitted.

Michael R. Booth refers to several other comic features of nineteenth-century theatre which can also be found in these stories, such as ‘the blending of serious and comic material, the moral and sentimental motivation of behaviour [and] the glorification of the domestic ideal.’¹⁶⁹ The ‘serious material’ is in the previous example the suspicion of murder. Murder is a serious accusation but it becomes comic (‘comic material’) when the reader finds out about the man’s profession. This clarification of their mistake embarrasses the ladies. The ‘moral and sentimental motivation of behaviour’ clearly consists of the nosiness and curiosity to find out more about the stranger, and the ‘glorification of the domestic ideal’ is represented by the moral of the story: Don’t poke your nose into things which are none of your business.

¹⁶⁹ Booth, *Prefaces to English Nineteenth-Century Theatre*, p. 115.

Keepsake stories sometimes use comic elements to offer a moralistic message to readers. The reader smiles at these depictions and knows that the ladies should not have interfered. These simplistic moral tales seem curiously at odds with the Gothic material discussed earlier. Gothic tales tried to frighten readers into good behaviour, whereas the comic tales make the reader laugh. This way the reader feels superior and is unlikely to copy this kind of behaviour.

‘The Misers of Antwerp’ (*Keepsake* 1833), however, is not funny but takes a very tragic turn.¹⁷⁰ The reader can derive different kinds of messages from this short story. Indirectly, the story might imply that one has to decide carefully who one chooses to marry: the heroine’s mother did not live with the father of her child. She died in childbirth and gave the responsibility of the new born baby to her friend who brought her up until she died. Although Rebecca kills her father and uncle in the end, her family is not guiltless. She was begging for their attention, but they completely ignored her. Peter W. Graham states that ‘decisions about marriage [...] have significant impact on evolving personalities.’¹⁷¹ Although Graham believes that the couple will consistently influence each other in marriage, this statement can be transferred to a father-daughter relationship too. Furthermore, one has to remember that the story does not clearly state whether Rebecca’s mother and the miser were actually married or if they had an affair. Considering the latter, her mother would have been a fallen woman as it was not socially acceptable to get a child without being married. This would also explain why the father and uncle ignore Rebecca; they are not willing to be constantly reminded of this sin.

¹⁷⁰ “The Misers of Antwerp,” *The Keepsake for 1833*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1832), pp. 231-240.

¹⁷¹ Peter W. Graham, *Jane Austen and Charles Darwin* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p. 87.

Marilyn Brock notes that ‘In a society in which morality was built upon an ideology of honour and shame, women were held to a standard of chastity that did not exist for men. Women, it was thought, needed to remain chaste to keep [...] society pure.’¹⁷² Therefore, there was no hope for women once they were fallen in disgrace; a reader would not be surprised to read of her sudden death. Children of fallen women often had to bear the consequences of their parents’ ‘sin’ and were outsiders too. Consequently, it would explain why Rebecca had such a difficult life and why she had to die in the end. Readers would be aware of the scandal and shame surrounding fallen women and thus understand the outcome of this story. Another message readers can take from this story is that one has to be careful how one treats people. It is possible that if they are hurt they may lose their affection too. This is the biggest punishment; like Rebecca, in the end such characters may lose everything. This short story does not deliver a clear message but the reader is able to draw their own conclusions. The absence of an outspoken message is an element permitting to distinguish this tale from a conduct book contribution, as conduct books, on the other hand, gave clear messages to their readers. Jane E. Rose suggests that ‘Emphasizing women’s subservient roles as wives and mothers, conduct books propose an intellectually circumscribed life for women by placing certain limitations and restrictions upon women’s autonomy, literacy, and educational and vocational opportunities.’¹⁷³ This story does not place limitations in a direct fashion; the reader has to place them him/herself.

Another example of a moral tale is ‘The Orphan Boy of Pontneathvaughn’ (*Keepsake 1831*) in which Edward Morgan, a rich, handsome young farmer marries Lucy, the orphan-

¹⁷² Marilyn Brock, *From Wollstonecraft to Stoker: Essays on Gothic and Victorian Sensation Fiction* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2009), p. 11.

¹⁷³ Catherine Hobbs, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), p. 40.

daughter of the late village-curate.¹⁷⁴ After their wedding, their luck changes: ‘scanty harvests year after year, his cattle swept of by disease’ (*Keepsake 1831*, p. 312). They are struggling for many years until Edward dies. He leaves Lucy and their son, little Edward in poverty. Edward decides to start working and earn money for both of them. Lucy cannot help him because she falls ill and becomes crippled: ‘terrific power seemed to contract her limbs, and withdraw from her altogether the faculty of notion; and thus crippled she was left upon an old straw mattress’ (*Keepsake 1831*, p. 314). Lucy lingers for years and then dies too, leaving Edward by himself. He continues working in order to be able to pay for the funeral but he dies some days later too. This story has a sad and tragic ending but is different from the previous tales. Unlike ‘The Misers of Antwerp,’ the characters in ‘The Orphan Boy of Pontneathvaughn’ have not done anything wrong. Wealthy at first, they lose all their wealth due to unfortunate circumstances and become terribly poor and try to survive after the husband’s death. Tragically, they all die in the end; even the child. Death and illness are common motifs in nineteenth century texts. In many cases, they are caused by a broken heart. Illness not only plays a role in this story, but in ‘The Deserted Chateau’ too. When the comtesse realizes that she is unable to save her lover, she falls ill at once. Andrea Lebowitz believes that health and illness are used to describe ‘the condition of women in a patriarchal culture and manipulate these states to resist and condemn a society which infects its female members.’¹⁷⁵ Lucy has no one to rely on except her child. When her husband dies, with him dies all her security. Her illness, therefore, might emphasise the difficulty of a widow’s situation, trying to raise a child without the help of a husband. In ‘Illness as Metaphor in the Nineteenth-Century Novel,’ Lebowitz further discusses Catherine’s reaction and illness in

¹⁷⁴ “The Orphan Boy of Pontneathvaughn,” *The Keepsake for 1831*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1831), pp. 311-316.

¹⁷⁵ Andrea Lebowitz, “Illness as Metaphor in the Nineteenth-Century Novel,” *Women and Well-Being*, ed. Vanaja Dhruvarajan (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p. 14.

Wuthering Heights. When Catherine realizes that there is no way to resist her marriage, she chooses death rather than capitulation. This means in Lebowitz' words that:

Whenever the characters are free of restrictions, they are vigorous and healthy. Once ensnared, they sicken mentally and physically. Thus, when Catherine recognizes that she can no longer get back to that state of freedom – that is, when she recognizes that marriage and maternity have claimed her body, she escapes by her own hand rather than capitulate to a state of complete imprisonment and illness.¹⁷⁶

Lucy does not resist her marriage, even though her husband has changed. During their hardship, she always tries to motivate him and give him hope, even though he does not accept this: 'In vain she sought to soothe him by endearment; her efforts only maddened him. He would shrink from her slightest touch, resist the accents of her hope, and rush out to solitude' (*Keepsake 1831*, p. 313). Lucy bears all his ill-humour and bad behaviour and does not fall sick. Only after his death, does Lucy become paralyzed. The comtesse in 'The Deserted Chateau,' however, is perfectly healthy until her husband builds the wall. She becomes physically ill because she cannot prevent her lover's murder, which she herself initiated by her lie. She cannot live with her mistake and eventually dies.

Lucy's child dies in the end too. He cannot get over his mother's sudden death and is not willing to live without her. In many stories, people often die because they love someone they cannot be with. Nevertheless, one wonders what the instructive message of this story is. The story praises the mother, who does not give up during their time of hardship. Instead, she remains loyal to her husband and tries to cheer him up. The same holds true for the little boy. When he understands the difficulty of his family's situation, he resolves to do something to

¹⁷⁶ Lebowitz, p. 21.

help. He does not feel too young to earn money and to provide for his mother. The ideal happy ending one expects, is, however, missing. Jason Marc Harris refers to this phenomenon in *Folklore and the Fantastic in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*: The writer ‘portray[s] the hypocritical, selfish, and limited nature of communal and individual happiness.’¹⁷⁷ Consequently, the message could be simply to live ones life to the fullest and enjoy every minute as one does not know how long it will remain.

This type of stories were common in literary annuals. Although the tales maintained a teaching character, they were not of the same pedagogic nature as the writings of More and Edgeworth.¹⁷⁸ Clara E. Collet wrote in 1891 that ‘Children dislike stories which they know are meant to do them good; that is to say, a child dislikes a story which is given him to read in order that the personality may be improved.’¹⁷⁹ Collet further states that this does not only hold true for children but for grown-ups too, as both dislike stories ‘with the direct purpose of improving them.’¹⁸⁰ This might be one reason why the popularity of conduct literature declined and that of literary annuals increased. Even though the tales incorporated moral and edifying themes,¹⁸¹ *Keepsake* stories had a more subtle way of introducing themes with a leading and teaching purpose. Harris refers to two different kinds of tales; the first group has an edifying or instructive character infusing religious, moral, or even economic principles; the second describes ‘the life and manners of a particular people,’ also called the regional tale.¹⁸² Considering J. Harris’ division, the tales previously mentioned are thus part of the moral tale. Each group of tales could have a teaching character, but the main purpose of the

¹⁷⁷ Jason Marc Harris, *Folklore and the Fantastic in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p. 61.

¹⁷⁸ Killick, p. 87.

¹⁷⁹ Clara E. Collet, “Moral Tales,” *International Journal of Ethics*, vol.1, no. 3 (April 1891), p. 372.

¹⁸⁰ Collet, p. 372.

¹⁸¹ Killick, p. 18.

¹⁸² Harris, *Folklore and the Fantastic*, p. 31.

short stories of the *Keepsake* was not to instruct but to amuse. The question arises as to whether poetry and engravings were (like tales) also used in the *Keepsake* to educate. Janette Currie and Gillian Hughes state that ‘the majority of poems and tales in the annuals offered instruction and moral guidance.’¹⁸³ Daniel Riess confirms that the poetry of annuals is a type of literature that is moral, domestic, sentimental, and idyllic.¹⁸⁴ These critics confirm that poems could also have a pedagogical value. Robert Southey published for example his poem ‘Lucy and her Bird’ in the *Keepsake for 1829*.¹⁸⁵ The poem is clearly a moral tale. It is about a young girl who is grieving her bird’s death. The cage was left open and hence the cat ravaged the bird alive. The narrator wants to comfort her and explains that the bird is in a better place because it is no longer imprisoned. The moral of the poem is that everyone has to die at some point and that she has to accept this as it is: ‘Wouldst thou the object of thy love recall / To mortal life, and chance, and change, and pain, / And death, which must be suffer’d once by all’ (*Keepsake 1829*, p. 159).¹⁸⁶ This is a rather sad poem but it has ‘moral stature and benevolent purpose.’¹⁸⁷ Engravings also play an important role in annuals and it would therefore be highly instructive to examine their educative value. The following chapter will look at engravings in more detail and challenge Ledbetter’s idea that many engravings promoted impropriety. The following chapter will prove however that many engravings still have teaching character.

¹⁸³ Janette Currie and Gillian Hughes, eds., *James Hogg – Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. xxii.

¹⁸⁴ Daniel Riess, “Laetitia Landon and the Dawn of English Post-Romanticism,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Autumn, 1996), p. 820.

¹⁸⁵ Robert Southey, “Lucy and her Bird,” *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 157-160.

¹⁸⁷ Jill Rappoport, “Buyer Beware: The Gift Poetics of Letitia Elizabeth Landon,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (March 2004), p. 445.

2 Conclusion

Looking at the vast amount of discussion of poetry contributions in the literary annuals and on poets such as Hemans and Landon,¹⁸⁸ this chapter has only managed to briefly touch on the different varieties of short stories published in the *Keepsake*. Harry E. Hootman has identified further genre categories defined by Thesing and Brantlinger in the annuals.¹⁸⁹ Like Bildungsroman, the categories he identifies include child fiction, Gothic, historical, imperialistic, Newgate novels, provincial, psychological, science fiction, sensational novels, and social realism.¹⁹⁰ The annuals were read by the whole family and for this reason '[r]eaders expected the books to maintain strict notions of propriety in language, [and] art, [...].'¹⁹¹ Jill Rappoport states that 'the books were 'gifts,' shared liberally, prescribing morality and promoting the affectionate sentiments aimed for in such titles as Friendship's Offering, Friendship's Gift, Affection's Gift, Token of Friendship, Pledge of Friendship, and Forget Me Not.'¹⁹² Due to lack of space, the main focus has been on the Gothic and moral stories which form a major part of the giftbooks. Both groups, also quite different in terms of their writing techniques, were used to teach values to readers. The third category mentioned – oriental stories – will be given more attention in the fourth chapter by comparing the stories from the *Keepsake* to those present in two different travel annuals.

¹⁸⁸ See Rappoport, pp. 441-473; Riess, pp. 807-827.

¹⁸⁹ See William B. Thesing and Patrick Brantlinger, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

¹⁹⁰ Hootman, accessed on 28 January 2008 <www.britannials.com/mes/mesp1-2.php?siteID=britannials&pageref=2&pw=>>.

¹⁹¹ Kathryn Ledbetter, *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals: Commodities in Context* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), p. 236.

¹⁹² Rappoport, p.446.

With the help of Mary Shelley's writings, we were able to examine different aspects of her writing techniques, her use of framing situations, the first person narrators and the use of Gothic elements. These techniques were used to involve the reading public, to render the story more realistic or on the other hand, to create distance and avoid shock. Shelley has been an obvious choice, as she is a canonical female author able to live by her pen, whose novels are widely discussed but whose short stories are ignored. Therefore there has been an emphasis on a few short stories in order to show how Shelley could vehicle challenging social ideas without shocking the reading public as an important emphasis was put on the moral outcome of the story. The analysis of the popular short stories published in the *Keepsake* permitted to show the importance of moral statements, which were however more subtle than in conduct books. The following chapter will examine another important aspect of literary annuals; the engravings which helped to maintain the popularity and the success of the annuals and which, as the next chapter will show, added a lot of morality to the published stories.

Chapter 3: Engravings in the *Keepsake*

Charles Heath, the proprietor of the *Keepsake*, was a well-known engraver in the early nineteenth century. At the age of sixteen, Heath was commissioned by Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy to engrave a large painting which took him about eleven years to complete.¹⁹³ In March 1811, West explained his reasons for choosing Heath for this job: ‘My motives for making choice of this engraver were from a conviction of his superiority in drawing the human figure, as well as his taste in cutting the copper with firmness and precision, which are the requisites for an able engraver in this department of art.’¹⁹⁴ He further concludes that even though Heath is still very young, he does ‘not know of any engraver more capable of that than Mr. Charles Heath.’¹⁹⁵

In 1819, Heath became a partner with Jacob Perkins, the inventor of engraving on steel. Heath saw the potential of this new technique and they presented their new bank notes to the Bank of England, which had offered a reward of up to £20,000 for a scheme that would prevent forgery and give more security. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Bank of England was concerned about the increase of forged banknotes as it detected about 31,000 fake notes in circulation. This was not surprising because by 1817, there were more than 10,000 copperplate engravers in the country who were able to copy money, and many of them were very poor. Heath and Perkins’ notes and process were, however, rejected.¹⁹⁶ After

¹⁹³ The painting was entitled ‘Our Lord Healing the Sick.’

¹⁹⁴ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol. 2, p. 11.

¹⁹⁵ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol. 2, p. 12.

¹⁹⁶ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol. 2, pp. 17 & 18.

the refusal of their application, the partners did not dismiss the new process, but applied steel plate engraving for the production of prints.¹⁹⁷

In June 1820, Heath was using Perkins' block process to engrave his first illustrations for a book with steel. The experiment was a success and this technique would soon evolve into his speciality. Nevertheless, book illustrations were not a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century, and according to Julia Thomas, not only religious and scientific books which had previously dominated the book market, but novels and poems were increasingly illustrated. In addition to these, illustrations were also included in 'illustrated songbooks, keepsake annuals, sport and racing books, books of architecture, and topographical books.'¹⁹⁸ Wood and copper engravings had been very popular in the nineteenth century but many engravers experimented with different materials in order to achieve different tonal effects. With the discovery of steel plates Heath revolutionized the prints included later in literary annuals.

The prints obtained from steel engravings were much higher in terms of quality and produced a more brilliant image than those obtained from wood or copper. As a result, according to John Buchanan-Brown, 'by the 1830s educated taste had veered towards steel.'¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, steel was much more durable. After a few hundred print runs, copper or wood engravings would 'lose their delicate tints.'²⁰⁰ Steel engravings, on the other hand, could imprint more than 1000 impressions without any visible wear; leaving the first

¹⁹⁷ John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books – Britain, France and Germany, 1820-1860* (London: British Library, 2005), p. 27.

¹⁹⁸ Julia Thomas, "Book Illustration," *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*, vol. 1, ed. Christopher John Murray (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004), p. 104.

¹⁹⁹ Buchanan-Brown, p. 33.

An explanation might be the fact that literary annuals were too expensive for the lower classes.

²⁰⁰ Buchanan-Brown, p. 28.

impression as good as the last one. As a consequence, the printer could save large amounts of money on re-engraving the plates.²⁰¹

Although steel plates were initially an American invention, until the 1850s, steel-engraving was perceived as a British medium.²⁰² French and German publishers, for example, tended to employ different means such as lithography and wood-engraving for their cheaper production costs.²⁰³ In order to distinguish between wood and steel engravings, it is possible to perceive another difference: With wood engravings text and pictures could be printed together on the same page, whereas with steel the illustrations had to be printed on a separate page and could not be included in the body of the text.²⁰⁴ Or, in Buchanan-Brown's words; 'the wood-engraving could be printed with the type-matter at one pull of the press, whereas copper- engravings [as well as steel engravings] had [...] to be printed separately as *hors-texte* plates' [figure 1].²⁰⁵

One of the *Keepsake* volumes illustrates this difference. *The Keepsake for 1828* included an introductory essay on literary annuals by Leigh Hunt. The wood engraving [figure 2] accompanying the story is situated at the top of the page; combining text and print. It shows four boys; three seated and one standing around a tree, listening to one of them reading a story. Contrary to the other engravings included in the *Keepsake*, this engraving lacks four obvious characteristics which permits to identify it as a wood engraving: First of all, it is not as detailed and precise as the steel engravings, secondly it is not printed on a separate page, thirdly, there is no thin sheet of tissue separating the print from the facing text in order to protect it and fourth, it does not include the names of the artist or the engraver. These main

²⁰¹ Buchanan-Brown, p. 28.

²⁰² Buchanan-Brown, p. 32.

²⁰³ Buchanan-Brown, p. 33.

²⁰⁴ Thomas, p. 104.

²⁰⁵ Buchanan-Brown, p. 21.

elements permit us to conclude that the illustration was not a steel but rather a wood engraving. In addition, the missing signature suggests that this illustration was not considered as art, as it was usual in the nineteenth century to find the names of the artist, engraver, publisher and sometimes others, who would share the credit and fame at the bottom of each print.²⁰⁶ Due to the high quality of the steel engravings, the proprietor did not include any further wood engravings in the *Keepsake* series from 1828 until 1838.

Heath was aware of the success of literary annuals because he had engraved several illustrations for Ackermann's 1825 and 1826 *Forget Me Not*, for Mrs. S.C. Hall's 1826 *Amulet*, and for Alaric Watts' 1826 and 1827 *Literary Souvenir*.²⁰⁷ In October 1826, Heath tried to find a publisher for his own literary annual, the *Keepsake*. In a letter to John Murray, Heath explains the potential of his annual and his engravings, with the latter being 'Embellishments [which] will surpass every Book hitherto published.'²⁰⁸ Murray refused Heath's proposal due to a heavy financial loss he had suffered in 1826. Nevertheless, Heath found a publisher in Hurst and Chance (1828 – 1831) for the first few editions of the *Keepsake*, which turned out to be a huge success. Heath created a flourishing business from the sales of his annuals and a huge number of literary annuals were shipped to different countries in Europe, the United States and India.²⁰⁹ Heath made Longman, who continued to be the publisher of the *Keepsake* from 1832 to 1847, introduce annuals to a foreign market. As a consequence, *Le Keepsake Français* was published combining illustrations by English engravers and literary productions by French authors.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Brian Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints, 1790-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 3.

²⁰⁷ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 24.

²⁰⁸ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 24.

²⁰⁹ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, pp. 8 & 56.

²¹⁰ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 59.



Figure 1 Steel engraving on separate page (Keepsake 1829).



POCKET-BOOKS AND KEEPSAKES.

IF publications of this nature proceed as they have begun, we shall soon arrive at the millennium of souvenirs. Instead of engravings, we shall have paintings by the first masters; our paper must be vellum; our bindings in opal and amethyst; and nobody must read us except in a room full of luxury, or a bower of roses. As to the proprietor of the work, he will not condescend to be wholesale. He will take up the trade of Keepsakes exclusively; and Pitt diamonds are not to be sold by the lump. The purchaser will bring a casket for his duodecimo, and deposit a gem.

The reader knows that splendid passage in Marlowe, where the rich Jew of Malta, standing amongst his trea-

B

Figure 2 Wood engraving incorporated in the text (Keepsake 1828).

Book illustrations were, however, not the only purpose of steel-engravings. As Heath writes in a letter to Murray: ‘The subjects are of such a nature that every one [engraving] will sell as a separate Print, and experience has shown that Proofs enough may be sold to cover the whole or great part of the original expense.’²¹¹ The main and most economic use of engravings was therefore the production of prints,²¹² because ‘they were made to be sold.’²¹³ The advertisements show that prints for the *Keepsake* were available in a number of different formats, including proofs, India proofs (with the writing), India proofs (before the letters), and proofs on India (with the etching).²¹⁴ The prices ranged from £2 2s to £5 5s. per print.²¹⁵ Thus, the engravings were actually cheaper if they were purchased in a volume of the *Keepsake* as a collection rather than on their own.

Proof prints were printed in limited numbers only and were thus highly collectable. This restricted number of usually 25 prints per format was advertised in different periodicals and magazines and the interested collector had to apply as soon as possible in order to buy them.²¹⁶ The word ‘proof’ can be used in loose terms to refer to ‘any impression in print,’²¹⁷ but in its strict sense, proof prints were (usually) printed before completion of the plate in order to check and (if necessary) correct the engraving. Therefore, Anthony Griffiths also

²¹¹ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 24.

²¹² Buchanan-Brown, p.28.

²¹³ Maidment, p. 3.

²¹⁴ Proofs before letters were proofs which did not include the title of the engraving yet. This was evidence that the plate was still new and in mint condition. Lettered proofs or proofs with writing included the title of the engraving. Etching was a different type of technique used to work with steel.

[*The Morning Chronicle*, London, Wednesday, 29 Oct. 1828; Issue 18446.

Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print – The Nineteenth-Century Engraving Trade* (London: Farrand Press, 1984), p. 67.]

²¹⁵ According to the currency converter from the National Archives, ‘in 1830, £2 2s would have the same spending worth of today’s £103,93’ and £5 5s would be the equivalent of £259,82.

²¹⁶ *The Examiner*, London, Sunday, 30 Sept. 1827; Issue 1026.

²¹⁷ Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: an Introduction to the History and Techniques* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, p. 149.

refers to those early proofs as ‘working,’ ‘progress’ or ‘trial’ proofs.²¹⁸ Arthur Hayden refers to these kinds of prints as ‘engraver’s proofs,’ which help the engraver to determine the progress of his work. Figure 3 shows different engraver’s proofs of ‘The Widowed Bride’ published in the *Keepsake for 1834*. The illustration shows the different stages involved in creating a finished plate. The print is represented in four different phases, out of which prints II and III are trial proofs (Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 86). After copying the original painting to a much smaller surface, also known as ‘reduction’ [stage I], an outline of the design as well as the main features of the engraving were etched into the surface. The first proof [stage II] therefore only covers the dark areas of the engraving. In the next part of the process [stage III], light, shadow and the texture of clothes are added with the help of the burin or graver. The last plate [stage IV] shows the finished proof print which is available for the public to buy. The flesh has been engraved and the last touches added to give the print a more realistic feel.²¹⁹ In the nineteenth century, additional proofs called ‘artist’s proofs’ were printed. They were the first proof prints taken from a completed plate. These proof prints were signed by the artist and engraver. Furthermore, a multiplication of prints on different kinds of paper, such as ‘India paper proofs’ added to the sales of prints.²²⁰ As the large variety of prints available on the market shows, prints were highly fashionable and sellable, and hence contributed in addition to the sales of literary annuals to the wealth of publishers and owners. Heath was aware of this phenomenon and used his knowledge in order to convince the publisher to approve of a new annual.

²¹⁸ Griffiths, p. 149.

²¹⁹ Arthur Hayden, *Chats on Old Prints* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1919), p. 210.

²²⁰ Dyson, p. 67; Hayden, pp. 29 & 30.



The four stages in the making of a steel engraving.

- 1) *The reduction.*
- 2) and 3) *The engraver's trial proofs.*
- 4) *The finished proof.*

Figure 3 Different stages to create an engraving (Heath 86).

Unlike the *Keepsake* volumes which were only published once a year, additional prints could be reprinted whenever there was need for a fresh supply. This would leave the publisher with an avenue for additional and continuing sales.²²¹ As a consequence, Heath would receive at least £4000 per annum from the publishers for his annuals and other projects, but these would not be his only profits. Already in the early nineteenth century, before the creation of the *Keepsake*, Charles Heath and his father had employed a number of assistants and independent engravers who helped them with their family firm.²²² Therefore Heath ‘had to pay his engravers different rates varying from 30 to 70 guineas for each print,’ with the price changing with the size of the plate. Further payments had to be made to the artists who provided the initial paintings, with each artist receiving between 10 and 20 guineas.²²³ A large number of contributors of both artists and engravers can be found in the *Keepsake*. Between 1828 and 1838 55 artists provided 190 paintings and 40 engravers were required to reproduce them. The engravers had to stick to given deadlines and thus it became customary for more than one engraver to work on a single plate. As a consequence, each engraver developed a specialisation which would enable them to finish the engraving at a faster pace.

John Heath provides an example of an early proof print of ‘Mrs Peel’ (The *Keepsake for 1829*), which illustrates how many engravers were working on this particular engraving: ‘Lane reduced, Goodyear etchd [sic] figure, Webb etchd [sic] fur and feathers, J.H. Watt drapery and hat, Rhodes worked up hat feathers, D. Smith background, and C. Heath flesh.’²²⁴ Heath’s speciality was the human face and figure, and although he completed some plates for the earlier editions of the *Keepsakes* himself, he would mostly supervise his

²²¹ Buchanan-Brown, p. 21; Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 37.

²²² Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, pp. 12&13.

²²³ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 55.

²²⁴ Heath, *Heath Family Engravers*, vol.2, p. 58.

colleagues and make sure that any plates appearing in his annuals were of very high standard and quality. This was, however, only possible when engravers worked hand in hand with the artists in order to translate the painting as accurately as possible.

The *Keepsake for 1828* includes a wood-engraving illustrating the relationship between painter and engraver [Figure 4]. In the foreground, a nearly naked putti is sitting in front of an easel, painting while in the background, another nude putti is bending over his desk looking through a magnifying glass and working on an engraving. They are working on two different paintings; the former paints the scene of a mother and child, whereas the latter works on an engraving containing two lovers. Both scenes contain motifs popular with the reading public and hence these types of prints recur in many literary annuals. It is interesting that the painter, Henry Corbould used two putti to represent their craft and collaboration. According to *The Oxford History of Western Art*, putto (plural: putti) is a ‘small child,



Figure 4 Engraver and painter (Keepsake 1828).

winged or not, common in Classical and classicizing art.’²²⁵ Corbould used a classical theme from ancient Greek and Roman cultures to depict a modern way of living.

For his contemporary, John Keats, Greek art essentially meant ‘beauty.’ Not only the physical beauty of living beings and things but spiritual beauty too; the latter consisting of friendship, love and imagination. Both aspects were, according to Keats, connected.²²⁶ ‘Physical’ and ‘spiritual’ beauty play an important role in literary annuals too. With their gilt-edged pages and expensive bindings, gift books were pretty little objects to display. On the other hand, annuals were often given as presents to family members and friends as tokens of friendship and love. By using putti and indicating classical art, Corbould combines in his sketch not only the main crafts (engraver and painter) necessary to produce the engravings but additionally, considering Keats’ interpretation, suggests the main ideas behind the literary annuals too.

Although engravings were an important aspect of such annuals, the written text played an important role too. For this reason, it is possible to find other engravings which highlight the relationship between both arts. Figure 5, for example is a detail taken from the Title Page of the 1830 *Keepsake*.



Figure 5 Detail of the Vignette Title Page (Keepsake 1830).

²²⁵ Martin Kemp, *The Oxford History of Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 538.

²²⁶ Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 417.

Two putti are sitting on the frame that surrounds the main engraving and are turning their backs to each other. The putto on the left is drawing with a pencil on a sketch-pad. A colour palette, some paint-brushes and a portfolio are situated at his feet. The boy on the right is holding an opened book, reading its contents, and two others texts are placed on the floor close to him. The boys pursue different activities, which represent the two key aspects of literary annuals; literature and art. Both lean against a harp, situated between them. Flowers embellish the whole scene. Today the harp is often used as a symbol of heavenly music. Therefore, the harp might imply that the content of the *Keepsake* is heavenly and that the reader can look forward to its perusal. In *A Dictionary of Symbols*, Juan Eduardo Cirlot states that the harp ‘acts as a bridge between heaven and earth.’²²⁷ In Scandinavian mythology, the heroes always wanted to be buried with a harp in order to ease their access into the next world. This does not mean that death is a main feature of this literary annual, rather that reading this annual brings the reader heaven on earth. On the other hand, however, the lyre was used by ancient Greeks for accompaniment. This link seems unlikely to apply in a literal sense, as the *Keepsake* did not incorporate sheet music.²²⁸

Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that poetry was not only read but was ‘sung or recited to an instrumental accompaniment,’ which was either the lyre, the aulos (‘a sort of oboe’) or the harp.²²⁹ Consequently, the lyre does not only stand for ‘music,’ but symbolises poetry in general. Hence, the engraving depicts two putti and a harp, illustrating the main aspects of literary annuals: engravings, prose and poetry contributions.

²²⁷ Juan Eduardo Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2002), p. 139.

²²⁸ *The Musical Bijou* (1829 -?) incorporated music compositions as a novelty feature. Musical annuals would include ‘every big-name composer featured,’ like Beethoven, Mozart, Hummel, Weber, Medelssohn and Spohr. [James Davies, “Julia’s Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 131, no.2, (2006), p. 296].

²²⁹ M.L. West, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. vii.



Figure 6 Presentation Plate (Keepsake 1835)

The relationship between art and writing can directly be discovered on the first page of the *Keepsake* where a presentation plate was integrated, permitting the giver to write a note to the receiver of the present and thus make the gift more personal and individual. By inscribing the presentation plate, the

giver gave the giftbook a lasting place on the owner's bookshelves. The presentation plate of the *Keepsake for 1835* was painted by B.T. Parris and engraved by Mote [See figure 6].

As with the engraving discussed previously, this print shows again the combined elements of engraving and literature. A document is the focal point of the engraving, and is positioned upwards lengthwise, allowing the receiver to include his or her name. A putto with wings is lying on the top of the manuscript, his head is resting on his hand, and looking down at the reader. Flowers are fixed along the frame holding the paper. At the bottom, a colour palette, brushes, an inkwell with a feather and a can with powder are placed in front of it. And again one could argue that the elements of this illustration are the pictorial representation of the main components of the annuals.

The writing equipment has, however, an additional task. The quill is in the ink well, as if to invite the reader to make use of it and write something. Different from other books, the editor and proprietor of the *Keepsake* wants the reader to get involved and make the volume their own. Andrew Piper acknowledges this phenomenon and notes that the white spaces were used to encourage the reader to write in them. Consequently, the presentation

plate was ‘an invitation to co-ownership, to cross the boundaries’ and ‘to produce the presence of multiple hands on the page.’²³⁰

Another example is the title page of the *Keepsake for 1828* [figure 7], which was engraved by Charles Heath and based on a drawing by H. Corbould, Esq. Three women are sitting on some clouds, encircling the title of the annual. The woman on the left is facing the title and holding a brush and palette. Vanessa K. Warne believes that she points the brush towards the title in order to imply that it is her work. Interpreting this element in the same way, rather than assuming she is pointing, however, it might be possible that she gives the last finishing touches to her painting. The woman on the right is holding a bundle of paper and a quill. Although she has her back turned to the centrepiece, she has her head turned and is facing the title. It looks like she is watching the finishing process of the painting in order to start her own writing. Warne also thinks that her posture implies that ‘the artist’s work is the subject of her writing.’²³¹ Both women represent the relationship between art and literature in the annuals. In this case, however, the title page hints at the procedure of writers completing their story after having seen the finished engraving first and not the other way round. The third woman is sitting on a cloud, watching the artist and writer and overseeing the creative process. She is dressed in military garb as if she has to prevent some conflict between the two groups. Warne identifies her as Athena, the patron of the arts and crafts. Due to her military equipment, however, Warne believes that she is acting in her role as goddess of war and strife, either to protect both art forms from each other or to protect them from external harm.²³²

²³⁰ Andrew Piper, “The Art of Sharing,” *Bookish Histories*, ed. Ina Ferris & Paul Keen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 131.

²³¹ Vanessa K. Warne, “‘Purport and Design:’ Print Culture and Gender Politics in Early Victorian Literary Annuals,” PhD dissertation (Kingston, Ontario: Queen’s University, 2001), p. 108.

²³² Warne, ‘Purport and Design,’ pp. 108-109.



Figure 7 Title Page (Keepsake 1828).

In ‘Women, Literary Annuals and the Evidence of Inscriptions,’ Paula Feldman stated that about forty percent of the 354 British literary annuals checked had an inscription and that some were more likely to have annotations than others. According to Feldman, the *Literary Souvenir* and *Friendship’s Offering*, for example, had more inscriptions than usual, whereas the *Drawing Room* and *Bijou* were inscribed less often.²³³ James Davies refers for example to Julia Oakley’s copy of the *Musical Bijou for 1829* in *Julia’s Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c. 1830*, in which her ownership status is confirmed on the presentation plate: ‘Julia Eliza Oakley, the gift of her mother, 27th April 1829.’²³⁴ For ‘The Art of Sharing,’ Piper inspected, for example, several miscellanies from the holdings of the American Antiquarian Society. It would be of interest to do a similar search on the *Keepsake* and other literary annuals to establish who owned the annuals and who received them as gifts in order to determine the gender of the owners and the givers. This little piece of art, which has been included in the annuals in order to personalise the book, could, however, be today an important source of information as to what extent these books were owned by women. Even if this research has to be conducted and discussed elsewhere as it extends beyond the scope of this thesis, it shows that a renewed interest in these books could lead to further knowledge of literacy education in the nineteenth century.

Writing as Illustration

The Title Page of the *Keepsake for 1828* raises an important aspect in connection with art and literature. In the early nineteenth century, it was common to commission an engraving

²³³ Paula Feldman, “Women, Literary Annuals and the Evidence of Inscriptions,” *Keats-Shelley Journal*, vol.55 (2006), p. 59.

²³⁴ Davies, p. 287.

before the actual short story or poem. Cynthia Patterson refers to this phenomenon in her article ‘Illustration of a Picture.’ Patterson always defines the literary part of the illustrated monthly magazines and annuals as the ‘illustration.’ However, the engravings or the plates are never named as such. Frank Luther Mott also warns against calling the engravings illustrations because he says that ‘[t]hey did not illustrate the text: the text illustrated them.’²³⁵ The reason was that the production cost and the time to produce an engraving were much higher than that of a literary work and as a consequence the publisher would order the engravings months in advance. It was possible that the publisher would order poems or/and tales at very short notice and expect the writer to provide the textual illustrations promptly.²³⁶ Patterson gives several examples from American authors which prove that many engravings were produced before the written text. Frances S. Osgood, for example, after completion of his poem, returned it to the publisher and it is clear that he had seen the engraving before he wrote his poem because he said: ‘I enclose the poem which I wrote today immediately on receiving the picture – I only wish my lines were half as fine or half as much to the purpose as those of the splendid engraving.’²³⁷ Thackeray describes the same phenomenon in his novel *The History of Pendennis*:

The book was daintily illustrated with pictures of reigning beauties, or other prints of a tender and voluptuous character; and, as these plates were prepared long beforehand, requiring much time in engraving, it was the

²³⁵ Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1741-1850*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 591.

²³⁶ Cynthia Patterson, “‘Illustration of a Picture:’ Nineteenth-Century Writers and the Philadelphia Pictorials,” *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism, and Bibliography*, Vol. 19, Nr 2, 2009, p. 140.

²³⁷ Patterson, p. 146.

eminent poets who had to write to the plates, and not the painters who illustrated the poems.²³⁸

Even though, *Pendennis* is a fictitious story, Thackeray managed to mirror the reading habits of his nineteenth-century contemporaries. Peter J. Manning confirms this trend and states, for example, that Wordsworth's poem 'The Country Girl' (*Keepsake 1829*) was ordered to accompany James Holmes's picture.²³⁹ As a consequence Wordsworth, according to Manning, 'subordinated his art to the pictorial aesthetics fostered by the steel plate.'²⁴⁰

Joseph H. Ingraham's letter to the publisher demonstrates the difficulties some writers had when it came to incorporating the content of engravings into their text: 'It is, you are doubtless aware, one of the most difficult parts of authorship to write to a painting... and the chances are ten to one for a failure on his part who attempts it.'²⁴¹ As the American writers, their English fellows faced the same difficulties. The English writer, L.E.L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon) described the difficulties the writer has to face in producing a poem in answer to an engraving in the introduction to *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book for 1832*:

For the Volume now offered to the public, I must plead for indulgence. It is not an easy task to write illustrations to prints, selected rather for their pictorial excellence than their poetic capabilities; and mere description is not the most popular species of composition.²⁴²

²³⁸ William M. Thackeray, *The History of Pendennis*, ed. Tapio Riikonen and David Widger, 25 July 2009, accessed on 9 Sept. 2010 <www.gutenberg.org/files/7265/7265-h/7265-h.htm>.

²³⁹ William Wordsworth, "The Country Girl," *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 50-51.

²⁴⁰ Manning, 'Wordsworth in the Keepsake,' p. 63.

²⁴¹ Patterson, p. 136.

²⁴² Warne, p. 27.

Landon wants to make the reader aware of the limitations writers have to face following this technique and to sympathize with them. Sir Walter Scott expresses in the ‘Death of the Laird’s Jock,’ addressed to the Editor of the *Keepsake*, that ‘the subjects which are best suited to the bard or tale-teller are often totally unfit for painting’ (*Keepsake 1829*, p. 186).²⁴³ Even worse, in some cases, it was even possible that the writer would not receive a print but only a description of it.²⁴⁴ In the latter case, the author had to compose a story about a place/setting unfamiliar to his/her knowledge, as was the case for Henry William Herbert who complained in a letter to his publisher that he did not know anything about Ceylon and was unable to find anything out about it.²⁴⁵ Although this procedure was not ideal for the writer, they eventually accepted and gave in. Pursuant to Patterson different reasons exist explaining why authors would accept such a challenging task.

Firstly, publication in annuals could serve to get his/her name known and hence launch his/her career. Patterson took this idea forward by considering that authors would contribute to the annuals in order to achieve a possible publishing alliance for future work, and as a consequence obtain more rewarding and profitable work in the future.²⁴⁶ Another motive to write for the *Keepsake* and other annuals, and thus incorporate engravings, was literary friendship with an editor. Lady Blessington, the editor of the *Keepsake* from 1841 until 1849, for example, managed to receive many contributions for free as she would organize dinner parties among London’s literary elite and charm them into contributing.²⁴⁷ But in any case, editors would not ask everyone to write stories or poems for the engravings;

²⁴³ Sir Walter Scott, “Death of the Laird’s Jock,” *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp.186-192.

²⁴⁴ Patterson cites the example of Gould, who before contributing a piece of writing, wrote a letter to her publisher in order to get a more detailed description of the engraving ‘Deborah.’ [Patterson, pp. 144-145].

²⁴⁵ Patterson, p. 148.

²⁴⁶ Patterson, pp. 137&159.

²⁴⁷ Ledbetter, *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals*, p. 39.

only the most popular and fashionable authors were asked to contribute. Knowing that the engraving was not illustrating the story but rather the other way around, authors used different techniques in order to link their writing to the drawn scenes

Techniques used to incorporate engravings

Not every author would use the same technique to incorporate the content of engravings into their writing. Some authors would use, for example, an engraving to depict a precise scene in the story, while others would use it as the starting point of a tale. For some portraits of characters supplied the look, the description and the name of the hero or heroine of the story. The fourth possibility was to re-use and incorporate the written pieces of other fellow writers in order to illustrate the print. Another type of engraving might inspire the author to use a fifth technique and instead of writing fiction, write an essay about it. In certain cases, the writer would interpret the engraving in a different manner than initially anticipated. In this case the reader expects a certain story from the image, but the author delivers something unexpected and very different. The following few pages will discuss the techniques mentioned above and illustrate them using short stories found in the *Keepsake* series.

James Morier, known in the literary annuals as ‘The Author of *Hajji Baba*,’ contributed a story called ‘Pepita, a Mexican Story’ to the *Keepsake for 1833*.²⁴⁸ This story fits into the first category as the engraving is integrated into the writing and depicts a scene from the tale. The print, drawn by G. Cattermole and engraved by C. Rolls, is entitled ‘Pepita,’ but contrary to what the title suggests, does not consist of a portrait of a woman

²⁴⁸ James Morier, “Pepita, a Mexican Story,” *The Keepsake for 1833*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1832), pp. 196-207.

[figure 8]. As the introductory part of the text explains, Pepita is the maid of the Marques di Bevemucho and the whole family is on a journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. As *Keepsake* portraits mainly depicted aristocratic ladies or rich middle-class women, such a lowly figure could not be represented in a portrait. In fact, the maid is not even the main focus in the engraving, which depicts two armed robbers drinking together, a bag of money lying on the table in front of them. As the text explains:

These [journeys] were performed at no little risk, for the roads were infested by robbers; and the name of Gomez el Capador, who was the captain of the most celebrated gang, struck terror into the breast of all who left the security of the city for the uncertainty of the high road (*Keepsake 1833*, p. 196).

The leg of one robber connects the lower and upper parts of the print and draws the eye towards his right arm in which he holds a glass. The drawn sword of the other runs parallel with this arm, drawing the attention to the upper part of the print. In the background, one can see a window and the woman overlooking the scene is clearly meant to represent Pepita. She is standing in the dark, and it is clear that the two men do not know of her presence.



Figure 8 "Pepita" (Keepsake 1833).

As Morier makes clear, Pepita realizes that one of the people she watches is Capador, the famous thief:

She recollected that he was always described as wearing a magnificent dress and wielding a hatchet as a distinguished weapon. And this person was so distinguished, a hatchet rested between his legs, and his dress was composed of the choicest silk (*Keepsake for 1833*, p. 200).

In the image, the three characters form a triangle, with Pepita at its peak, and the burglars at the bottom of the pyramid. As Pepita is situated higher than the other figures, she seems to be in control. The illustration thus leads the reader to expect the maid to be cleverer than the bandits and to lay a trap for them. In such instances the combination of writing and engraving encourages the reader to find out what will happen next. The reader will therefore find that Pepita was able to entrap the robbers and hand them over to the authorities.

By contrast, Mary Shelley used the engraving in ‘The Sisters of Albano’ (*Keepsake for 1829*) as a starting point or frame for her story. The engraving entitled, ‘Lake of Albano’ was based on a drawing by J.M.W. Turner and engraved by Robert Wallis [figure 9]. The engraving is a landscape picture; in the background, one can see a town overlooking a lake and in the foreground three peasants, a woman and two men are sitting on the right hand side of the print, turning their back to the valley and the beautiful countryside. On each side, trees frame the print and direct the gaze of the audience to the three people and the lake behind them.

Shelley finds a balance between describing the landscape as well as the peasants in detail without overemphasising the scene. This means in other words that Shelley’s descriptions of the prints are very short in order to avoid that the literary illustration are

unsuitable for the story. In Shelley's text the reader discovers that a 'pleasure-seeking party consist[ing] of many' (*Keepsake 1829*, p. 81), including the Countess Atanasia D., two of her



Figure 9 "Lake of Albano" (*Keepsake 1829*).

children and the narrator, are watching and interpreting the scene in much the same way that the reader interpreting the engraving. One example to illustrate this is Mary Shelley's 'The Sisters of Albano.' The narrator believes that the peasants leave scope for imagination; the hunter could be a bandit and the woman his defenceless love.

Shelley is not using this scene as a central part of its story but is instead considering the engraving as a starting point for her story. In other words, a simple remark of the narrator about what can be observed in the picture is triggering the story. Therefore, the peasants, the party and indirectly the reader are part of the frame story, surrounding the main tale. This frame story is not necessary to understand the story but is a device to make it feel more realistic. This technique had an advantage as it could also be used to work an engraving into an already completed piece of writing. Including a frame story in this case implies that the

story did not have to be completely rewritten. Indeed, Charles E. Robinson suggests that this was the case in ‘The Sisters of Albano’²⁴⁹ and Markley notes that Shelley was further forced to change ‘The Dream,’ as the engraving ‘Constance’ had to fit her story. In the original version, Constance and Gaspar did not meet in the woods but in her dark bedroom which depicted her state of mourning.²⁵⁰ Similarly, Scott contributed ‘My Aunt Margaret’s Mirror’ to the 1829 *Keepsake*, admitting that his publishers had rejected it previously.²⁵¹ After reworking and revising it to fit the engraving, Scott sent it to Heath as he could not ‘afford to have [his] goods thrown back upon [his] hands’ and he was sure that the ‘tale [was] a good one.’²⁵² This shows that it was also not uncommon to rework a story and make it fit an engraving.

Another way to incorporate engravings into short stories was to use them as character descriptions. In other words, portraits of women were generally used as depictions of the main character; the heroine of the story. For example, in ‘Helen - A Sketch’ written by Henry F. Chorley and published in the *Keepsake for 1837*, the accompanying engraving is entitled ‘Helen Lagarde.’²⁵³ Drawn by E.T. Parris and engraved by H. Cook, the engraving [figure 10] is not introduced, as one would expect, at the beginning but ten pages into the story. At this point, the reader is already aware of what she looks like because when Helen arrives at her uncle’s house, her cousin Alicia examines Helen, and the reader understands that:

Helen Lagarde could not be passed over, or hidden under a bushel, for her exquisite form, and her complexion as transparently fine as the inmost

²⁴⁹ Robinson, p. xvi.

²⁵⁰ Markley, ‘Mary Shelley’s ‘New Gothic,’ p. 109.

²⁵¹ Sir Walter Scott, ‘My Aunt Margaret’s Mirror,’ *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 1-44.

²⁵² Feldman, ‘Introduction,’ p. 18.

²⁵³ Henry F. Chorley, ‘Helen - A Sketch,’ *The Keepsake for 1837*, ed. Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1836), pp. 97-117.

leaves of certain delicate flowers, - to say nothing of large sybilline [sic] eyes, and hair as excellent in its profusion as in its rich, silky, intense blackness, [...] (*Keepsake 1837*, p. 99).



Figure 10 "Helen Lagarde" (*Keepsake 1837*).

Alicia's impression of her cousin is the first description of Helen. The engraving shows a woman sitting in an armchair. She does not face the reader but looks straight in front of her, with a blank expression on her face. In her hand she is holding a book, using one of her fingers as a bookmark. A black veil with embroidery is falling over her shoulders. The question remains whether this woman is daydreaming or whether she is thinking about something she has just read in the book. Conduct books and writers like Hannah More warned already against 'idle' and 'unprofitable reading at home' as it could have a negative 'effect on the state of the mind.'²⁵⁴ The illustration could therefore depict the potential dangers of reading to the female mind.

The text rejects, however, this explanation when the reader finds out that she was 'rising and laying aside the book she had never opened' (*Keepsake 1837*, p. 107). This makes it clear that Helen is not reading and dreaming about certain characters in a book and hence has not been corrupted by it. Keeping in mind, however, Helen's behaviour in the beginning of the story, the reader is aware that she keeps a secret and wants to find out what it is. When Helen visits her uncle and the rest of the family, she is always the centre of attention, to the dismay of her aunt and cousin and it does not take long for her to accumulate many admirers. Therefore 'in the course of the two first months she had spent at Fairmeadows, she had received twice as many proposals of marriage' (*Keepsake 1837*, p. 100). Consequently, the illustration could suggest that Helen is day-dreaming about a potential future husband. This is, however not likely, considering the fact that Helen does not encourage any gentleman. She receives several proposals 'by men of worth and wealth' but to 'neither had Helen extended the least encouragement' (*Keepsake 1837*, p. 102). The text suggests that Helen 'had fallen into a reverie of self-reproach' (*Keepsake 1837*, p. 107). This means in other words that she

²⁵⁴ Hannah More, *The Works of Hannah More* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 471.

was not daydreaming but reproaching herself for attending a party even though she was not ready for it. Only at the end does the reader understand Helen's reluctance to accept a husband. Helen confides in Lucy, her youngest cousin, and explains the reasons for her behaviour. She was engaged and supposed to be married to a soldier, when he was killed in battle. Even though she tried to save him and nursed him, he was too severely wounded and died. Looking back at the engraving and considering the whole story, Helen's facial expression can be interpreted as sadness and shock. She is unhappy that her fiancé died and is reluctant about being happy again. The illustration in this story provides a source of speculation and even though it provides an illustration of the main character, raises questions that are only answered at the end of the story.

In some more rare cases the portrait depicts a supporting character in the story. One example of this phenomenon can be found in Mary Boyle's 'Orsina Brandini – A Tale' published in the *Keepsake for 1836*.²⁵⁵ As the title suggests, Orsina is the protagonist of the story. The portrait attached to the story is, however, called 'Camilla' [figure 11]. And contrary to the readers' expectations, Camilla is not a main figure of the story but just plays a minor role. Boyle incorporates the portrait in an interesting manner. Lord Aberford goes to see Orsina in her chambers where he perceives a small picture on the wall opposite him. The woman in the picture is Camilla; 'a beautiful woman, whose commanding features, jet black hair, and glowing skin, bespoke her the native of a southern clime' (*Keepsake 1836*, p. 41). Lord Aberford enquires where Orsina got this painting and to his amazement finds out that it is her mother's portrait. The reader does not get a more detailed description of Camilla but has to return to the engraving to get a better portrayal of her. Although flipping back is not

²⁵⁵ Mary Boyle, "Orsina Brandini – A Tale," *The Keepsake for 1836*, ed. The Honorable Mrs. Norton (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1835), pp. 1-48.

necessary to make the story work, the reader is curious why this portrait made Lord Aberford react in this way. By including the portrait in the story, Boyle allows the reader to step into



Figure 11 “Camilla” (Keepsake 1836).

the scene and observe the painting for him/herself. Even if Camilla is not the main protagonist, this portrait permits a substantial change in the sequence of events as the perception of the portrait by Lord Aberford is helping to solve the mystery of her past. She finally finds out that her benefactor is her long-lost father and as a consequence gains new social status; transforming from an orphaned singer to the daughter of an aristocrat with all the social benefits it implies. Thus, her problems are solved and nothing and no one is opposing her marriage to Henry Brudenell, the nephew of Lord Aberford.

Theodore Hook found another way to incorporate an engraving in the *Keepsake for 1830* [figure 12]. Instead of inventing a fictitious story to illustrate the engraving himself,



Figure 12 “The Portrait” (Keepsake 1830).

Hook links the image to an already existing play from the eighteenth century.²⁵⁶ The title ‘*The Portrait*. Illustrated by Theodore Hook’ is making clear that the following lines were not entirely from Hook’s pen.²⁵⁷ Instead, he explains the engraving in conjunction with the already existing text. Hook alludes in his introduction to the writer Samuel Foote as well as to the artist who drew the initial painting, R. Smirke. He regrets that Foote’s work is no longer performed because it ‘hinder[s] the representation of some of the most purely humorous farces that ever were written’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 276). After his brief introduction, the writer summarises a part of the play.

However, Hook does not reproduce the whole play. The final dialogue between Lady Pentweazle and the painter included in the *Keepsake* was the discussion of her ladyship’s eyes and the ‘look’ she could throw with them. After perceiving this look, Carmine tells her that he has to try to capture that look in the painting and her ladyship is pleased that he could see it:

‘Oh! oh! have you found out that? Why, sir, all my family, by the mother’s side, are famous for their eyes. I have a great aunt amongst the beauties at Windsor; she has a sister at Hampton-court, a perdegeous fine woman! she had but one eye, but that was a piercer – that one eye got her three husbands’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 278).

The reader is not sure that her ladyship is capable of throwing a special look at the painter due to the conversation that has gone before, and the fact that she knows the painter had flattered her without actually meaning it. This comical moment is intensified by her story of her relative who was able to get three husbands with only one good eye. Hook believes that

²⁵⁶ The theatre play in question was called “Taste,” and penned by Samuel Foote in 1752.

²⁵⁷ Theodore Hook, “The Portrait illustrated,” *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds. (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 276-278.

Smirke has tried to capture that look in his drawing and ends his summary with that scene in the play:

The rest of the scene is strikingly illustrative of the manners of the time at which it was written; but we have no business to travel out of the record, or go beyond the point of ‘calling up the look,’ which it seems Mr. Smirke has seized for the *time* of his admirable picture (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 278).

Looking at the picture, the viewer is unable to see a ‘special’ expression in her eyes. This helps additionally to poke fun at her ladyship and make the scene even more comical.

This is a good example of the *Keepsake*’s attention to female beauty. In the *Keepsake for 1829*, many examples of beauty can be found in the contributions. L.E.L. describes, for example, Georgiana as ‘A calm and stately beauty’ (*Keepsake 1829*, p. 121).²⁵⁸ Scott refers to ‘a very young person of great beauty’ and depicts Jemmie Falconer, whose beauty ‘consisted, in a great measure, of delicacy of complexion and regularity of features’ in ‘My Aunt Margaret’s Mirror’ (*Keepsake 1829*, pp. 14 & 38). In ‘On Two Sisters,’ Reynolds praises the beauty of Anne: ‘But, Anne, in thee all charms combine; / Each gift of beauty, sweet, is thine!’ (*Keepsake 1829*, p. 51).²⁵⁹ As with most literary contributions, Heath also wanted to depict youth and beauty in his prints and even went as far as to ask Kenny Meadows to adjust an engraving and make mother and daughter look the same age:

I don’t care about maternity, or Shakespeare, or anything else. You must not make her more than twenty or nobody will buy! If you won’t I must get

²⁵⁸ L.E.L., “Verses,” *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), p. 121.

²⁵⁹ Frederic Mansel Reynolds, “On Two Sisters,” *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), p. 51.

Frank Stone to do her instead. All Frank Stone's beauties are nineteen exactly, and that's the age for me!²⁶⁰

Hood's characterization of Lady Pentweazle, however, challenges contemporary images of beauty and subverts them into 'real' women.

In the *Keepsake for 1832*, an anonymous author included the following few lines to describe the painting entitled 'Interior of Zwinger Palace, Dresden [Figure 13]:'²⁶¹

The Zwinger Palace is in the old town of Dresden, and is now in rather a dilapidated condition. It is chiefly remarkable for a collection of natural history, and an orangery, where the finest orange trees in Europe, at least equal if not superior to those at Versailles, are cultivated. During summer they occupy the front court of the palace, and during winter are sheltered in the interior of it. 'Zwinger,' in German, is 'dog-hole,' 'prison;' how, or why, the palace received this flattering appellation is not generally known (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 282).

This is one of the shortest, essay-type descriptions that can be found in the *Keepsake*. Unlike other texts that accompany engravings, the author decided to produce a realistic account rather than a fictitious story. This shows that contributions did not always have to be entertaining but could also be instructive. Although the author did not know much about the subject, he/she explains to the audience what this palace looks like and the meaning of its name. He/she does not describe the engraving but leaves it to speak for itself.

²⁶⁰ Cited in Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, p. 97.

²⁶¹ "The Zwinger Palace," *The Keepsake for 1832*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831), p. 282.



Figure 13 “Interior of Zwinger Palace, Dresden” (Keepsake 1832).



Figure 14 "Princess Doria and the Pilgrims" (Keepsake 1830).

Another example of this kind can be found in the *Keepsake for 1830*. Lord Normanby contributed an essay, or ‘Sketch,’ on David Wilkie’s painting, ‘Princess Doria and the Pilgrims,’ engraved by Charles Heath [figure 14].²⁶² Normanby starts his discussion by relating the engraving to the painter, who has enriched the viewer with his chef-d’oeuvres created by his masterly hand in the past. The reason for his emphasis on the artist is not due to poor execution or less merit in this painting but rather the fact that the connection between the painting and the artist was not easy to establish and hence the reader did not have to be aware that it is from the same hand than other well known engravings such as the ‘Blind Fiddler,’ the ‘Rent Day’ and ‘Blindman’s Buff’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 145). Wilkie completed the painting in Geneva in 1827. ‘A Roman Princess Washing the Feet of Pilgrims,’ as it was then known, was exhibited at the Royal Academy. Normanby explains the procedure of washing the feet of pilgrims and the origin of the ceremony. He further gives more detail about the princess, whose full name is Princess Teresa Doria Panfili. As the head of the sisterhood of ladies of Roman citizens, she had to receive and wash the pilgrims’ feet at the Hospice of Santa Trinita dei Pelligrini (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 148). This technique could be used to criticise or to praise the print, but is mostly to give the reader information. The writer suggests that the viewer is encouraged to think for him/herself and to form an “Isn’t that *rather* so and so ‘sort of observation’” (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 145). This method further lends itself to instruct the reader and let them know more for example about the background of the painting. As literary annuals helped to circulate art by famous artists of the day, these essays help to instruct the reader and viewer, otherwise unfamiliar with this art, about it too.

The final method used to incorporate engravings gives the prints a different meaning. The print provides the viewer with a certain expectation on what is going to happen in the

²⁶² Lord Normanby, “Sketch,” *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 145-149.

text. Although the outcome might look obvious at first, the writer might interpret the picture in a completely different manner and invent an entirely different scenario that which the reader might expect. The print ‘Lucy,’ painted by R. Westall and engraved by Charles Heath, tells two different stories [figure 15]. The engraving incorporated into ‘The Half-Brothers’ (*Keepsake 1829*), written by the authors of the O’Hara tales, depicts a woman clinging to a rock.²⁶³ Around her wild waves are crashing against the reefs, creating a dangerous and threatening atmosphere. The woman is kneeling on one knee and trying to help herself up. The darkness of the print intensifies the sense of menace. One could assume that Lucy is entrapped by the high waves and is unable to escape her destiny and this unlucky situation and might die.



Figure 15 "Lucy" (*Keepsake 1829*).

²⁶³ The Authors of the O’Hara Tales, “The Half-Brothers,” *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 52-68.

However, Hoagwood and Ledbetter argue that Lucy is thinking of ending her life and committing suicide.²⁶⁴ It follows that the text itself provides a very different story of what initially could be expected. It is the story of Lucy Hawkins who has two sons with whom she lives in absolute poverty. One day, her boys leave to play and are trapped because the tide has cut off their way back home. The story explains the action from the boys' point of view, especially the eldest who is trying to save his brother. Although the mother is coming and trying to rescue them, her fears and what she goes through are not described in detail. The only description of the painting, the O'Hara brothers provide is two lines: '[...] and almost simultaneously with Charley's reappearance, a woman, screaming loudly, descended the difficult passage from the brow of the cliff, and gained the slippery shelf' (*Keepsake 1829*, p. 65). Lucy is not the focal point in this scene and neither is the print depicting it. The O'Hara brothers used the first method previously mentioned in this section. As with Morier's 'Pepita,' the print is integrated into the story and represents a scene from it. Nevertheless, there is a possibility of misinterpretation. For Hoagwood and Ledbetter, the dark atmosphere of the picture does not prepare the reader for the happy ending that follows this incident.²⁶⁵ The reader finds out that Lucy is a fallen woman. At the age of sixteen, Lucy met a sailor who returned to sea, never to be seen again. Lucy had his child and lived in absolute poverty. Years later, she married Mr. Turner and had another son, although they still had to struggle for survival. For a nineteenth century audience, Lucy's fate is linked to her bad behaviour when she was a child and negative things that occurred in the past were seen as a punishment for acting against the social rules of society. Later, a captain who witnesses an accident tries to save the children from his ship. He recognizes Lucy later as his long lost love and they are reunited forever. They marry and he takes them all with him. Looking at the engraving, the reader did not expect this positive ending. Therefore Hoagwood and Ledbetter believe that

²⁶⁴ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, p. 117.

²⁶⁵ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, p. 117.

such stories ‘are reminders of the way text can change meaning.’²⁶⁶ Indeed they argue that in some cases ‘the visual pleasing love scene [is] transformed, if one reads the accompanying story, into a misogynistic attack on women.’²⁶⁷ This is different in this tale, however, as terrifying illustration is transformed into a pleasing tale with a happy, romantic even utopian ending. Even though the prints were misleading, the writer’s creativity is making the whole story even more interesting and is enabling him to create an unexpected story with a romantic ending.

Reception of the Engravings and Variety of Themes

Looking at different reviews of the *Keepsake*, it is possible to detect a very positive attitude towards the engravings during the long run of its publication. A *Literary Gazette* reviewer remarks about the *Keepsake for 1830* that the literary contributions are not as exquisite as the engravings:

It would be vain to disguise the fact, that this Annual, like all the others, more or less, must rely for its extensive popularity on its exquisite engravings, rather than on its literary performances; though the latter are resplendent with great and celebrated names.²⁶⁸

The critic condemns the literary contributions harshly and praises the engravings, because ‘In that respect they [annuals] are deserving, and the *Keepsake* particularly so, of the greatest

²⁶⁶ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour’d Shadows*, p. 111.

²⁶⁷ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour’d Shadows*, p. 111.

²⁶⁸ “The Keepsake for 1830,” *Literary Gazette*, 669 (1829: Nov), p. 739.

favour.²⁶⁹ For this reason, this columnist believes that ‘two or three plates of the *Keepsake* are of far more value than the price of the whole work’ and that it is not surprising that ‘foreign countries take an immense number of these publications for their engravings only.’²⁷⁰ Comments of this kind can be found in many reviews from the 1830s and 40s. In some cases the critics praise the engravings of the whole volume, as was the case in 1838: ‘The plates are all good; but a few are choice.’²⁷¹ Even in 1844, after the big annual boom of the 1830s, the engravings are still praised because of their merit: ‘Thirteen engravings decorate this new volume of *The Keepsake*, most of them fine specimens of British Art.’²⁷²

In other cases, the critics refer to some particular engravings which are according to their taste. As in 1832, ‘As usual, it [*Keepsake*] opens with one of the prettiest faces that ever looked from a frontispiece,’²⁷³ or in 1838, in which ‘The vignette, *The Corsair’s Isle*, is light and lovely, as if touched with a feather from Ariel’s wing.’²⁷⁴

The *Keepsake* from 1828 until 1838 contains find a huge variety of engravings. The themes of the *Keepsake* illustrations are as versatile as the short stories and poems it includes. As a consequence, it is not always easy to categorize them. Hoagwood and Ledbetter suggest the engravings include portrayals of ‘illicit love encounters, the frank sensuality of peasant women and young girls, violent scenes in which men become potential rapists or murderers, and apocalyptic situations where tormented women contemplate their desperate fate.’²⁷⁵ This classification is, however, not extensive and other categories such as the orient; the past; lovers; death, illness and recovery; the role of women; landscape and sea, negative character

²⁶⁹ “The Keepsake for 1830,” *Literary Gazette*, 669, 1829, p.739.

²⁷⁰ “The Keepsake for 1830,” *Literary Gazette*, 669, 1829, p.739.

²⁷¹ “The Annuals for 1839,” *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 5: 60 (1838: Dec), p. 790.

²⁷² “The Keepsake for 1845,” *Critic*, 1:7 (1844: Nov), p. 189.

²⁷³ “The Keepsake for 1833,” *Literary Gazette*, 821 (1832: Oct), p. 645.

²⁷⁴ “The Annuals for 1839,” *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 5:60, 1838, p. 790.

²⁷⁵ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour’d Shadows*, p. 97.

traits; bribery and escape; the lower-class; children; religion; ghosts and mystic events might be added. By having a closer look at those categories, which are not mentioned by Hoagwood and Ledbetter, one is going to notice that often the themes used in the annuals overlap.

Firstly, the Orient is depicted in many different engravings; illustrating a world unknown to the nineteenth century British reader. The tales accompanying these engravings include stories of Christian, Hindu or Muslim people. For example, ‘Constandi, A Tale’ (*Keepsake 1830*) by the author of *Hajji Baba* combines elements of the Christian and Muslim world, whereas ‘The Hindu Girl’ (*Keepsake 1836*) by R.B. Sheridan takes place in the kingdom of Mysore, in Southern India.²⁷⁶

Another theme often represented in the *Keepsake* was past and historical events. The artists would include different elements to show that the painting (and with it the story) are placed in a different time. The engraving would therefore incorporate a different type of clothing, swords, armours, helmets, spears, knights. Mary Shelley’s short story ‘The false Rhyme, a Tale’ (*Keepsake 1830*), for example, tells the reader about an event which occurred to Francis I and his sister, Margaret, Queen of Navarre.²⁷⁷ The engraving shows the king and his sister conversing with each other and judging from their clothes, the print is set in the sixteenth century. The *Keepsake for 1828* features ‘The Convent of Chaillot’ by an anonymous author, which is an example of a story set in the seventeenth century under the reign of Louis XIV. Again, this is certain because the clothes of the characters in the engraving betray their time period as well as the subtitle of the story which reads ‘Or, la Vallière and Louis XIV.’ Another example of the former category can be found in the 1829

²⁷⁶ The Author of Hajji Baba, “Costandi, A Tale,” *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 102-125; R.B. Sheridan, “The Hindu Girl,” *The Keepsake for 1836*, ed. The Honorable Mrs. Norton (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1835), pp. 258-272.

²⁷⁷ Mary Shelley, “The False Rhyme, a Tale,” *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 265-268.

Keepsake, ‘The Lady and the Lovers’ written by the Author of *Gilbert Earle*. The story is written in letter format. Thus the date of the first letter gives the reader the exact date and sets the events in the year 1630. The reason for setting the stories and the engravings in a different time was chiefly propriety. By describing people of a different time or from a different place, the reader can admire the engravings without being in danger of corruption. This means in other words, as the stories do not take place in their own country, the reader recognizes that the actions might not be appropriate and hence does not imitate them.

Remembering that, like conduct books, annuals were considered to be safe to read, it is not surprising to find illustrations depicting the role of women in the *Keepsake*. Engravings showing mothers, widows, brides and daughters are therefore common topics. There are two different kinds of engravings; the engravings showing the role of women in the picture and not in its title, like ‘The unlooked-for Return’ (*Keepsake 1833*) and those engravings whose title gives way to those social roles, such as ‘The Widow of Ems’ (*Keepsake 1830*), ‘The Bride’ (*Keepsake 1830*) and ‘The Mother’ (*Keepsake 1837*).²⁷⁸ On the other hand, the *Keepsake* would not only print illustrations of characters depicting good virtues but negative ones too, in order to remind readers what not to do. Thus, engravings depicting gossip and even worse bribery and escape can be found among its pages. Example of this category can be found in each edition of the *Keepsake*, like ‘The Lady’s Dream’ (*Keepsake 1828*), ‘Jealousy’ (*Keepsake 1829*), ‘The Secret’ (*Keepsake 1831*) and ‘Scandal’ (*Keepsake 1832*).²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Theodore Hook, ‘The Bride, a Tale,’ *The Keepsake for 1830*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), pp. 178-197; Frederic Mansel Reynolds, ‘The Mother’s Love, a Tale,’ *The Keepsake for 1837*, ed. Lady Emily Stuart-Wortley (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1836), pp. 250-274.

²⁷⁹ The Author of *Gilbert Earle*, ‘The Lady and her Lovers,’ *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1828), pp. 163-183; Charles Phipps, ‘Arthur Chamberlayne, a Tale,’ *The Keepsake for 1831*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1830), pp. 277-304; William Jerdan,

One needs, however, to notice that even if some engravings fit clearly into one single category, others could be classified into several different groups as the themes overlap. However, the question remains why these themes were so popular? What is the meaning and symbolism behind these prints? In order to get answers to all these questions, the engravings cannot be analysed without having a closer look at the accompanying text. The engravings need thus to be analysed in conjunction with the stories as texts and illustrations are closely interlinked.

Hoagwood and Ledbetter challenge the idea that literary annuals were safe to read. They state that the engravings were ‘designed to excite the middle-class female reader’s desire for romance’ while at the same time depicting ‘female sexuality and women’s inferior position in the domestic hierarchy.’²⁸⁰ As a consequence, while literary annuals were advertised as safe to read, their content was not. Therefore there was a risk of the nineteenth century reader being corrupted by the engravings and narratives. Using the discussion of several engravings, this section of the chapter tries to prove that Hoagwood and Ledbetter may only be right to some extent as literary annuals kept, nevertheless, to the social rules of propriety. This section will focus upon three different themes; the role of women and the past, and look at a selection of engravings from each category.

Depiction of the role of women

The role of nineteenth century women can be categorised into the roles of daughter, bride, mother, widow and other relative. The engraving ‘The Merchant and his Daughter’ (*Keepsake 1834*), in the homonymous poem written by Edward Fitzgerald, was painted by

“Scan.-Mag.,” *The Keepsake for 1832*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831), pp. 319-320.

²⁸⁰ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour’d Shadows*, p. 97.

Nash and engraved by Charles Heath [Figure 16].²⁸¹ It clearly depicts a scene in a merchant's house. The merchant is sitting next to a table. He is holding a quill in his right hand and a key



Figure 16 “The Merchant and his Daughter” (Keepsake 1834).

in his left, reaching out to his daughter. It looks like he was signing letters when interrupted by her entrance. Although he is reaching out to her, she seems reluctant to take the key. Behind him stands another gentleman looking at the girl.

Certain elements in the engraving suggest that the merchant and his family are well off. On the right hand side of the room, is a large shelf full of books, which can be hidden behind a curtain. A padded chair stands in front of it. The table the father is working on is covered

²⁸¹ Edward Fitzgerald, “The Merchant and his Daughter,” *The Keepsake for 1834*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1833), pp. 306-307.

with a tablecloth. The garments the girl and the merchant are wearing are very expensive too. All these components show that his business is successful. A parrot is sitting on a chair with a very high back, overlooking the scene and a goldfish bowl is standing on the table. The former represents the exotic whereas the latter symbolises imprisonment. Both can be linked to the daughter, as she is a beautiful creature captivated by her father. The accompanying poem confirms this supposition. In essence, the poem tells the story of a father wishing to protect his daughter by locking the door to keep the Christians outside. The poem does not further explain why the merchant does not like Christians. In December 1833, *The New Monthly Magazine* reveals that ‘The Merchant and his Daughter’ consists of ‘a scene from the ‘Merchant of Venice’” and wonders why it was not called this way.^{282[1]} In Shakespeare’s ‘Merchant of Venice’ (written between 1596 and 1598), Shylock is a Jewish moneylender and the villain of the story. He detests Christians and asks for a pound of flesh from Antonio as a guarantee for his loan. In the end, Shylock loses all his possessions and is forced to convert to Christianity. Overall, the poem does not explain why the girl is reluctant to lock the door. In Shakespeare’s version, however, the merchant’s daughter, Jessica is in love with the Christian Lorenzo and runs away with him. Keeping this in mind, it is understandable that the daughter is reluctant to take the key as she does not want to stay away from her love. Shakespeare’s plays were still very popular in the nineteenth century and readers would have been familiar with them. Combining the print and Fitzgerald’s poem and linking it to the ideas of Shakespeare’s play, helps to make it more comprehensible for readers. Nevertheless, neither poem nor print indicates that the girl is going to oppose her father’s will. Even though she hesitates to take the key, she does not resist her father, and hence obeys him and does as he says. Consequently both engraving and poem conform to the

^{282[1]} *New Monthly Magazine*, From July-December 1833 (Boston: Allen and Ticknor, 1833), p. 446.

social rules of propriety as the daughter does not resist her father and contradicts Ledbetter's argument of hidden improper behaviour.

The second engraving depicting the role of a daughter is painted by J.W Wright and engraved by J.C. Edwards. 'Caroline Dammerel' (*Keepsake 1832*), in Bernal's tale 'The Family of Dammerel,' shows two women sitting and talking to each other [Figure 17]. The woman on the right is older than her companion on the left. It is possible that she is the mother because she grips one arm of the younger woman and points a finger at her as if she is scolding her. The younger woman has put her hand at her chest, as if she is protecting her heart. It looks like the older woman is trying to convince the girl of an emotional matter, which she does not want to accept. Looking at the garments of both ladies, it becomes clear that the women are not related and that they belong to a different social class. The younger woman's clothes are very expensive, whereas, the older woman is dressed like a maid with an apron, a cap and far less luxurious clothing. The light coming through the window illuminates both characters. In the darker background one can see armour. The right arm of the suit of armour is outstretched and a sword attached to it. In the accompanying story Caroline Dammerel goes to see her old nurse, Alice Wilson to ask her for advice. She is in love with her cousin, Henry Gerald but her father wants her to marry Colonel Reresby instead. Different factors make her father pick the latter suitor and Alice tries to convince Caroline that her father knows best and that he judges discreetly in this matter. The reader finds out that first, Henry supports the wrong political party and that his life is in danger. Secondly, the father had lived for a while over his means and had borrowed a large amount of money from Reresby. By approving the marriage between his daughter and Reresby, Dammerel does not have to worry about paying him back. Third, Dammerel had eloped in his youth with Caroline's mother but had never married her. Afraid that someone might find out about the illegitimacy of his daughter, the father tried to hide the truth as they would otherwise lose

their mansion and properties. Although the picture does not depict mother and child, the women discuss how Caroline has to act according to her social status and according to her role as a daughter. Caroline does not get the chance to act, as she is accidentally shot. Consequently, the reader does not know whether she took the advice to heart or acted against her father's wishes. Her death therefore prevents her from acting in an improper manner.



Figure 17 "Caroline Dammerel" (Keepsake 1832).

Motherhood is another theme depicted in the *Keepsake* stories and engravings. Different from fathers who were meant to provide for the family and give economic support, mothers were there for the personal care of the children and husband. ‘The unlocked-for return’ (*Keepsake 1833*) [figure 18], ‘The Grecian Wife’ (*Keepsake 1837*) [figure 20] and ‘The Mother’ (*Keepsake 1837*) [figure 19] are three examples of this that can be found in the *Keepsake*.²⁸³ ‘The unlocked-for return,’ drawn by Miss L. Sharpe and engraved by J. Goodyear, shows a domestic scene. A woman is seated on a chair, carrying a baby on her lap. Next to her is a small girl and an elderly couple. The elderly man is seated likewise at a table. The elderly lady, obviously his wife is standing behind him. Looking at the astonished faces, it seems that they did not expect a visitor. This impression is intensified by the darkness and the moon outside. A candle is situated on the table lighting the room. This is another sign that it is already late and no one was expected. Their heads are turned towards the door, looking at a man in uniform who has just entered the house. Another girl is putting her arms around his waist; hugging him. The mother’s face clearly shows disbelief, which is strengthened by the gesture of her arms as she has thrown them up in shock. It seems that the man has come back from war and that his family did not expect his return. Considering the reaction, it is possible

²⁸³ Louisa Henrietta Sheridan, “The Grecian Wife,” *The Keepsake for 1837*, ed. Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836), pp. 121-127.



Figure 18 "The unlocked-for return" (Keepsake 1833).



Figure 19 "The Mother" (Keepsake 1837).



Figure 20 "The Grecian Wife" (Keepsake 1837).

that they believed him to be dead. This print does not represent motherhood per se. Even though the woman has three children and is looking after them, the main focus is on her husband's return. The title of the story refers to neither motherhood nor the role of women. The engraving is incorporated into a tale by Mrs. Charles Gore called 'The Mourner.' It tells the story of Caroline Wyndham who finds shelter with her husband's parents, when he (Arthur) is killed during the war. Like the engraving, the tale tells the story of Arthur's return from war. He has not died but has been taken prisoner instead. Caroline seems to be the perfect wife, mother and daughter-in-law, looking after everybody. However, the story further reveals that Caroline acted against her mother's wishes when she married Arthur in her youth. The consequence of her action was that only a few weeks after her marriage, her mother fell ill and died. Due to their financial hardship, they have to struggle to survive and Caroline realises that her mother was right. Although, Caroline has misbehaved and acted against her mother's wishes, she tries all her married life to make up for it. When her husband returns, the heroine is finally forgiven. Caroline has learnt from her mistakes and the story makes clear that one should not act against one's parents' will.

'The Grecian Wife' (*Keepsake 1837*) is painted by E.T. Parris and engraved by L. Stocks. The story, also entitled 'The Grecian Wife,' is written by Miss Louisa Henrietta Sheridan. The print shows a woman lying on a sofa bed, on her lap is a small toddler fast asleep. She is caressing his back and watching over him. Her head is turned to the side, and she is looking up. It seems that she is thinking about something. Looking at the appearance of the lady, it can be seen that she belongs to a high social standing. Her clothes are of the richest materials and are splendidly embroidered. Although the story which accompanies the engraving is (like the previous one) quite different, it depicts, nevertheless, the ideal behaviour of mothers and wives. The heroine of this story is a devoted mother and wife who is willing to give up her life for her husband. They are a respected family but when her

husband refuses to march with his regiment against his native village, he is sentenced to death for being a traitor. His wife makes a plan to rescue him, which succeeds; Anasasoula dresses as a man and takes her husband's place. On the day of her execution, her baby son recognises his mother and calls out for her. At this point, the crowd realises who she is and let her go. As a result, they banish her and her family from Ypsara. Anasasoula's plan was risky because it could have lost her life.

Considering the print, it is again the facial expression of the main protagonist, which is capturing the attention of the reader. By looking at the engraving in more detail, one could assume that the engraver is trying to capture the moment when she finalises her plan of rescuing her husband. She loves her husband and is willing to die for him. In the words of Sheridan, one could thus say that 'for a woman that adores, there is but one hopeless suffering, the desolating conviction of having lost the heart which has cast its spell over her first affections' (*Keepsake 1837*, p. 126). This theme reoccurs in many *Keepsake* stories, including 'The False Rhyme' (*Keepsake 1830*) and seems thus to be an important issue of the nineteenth century.

The third engraving with the title 'The Mother' is very different from the previous ones. First of all, unlike the others the picture is not incorporated into the story. The print, drawn by A.E Chalon and engraved by C. Rolls, is attached to the story without being linked to it. It shows a young woman idly lying on a sofa bed. Her hair is open and falling loose over her shoulders. Her head is rested in her right hand and she is looking at a clock, situated at the head of the couch. It is dark outside and the full moon is high. In the background, the room is decorated with a religious image of Mary carrying Jesus in her arms. In the foreground a crucifix and book are placed on a seat cushion. It looks as if the woman is restless and unable to sleep. Her glancing at the time as well as her loose hair and the moon indicate that it is already very late at night. A slipper strewn in front of the couch can be seen as a sign of her

recklessness because it is the only one on the floor. Surprising is the fact that although the engraving is called 'The Mother,' the young lady does not carry an infant with her. The holy image of Mary and Jesus are the only implications of mother and child that can be found in the engraving. In Frederic Mansel Reynolds' story 'A Mother's Love, A Tale,' the female narrator explains her life story to the reader. As with the first story, she elopes and marries a man her father disapproves of. After they have lived together for many years she finds out that her marriage and their child are not legitimate because her husband has been married before. Her father is able to track her down and asks her to return home and leave her husband. The girl refuses because she is still in love with her husband, even though he has turned out to be a gambler and an evil person. Her father curses her and her child and wishes that her child will cause her as much pain as she has caused him. Some months later her father dies and her husband is killed in a duel. She raises her child alone and allows him everything. Without any rules to conform to, the boy turns into a thief and is sentenced to death when he is caught by the authorities. The mother asks her son for forgiveness because she knows that it is her fault that he turned out this way. The whole story is a story of self-reproach. Unlike from the heroine of the first story, the narrator complains and does not try to do penance. In the end she is responsible for the loss of every person she loves. Davidoff and Hall state that it was perceived as normal to blame the mother for the bad behaviour of her children. As a consequence, 'If a mother failed in the task of raising healthy, seriously minded and well trained children, she sent forth 'damaged material.''²⁸⁴ That is why the narrator blames herself and her son finds fault in her too. The woman provides a negative example on many levels. She is not a good daughter as has acted several times against her father's wishes. Even though he tried to help her on many occasions, she turned her back on him. Unlike Caroline Wyndham in 'The Mourner,' who tries to do penance for her sins and

²⁸⁴ Davidoff and Hall, p. 335.

bears her destiny bravely, this woman does not try to make up for it. She is not a good mother and in the end her whole life is falling to pieces, leaving her alone in the world. Although, the first and the last story are similar, their outcomes are very different, as both women decide to live their lives in very different ways. The former is rewarded whereas the latter is severely punished. The print, therefore most likely depicts the woman after she has lost everyone. She is alone and unable to sleep, reproaching herself. The beautiful flowers in the background are ephemeral, as was her life with her family. This type of story is a good example for showing the reader what can happen if one behaves against the parents' wishes. This story would aim at shocking the reader and preventing him/her from making the same mistakes in real life. The different outcomes of the stories show the reader that even though the heroines have done wrong, depending on their later behaviour, their sins can be forgotten.

As the previous examples have shown, many of the stories and images when combined reinforce contemporary attitudes towards gender, religion, family and obedience, and are contrary to the 'subversive' gratitudes Ledbetter discovered in the texts. According to Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, 'marriage was the economic and social building block for the middle class [and] the basis of a new family unit.'²⁸⁵ Therefore, young girls' priority in life was to fall in love with the right person and marry well, the former, if possible, according to the parents' wishes, and their choice was carefully monitored for this reason. As a consequence it is not surprising to find many engravings in the *Keepsake* series, entitled 'Bride' (*Keepsake 1830*), 'The Wedding' (*Keepsake 1832*), 'The Bride' (*Keepsake 1837*) or even 'The Bridemaid' (*Keepsake 1833*) or 'The Widowed Bride' (*Keepsake 1834*).²⁸⁶ The

²⁸⁵ Davidoff and Hall, p. 322.

²⁸⁶ Mrs. Fairlie, "The Bridal Gift, a Tale," *The Keepsake for 1837*, ed. Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1836), pp. 34-42; Agnes Strickland, "The Bridemaid," *The Keepsake for 1833*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1832), pp. 82-83.

role of women was however not the only interest of the *Keepsake* series. John Kenyon stated that ‘there was an enormous appetite for history in Victorian England, and a new belief in its significance.’²⁸⁷ Nineteenth century contemporaries were fascinated in past and historical events and this interest became an important feature of popular culture.

Historical themes depicted

However, the role of women was not the only interest of the *Keepsake* series. John Kenyon stated that ‘there was an enormous appetite for history in Victorian England, and a new belief in its significance.’²⁸⁸ In 1832, the *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* pointed out the ‘universal appetite for instruction’ in Britain, as it was a time when everyone ‘seemed to be clamouring to know more about the world in all its aspects.’²⁸⁹ These aspects included all scientific matters, other countries and cultures, as well as history. Rohan Amanda Maitzen argues that the public had a ‘great’ and ‘increasing’ ‘appetite for history.’²⁹⁰ Publishers therefore reacted to this interest in history and published many titles connected and influenced by historical events and characters, including W. D. Cooley’s *The History of Maritime and Inland Discovery* (1830), Thomas Allan’s *A History of the County of Surrey* (1831), *The History of Modern Europe* (1833) and Scott’s *Waverly* novels. Considering the fact that writers would try to write about themes people were interested in, it is not surprising that historical tales form also part of the *Keepsake*.

²⁸⁷ David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 142.

²⁸⁸ John Kenyon, quoted in Newsome, p. 142.

²⁸⁹ Newsome, p. 142.

²⁹⁰ Rohan Amanda Maitzen, *Gender, Genre, and Victorian Historical Writing* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), p. 4.

In order to understand the past and make use of the lessons it could teach in the present, historical interpretation and research was of major importance. Archibald Alison believed that the British sought a history:

Which should bring the experience of the past to bear on the visions of the present, and tell men, from the recorded events of history, what they had to hope, and what to fear, from the passion for innovation which had seized possession of so large a portion of the active part of mankind.²⁹¹

Historical settings are therefore used in order to instruct the reader, as ‘history [is known to] repeat[...] itself.’ Contemporary topics could therefore be represented in a historical context in order to teach the audience. In addition, Hoagwood and Ledbetter suggest that women were not supposed to show too much of their feelings. In the *Keepsake*, however, these rules are challenged in many engravings and short stories, such as ‘Carolina’ (*Keepsake* 1835) or ‘Elena and Gianni’ (*Keepsake* 1848).²⁹² Consequently, scenes set in the past or in exotic places allow the reader to distance herself and at the same time to transgress those rules without actually breaking propriety herself. The characters can, according to Hoagwood and Ledbetter, ‘act out [their] excitement in a way the *Keepsake* reader might wish to do’ and help the reader to escape for a while their own life.²⁹³

Therefore, artists and writers provided the public with picture galleries of history. Although Stefan Berger refers to this as a ‘history of the ‘fancy-dress’ variety,’ many writers and painters tried to be accurate and researched their topic in much detail.²⁹⁴ The following engravings will show that the past was used in many engravings and *Keepsake* stories and

²⁹¹ Maitzen, p. 4.

²⁹² Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, pp. 109-110.

²⁹³ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour'd Shadows*, p. 112.

²⁹⁴ Stefan Berger, *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 317.

that it was an important element to bring the writers and painters' ideas across. This chapter has discussed the engraving 'Caroline Dammerel' (*Keepsake 1832*) in a previous category but it overlaps with this category as it deals with past and historical events.²⁹⁵ By looking at the type of garments the women are wearing and the display of the armour in the background, it is obvious that the story takes place in another time. At the very beginning, the story makes it clear that it is set in 1722 during the reign of George I. The picture does not betray the negative outcome of the story but it explains why it is set in the past. For twenty years, Sir George Dammerel carried a dark secret which he has tried to make amends for. No one, except himself and Alice Wilson knew about the illegitimacy of the girl. At the story's conclusion, the girl is shot by accident and thus pays for her parents' sins. Her father lived a childless, dishonoured and lonely man, 'detested by those, whose cause he had forsaken, and despised by those, who had courted his desertion' (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 264). The reason for setting this story in the past is the shocking outcome of the secret the father kept for decades. Elopement and the inevitable dishonour it brought to the parents was against the social rules of nineteenth-century society. The fact that Caroline was an illegitimate child was a disgrace and not acceptable in the eyes of readers. This is depicted by Caroline's reaction when she is told of her true nature by her nurse; 'before Alice had finished her narration, Caroline had fainted' (*Keepsake 1832*, p. 256). By setting the story in the past, the reader is not as shocked by the behaviour of the characters as they would be if the action had taken place in the present. The reader is aware that such actions were wrong and that they would not have acted in the same manner because their thinking is much more advanced from the past.

²⁹⁵ Ralph Bernal, "The Family of Dammerel – A Tale," *The Keepsake for 1832*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831), pp. 241-264.

Hoagwood and Ledbetter note that the best way for nineteenth-century women to escape from their everyday lives was ‘the imaginative fantasies provided by literature.’²⁹⁶ Looking at the engravings and stories this chapter has discussed so far, one could think that elopement is the only topic depicted in the *Keepsake* series. This is, however, not the case. Leitch Ritchie’s ‘The Two Barons; or the Spirits of the Mine’ (*Keepsake* 1834), for example describes a different theme.²⁹⁷ As with previous engravings, it does not reveal much about the plot of the story.²⁹⁸ Two men are sitting in front of a fireplace and are facing each other, with a grim look on their faces. The man on the left is unarmed and wrapped in a loose gown, whereas the man on the right is wearing a soldier’s uniform.

Ritchie’s tale reveals that these men are enemies, who belong to two different families; the houses of Wolfenhausen and Schwartzwald. Wolfenhausen has a son and Schwartzwald a daughter, who have never met. Both children decide independently, however, to look for gold and help regain their fathers’ wealth. Christian falls into an abyss and is rescued by Amalia. The parents discover them in the mine and realize that they are in love. Thus the feud between the two families is buried.

The engraving represents the moment when the fathers realize that the children are gone. One of them is carrying a sword, clearly expressing that he is ready to use it. The primary symbolic meaning of the sword is that of administration of justice.²⁹⁹ In the text Wolfenhausen makes clear that he does not want to use his sword but if Schwartzwald has hurt his son, he will have no choice but to kill him in return. Although this outcome would be

²⁹⁶ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour’d Shadows*, p. 120.

²⁹⁷ Leitch Ritchie, “The Two Barons; or the Spirits of the Mine,” *The Keepsake for 1834*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1833), pp. 234-246.

²⁹⁸ Interestingly, the engraving entitled ‘The Two Barons,’ drawn by G. Cattermole and engraved by Charles Heath, is not included in the list of plates.

²⁹⁹ James Hall, *Hall’s Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray, 1994), p. 294.

the result of revenge, in the father's eyes it is rather a matter of justice. He has the power to hurt the Schwartzwald if he wishes, as the other has no weapon at all. It is significant that the engraving does not foretell the Romeo and Juliet-like theme of the story.

As already noted, Mary Shelley's 'The False Rhyme' (*Keepsake* 1830) incorporates an engraving called 'Francis I and his Sister' [figure 21]. This engraving depicts a man sitting on a sofa and a woman standing behind him. Both are looking through a window situated to their left. The woman is bending forward in order to see something. Their clothing indicates that they are from a different time period to the reader. The title of the engraving confirmed that the characters in the print are King Francis I and his sister. The story makes clear that the king believes that women are inconsistent and unable to be faithful to their husbands. For this reason, he has etched a couplet into the windowpane saying 'Souvent femme varie / Bien fou qui s'y fie!' (*Keepsake* 1830).³⁰⁰ The print shows, however, Margaret pulling back the curtains and letting the light inside the dark room. This might symbolise Margaret's attempt to convince her brother of the contrary and bring light/hope back to him. In the tale, Margaret, Queen of Navarre makes fun of the king and tells him that the saying can just as well say 'Souvent home varie, / Bien folle qui s'y fie' (*Keepsake* 1830). In the end she makes a bet with her brother that she can provide an example of woman's true fidelity. The two dogs placed at the king's feet on the engraving also reflect that theme. The dog is often seen as a symbol of faithfulness³⁰¹, and therefore is 'the animal most faithful to man.'³⁰² Additionally James Hall states that 'In allegory the dog is the attribute of FIDELITY personified.'³⁰³ Margaret does not only provide her brother with a faithful wife, but with a woman who is

³⁰⁰ „Often a woman is inconstant / A great fool is he who has faith in her!' (translation by A.A. Markley)

A.A. Markley, 'Laughing That I May Not Weep': Mary Shelley's Short Fiction and Her Novels,' *Keats-Shelley Journal*, vol. 46 (1997), p. 106.

³⁰¹ Cirlot, p. 84.

³⁰² Hall, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects*, p. 105.

³⁰³ Hall, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects*, p. 105.

also loyal. The dogs in the engraving therefore depict the fidelity of Emilie towards her husband and king. Margaret does not only win her bet, but as A. A. Markley has pointed out ‘proves [to] the king that his couplet is a ‘false rhyme.’³⁰⁴ Therefore ‘the title itself [...] work[s] as a pun on this poetic term.’³⁰⁵ Hence, Shelley provides a humorous tale originating from hyperbole in general and the exaggeration of feminine devotion.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Markley, ‘Laughing That I May Not Weep,’ p. 107.

³⁰⁵ Markley, ‘Laughing That I May Not Weep,’ p. 107.

³⁰⁶ Markley, ‘Laughing That I May Not Weep,’ p. 107.



Figure 21 "Francis I and his Sister" (Keepsake 1830).

Conclusion

Looking back at these stories and engravings, it is understandable that Ledbetter believes that although giftbooks were known to be safe to read, they were actually not. The stories mentioned included elopement, illegitimacy, mistrust, acting against parents' wishes, and death. As not all of these themes could be analysed in detail, this chapter has looked at two different themes: the role of women and the past, and has tried to give a variety of descriptions of engravings as well as their textual counterpart. A third theme has been identified: the orient, but in order to avoid repetition this theme is going to be dealt with in the next chapter.

Nevertheless, looking at the outcome of the stories and the symbolic meaning of the engravings chosen, one recognizes that both have educational character. As Harries argues different from conduct literature which were teaching tools implied to teach girls to be ideal mothers and wives, literary annuals depicted guiding principles.³⁰⁷ The characters are punished for their bad behaviour and have to assume the responsibility of their actions. Consequently, the nineteenth-century reader understands the negative outcome of this type of behaviour and avoids acting in the same manner. Story and engraving therefore take on an educational character. As this section has however shown the educational value of the engravings does not only lie in their symbolism; on the contrary, the new engraving techniques made expensive paintings available for the middle class of the nineteenth century and were thus an important element of self-cultivation. Gabriel P. Weisberg and Laurinda S. Dixon mention Samuel Griswold Goodrich who was editor of the *Token* (1828-1841) in *The Documented Image*. Goodrich believed that the literary annuals stimulated demand for this species of luxury,

³⁰⁷ Harris, 'Feminizing the Textual Body,' pp. 588-589.

but in fact exalting the general standard of taste all over the civilized world.³⁰⁸

Furthermore, Goodrich was convinced that:

[...] the annuals made high quality reproductions of both American and several centuries of European art readily available to a generation of Americans that might otherwise never been exposed to it at all.³⁰⁹

Prior to the literary annuals, it was difficult to see original paintings, as very few art galleries existed in the nineteenth century. It was, however, common for people to visit the residences of the upper-classes in order to see their houses and their paintings. Most paintings were in possession of the upper-classes as they commissioned famous artists to paint. Paula Feldman notes that the *Keepsake* ‘allowed ordinary people to own high quality reproductions of significant works of art.’³¹⁰ Thus, literary annuals facilitated the circulation of paintings, as ‘they carried engravings of paintings by the most highly respected artists’ and therefore inspired many readers to form better taste.³¹¹ The prints have also added to the popularity and to the sales of the literary annuals, as it became possible to own a painting at an affordable price.

The literary annuals market was very competitive and it was not surprising that editors tried to make their offerings stand out from the crowd. That is why some proprietors would create a sub-genre and use certain themes for their giftbooks. Hence comic annuals which included humorous puns, religious annuals which dealt with subjects appropriate for missionaries and travel annuals which included literary description of foreign countries were

³⁰⁸ Samuel Griswold Goodrich, *Recollection of a Lifetime* (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856), p. 261, quoted in Gabriel P. Weisberg and Laurinda S. Dixon, *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 25.

³⁰⁹ Weisberg and Dixon, p. 23.

³¹⁰ Feldman, ‘Introduction,’ p. 7.

³¹¹ Feldman, ‘Introduction,’ p. 7.

born. The following chapter will examine the final category; travel annuals. More precisely *The Oriental Annual* (1834-1840) and *The Bengal Annual* (1830-1834). The following chapter will show a different execution of the stories from the *Keepsake* tales.

Chapter 4: A New Interest in Foreign Cultures: Orientalism

Oriental themes were very popular in the nineteenth century and many editors of annuals took the interest in the Orient to their advantage and included it in their volumes. The editors and authors benefitted from stories from distant countries because popular works by Byron, Moore and others had led many readers to become interested in everything foreign. Some of such stories have already been discussed in the previous chapters but this section will look more closely at the oriental element of those *Keepsake* stories. Furthermore, many editors tried to catch the buyer's eye, and as a consequence different travel annuals with oriental themes came into existence. This chapter will thus focus on two different travel annuals, *The Oriental* and the *Bengal Annual* and discuss how they differ and what themes they both take on.

The translation of *The Arabian Nights* (1706) into French by Monsieur Gallant was one of the biggest influences on the West and its perception of the Orient. During the reigns of Queen Anne and George I, the western world became very interested in Arab fairy tales and the wonders of the East.¹ In the middle of the nineteenth century, this fascination for the Orient was still omnipresent. Edward Said argues in *Orientalism* that 'the Orient was almost a European invention' and that it was considered as 'a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, [and] remarkable experiences.'² Whether writer, painter or philosopher, amateur or professional; everyone was interested in the East and was thus

¹ Andrew Lang, *Arabian Nights* (London: Longman, Green, 1951), pp. 5-6.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), p. 1.

affected by what Said has called a ‘virtual epidemic.’³ Even Napoleon Bonaparte wrote ‘I must go to the Orient; all great reputations have been won there. [...]. The Orient awaits a man!’⁴ Orientalism had become a fascination; ‘a treasure-house of learning’ and thus many people studied everything Asiatic.⁵

In early nineteenth-century culture the Orient became synonymous with the exotic and mysterious. Consequently, writers such as William Beckford and Thomas Moore perused every book they could lay their hands on in order to be able to depict the East in an accurate manner. In Byron’s notes to his complete works, for example, he notes that he was indebted to the accurate descriptions included in Beckford’s *Vathek* (1786):

I do not know from what source the author of that singular volume may have drawn his materials; [...]; but for correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination, it far surpasses all European imitations; and bears such marks of originality, that those who have visited the East will find some difficulty in believing it to be more than a translation.⁶

According to Mohammed Sharafuddin, Moore got his information from more than 80 different works dealing with Oriental culture and customs. This does not only hold true for writers but for artists too. Painters such as Antoine-Jean Gros and Eugène Delacroix used Oriental objects and accessories in their studios to paint as if from nature.⁷ The result was a ‘quest for authenticity’ in both writing and painting that tried to depict the ‘real’ Orient.⁸

³ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 51.

⁴ Michael B. Colegrove, *Distant Voices: Listening to the Leadership Lessons of the Past* (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2005), p. 91.

⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 51.

⁶ Lord George Gordon Byron, *The Complete Works of Lord Byron* (Paris: Baudry’s Foreign Library, 1832), p. 262.

⁷ Christine Peltre, *Orientalism in Art*, trans. John Tr. Goodman (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998), p. 70.

⁸ Peltre, p. 80.

A second group of writers and painters headed to the Orient to experience in person its culture and people. They included Lord Byron and Isaac Morier among the writers and David Roberts, Sir David Wilkie and William Holman Hunt among the painters.⁹ Both groups aimed to depict the ‘absolute truth.’¹⁰ The result was, however, two different perspectives: the Orient as magical, exotic, mysterious and novel or as alien, dangerous, barbaric and infectious.

A good example of this barbaric version of the East is Eugène Delacroix’s ‘The Death of Sardanapal’ (1827).¹¹ The painting depicts the story of Sardanapalus, an Oriental King of Antiquity, who ordered the execution of all his women, slaves and horses. Nothing and no one that had been a source of pleasure for the king was supposed to survive him and all were burnt on a pyre in order to make amends for his military defeat. Delacroix’ work was designed to shock the audience of the Parisian Academy, where it was exhibited. Thus Gilles Néret states that ‘Delacroix inclines to *terribilitas*; his imagination too dwells on images of dread. From *The Massacre of Chios* to *The Death of Sardanapalus*, the tragic visions of Delacroix portray horror unequalled even in the Sistine Chapel.’¹² The 392 x 496 cm canvas shows utter chaos: in the upper left hand corner, the king is overlooking the massacre; a concubine is lying senseless on the bed. In the bottom right, a naked woman is being stabbed by a man and on the left a black slave is pulling a richly decorated white horse. Although the figures are scattered, the people are united in pairs. Colourful objects, including cloth and

⁹ Nicholas Tromans, ed., *The Lure of the East – British Orientalist Painting* (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), p. 14.

¹⁰ Tromans, p. 14.

¹¹ Eugène Delacroix, “Death of Sardanapalus,” Louvre, Paris, accessed on 10 Sept. 2011 <www.uh.edu/engines/romanticism/sardanapal.jpg>.

¹² Gilles Néret, *Eugène Delacroix, 1798-1863: The Prince of Romanticism* (Köln: Taschen, 2004), p. 7.

jewellery, are spread all over the painting.¹³ Different from Wilkie, Delacroix used props and costumes that were not from the same region: an Egyptian carafe stands on a table; a servant wears an Indian or Turkish headgear and the Moor in the foreground appears to be wearing an Egyptian hat.¹⁴ Lynne Thornton states that many artists owned large collections of Oriental objects, carpets, textiles and works of art, but since the artist did not always know the dates or origin of their objects, this ignorance led in certain cases to anachronisms.¹⁵ Therefore, Delacroix's representation is of an Orient which was not regionally specified; it consists of a place somewhere outside Europe; a place of tales and dreams.¹⁶ The critics and the academy were shocked by this representation of eroticism and death and he did not sell any paintings for the next five years.¹⁷

Almost forty years later, the Orient still kept its mysterious and exotic charm. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's painting of a harem, 'The Turkish Bath' (1863) was commissioned in 1848 and delivered a few years later in 1859.¹⁸ As the empress was shocked by the result, Ingres reworked it until 1863.¹⁹ The painting represents dozens of naked women

¹³Louvre, Paris, accessed on 7 October 2011

<www.louvre.fr/llv/activite/detail_parours.jsp?CURRENT_LL_V_PARCOURS%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673389836&CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673390018&CURRENT_LL_V_CHEMINEMENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673390018&bmLocale=en>.

¹⁴ Rose-Marie and Rainer Hagen, *Meisterwerke im Detail – Bildbefragungen* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 2000), p. 383.

¹⁵ Lynne Thornton, *The Orientalists Painter – Travellers* (Paris: ACR Poche Couleur, 1994), p. 13.

¹⁶ Hagen, p. 383.

¹⁷ Hagen, p. 385.

¹⁸ Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, "The Turkish Bath," 1863, Louvre, Paris, accessed on 11 September 2012 <www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/turkish-bath>.

Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique. "Small Bather. Interior of a Harem," Louvre, Paris.

<http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=15346&langue=en>.

Ingres was inspired by Oriental scenes. He had already painted similar such as "La Grande Odalisque" (1814) incorporating Oriental theme and decor. The painting entitled, "Small Bather. Interior of a Harem" (1828), for example, was a reduced version of the former.

¹⁹Louvre, Paris, accessed on 7 Oct. 2010 <www.louvre.fr/llv/oeuvres/>.

gathered around a pool. They are lying and sitting on sofas in different poses, drinking tea, chatting, and dozing. In the foreground, a woman, who has her back turned towards the viewer, is playing the lute, whereas another is dancing in the background to the music. The woman with the lute has her head turned to the right, looking at a woman, caressing the breast of another sitting close to her. The shape of the canvas adds to the exoticism and the mysticism of the Orient. The painting was originally square, but later transformed into a tondo, a circular painting.²⁰ This image plays on the Western fantasy of the harem. The round aspect of the canvas gives the impression of the painter peeking through the keyhole of a door into a forbidden space. This makes the whole scene even more mystic, erotic and forbidden. Joan DelPlato has stated that the harem had an appeal for the nineteenth-century public in Britain and in France,²¹ mainly due to the fact that people were intrigued by the concept of having multiple wives and what it implies. Michel Foucault wrote in his *History of Sexuality* that in the nineteenth century, sex was not only perceived as ‘pleasure of the experience but as a pleasure enhanced by the telling and revealing of it.’²² Consequently, the image of the harem was interesting, as the ‘pleasure of telling or revealing the truth about the harem comes from speaking about what was thought to be unspoken.’²³

The barbaric and infectious Orient could not only be found in paintings. Thomas De Quincey’s *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821), for example, describes his addiction to opium and the horrid dreams that it produces. In May 1818, for instance, he portrays his dreams with an Oriental theme that took place in Egypt, China and India. Before De Quincey discloses the content of these dreams, he must prepare the reader:

²⁰ Hagen, p. 413.

²¹ Joan DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasure – Representing the Harem, 1800-1875* (Cranbury: Rosemont Publishing, 2002), p. 19.

²² DelPlato, p. 25.

²³ DelPlato, pp. 25-26.

The causes of my horror lie deep, and some of them must be common to others. Southern Asia in general is the seat of awful images and associations. [...] No man can pretend that the wild, barbarous, and capricious superstitions of Africa, or of savage tribes elsewhere, affect him in the way that he is affected by the ancient, monumental, cruel, and elaborate religions of Indostan, &c. [...]. I could sooner live with lunatics or brute animals. All this, and much more than I can say or have time to say, the reader must enter into before he can comprehend the unimaginable horror which these dreams of Oriental imagery and mythological tortures impressed upon me.²⁴

Attacked by wild creatures, birds, beasts and reptiles; savaged, hunted and locked in by the natives, the dreams that troubled De Quincey were not spiritual terrors, but dreams in which he felt physical horrors; ‘All before had been moral and spiritual terrors. But here the main agents were ugly birds, or snakes, or crocodiles; especially the last. The cursed crocodile became to me the object of more horror than almost all the rest.’²⁵ De Quincey’s dreams thus project what Loomba terms ‘European fears of contamination.’²⁶ Furthermore, according to Loomba, ‘it was Islam that functioned as the predominant binary opposite of and threat to Christianity.’²⁷ Therefore, in the nineteenth century, the fears which are depicted in De Quincey’s dreams were present in society, along with the excitement for new cultures.

Literary texts represent this excitement by depicting the Orient as a magical, exotic, mysterious and novel place. Thomas Moore’s *Lalla Rookh* (1817), for example, helped the

²⁴ Thomas De Quincey, "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater." [Project Gutenberg eBook](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2040/2040-h/2040-h.htm). Transcript. David Price, accessed on 8 Oct. 2010 <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2040/2040-h/2040-h.htm>>.

²⁵ De Quincey, accessed on 8 Oct. 2010 <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2040/2040-h/2040-h.htm>>.

²⁶ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism – Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 115.

²⁷ Loomba, p. 106.

reader to learn more about the Orient.²⁸ In order to make his work more reliable and introduce real aspects from the East, Moore introduced detailed explanations from respected authorities in the footnotes. In this text Moore uses a prose narrative frame to surround four successive tales in verse. The daughter of the emperor Aurungzebe, Lalla Rookh is on her way from Delhi to Cashmere in order to marry Aliris, the son of Abdalla, abdicated King of the Lesser Bucharria. On her journey, she is accompanied by the handsome poet Feramorz who tells four successive tales in order to entertain the entourage on their trip. She falls in love with the poet and finds out upon her arrival that Aliris was Feramorz in disguise. Hence, Moore's Orient is different from that of De Quincey. He describes, on the one hand, the nuptials, roses, cavalcade, beautiful scenery, perfumed fountains and Eastern customs that a nineteenth-century audience was interested in. On the other hand, one should not overlook Moore's political message set in the Eastern context; combining the tensions of Ireland with Oriental Romanticism. Joseph Lennon argues therefore that 'Moore does not treat the Orient as an escape or pilgrimage for curious Europeans; rather, he seeks a symbolic 'home' in the Orient to illustrate the double struggle of nationality in Ireland.'²⁹ According to Lynn L. Sharp, displeasure with their own society made certain writers look for other cultures in order to criticise their own.³⁰ Nevertheless, not all readers were able to decode the hidden anti-colonial message of *Lalla Rookh* and understood it instead as an 'escape or pilgrimage for curious Europeans.'³¹

²⁸ Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance*, 1890 (New Delhi: Rupa, 2002).

²⁹ Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008), p.158.

³⁰ Lynn L. Sharp, *Secular Spirituality: Reincarnation and Spiritism in Nineteenth-Century France* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2006), p. 10.

³¹ Lennon, p. 158.

Therefore, Byron famously advised Moore in 1813 that he should ‘Stick to the East.’³² Byron recommended that his friend write Oriental stories because ‘The North, South, and West, have all been exhausted; but from the East we have nothing but S***’s unsaleables [...]’.³³ He was sure that ‘the public was orientalising,’ and believed that those writings ‘[could not] fail, as long as the exotic imported commodities [were] somewhat tailored to domestic tastes.’³⁴ This means, in other words, that even though the authors tried to render the East accurately, they were writing first and foremost for a British audience. For example, Gallant made some changes to the translation of *The Arabian Nights*. As Andrew Lang notes:

[He] dropped out the poetry and a great deal of what the Arabian authors thought funny, though it seems wearisome to [them]. In this book the stories are shortened here and there, and omissions are made of pieces only suitable for Arabs and old gentlemen.³⁵

The interest of European contemporaries in the East resulted in serious research and works on, for example, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and India.³⁶ Michael J. Franklin argues that Sir William Jones’ contributions changed his contemporaries’ taste ‘by introducing the Other as unfamiliar but not alien.’³⁷ In order to avoid offending metropolitan tastes and hence creating

³² Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East – Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 13.

³³ Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, p.13.

³⁴ Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, p.13.

³⁵ Lang, pp. 6-7.

³⁶ Kenneth W. Graham, ed., *Vathek – With The Episodes of Vathek* (Petersborough: Broadview Press, 2001), p. 375.

³⁷ Michael J. Franklin, “Accessing India: Orientalism, anti-‘Indianism’ and the rhetoric of Jones and Burke,” ed. Tim Fulford and Peter J. Kitson, *Romanticism and Colonialism Writing and Empire, 1780-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 59.

prejudice rather than dispelling it, Jones omitted ‘only those passages [from Arabian texts], which are too luxuriant and too bold for an [sic] *European* taste.’³⁸

Sir William Jones (1746–1794) was a judge and a specialist in oriental subjects and, by 1768, was known by his contemporaries as an expert on Persian and Arabic languages. Alan Jones has stated that Jones was for a long time undervalued as an Arabist and this underestimation persisted well into the twentieth century.³⁹ Jones learnt Hebrew, the Arabic script as well as Persian while he was at university. He was able with the help of diverse grammars and *The Arabian Nights* to ‘turn[...] himself into a scholar of Arabic.’⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Jones’ knowledge about Arabia was limited and appears to be based more on visual than oral evidence.⁴¹ Dorothy Matilda Figueira states that Jones was interested in languages as a key to Arabic culture and that language was his major interest as a humanist scholar.⁴² His first seven publications dealt only with those two languages.

When Jones travelled to India, however, his publications ceased, but he ‘addressed [nevertheless] many papers to the Asiatick [sic] Society of Bengal.’⁴³ Jones’ translations became quite popular even outside the world of scholarship and he influenced Goethe and Rückert in their writings. According to Alan Jones, Jones can be considered as the ‘father of our studies of Arabic poetry.’⁴⁴ The work of Jones and other Orientalist scholars suggests something of the complex nature of writing about ‘the East’ during this period.

³⁸ Franklin, pp. 61-62.

³⁹ Alexander Murray, ed., *Sir William Jones, 1746-1794: a commemoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 69.

⁴⁰ Murray, *Sir William Jones*, p. 69.

⁴¹ Murray, *Sir William Jones*, p. 70.

⁴² Dorothy Matilda Figueira, *Translating the Orient: The Reception of Sakuntala in Nineteenth Century Europe* (New York: Suny Press, 1991), p. 25.

⁴³ Murray, *Sir William Jones*, p. 75.

⁴⁴ Murray, *Sir William Jones*, p. 80.

In the nineteenth century, there were still many uncharted parts in the world and many European travelers were motivated to fill those blanks.⁴⁵ With the improvement of mobility and the spread of the railway, journeys were facilitated, and trips to European countries were replaced by more distant places. One major reason to travel and to be interested in the East was, however, colonialism and imperialism. According to Deirdre Coleman, ‘the British nation saw itself as the exporter of ‘civilization,’’⁴⁶ which is why those countries which were ‘deemed ‘backward’ or undeveloped’ needed their ‘systems of governance.’⁴⁷ Consequently, as every non-European was considered backward, the British had to help improve their ways.

This was, however, not the only reason why people were interested in the Orient. It further helped to stimulate people’s imagination. Faraway places were perceived as exotic and erotic locations, and according to Pallavi Pandit Laisram, the East ‘was regarded as one long Arabian Night, sensuous and luxurious, a land where dreams come true.’⁴⁸ As Patrick Brantlinger argues, in the nineteenth-century imagination ‘India is a realm of imaginative license, [...] a place where the fantastic becomes possible in ways that are carefully circumscribed at home.’⁴⁹ It appears in unexpected places such as Elizabeth Gaskell’s novel *Cranford* (1851-1853) which illustrates the imaginative powers the colonies could have on contemporaries. In this particular writing, Peter Jenkyns returns to Cranford after living many years in India. He tells the ladies ‘wonderful stories’ which are better than ‘Sinbad the Sailor’ and he was ‘quite as good as an Arabian Night.’⁵⁰ Mary Smith, the narrator of the story was

⁴⁵ Tim Youngs, ed., *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), p. 2.

⁴⁶ Deirdre Coleman, “Post-Colonialism,” *Romanticism - An Oxford Guide*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 238.

⁴⁷ Coleman, p. 238.

⁴⁸ Pallavi Pandit Laisram, *Viewing the Islamic Orient* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 12.

⁴⁹ Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness – British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 13.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Gaskell, *Cranford* (London: MacMillan, 1892), p. 286.

amazed how the stories evolved: ‘I found that, if we swallowed an anecdote of tolerable magnitude one week, we had the dose considerably increased the next, I began to have my doubt.’⁵¹

Jenkyns treats the Orient in exactly the manner Said describes in *Orientalism*; he ‘capture[d] it, treat[ed] it, describe[d] it, improve[d] it, [and] radically alter[ed] it.’⁵² However, the descriptions used to inspire, were not always the most positive ones. And also, many writers, including Coleridge and De Quincey, described negative stereotypes of the East in their writings and created what Said called an ‘imaginative geography,’ with ‘irrationality, superstition, cruelty, sexual perversion, and effeminacy.’⁵³

Consequently, there are different factors that a European reader would be interested in and hence a large number of travel accounts and Oriental fiction written in the nineteenth century can be found, providing different views to a curious reader. Indeed, Carl Thompson has suggests that most literate individuals of that time would have read a certain number of travel accounts, and that is why these writings had already had a ‘profound effect on British culture in the Romantic period.’⁵⁴ By stimulating the imagination of writers and readers, these travel writings ‘shaped fundamentally the consciousness of the age.’⁵⁵

⁵¹ Gaskell, p. 286.

⁵² Said, *Orientalism*, p. 54.

⁵³ Coleman, p. 247; Said, *Orientalism*, p. 95.

⁵⁴ Carl Thompson, ‘Travel Writing,’ *Romanticism - An Oxford Guide*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 556.

⁵⁵ Thompson, ‘Travel Writing,’ p.556.

Travel Annuals and the Orient

During the annual boom in the 1820s, many publishers tried to bring out new gift books that would suit the market's tastes. The numbers of literary annuals available increased steadily, and in 1831 readers had the choice between sixty-two different giftbooks.⁵⁶ Hence, the editors, proprietors and publishers had to find different ways to attract their readers and for this reason different sub-genres emerged. Harry E. Hootman listed five different sub-categories, which are anthology annuals, comic annuals, juvenile annuals, religious annuals and travel annuals.⁵⁷ Bradford Allen Booth, however, refers to a wider range of nineteenth-century annuals and additionally named landscape, historical, missionary, military and naval, geographical, musical, botanical, Oriental, Continental, and children's annuals.⁵⁸ Other categories which emerged later such as the anti-slavery annuals. These sub-categories are not much explored and only a limited amount of critical discussion relating to them has been undertaken. Feldman for example devotes a chapter of her thesis to comic annuals, James Davies refers to a musical annual in his article 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,' and Ralph Thompson has discussed anti-slavery annuals in 'The Liberty Bell and Other Anti-Slavery Gift-Books.'⁵⁹

The previous chapter has already referred to the popularity of Oriental themes and landscapes with the nineteenth-century audience. Leask agrees and states that Moore received 3,000 guineas in advance for his narrative poem *Lalla Rookh* and by 1841, it had already

⁵⁶ Bradford Allen Booth, ed., *A Cabinet of Gems – Short Stories from the English Annuals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938), p. 6.

⁵⁷ Harry E. Hootman, accessed on 28 Jan. 2008 <www.britannuals.com/mes/mesp1-2.php?siteID=britannuals&pageref=2&pw=>.

⁵⁸ Booth, *A Cabinet of Gems*, p. 6.

⁵⁹ Ralph Thompson, "The Liberty Bell and Other Anti-Slavery Gift-Books," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March, 1934).

gone through twenty editions.⁶⁰ For this reason, the oriental tale soon became a feature of many annuals of this time period. For example, the *Keepsake* regularly included two or more Eastern tales and orientalist engravings to respond to public taste. Therefore this chapter will focus on travel annuals. There were, according to Hootman, four different titles available; the *Bengal Annual* (1830-1837),⁶¹ *Heath's Picturesque Annual* (1832-1845), the *Landscape Annual* (1830-1839) and the *Oriental Annual* (1834-1840). This chapter will focus on some of the oriental stories reproduced in the *Keepsake* and on two different series, the *Bengal* and the *Oriental Annual*, representing India and Bengal. Both annuals are of interest because although they are part of the literary annual genre, they are, nevertheless, very different to the *Keepsake* series.

The Oriental Stories in the *Keepsake*

The *Keepsake* included a large number of Orientalist contributions throughout its publication years. Looking at the dispersion of the oriental writings in the *Keepsake*, one can detect that poetry was clearly favoured over prose. Titles for oriental poems include 'The Night of the Neckar'(1828), 'Rebecca'(1828), 'The Repentance of Nineveh'(1832), 'The Favourite Flower'(1836), 'The First'(1838) and 'Zuleikha'(1838).⁶² Examples of oriental

⁶⁰ Nigel Leask, 'East,' *Romanticism - An Oxford Guide*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 135.

⁶¹ Hootman states that the *Bengal Annual* was published between 1830 and 1834, but the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* refers to Richardson being the editor of the *Bengal Annual* from 1830 until 1837.

⁶² "The Night of the Neckar," *The Keepsake for 1828*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1827), pp. 136-137; "Rebecca," *The Keepsake for 1828*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, 1827), pp. 216-217 ; Ralph Bernal, "The Repentance of Nineveh," *The Keepsake for 1832*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831), pp. 159-161 ; The Honorable Mrs. Norton, "The Favourite Flower," *The Keepsake for 1836*, ed. The Honorable Mrs. Norton (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1835), pp. 75-76; "The First," *The Keepsake for 1838*, ed. Frederic

prose are for example ‘Costandi – A Tale of the Levant’(1830), ‘The Faithful Servant’(1830), ‘The Evil Eye’(1830) and ‘Niluphar, the Hindu Girl’(1836). Even though oriental poems exceed the number of prose texts, the following chapter concentrates on the short stories in order to provide a better method of comparison with stories in the different annuals. The questions that arise are: How is the Orient depicted in the *Keepsake*; is it a mysterious or/and a barbarian East? Do the authors really tailor the stories to their readers’ tastes and what do we find out about the East? The following discussion will therefore show that the authors provided a combined depiction of the East, in which some stories are mysterious and others barbaric. As stories were used to explain the missionary mission, it becomes clear that certain elements were modified in order to justify intrusion into foreign lands.

The *Keepsake for 1830* includes a short story ‘By the Author of *Hajji Baba*’ called ‘Costandi – A Tale of the Levant.’ The writer behind the novel, fully entitled *Adventures of Hajji Baba of Isphahan* (1824), was James Morier. He was born in Smyrna, to Isaac Morier, who was a consul-general of the Levant Company at Constantinople. As a diplomatic envoy of the British government, Morier travelled to many different countries and in his retirement was inspired by his travels and thus started his writing career publishing two travel accounts, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor* (1812) and *A Second Journey* (1818).⁶³ Morier is, however, better known for his oriental novels, such as the above mentioned *Hajji Baba*. Graeme Harper notes that ‘[t]hroughout the nineteenth century, and beyond, [...] numerous readers described *Hajji Baba* as an authoritative depiction of Persia and its people, endorsing the claim [...] that it was ‘*le livre le meilleur qui ait été écrit sur le temperament*

Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1837), pp.19-20; and “Zuleikha,” *The Keepsake for 1838*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1837), pp. 85-86.

⁶³ Stanley Lane-Poole and Elizabeth Baigent, “Morier, James Justinian (1782–1849).” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

d'une nation asiatique."⁶⁴ Furthermore, Harper has claimed that *Hajji Baba* 'was repeatedly seized upon as evidence of an essential and unchanging Persian character, and privileged as a source of information about the East in general.'⁶⁵ It is therefore not surprising that Morier should write short stories for literary annuals, as he was, like Scott and Shelley, a very popular writer at that time.

In 'Costandi - A Tale of the Levant,' Costandi meets Dilber and falls in love with her. However, there seems to be no happy ending for them as Costandi is Christian and Dilber Muslim. In a classic Orientalist scene, Costandi breaks into the harem to see her and is caught by the guards. Costandi decides to convert to Islam in order to escape decapitation. He changes his mind later and Dilber's father Mustapha helps him to flee. Costandi decides to return to see what has become of them. He finds out that Mustapha is dead and that his whole family awaits the same fate. He rescues them and takes them to Greece where they live happily ever after. This tale makes a clear distinction between both cultures and worlds; Costandi, the Greek and Mustapha, the Muslim. The text makes the reader feel sympathy with Costandi because he is first of all the hero of the story and secondly, he is most like them; a devout Christian. Indeed at the very beginning of the story, the audience are told that Costandi 'had imbibed a proper share of hatred for the Turks and the Mahomedans in general' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 103). On the one hand, this allows Morier to establish a contrast between 'us' (Costandi and the European nineteenth-century reader) and 'them' (Mustapha and 'the Eastern Other') that is typical of Orientalist discourse. According to Said, the West has always been defined with the help of the East and its contrasting image, its different ideas, its contrastive personality and experience.⁶⁶ As a consequence the European reader has

⁶⁴ Translation: '[It is] the best book that could be found describing the temperament of Asians.' [Graeme Harper, ed. *Comedy, Fantasy and Colonialism* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 59.]

⁶⁵ Harper, p. 59.

⁶⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 2.

a preconceived idea of ‘a familiar space which is ‘ours’ and an unfamiliar space beyond ‘ours’ which is ‘theirs;’ the land of the civilized versus ‘the land of the barbarians.’⁶⁷ On the other hand, however, this tale reveals that even though Costandi’s parents have drummed this prejudice into their son, there is the possibility of change.

Costandi is sent by his father to sea in order to keep him away from the war. On docking in Smyrna, however, he sees a smaller boat capsized and instinctively dives into the water to save its passengers. Amongst those he saves are the wife, daughter and son of Mustapha, ‘one of the principal ayâns, or head men [sic] of the city’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 106). As a consequence, Costandi is given access to their home and showered with presents by the thankful father. This scene suggests that even though, he was programmed to be prejudiced, this did not mean that he doubted whether he should save those passengers or not: ‘He did not wait to ponder whether they were Christians or Mussulmans, whether he ought or could save them, but at once giving way to the generosity of his nature, he plunged headlong into the sea’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 104). This illustration is needed in order to depict Costandi as a good Christian and to show that he acts accordingly and in a way he is supposed to. He is thus a valid representative of Christian faith. Later on, Mustapha was very thankful, even though he knows that Costandi was a *giaour*, an infidel and an unbeliever and he believes that ‘it would have been better had [Costandi] been an Osmanli’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 108). It is important to note here that Mustapha turns the Orientalist discourse upside down by transforming Costandi into the other. This means in other words that Mustapha changed the superiority-inferiority perception of the West towards the East, in favour of the East and negatively towards the West.

⁶⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 53.

The story does not end here, however, and it does not come as a surprise that Costandi falls for Mustapha's daughter, Dilber. During the story, he does everything he can to see her again. The nineteenth-century reader understands that this might be risky for the hero, because 'He was too young and inexperienced to be aware of the danger which awaited any man, be he true believer or infidel, who might venture to intrude himself upon the mysteries of the harem, and he therefore did not cease devising modes of seeing this lovely object of his ardent affection' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 107). Unsurprisingly, during one of his secret visits to Giber's private chamber, Costandi is caught and brought to the pacha's palace, where he is at once sentenced to death for his intrusion into the harem:

The pacha, without one word more, made a slight horizontal motion with his hand to a fierce fellow, with whiskers curling over his eyes, and with arms naked to the shoulder, which every one present knew meant instant decapitation, and then quietly turned round to continue his conversation (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 117).

The pacha's reaction might be shocking because he does not take his time to let Costandi explain his situation. He only needs to hear that the captured man is an infidel and is not under Frank protection in order to make his decision. Mohammed Sharafuddin states in *Islam and Romantic Orientalism* that 'Turkey was associated with absolute despotism, and this image coloured the West's whole perception of Islam.'⁶⁸ Despite some questioning of the notion of the Orientalist Other, this image of the harem and of Islamic tyranny repeats much that is familiar from other tales of the East. The cold and merciless pacha conformed to the idea of the Islamic tyrant and the image of 'the land of the barbarians' of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁸ Mohammed Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism – Literary Encounters with the Orient* (London: I.B Tauris Publishers, 1994), p. xx.

Fortunately, even among ‘the Other,’ there are some good-hearted people like ‘us,’ for the nineteenth century British audience. Mustapha recognizes his family’s saviour and tries to rescue him; Costandi has to choose between death and converting to Islam. As he is not ready to die, he decides to change his faith. He is brought to Mustapha’s home in order to be instructed in their religion. Keeping in mind, however, that Morier wrote this tale for a British audience and hence constructed it according to their tastes, it seems unlikely that Costandi would convert without having any second thoughts or doubts. During the nineteenth century, many missionaries travelled to different countries and tried to teach Christianity to the native people. Indeed, Costandi soon realizes that he is unable to convert and renounces Islam in front of Mustapha’s powerful friends. Mustapha helps him to flee to preserve him from death.

The story seems to have come to an end, but an epilogue changes the tragic ending into a happy one. Costandi and Dilber are married: the audience is told that ‘not very long after they became man and wife, [they] lived happily in a remote bay of one of the Greek islands.’ Costandi has returned and heard that Dilber’s father has been prosecuted and has died shortly after. He decides to save Dilber and her mother from a similar fate and takes them back home ‘to migrate to unknown and infidel countries’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 125). This rescue has been understood by contemporary readers as, what Spivak calls, a typical case of ‘White [men] saving brown women from brown men.’⁶⁹ It is clear that Spivak refers to brown instead of white women and their colonizers. In this story, both characters are white, as Costandi is Greek and Dilber is Turkish. Nevertheless, skin colour can be converted into another element: religion. Costandi is Christian whereas Dilber is Muslim. The reader would recognize Costandi as the representative of his or her own religion, who like a missionary

⁶⁹ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 287.

tries to convert people. Therefore, the white Christian man saves the Muslim women from other Muslim men.

Mother and daughter soon realise that these infidels are very 'kind, generous, and brave' people; 'all they could wish for' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 125). Although the conclusion to this tale is surprising, as Costandi gets his way, this utopian ending shows the power of the West over the East. This is stressed by the fact that after the death of Mustapha's wife, Dilber converts to Christianity: 'He respected their religious feelings; but, at the death of his wife's mother, it is also added, that Dilber adopted the faith of her husband, and became a shining pattern of Christian excellence' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 125). This conclusion suggests that Costandi is unable to change his faith as it is the only 'right' one. By contrast, Dilber, however, can easily convert and as a consequence is saved. Thus this is one example which shows that the writings were 'tailored to domestic tastes.'⁷⁰ Furthermore, those types of stories justified intrusion into different countries as the 'white man' has to save the foreign women from a terrible fate.

Throughout the story, the reader gets information about the Islamic ways of life; describing not only the barbarous and dangerous Orient, but a mysterious and exotic East. Lucky circumstances and coincidences allow Costandi to enter the Eastern world and experience moments that were difficult for outsiders to see. When he saves Dilber, her veil falls and he is able to see her beautiful face:

[...] he fixed on her in preference to the other two, owing to her veil dropping off, which exhibited to his eyes a face of the most extraordinary attractions. Although the colour was fast vanishing from her cheek, [...], still she was lovelier than any thing he had ever seen; but when she

⁷⁰ Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, p. 13.

gradually came to herself, her beautiful eyes opening upon the enraptured gaze of her deliverer' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 104).

This is another instance in which the text repeats rather than questions Orientalist discourse. Many Western travellers who visited the Orient wanted to see Eastern women and experience the harem. Unfortunately this was not possible, because the entrance of western men was prohibited. In Sir Richard Francis Burton's travel journal, one can find an inscription stating that during his stay in Hamid's house, he was not able to see every room: 'The kitchen is on the second floor, which I did not inspect, it being as usual occupied by the Harem.'⁷¹ Furthermore, James Morier described in *A Second Journey through Persia* (1818) the consequences it could have for men to enter a seraglio:

One of our Serjeants [sic] going to the camp, having arrived too late at the gate, went to the Governor's house to seek the key. He enquired for the Governor, and was informed that he was within; he proceeded, and unknowingly found himself on a sudden in the harem, in the midst of many women, who shrieked out when they saw him, and sought to hide themselves. He there felt himself assailed by numerous weapons, that were directed at him by a man, as well as by the women; and finding himself closely pressed, he aimed a blow at the former, which alighted upon his mouth. The sufferer proved to be the Governor in person, and who, in this attack, asserted that he had lost two teeth. Remonstrances were instantly made to the Ambassador for this intrusion of one of his countrymen into a spot so sacred to a Persian, but the whole business

⁷¹ Sir Richard Francis Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1856), p. 188.

was very good-naturedly forgiven, as soon as an explanation had been made that the serjeant [sic] had erred through ignorance alone.⁷²

This passage clearly shows that foreigners were not tolerated. Although, the sergeant unknowingly entered the forbidden chambers, the Governor and his followers were ready to attack him to protect their space. According to Reina Lewis, due to the fact that male writers did not have access to the harem, they often used quotations of female travel accounts in order to depict the prohibited space.⁷³ That is why, according to Lewis:

Western women had for two centuries been doing their best to sate the appetite of a Western readership curious about harem life. Their ability to have actually seen the space forbidden to Western men gave their books a unique selling point and they worked it.⁷⁴

Demetra Vaka Brown, who visited a seraglio at the beginning of the twentieth century, wrote that she had a pleasant time with the women of the harem. She only observed one difference between a household from the West and the East: ‘Except for the absence of men I might almost have been visiting an American household.’⁷⁵ Those examples clearly show that foreign men were not allowed to visit a harem. According to Mary Roberts, the fact that harems were real places that European men were banned from made the fantasy even more appealing and tempting.⁷⁶ Hence it is surprising that Costandi could make his way into the

⁷² James Justinian Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armeni and Asia Minor* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), p. 226.

⁷³ Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p. 18.

⁷⁴ Lewis, p. 12.

⁷⁵ Demetra Vaka Brown, *Haremlik: some Pages from the Life of Turkish Women* (1909) (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2004), p. 28.

⁷⁶ Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 9.

women's chambers. Costandi is only welcomed by the mother because he has saved her and her children: 'she laid aside her Mahomedian scruples for a while, and welcomed Costandi as if he had been her own son' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 112). Nevertheless, he is not allowed to stay long because 'the rules of decorum being so imperative in a Mahomedian seraglio, that nothing [...] can break through them' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 112). Considering the different travel accounts, it seems unlikely that a man could ever enter a harem. In *Thirty Years in the Harem*, Malik-Khanam approved, however of this notion that sons can always enter the seraglio: 'It is true that for boys [their children] the case is different, because [they] have the power of going out, and [...] enter[ing] the harem when they please.'⁷⁷ Consequently, even though Costandi is not her 'real' son, since the rescue there is a bond between them and he is allowed to enter for a short time. The western world had always harboured a desire to get to know more about the harem and it was closely linked to what Mary Roberts, Reina Lewis and other critics call 'the harem fantasy.'⁷⁸ For Western people, the harem depicted a mystic, sexualised polygamous life. On the one hand, this was proof of the inferiority of the East, but on the other, however, it was a source of envy.⁷⁹ According to Eric Meyer, this was not only due to feminine sexuality but due to the indication of male 'hyperpotency,' as there is only one sheik and multiple wives.⁸⁰ Consequently, 'the East' becomes 'the obscure object of Western desire.'⁸¹ Nevertheless, the westerners not only believed the seraglio to represent sexuality and potency, but viewed it as a sign of despotism and entrapment from which the women were not able to escape. Roberts describes the travel experience of Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, who took a trip in 1869, in order to meet an Egyptian princess. Although

⁷⁷ Malik-Khanam, *Thirty Years in the Harem* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2005), p.219.

⁷⁸ Roberts, p. 9.

⁷⁹ Lewis, p. 98.

⁸⁰ Eric Meyer, 'I Know Thee not, I Loathe Thy Race': Romantic Orientalism in the Eye of the Other,' *ELH*, Vol. 58, No.3 (Autumn, 1991), p. 662.

⁸¹ Meyer, p. 668.

the princess was educated according to the European fashion and hence had learnt about liberty and freedom, Jerichau-Baumann doubted whether she was ever able to flee her entrapment within the harem.⁸² As a consequence, the description of Costandi's entry into the harem served to make the fantasy all the more enticing because he is able to see what westerners wanted to unveil themselves.

Costandi not only visits the harem once, but secretly revisits it and meets Dilber in her chambers. A notion of Orientalist femininity is therefore repeated when Dilber urges Costandi to leave her chamber: "Do not, I entreat you, remain here," said Dilber, [...] "should you be discovered, death would be your portion, and then your Dilber would die – she can only live for her deliverer" (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 114). This notion is also depicted in 'My Turkish Visit' (*Keepsake 1838*), which will be discussed in more detail at the end of this section. Aminèh wishes to die when her father forbids her to be with a French doctor. In a note to her lover she predicts her death: "The blossom has withered – the steam will not survive the morrow – and the unerring Stars will be obeyed" (*Keepsake 1838*, p. 44). According to Sharafuddin, Thomas Moore's work is very useful for understanding the role of women in Orientalist narrative. Sharafuddin believes that a characteristic of Moore's Islamic women was that 'whatever the devotion of the Islamic woman's lover, he always remains her master; once she falls in love with him, she yields up her mind and heart without restraint or qualification – to the point, indeed, of not wishing to survive his death or infidelity.'⁸³ In *Lalla Rookh*, Moore depicts therefore this notion in the story of the 'Paradise and the Peri,' in which an Egyptian girl dies of grief immediately after the death of her lover because she is

⁸² Roberts, p. 133.

⁸³ Sharafuddin, p. 185.

‘The one, the chosen one, whose place / ‘In life or death is by thy side.’⁸⁴ The girl further explains why she cannot live without him:

‘That I can live and let thee go,
‘Who art my life itself? --No, no--
‘When the stem dies the leaf that grew
‘Out of its heart must perish too!’⁸⁵

Although this conceit might look exaggerated, the girl, after giving one last kiss to her lover, also dies. These examples suggest that such women’s deaths are due to their own free will and are not imposed by men. This is a pre-stage of ‘sati,’ the widow sacrifice. An Indian notion confirms that death is the women’s free choice and hence that ‘the women wanted to die.’⁸⁶ This concept was difficult to accept for British colonizers and therefore they wanted to save such women from their fate and abolished widow sacrifice in 1829.⁸⁷ Sati is an important aspect of orientalism and is therefore treated in more detail at the end of this chapter. Writers such as Moore used this idea to depict a devoted woman willing to do anything for the man she loves.

Due to the harem fantasy, British readers expected that every Eastern man had several wives. When Costandi enters the seraglio the reader knows, however, that this is not the case in this harem. At the very beginning of the story, the reader learns that Mustapha has only one wife: ‘on the way he heard that the fair creature whom he had saved was called Dilber and [...] that the lady, her mother, was his [Mustapha’s] only wife’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 106). This example shows that Morier is keen to produce an Eastern figure who is like ‘us’ too. Even

⁸⁴ Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh – an Oriental Romance*, 1890 (New Delhi: Rupa, 2002), p. 186.

⁸⁵ Moore, *Lalla Rookh*, p. 187.

⁸⁶ Spivak, *Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, p. 283.

⁸⁷ Constanze Lemmerich, *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: The Question of Representation of the Subaltern in the Context of Neo-Colonialism and Globalization* (München: GRIN Verlag, 2008), p. 15.

though Mustapha is Muslim, he does not have many wives and as a consequence is similar to ‘us.’ Therefore the reader can expect him to do a certain amount of good deeds throughout the story, such as saving Costandi’s life. Thus ‘Costandi’ depicts several notions associated with Orientalism, such as the harem fantasy, despotism, the theme of the West dominating the East and the white man saving oriental women from harm. Thus, Morier depicts an Orientalist fantasy of the harem but at the same time illustrates Christian dominance over Islam. ‘Costandi’ therefore remains in the tradition of other Oriental stories and poems popular at this time, like Beckford’s *Vathek* (1786) and Byron’s ‘The Bride of Abydos’ (1813).

The second oriental tale included in the *Keepsake for 1830* is written ‘By the Author of *Frankenstein*.’ Mary Shelley’s ‘The Evil Eye,’ tells the story of Katusthius Ziani, who with the help of Dmitri, kidnaps Constans in order to get his hands back on his inheritance. Cyril and his father-in-law, however go after them to return the boy safely. Shelley depicts several notions of Orientalism in her tale, including abduction, rescues, murders and the evil eye. The theme of the evil eye is, for example, a leitmotif in the story. Other important oriental concepts are the use of different narrative techniques, such as meta-narratives and framing situations, and footnotes. Shelley’s story takes place in several faraway places; Corinth, Korvo, Vasilico, Albanian and Maina. According to Feldman, Shelley was inspired by Byron’s descriptions of Albania in *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1812-1818) and ‘the legends of ‘The Evil Eye’ that are commonplace in both Italy and Greece.’⁸⁸ There are many different versions of the legend but what they all have in common is that the person with the evil eye inflicts ill will upon the person that falls under his/her gaze.⁸⁹ In Shelley’s tale, it is

⁸⁸ Lucy Morrison, and Staci L. Stone, *A Mary Shelley Encyclopedia* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), p. 137.

⁸⁹ Morrison and Stone, p. 137.

Dmitri who possesses ‘The Evil Eye,’ and Shelley uses him to depict the frightening barbarian of the nineteenth-century British imagination:

[...] he grew ferocious and hard-hearted – he only smiled when engaged in dangerous enterprise; he had arrived at that worst state of ruffian feeling, the taking delight in blood. [...] men trembled before his glance, women and children exclaimed in terror, ‘The Evil Eye!’ (*Keepsake for 1830*, p. 152.)

Although he is feared by many people, Shelley suggests that this character is not that different from the rest of his community who are described as ‘savage’ and ‘despotic’ inhabitants of the ‘savage mountains’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 150). This description of the tyrant and the lands therefore fits into the idea of the barbaric, dangerous and evil Orient described earlier. Nevertheless, the narrator explains that Dmitri was not always like this and that his character had changed because he always had ‘a gentler disposition’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 151). The reason for this drastic character change was a tragic incident that occurred to his family while he was away; his wife Helena was killed and his daughter abducted during a raid by the Mainotes. Shelley further describes his former self as ‘distinguished,’ well-educated in European Art and able to ‘read and write Greek’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 151). Like Morier in ‘Costandi,’ Shelley describes a person who belongs to the category of ‘the Other’ but at the same time is still different from them, as Dmitri, for instance, had ‘more refined taste than is usual with his countrymen’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 151). Furthermore, the biggest difference between Dmitri and his own countrymen is his gentleman-like behaviour towards women: ‘The Albanians are characterized as despisers of women; but Dmitri, in becoming the husband of Helena, enlisted under a more chivalrous rule, and became the proselyte of a better creed’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 151). There is, however a difference between the characters

of Costandi and Dmitri. Even though both are described as civilized and (almost) European, Shelley suggests that Dmitri is not able to rid himself of his savage origins.

Furthermore, footnotes had been a common tool in short stories and novels since the publication of William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786). According to Kenneth W. Graham, 'the story and the notes shared admiration at a time when Oriental tales were exciting but not demonstrably indebted to genuine Oriental research.'⁹⁰ As readers were interested in everything oriental, writers tried to aim for accuracy and truth, even though they might not have visited those countries. Beckford and other writers used books such as Barthélémy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1697) as a reference for its 'detailed accounts of historic figures, geographical sites, and social and cultural customs.'⁹¹ The footnotes in *Vathek* as well as in other stories '[leave] the impression that [the] work is as much a work of scholarship as it is a work of fiction.'⁹² Shelley uses footnotes on two occasions to explain a custom of a different culture and an unknown term to her readership. In 'The Evil Eye,' Shelley writes 'as soon as he [Katusthius Ziani] announced himself the Pobratimo of Dmitri of the Evil Eye, every hand was held out, every voice spoke welcome' (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 150). Without an explanation, the reader can only guess what a 'Pobratimo' is. To avoid confusion, Shelley explains the term in a footnote:

In Greece, especially in Illyria and Epirus, it is no uncommon thing for persons of the same sex to swear friendship; the church contains a ritual to consecrate this vow. Two men thus united are called pobratimi, the women posestrime (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 150).

⁹⁰ Graham, p. 378.

⁹¹ Graham, pp. 375-376.

⁹² Graham, p. 379.

The reader may well have suspected that Katusthius and Dmitri have engaged in some kind of blood brotherhood, but the explanation shows that it goes much further. This ceremony is unknown in Europe and is therefore an unfamiliar concept to the audience. By explaining this custom to her readers, Shelley indirectly teaches other traditions and ideas. What is more, Shelley also uses a foreign term, which she does not explain in the text itself, but in the footnote. Therefore, the reader understands that a ‘caravokeiri’ is ‘a Master of a merchant ship’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 154). Footnotes therefore help the reader to understand the text as well as implying that even though the story is fictional, the facts are accurate. Writers are thus able to astonish the audience by an impressive display of erudition. Barbara Packer also states that the ‘annotated Oriental tale [...] aims to provide both the thrills of credulity and the satisfactions of enlightenment.’⁹³

Shelley’s writing style in ‘the Evil Eye’ has some similarities with a key text of Orientalism, the *Arabian Nights* (1704-1717). The French writer, Antoine Galland translated the *Arabian Nights* at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Published in different stages, the first and the second volume were printed in 1704 and the twelfth and final volume came out in 1717.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, a century later, the collection was still very popular with the reading public and other European translations appeared in the nineteenth century.⁹⁵

⁹³ Barbara Packer, “American Verse Traditions, 1800-1855,” *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 67-68.

⁹⁴ Robert Irwin, *The Arabian Nights - A Companion* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2004), p. 16.

⁹⁵ COPAC refers to a large variety of publications of the *Arabian nights entertainments: Consisting of one thousand and one stories* from the 18th and 19th centuries: (London: Andrew Bell, at the Cross Keys and Bible in Cornhill, 1706-1717), (London: J. Osborne and T. Longman, 1725), (London: Thomas Longman, 1736), (London: T. Longman, at the Ship in Paternoster-Row, 1763), (Edinburgh: Colin MacFarquhar, 1772), (Manchester: Charles Wheeler, 1777), (Edinburgh: Alexander Donaldson, 1780), (Edinburgh: W. Darling, 1783), (Edinburgh: G. Mudie, 1792), (London: C.D. Piquenit, Aldgate, 1792), (London: Press. Dodsley, & L. Cater, 1796), (Edinburgh: Alex Lawrie, 1807), (Gainsborough: Henry Mozley, 1811), (London: Goodwin, 1813), (Edinburgh: Alex Lawrie & Company, 1813), (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1821), (London: J. F. Dove, 1826), (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill, 1835), (London: Cowie, Jolland, 1838), (Halifax:

According to Robert Irwin, in the nineteenth century the translations by Richard F. Burton (1885), John Payne (1882-84) or Andrew Lane (1898) could be found in every gentlemen's library.⁹⁶ The popularity of the *Arabian Nights* declined, however, in the twentieth century, leaving the popularity to some few stories such as 'Aladin,' 'Sinbad' and 'Ali Baba' instead of the whole collection of tales.⁹⁷ The *Arabian Nights*, also known as *The Thousand and One Nights*, consists of a collection of different folklore tales, fables and fairy tales in the Indian, Persian and Arabic tradition. The main story of the *Arabian Nights* is about Shahriar and Scheherazade. Shahriar, the emperor of Persia and India, does not believe in the faithfulness of women and decides to marry each day a new wife and execute her the following morning. However, his new wife Scheherazade, an intelligent and beautiful woman, uses a ruse in order to postpone her execution every day. She starts telling a story and towards the end of the night states that the remaining part is even more interesting: 'The remainder of it, says Scheherazade, is more surprising; and you [her sister who is listening to the story] will be of my mind, if the sultan will let me live this day, and permit me to tell it you the next night.'⁹⁸ In the end, the emperor realizes that she is a good wife and makes her his consort. The *Arabian Nights* is therefore a collection of stories within a main frame narrative. Shelley uses different stories or frames within her main story too. This makes it quite difficult to summarize 'The Evil Eye,' because the narrative does not consist of one main story but several shorter ones, which combine to make the whole. The frames or meta-narratives are not told in a straightforward manner with one event happening after another, they are interrupted by other stories and go back in time. As Gregory O'Dea puts it: 'These narratives do not exist for their own sakes;' 'they are neither self-contained nor self-explanatory

William Milner, 1844), (Halifax: William Milner, Cheapside, 1847), (Halifax: Milner & Sowerby, 1854), and (Halifax: Milner & Sowerby, 1865).

⁹⁶ Irwin, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Irwin, p. 2.

⁹⁸ *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* (Philadelphia: L. Jonson, 1832), p. 15.

narratives, nor are they complete in their representation.’⁹⁹ This does not hold true for ‘The Evil Eye.’ The different meta-narratives are self-explanatory. The reader gets information about the different characters in the story; each meta-narrative could stand on its own. Taken together, however, the story is complete. All the different narratives are needed in order to give explanations and help to bring everything together in the end: ‘Tale-making is thus an effort to achieve organic unity.’¹⁰⁰

In ‘The Evil Eye,’ one narrative explains Katusthius’ past and why his father has adopted another son; another clarifies why Katusthius and Dmitri are such close friends. Yet another describes the reason for Dmitri’s character change. In this manner, the reader also finds out about Cyril and Zella and how they met. O’Dea states that the ‘tale’ is an ancient narrative form, which is also a genre of narrative fragmentation. This means in other words, that the novel and short story can stand on their own, but ‘the tale is rendered as a part rather than a whole, insufficient to stand without an external, supporting context.’¹⁰¹ Hence, the different tales in ‘The Evil Eye’ are set in a larger structure that ‘include[s] not only other tales but also meta-narratives, or framing situations in which the tales are told.’¹⁰² The main story is Katusthius’s jealousy and stinginess, leading to the abduction of Constans and his family’s attempt to get him back. Peter Barry points out that the ‘frame is a delaying device’ whose role is to ‘evoke a certain mood or atmosphere.’¹⁰³ The different meta-narratives in ‘The Evil Eye’ explain important elements of the story (such as the reason for Dmitri’s suffering) by leaving certain other aspects (such as Zella’s past) unexplained. Hence, the different narratives create not only a certain atmosphere but suspense that is built up to a

⁹⁹ O’Dea, p. 64.

¹⁰⁰ O’Dea, p. 64.

¹⁰¹ O’Dea, p. 63.

¹⁰² O’Dea, p. 63.

¹⁰³ Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory: an Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 243.

climax and in the end all the problems are resolved. The question remains, however, as to why Shelley uses such meta-narratives to jump back and forth in time, rather than a linear narrative with a clear sequence of events. According to Monik Fludernik, writers use this method in order to ‘enhance the credibility of the narrator:’¹⁰⁴

Her/his difficulties in teasing out the truth of what happened or the search for the right words to use are taken by the reader as a proof of authenticity. The narrator is not omniscient but makes an honest attempt to furnish a satisfactory account of what happened.¹⁰⁵

As was mentioned already earlier, readers were very interested in foreign countries and wanted to receive reliable information. Footnotes and meta-narratives were therefore a sign for authenticity. Shelley wants to reflect genuineness when she sets ‘The Evil Eye’ in an oriental country and as a consequence it is important to write her story in an oriental tradition.

In Shelley’s short stories one can find elements of her own life and longing for love and reconciliation or reunion. According to John Williams, Shelley always saw the threat ‘of her son being taken from her by [her father-in-law] Sir Timothy.’¹⁰⁶ Therefore, Shelley tried to be on friendly terms with Sir Timothy but never succeeded. In her short stories, Shelley’s fear comes to the surface in the repeated motif of abduction. The theme of kidnapping is repeated twice in the story of ‘The Evil Eye.’ First Zella is taken by the Mainotes, and many years later, her son is kidnapped by Dmitri. The story presents many similarities between the feelings and behaviour of Dmitri and Zella. Dmitri has spent many years looking for his lost daughter and still grieves for his family and the time they could have had together:

¹⁰⁴ Monik Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 61.

¹⁰⁵ Fludernik, p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ John Williams, *Mary Shelley – A Literary Life* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), p. 135.

The heart of Dmitri was heavy; he refused to dance, and sat apart, at first joining in the song with his voice and lute, till the air changed to one that reminded him of better days; his voice died away – his instrument dropped from his hands – and his head sank upon his breast (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 153).

His daughter Zella acts in the same way when her son is abducted:

Days and weeks passed, and still she remained in solitary and sad expectation: she never joined in the dance, nor made one in the assemblies of her countrywomen, who met [...] to sing, tell stories, and wile away the time in dance and gaiety. [...] She secluded herself in the most lonely part of her father's house (*Keepsake 1830*, pp. 163-164).

Both of them prefer seclusion to other people's company and have shut out all happiness from their lives. Shelley therefore manages to double the sorrowful reactions of Dmitri and Zella who are both deprived of their children.¹⁰⁷

Shelley further stresses the impact of the abduction on Dmitri. Abducting Constans brings back many painful memories and it is not possible for Dmitri to kill the child. On the contrary, he looks after him with fondness and affection:

When little Constans slept, he hung over him, fanning away, with woman's care, the flies and gnats. When he spoke, he answered with expressions of fondness, winning him with gifts, teaching him, all [sic] baby as he was, a mimicry of warlike exercises (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 167).

¹⁰⁷ O'Dea, p. 20.

When the boy asked to be returned to his parents, ‘the eyes of Dmitri overflowed; he cast his cloak over his face; his heart whispered to him – ‘Thus, perhaps, my child prayed. Heaven was deaf – alas! where is she now?’ (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 167). Shelley implies that Zella is awaiting the same fate and constant unhappiness like Dmitri if her husband is unable to bring back her son.

In the end, the complicated plot is resolved by reuniting Dmitri and his daughter, and Zella with her son. This double restoration of children to both parents is more important than the loyalty to Katusthius. There is no further explanation as to what will happen to the latter, as Shelley focuses her ending on the restoration of the family. Hence, Shelley emphasises the importance of family over friendship. Family reunions are not only a theme in ‘The Evil Eye’ but are at the centre of several other texts by Shelley, ‘The Brother and Sister,’ ‘The Invisible Girl,’ and ‘The Smuggler and his Family.’¹⁰⁸ In ‘The Evil Eye’ Shelley plays out very personal fears about the vulnerability of the family in an Orientalist setting, although one should be wary about reducing this text to a biographical impulse. The theme of the family is one that appealed to the domestic market in which the *Keepsake* was a key text.

In R. Brinsley Sheridan’s ‘Niluphar, the Hindu Girl’ (*Keepsake 1836*), the reader finds out many details about Hindu religion and different castes. This story revolves around a conflict between Apajih, Niluphar’s father and Purneah. Apajih has been a witness against Purneah, who had disobeyed the rules of his caste. As a result, the latter was expelled. In order to take revenge, Purneah abducts his daughter, Niluphar and raises her as her own. To make his revenge complete, Purneah wants Niluphar to kill her real father when she reaches the age of sixteen. Before anything tragic can happen, however, the story is resolved and the girl is restored to her real father. Unlike Shelley’s family restoration, Sheridan’s family union

¹⁰⁸ Williams, *Mary Shelley: A Literary Life*, p. 135.

does not end here. The father has to overcome further punishments in order to welcome his daughter back home.

The story begins with the narrator who is travelling in the kingdom of Mysore, when he sees Apajih for the first time. He finds out about his story and the severe punishment he undertakes to make amends for ‘the disgrace that had fallen upon his only daughter’ (*Keepsake 1836*, p. 260):

By the law laid down in Menu, he had bound himself by a vow, ‘to sit exposed during the hot season to five fires: four blazing around him, with the sun above: - during the rains, to stand covered, without even a mantle, and where the clouds pour the heaviest showers: - in the cold season to wear humid vestments; and to increase by degrees the austerity of his devotion. Then, having deposited his holy fires, as the law directs, in his mind, to live without external fire, without a mansion, wholly silent, feeding on roots and fruits’ (*Keepsake 1836*, pp. 260-261).

This narrative strategy makes the reader curious to find out what Apajih has done to deserve such a strict punishment. Only at the very end does one realise that the restoration of the family is not the conclusion of Apajih’s suffering because the poor girl ‘had unintentionally violated the laws of her caste, by having associated herself with a despised and hated tribe, and had thereby incurred the penalty of expulsion’ (*Keepsake 1836*, p. 271). After being brought back together, the father wants to prevent Niluphar from losing her friends and relations again and becoming an outcast. This version of the Orientalist tale is important as it describes customs that were uncommon for a British audience. It would seem that the father had suffered enough for sixteen years and that the girl did not intentionally act against the laws of her caste. Hence, the readers would be shocked by the behaviour of the ‘other’ and

understand why the British invasion in those territories was necessary in order to save the people from their own customs and kind. This tale is thus a variation of what Spivak calls ‘White men saving brown women from brown men.’¹⁰⁹ Although this was the case in many circumstances, this narrative makes excuses for ‘white men saving brown people.’ This is not the only element of such stories the reader can learn from. As in Shelley’s ‘The Evil Eye,’ footnotes play an important role in this story. They give important information about the life of the caste, and definitions of words. ‘Yama,’ for example, is explained to be ‘The Hindoo name for the devil’ (*Keepsake 1836*, p. 262), and the ‘Atharvena Veda,’ consists of a book which teaches ‘the secrets of magic’ and only ‘the Brahmins alone are allowed to study it’ (*Keepsake 1836*, p. 264). Even though there are some similarities between Shelley’s and Sheridan’s oriental tales, the family plays a different role in both texts. In the former, Shelley tries to restore the vulnerable family and reunite its members. In the latter, however, Sheridan’s aim is different. Even after many years of separation, father and daughter are not easily reunited. Contrary to Shelley, Sheridan is more concerned with depicting the strange superstitions and customs of a foreign land. Like Morier in ‘Costandi,’ Shelley tries to differentiate ‘the other’ (in this case Dmitri) from the larger group of ‘the others’ (his countrymen) and explains that before the tragic incident he was like ‘us’ (the European traveller). Sheridan, on the other hand, highlights the ‘otherness’ in more detail than Shelley and depicts a culture very different from their own.

Another oriental tale, included anonymously in the *Keepsake for 1838*, is ‘The Turkish Visit’ (1838).¹¹⁰ Different from the other oriental stories, this tale is not set in the East but in France, and describes the interest of the nineteenth-century audience in everything

¹⁰⁹ Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, p. 287.

¹¹⁰ “The Turkish Visit,” *The Keepsake for 1838*, ed. Frederic Mansel Rreynold (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1837), pp. 23-44.

foreign and oriental. The female narrator is introduced at a ball to Namik Pacha and is disappointed to see that the Pacha has adapted a European dress code. Understanding the interest of the narrator in Eastern cultures, the Pacha organises a meeting with an acquaintance who has left Stamboul when his country people started to neglect their old customs. Souliman lives with his daughter in seclusion near Versailles since he has left his homeland. When the narrator arrives at Souliman's house, her escort explains why he brought a woman to his place:

The young Bey [...] explained that the motive of my visit arose from admiration of the ancient *Osmanly* habits, of which I had read, and my desire to see them in real existence (*Keepsake 1838*, p. 27).

This story describes the interest of a female narrator to see a world different from her own. She wants to see an Orient described in books and which is not touched and disturbed by progress. When she is allowed into the chambers, she is astonished by the splendour of the rooms:

The gorgeous sitting-room had so completely carried me into the Arabian Nights, that I believe even the appearance of *Genii*, or trees bearing fruit of gems, would not have surprised me there. But I had an impression that the Turkish sleeping apartments were arranged with a simplicity strongly contrasting with their day-rooms, so that I was quite unprepared for the new splendour awaiting me (*Keepsake 1838*, p. 33).

The French narrator stands for the European reader who had certain expectations and preconceived ideas about the contents of an Oriental home. This was due to the large number of travel accounts on the literary market. Pallavi Pandit Laisram notes that many travel writers influenced their own culture by their depictions of the East and hence, 'provided a

good indicator of cultural attitudes.’¹¹¹ Throughout the nineteenth century, works on the Orient were read on the one hand by people who could not travel the East in person and on the other by all those travelling the East. According to Laisram, Morier’s *Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824), for example, was read by ‘politicians and generals as a way of understanding and manipulating the Persian people.’¹¹² This nosiness, awakened by publications, is depicted in many other stories and travel accounts. In *Journal of a Residence of Two Years and a Half in Great Britain* (1841), the reader gets a different point of view. Jehangeer Nowrojee and Hirjeebhoy Merwanjee, two Indian naval architects describe their experiences in Britain. Upon their arrival, they are fascinated by people’s interest: ‘We were objects of very great curiosity to the visitors.’¹¹³ Although more and more people were able to travel to the East, this did not extend to everyone. The French narrator from the *Keepsake* tale and the curious crowd from the Indian journal are therefore examples of the importance of Oriental tales at a time when many readers were interested in this topic. Furthermore, many writings or paintings depicted foreign scenes, stereotypical characters, love affairs, sexual deviance and rejection of moral values. According to Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Keepsake* contributions also reflected this sort of Orient, such as ‘The Persian Lovers’ (*Keepsake* 1828) or ‘Azim and Shireen’ (*Keepsake* 1841).¹¹⁴ As propriety forbids English women to show the same passion as Eastern women in the Oriental art and poetry, the fictitious character can live out this enthusiasm in a way the *Keepsake* reader is not allowed to do but might wish to do herself.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Laisram, pp. 37-38.

¹¹² Laisram, p. 38.

¹¹³ Jehangeer Nowrojee and Hirjeebhoy Merwanjee, *Journal of a Residence of Two Years and a Half in Great Britain* (London: W. H. Allen and Co, 1841), p. 34.

¹¹⁴ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour’d Shadows*, p. 112; “The Persian Lovers,” *The Keepsake for 1828* (London: Hurst, Chance, 1827), pp. 136-137; Meadows Taylor, “Legends of the Dekhan: The Fatal Armlet,” *The Keepsake for 1841* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840), pp. 23-57.

¹¹⁵ Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Colour’d Shadows*, p. 112.

That is why the narrator from 'The Turkish Visit' expects scenes from the *Arabian Nights* on her visit.

In *Orientalism*, Said notes that 'the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.'¹¹⁶ In the nineteenth century, descriptions therefore often depict the European 'us' versus the Eastern 'Other.' Said further states that by:

Dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.¹¹⁷

Interestingly, in the secluded world of Souliman and Aminèh, the female narrator turns for a short time into 'the Other,' which is illustrated by declining the pipe. In order to welcome her in their house, Aminèh invites her to smoke the pipe: 'Aminèh then asked what kind of *chibouque*, or pipe, should be prepared for me; and my declining that luxury altogether, was a fresh source of laughter for her jetty attendants' (*Keepsake 1838*, p. 32). Smoking the pipe is not only appropriate for men, but for women too in this culture. Nevertheless, the narrator refuses, as it seems strange for her to do so: 'While I tasted the often vaunted *Mocha*, Aminèh smoked her jewelled amber chibouque with a grace of which I should not have supposed so strange an occupation was capable' (*Keepsake 1838*, p. 32). She watches Aminèh smoke the pipe and realises that it is normal for her to do so. Even if the narrator is still in France, she is a guest in a Turkish household in which the roles are changed. The woman's aim was to visit a Turkish home in order to see the differences of both cultures. While she is with Aminèh,

¹¹⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

she realizes, however, that European customs are laughed at, because they do not conform to the traditions Aminèh is familiar with. Hence, they reverse the focus and turn the narrator into ‘the other;’ someone different and perhaps inferior to themselves. Said comments that the ‘European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self.’¹¹⁸ Although the narrator still believes her ways to be superior, Aminèh does not understand why she is unable to smoke with her. Nowrojee and Merwanjee experience another incident in which they laugh at the mistakes of British citizens: ‘It was amusing to hear one call us Chinese, they are Turks says another; no they are Spanish, vociferates a third; thus they were labouring under mistakes, and taking inhabitants of British India for natives of Europe.’¹¹⁹ Nowrojee and Merwanjee watch the British and turn them into the ‘ignorant’ other. In both cases, Europeans are ignorant about customs and their origins. In British travel accounts ignorance is often used as an explanation of why the British had to invade the East; they had to teach them a better way of life. In ‘The Turkish Visit,’ however, the fact that the narrator is turned into the foreign Other is used in order to further emphasize on the otherness of Aminèh and her father.

Unlike Aminèh, Souliman permanently turns the French visitors into ‘the other’ by not accepting them into the house and declining any kind of help. Not wanting to mix with them, Souliman explains that in case of illness, he ‘would rather see her [Aminèh] in the grave, than exposed to the insolent gaze of an unbelieving stranger’ (*Keepsake 1838*, p. 37), someone belonging not to them but to ‘the other.’ The father listens to a conversation between his daughter and the narrator and is shocked and filled with indignation when he hears that she fell in love with the doctor. In order to keep his daughter from the infidel Frenchman, someone who is so different from themselves, Souliman returns to Asia without

¹¹⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ Nowrojee and Merwanjee, p. 34.

warning. From Souliman's point of view, French people are different. Hence, he turns the tables and makes them into a sort of 'other'. Michael H. Fisher points out that travellers from the East started to 'reverse the gaze of Orientalism' by writing their own experiences and observations from their travels through Europe.¹²⁰ The aim for travel writings was therefore guidance for fellow travellers and rectification for the British. While in this tale the French are also made into 'the other,' the narrative strategy is still different. The travel writings are written from the point of view of an Asian tourist, whereas the *Keepsake* tale is told by a European writer. Therefore, the otherness in this case is part of the narrative strategy of maintaining the strangeness of the oriental characters.

This tale is significant for several reasons. First, it represents interest in foreign countries and cultures and hence questions the European curiosity in the East. Secondly, it depicts Souliman and his daughter as Orientalist stereotypes. Consequently, the Turkish family represents in this case the East, 'the Other' and everyone different from 'us', the European inhabitant. Thirdly, nineteenth-century contemporaries believed in the 'civilizing mission' and bringing progress and conversion to the 'savages.'¹²¹ Despite the fact that the story is set in France and not in Turkey, Souliman is an example of someone who does not want to be 'civilized,' as he prefers his own culture over the French. For many years, Souliman lives with his daughter in seclusion without mixing with Europeans. Even though he opens up to progress and allows a French doctor to look after his daughter, he immediately returns to his homeland when he sees the impact of this meeting. This behaviour is likely to have astonished a contemporary reader as they would have felt that Europeans only tried to help the 'dark races' by assisting them to civilize themselves.¹²² As Brantlinger argues, it was

¹²⁰ Michael H. Fisher, "Early Travel Guides to Britain," *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tim Youngs (London: Anthem Press, 2006), p. 90.

¹²¹ Brantlinger, p. 8.

¹²² Brantlinger, p. 21.

believed that civilization could only be achieved through white domination.¹²³ Said's definition of orientalism thus fits this example, as it was the Western 'will to govern over the Orient' in order to 'facilitat[e] ameliorations' and to 'advanc[e] knowledge and improv[e] the arts at home.'¹²⁴ In this tale, however, the Europeans did not succeed in 'enlightening' the Turk and showing him better ways. Brantlinger suggests that the British saw themselves as superior because of the 'British greatness' which was composed of heroism, energy, morality and intelligence. Indian and other non-European people, however, were considered as an inferior race due to cowardice, laziness, dishonesty and stupidity.¹²⁵ Consequently, Souliman's escape to an underdeveloped country is a step backwards. The British plan 'to civilize savages and convert the heathen seems a work of humanitarian progress, [nevertheless] there is always the threat that the children of light may revert to darkness,' as with the case of Souliman and his daughter.¹²⁶ The tale is, however, important for another reason. Although the example of Souliman shows that conversion is not always possible, the tale depicts other Eastern characters capable of change. The narrator meets Namik Pacha at a ball and is disappointed to see that he has adopted European dress:

Instead of the expected vision of beauty and costliness, like a *tableau* from the Arabian Nights, my wondering eyes beheld a group of men, booted and equipped as for a morning ride, excepting the absent of gloves (*Keepsake* 1838, p. 24).

¹²³ Brantlinger, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 95&79.

¹²⁵ Brantlinger, p. 81.

¹²⁶ Brantlinger, pp. 64-65.

Unlike Souliman, the Pacha embraces the European way of life; ‘No matter how benighted or tyrannized by custom and false religion, Indians [and other non-Europeans] were capable of education, improvement, progress.’¹²⁷

The short stories included in the *Keepsake* can be categorised into the two groups mentioned earlier; the barbarian and frightening versus the exciting and exotic East. In the first three stories mentioned, the people and landscape are first of all described as barbaric. Nevertheless, in order for the reader to be able to relate to the heroes of the stories, the characters are given certain European attributes. This means in other words, that although the characters do not belong to ‘us’ but to the group of ‘the other,’ they are nevertheless different and do not really fit into the ‘other’ category. The exciting and oriental East, on the other hand, is depicted in the final story. Unlike from the previous ones, the French (and thus the Europeans) turn for a moment into ‘the other.’ This is, however, a narrative technique that highlights the otherness of the characters. The following section will describe the kind of contributions included in the *Bengal Annual* and discuss whether they are similar to the *Keepsake* contributions.

The Bengal Annual

The *Bengal Annual* was published for eight successive years from 1830 to 1837. Unlike other annuals, it was not published in the United Kingdom but in Calcutta, India, the country it represents and later shipped back and distributed in the British Isles. David Lester Richardson, the editor of this volume wrote his apologies to his readers in his introduction to the *Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830*:

¹²⁷ Brantlinger, p. 106.

The Editor had [...] very limited time to prepare a volume of this description, in a country where all literary speculations are attended with difficulty and delay.¹²⁸

Richardson highlights the fact that this literary annual might not have the quality that other annuals possessed due to the fact that it has been created in a country where the procedures were slower. Therefore the editor has tried to ‘keep pace in some measure with the lighter literature of [their] native land’ and he promises ‘that next year, with more time before them, they will be enabled to effect many more important improvements in the appearance of the work.’¹²⁹ Running through the pages of the *Bengal Annual*, one can observe many differences to the *Keepsake*. The engravings are not as delicate, fine and detailed in the former, because they were produced using wooden plates rather than steel. Charles Heath’s steel engravings were an innovation in the production of embellishments as the print quality was very precise and fine. The cost of producing an engraving of this sort was, however, higher and not every proprietor could afford to use it. The illustrations for Thomas Hood’s *Comic Annual*, for instance, were produced from wood engravings. Richardson gave, however, another explanation as to why the quality of the *Bengal Annual*’s engravings differed from those of other annuals:

There being no professional engravers in India, the embellishments of the volume are the friendly contributions of Amateurs - and are among their first efforts. It will be acknowledged, however, that though hasty and unpretending productions, they are very far from deficient in taste and spirit (*Bengal Annual 1830*, p. v).

¹²⁸ David Lester Richardson, “Preface,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co, 1830), p. iv.

¹²⁹ David Lester Richardson, ed., *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co, 1830), p. v.

Engravings on steel were a new procedure and as there were no professional engravers available, Richardson relied on the participation of friends and amateurs. This is also why the engravings included in the annual were fewer in number. The *Bengal Annual* for 1830 included seven prints (title page included), as compared to the eighteen engravings of the *Keepsake* for the same year.

Additionally, there was no table of contents for the illustrations to give more details about each engraving and the artists. In the second volume of the *Bengal Annual*, engravings were, however, omitted. Hence, it can be seen that Richardson decided to exclude an important element of literary annuals, including only an expensive-looking morocco binding, poems and narrative collaborations, the *Bengal Annuals* looked very different to those produced in Europe and the USA.¹³⁰ In the preface, Richardson explains further why he chose to publish a volume with only literary contributions:

Many gentlemen of great eminence as Artists, kindly proffered their assistance to prepare Embellishments for this volume, but we were compelled to decline their favors, from the utter impossibility of procuring Engravers to do justice to their designs (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. vi).

¹³⁰ A number of adverts gave an account of the look of the *Keepsake*: ‘the book will be delivered in crimson silk [...]’ Only in some cases the advert mentioned the pages: ‘bound in crimson silk, [with] gilt leaves’ (*Caledonian Mercury*, 8 November, 1827). Different from other publications, annuals came with a finished binding. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, people were accustomed to buying books in ‘inexpensive generic ‘trade binding,’ ‘unbound’ ‘in sheets, sewed’, or ‘bound [...] ‘in boards’’ (*The Morning Chronicle*, 12 January, 1828) and paying for the binding separately. The binder would bind the books so that they were ‘custom-bound’ and ‘in conformity with the owner’s particular taste’ (Michal F. Suarez, “The Business of Literature: The Book Trade in England from Milton to Blake,” *A Companion to Literature from Milton to Blake*, ed. David Womersley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), p. 143.). This explains why, even though the *Keepsake* was already quite expensive, there were some people who chose to rebind it. This is the reason why several of my own exemplars look different from the description given in the adverts. Some owners wanted them to fit in with the other books in their library and changed the red silk binding for something else.

As in the previous edition, a lack of professional engravers is the reason for presenting a different kind of annual to the public. Furthermore, it is interesting that Richardson argues that engravings will be included in future editions if this one meets with success:

The sale, however, though very respectable for an Indian publication, was not quite so extensive as was anticipated, and would certainly not justify the great expense which the Publishers had contemplated, of procuring first-rate Engravings from England. Should the present volume acquire a larger circulation than its predecessor, an order will be sent home for such pictorial illustrations as will place the work on an equality, in point of elegance and beauty of appearance, with the London publications of the same class (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. v).

What is more, this indicates that although expensive, engravings were important in order to compete with ‘London publications of the same class.’ Therefore, the fifth edition of the *Bengal Annual* incorporated pictorial prints again, as the editor decided to include ‘London Engravings’:

The proprietors have incurred a very serious expense (without any increase of charge to subscribers) in procuring the Engravings from London; though we must not leave it to be supposed that they have been prepared *exclusively* for the *Bengal Annual* (*Bengal Annual 1834*, ‘Preface’).

Richardson has decided to tell his readers that the embellishments could be found in other annuals too and thus that they were not produced for the *Bengal Annual* only: ‘They are, with one exception [...], the first impressions, or proofs before the letter, of engravings intended for the embellishment of a London Annual for 1834’ (*Bengal Annual 1834*, ‘Preface’). Other

editors used this technique but concealed it from their readers. Ralph Thompson states for example that after 1845, original engravings were the exception in American annuals.¹³¹ Many readers were not aware of this practice, and for this reason they were warned by several reviewers. In December 1837, William Makepeace Thackeray's 'A Word on the Annuals,' for example, appeared anonymously in *Fraser's Magazine*. In this essay, Thackeray states that annuals were 'humbug' because 'some of them [the embellishments] have already figured in evangelical magazines, some in missionary memories, some in historical portrait galleries [and that] some few are original.'¹³² He further identifies a number of engravings that were re-used in other annuals and raised awareness of this malpractice:

The unwary public, who purchase Mr. Fisher's publications, will be astonished, if they knew but the secret, with the number of repetition, and the ingenuity with which one plate is made to figure, now in the *Scrap-Book*, now in the *Views of Syria*, and now in the *Christian Keepsake*. Heaven knows how many more periodicals are issued from the same establishment, and how many different titles are given to each individual print.¹³³

Richardson used engravings which were intended for other annuals too but, decided not to deceive the public by hiding this fact from them.

Reviewers and critics did not ignore annuals published and produced in other countries. For this reason, it is possible to find favourable and unfavourable reviews of the *Bengal Annual*, published in Great Britain. The *Monthly Review*, for example, after quoting

¹³¹ Ralph Thompson, *American Literary Annuals and Gift Books 1825-1865* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1936), p. 43.

¹³² Thackeray, 'A Word on the Annuals,' p. 762.

¹³³ Thackeray, 'A Word on the Annuals,' p. 762.

several passages from the first edition, encouraged the writers to continue their writing: ‘We have, however, no room for further extracts, those already given being sufficiently numerous to shew our hearty desire to encourage the labours of our literary brethren in India.’¹³⁴ The *Asiatic Journal* believed that the readers would approve of this new annual because ‘We can have little doubt that, in the hands of its spirited conductor, the *Bengal Annual* will win its way to favour, and continue [...], year after year, to ‘Shower ignited stars of thought upon / The kindling spirits of mankind.’¹³⁵ Overall, the reviews were rather positive. The commentators agreed, however, on one negative aspect of the *Bengal Annual* as they advised the editor to include only contributions of Asiatic content:

We ask them, in return, to transmit to us in their Annuals, [...], all that they can collect of local history and fable, connected with the regions in which they are for a season condemned to roam.¹³⁶

The same advice can be found in the *Monthly Magazine*:

We may suggest, that to us at this side of the Ganges, subjects entirely Indian, or at least Asiatic, would be in general much more acceptable than those which can easily obtain in our own northern climate.¹³⁷

Looking at the contents page of the first volume of the *Bengal Annual*, one can understand the reason for these suggestions. The *Bengal Annual* for 1830 included a variety of titles promising stories about the Orient as well as the United Kingdom. Titles such as ‘Lines

¹³⁴ *The Monthly Review from September to December inclusive*, December, Vol. XV (London: G. Henderson, 1830), p. 592.

¹³⁵ *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and foreign India, China and Australasia*, Vol. III, Sept-Dec- 1830 (London: Parbury, Allan, and Co, 1830), p. 263.

¹³⁶ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XV, 1830, p. 526.

¹³⁷ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XV, 1830, p. 526.

Written in a Ball Room,’ ‘Sonnet to England,’ ‘A Highland Tale’ and ‘The Handmaiden’s Dream’ which were not set in Bengal highlight why the reviewers advised the journal to include stories about India only.¹³⁸ The *New Monthly Magazine* held the same view and advised against European and most particularly British themes:

We must enter our protest against the introduction of Highland superstitions into such work. The papers should be, as much as possible, Asiatic, or relate to Eastern topics, by which means they would be much more interesting both here and in India.¹³⁹

Stories which relate to an Eastern topic such as ‘Translation from the Persian,’ ‘Lines Written in the Bay of Bengal,’ ‘Nawab Abbas Kooly Khan’ and ‘Human Sacrifice,’ on the other hand, took place in India and could therefore activate people’s curiosity and stimulate their interest to find out more.¹⁴⁰ According to the reviewer, people who bought the *Bengal Annual* were interested in India but not in stories set close to home. The August issue of the *Monthly Review* therefore emphasised the fact that Oriental themes and popularity go hand in hand:

¹³⁸ J.G, “Lines Written in a Ball Room,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), p. 18; D. L. Richardson, “Sonnet to England,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), p. 38; J. Grant, “A Highland Tale,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), pp. 40-115; and Capt. Calder Campbell, “The Handmaiden’s Dream,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), pp. 315-319.

¹³⁹ *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal, December, Part III* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), p. 511.

¹⁴⁰ V., “Translation from the Persian,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), p. 183; J. Grant, “Lines Written in the Bay of Bengal,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), p. 184; Robert Neave, “Nawab Abbas Kooly Khan,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), pp. 188-263; and Captain G. R. Crawford, “Human Sacrifice,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), pp. 321-322.

But we must not therefore hesitate to tell our friends in Bengal, as well as in the other presidencies, that if they look to home for the popularity of their separate or periodical works, they will find it very much to the advantage of their lucubrations to stamp on them a thoroughly Indian character.¹⁴¹

This means in other words, that critics advised Richardson and other editors to use Indian tales and anecdotes in order to achieve popularity in England. Nevertheless, the *Monthly Review* excuses the *Bengal Annual* for its England-orientated contributions:

[...] we observe that the principal contributors were almost fresh from England; they had no time to bathe their intellect sufficiently in the light of the Indian skies, and we are afraid it will be found that they wrote for this publication pretty much the same kind of articles, both in poetry and prose, which they would have written for a similar volume, had they been living in the smoke of London.¹⁴²

By using the same content as other annuals, the journal feared that

Mr. Richardson, [...], in generalizing his Annual so much as he has hitherto done, runs the chance of having it compared with similar publications emanating from our own press – a comparison which cannot be favourable to the Bengal scion.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ *The Monthly Review from May to August inclusive*, August, Vol. 2 (London: G. Henderson, 1832), p. 571.

¹⁴² *Monthly Review*, vol.2, 1832, p. 571.

¹⁴³ *Monthly Review*, vol.2, 1832, p. 571.

Another point of criticism in later versions was the lack of engravings. Even though Richardson explained the reason for their omission, the *Monthly Review* stressed that the selling point of the *Bengal Annual* was its novelty and people's curiosity in far away cultures, customs and countries. For this reason, badly produced embellishments about India were, according to the critic, better than none at all:

Look, for instance, at the 'Keepsake;' you have there a volume of mere dross, so far as literature is concerned; but the embellishments are exquisite: they would sell the volume, if all the rest of its pages were blank paper. Mr. Richardson has no plates at all, good or bad, though even a bad one, from India, would have been a curiosity.¹⁴⁴

There may be several reasons why Richardson decided to include contributions about Britain. First of all, the writers were longing for their mother country: 'They look constantly to England as their only home. The time they spend in India they consider as entirely belonging to the manufacture of their fortune; it is a place of exile: the purgatory, as it were, through which they are to pass to a happier state.'¹⁴⁵ Nigel Leask explains that the reason for not belonging was due to the fact that 'Anglo-Indians were not allowed to settle permanently or to buy land in company territory, and [as a consequence they] were expected to retire from service back to Britain.'¹⁴⁶ As the move to India was not permanent, it is understandable that it was seen as 'a place of exile' rather than a new home. The longing of such writers for their homeland is demonstrated by many nostalgic passages that can be found in the *Bengal Annual*. The writers dwell on memories connected to their homeland. D.L. Richardson for example dedicated his sonnet in the *Bengal Annual for 1830* to England. The poem describes

¹⁴⁴ *Monthly Review*, vol. 2, 1832, p. 572.

¹⁴⁵ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XV, 1830, p. 525.

¹⁴⁶ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 159.

longing for one's native country and the difficulties one has to face being far away from home. Even though he is in India, 'his heart is far away!' (*Bengal Annual 1830*, p. 38). Such stories and poems help to sentimentalize Britain and become 'ideal sanctuaries for homesick characters.'¹⁴⁷ This means in other words that those stories help to recall situations and occasions, either traumatic or happy that have occurred in Britain, and consequently bring to mind 'with nostalgic regret' the 'irrevocabl[e] past.'¹⁴⁸ This manner of remembering and writing about Britain helped Anglo-Indians to connect with their home country. As they do not belong to the colony, these memories are a "sanctuary from a dangerous 'outside world,'" a place different and not as civilized as home.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, according to Leask, a major fear of the British regime was creolization and the creation of a new class.¹⁵⁰ In order to prevent this, the British encouraged links with home, 'thereby disenchanting distance between colony and metropolis.'¹⁵¹ The reviewer from the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* understood the dilemma of the editor and praised the content of the annual:

This is exactly what a *Bengal Annual* ought to be – English feelings amid Indian scenery. India is a gorgeous land, and gallant are the deeds, and stupendous the enterprises, of our island's sons who rule her – but still she is not their home. In their proudest and happiest moments, they turn

¹⁴⁷ Tamara S. Wagner, *Longing: Narratives of Nostalgia in the British novel, 1740-1890* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004), p. 125.

¹⁴⁸ Wagner, p. 125.

¹⁴⁹ Wagner, p. 126.

¹⁵⁰ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.177.

¹⁵¹ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*, p. 177.

their eyes to a little spot of earth, far away among the waters – it is there alone that they hope for repose.¹⁵²

The critic believed that the Indian and the British inspired tales and poems went hand in hand and that it is understandable that British writers had to write about their own feelings of nostalgia for the country that they missed.

Leask suggests another reason why authors set their stories and poems in Britain rather than India. Many travellers who visited India were interested in its culture and customs. The same holds true for British readers who were interested in everything novel and exotic. For colonizers, on the other hand, those customs did not hold anything new. Leask refers to the *Asiatic Annual Register* that highlights this fact:

We may yawn over verandahs, and palanquins and bearers, and musnuds, if seen too often, as much as over balconies, and close carriages, sofas, sedan chairs, and running footmen. Elephants will be no more, if appearing too often, than mountain mules. Diamonds and pearls, and attah, maybe made intrusive, so as to raise our spirits and enliven our fancies no more than an every-day posey, or a cup of tea; and an Asiatic salaam may possess nothing more significant in India, than a regular every-day compliment in an English drawing room.¹⁵³

This critic reveals that even though certain things are novel for people back at home, this is not the case for those who live in India. Consequently, the writers chose different topics relating to both India and Britain for the sake of variation.

¹⁵² *The Edinburgh Literary Journal or Weekly Register of Criticism and Belles Lettres*, November (Edinburgh: Published for the Proprietors, 1830), p. 290.

¹⁵³ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*, p. 159.

A further reason to include British stories in the *Bengal Annual* could be the similarities between India and Scotland. Leask notes for example that Dr John Leyden described the similarities between both countries. When he saw Coorg for the first time, he stated that the ‘grotesque and savage scenery, the sudden peeps of romantic ridges of mountains bursting through the bamboo bushes, all contributed strongly to recall to memory some very romantic scenes in the Scottish Highlands.’¹⁵⁴ According to Fiona Stafford, the British were conscious of the ‘different national identities within the newly created United Kingdom.’¹⁵⁵ British people recognised regional differences between England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales and therefore ‘the literature of the period also registers the importance of local attachments, as writers everywhere celebrated, chastised, mocked, or mourned for ‘England,’ ‘Ireland,’ ‘Scotland,’ or ‘Wales.’’¹⁵⁶ In a letter to Richardson (later printed in the *Bengal Annual* as a foreword to the story), the writer, J. Grant explains why he has chosen the Highlands as a setting for ‘N' T' Eagch Uisk, or, The Water Horse’ (*Bengal Annual 1830*):

The following sketch, or whatever it may be called, is an attempt to give the general reader a graphic idea of some of the characteristic traits and superstitions, of the N. Western Islanders and Highlanders of Scotland (*Bengal Annual 1830*, p. 40).

This comparison has negative connotations, but the ‘[r]emote, mountainous regions were [known to be] rich in legend and superstition,’ similar to India.¹⁵⁷ The colonizers believed that superstition and wrong beliefs were the reason for many problems in India.

¹⁵⁴ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*, p. 176.

¹⁵⁵ Fiona Stafford, “England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales,” *Romanticism - An Oxford Guide*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 115.

¹⁵⁶ Stafford, ‘England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales,’ p. 115.

¹⁵⁷ Stafford, ‘England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales,’ p. 121.

The fourth reason for including poetry and prose was due to some of the obstacles faced by Richardson when it came to producing this annual: ‘There are no literary men in that quarter of the world; that is to say, no tribe of intelligent, educated and practised individuals, who derive a livelihood from their writings.’¹⁵⁸ According to the *Monthly Review*, the reason for the lack of writers was due to the fact that ‘The men of intellect are all employed in official stations; they have little leisure for reading books, still less for composing them.’¹⁵⁹ This means in other words that because there were not many talented native writers available in India, and as most of the British immigrants had not much time to write in their free-time, Richardson had to be content with any kind of writing that was given him. The fifth and final reason to incorporate themes from India and the United Kingdom was that ‘British literature [was] an exotic in India’ and as the *Bengal Annual* was published in Calcutta, it was not only intended for an audience in Britain, but for a British audience in India too.¹⁶⁰ Due to the fact that there were British people longing for their home country, Richardson included poems and tales from home for this audience. The audience back in Britain, however, as several quotes have illustrated, was less interested in this type of writing.

Richardson included a large number of literary contributions. Although this thesis has focused on short stories, one cannot ignore one poem from the first issue of the *Bengal Annual*. Unlike other poems in literary annuals, this text was published in a different tongue. It consists of a translation of Anacreon’s ‘Ode XXXV’ by Harachandra Ghose into Bengali [figure 22].¹⁶¹ Even though most British readers were unable to decipher the Bengali characters, the incorporation of a poem in Bengali script was novel and interesting. The

¹⁵⁸ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XV, 1830, p. 525.

¹⁵⁹ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XV, 1830, p. 525.

¹⁶⁰ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XV, 1830, p. 525.

¹⁶¹ Harachandra Ghose, “Ode XXXV,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for 1830* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1830), p. 325.

ANACREON, ODE XXXV.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED,

BY HARACHANDRA GHOSE.

পুষ্পের শঙ্খাতে এক দিবস মদম ।
শ্রমহুক্ত হইয়া তাহে করিল শয়ন ॥
ছুৰ্ভাণ্ড বালক তাহা চক্ষে না হেরিল ।
পুষ্প পত্রে মধুমক্ষি নিদ্রিত আছিল ॥
মক্ষিকা জাগিয়া হইল ক্রোধান্বিত মম ।
জাগিয়া শিশুকে তখন করিল দংশন ॥
উর্দ্ধস্বরে শিশু তখন করিয়া কন্দম ।
মাতার নিকট শীঘ্র করিল গমন ॥
আঘাত পাইয়াছি আমি শুন গো জননি ।
বেদনাতে প্রাণ যায় মরিব এখনি ॥
ক্রুদ্ধ জন্তু আসি মোরে দংশন করিল ।
বুঝি কোন সর্প হবে কুদ্র পক্ষ ছিল ॥
মক্ষিকা তাহার নাম স্মরণ এই হয় ।
পূর্বেতে রাখাল মুখে শুনেছি নিশ্চয় ॥
সে আসি কহিল এই মাতার সদনে ।
শ্রবণ করিল মাতা সহাস্ত বদনে ॥
শুনিয়া কহিল মাতা বালক আমার ।
মক্ষিকা স্পর্শেতে এত ছঃখ হে তোমার ॥
কি দশা হইবে তার হায়রে মদন ।
যাহার হৃদয়ে তুমি করিবে দংশন ॥

Hindoo College, Nov. 1829.

THE END.

Figure 22: Reproduction of Anacreon's poem, Ode XXXV in Bengali, printed in the *Bengal Annual*, 1830.

reader was therefore able to admire a script very different from her/his own. This poem also attracted the reviewers' attention and according to the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, these rhymes were 'exceedingly to [their] taste.' Furthermore, the reviewer of the same journal did not know the language and guessed that the language into which Ghose had translated the poem was Sanskrit. The OED defines 'Sanskrit' as 'the ancient and sacred language of India,' which is part of 'the oldest known member of the Indo-European family, in which the extensive Hindu literature [...] is composed.' Consequently, as the annual was produced in Calcutta, it seemed obvious that Sanskrit was used. Even though there are some similarities between the two languages, this poem is, however, written in Bengali; 'the language of Bengal.'¹⁶² The critic was being ironic when he stated in his review that: 'we would have quoted it for the benefit of our readers, has not our printer unluckily run out of his Devangari characters.'¹⁶³ It is obvious, however, that the critic was fascinated by the look of the script and did not understand Bengali: 'We thought of re-translating into English Mr Harachandra Ghose's translation, that we might thus give some idea of his manner, but we find that our Devangari dictionary has also most unaccountably fallen aside.'¹⁶⁴ The fascination with foreign languages did not stop with India but can also be found with Egyptian hieroglyphics. During Napoleon's expedition through Egypt, many scholars accompanied him in order to research the foreign lands.¹⁶⁵ The interest of early linguistics is therefore recorded in books including Thomas Young's *An Account of some Recent Discovery in Hieroglyphical*

¹⁶² "Bengali," *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁶³ *The Edinburgh Literary Journal; or, Weekly Register of Criticism and Belles Lettres* (Edinburgh: Published for the Proprietors, 1830) vol. 1, no. 104, (Nov. 6, 1830), p. 290.

The Devangari alphabet is used in order to be able to write different Indian languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, Kashmiri and Sanskrit. [accessed on 29 Sept. 2010

<www.behindthename.com/glossary/view/devangari_alphabet>.]

¹⁶⁴ *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, vol.1., 1830, p. 290.

¹⁶⁵ Meyer, p. 695.

Literature and Egyptian Antiquities (1823) and Samuel Sharpe's *Rudiments of a Vocabulary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics* (1837). The former also gives a sample of certain hieroglyphs. Unlike the poem in the *Bengal Annual*, however, the illustration explains the different symbols to a British audience. Said refers to Arthur James Balfour who believed that knowledge was power and hence puts the British nation 'in a position of supremacy over great races like the inhabitants of Egypt and countries in the East.'¹⁶⁶ Consequently, according to Balfour, 'to have knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it.'¹⁶⁷ This goes hand in hand with Meyers, who states that the hieroglyphics as a form of writing were presumed to be more 'primitive' than the European phonetic system and hence 'places the Orient in a subsidiary position to the West in the world-historical narrative of cultural development.'¹⁶⁸ Balfour's statement also holds true for British India and other British colonies. According to Margarita Díaz-Andreu, knowing Sanskrit in the nineteenth century became important because it helped colonizers to 'become proficient in the legal customs and laws of the country.'¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, knowledge of Sanskrit and the classics was 'judged essential by the colonizers, their study being compulsory and highly valued' as it assisted to have knowledge over the colonised.¹⁷⁰ Hence, as Francis G. Hutchins states, as the Englishmen 'knew India' much better than any Indian, English people perceived themselves as superior and consequently had the right to dominate over them.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 32.

¹⁶⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 32.

¹⁶⁸ Meyer, p. 695.

¹⁶⁹ Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: nationalism, colonialism, and the past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 223.

¹⁷⁰ Díaz-Andreu, p. 223.

¹⁷¹ Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence – British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 156.

Anacreon's poem talks about Madon, a boy who is stung by a bee when lying in the grass. Convinced he is about to die, he runs home to tell his mother about the snake-like animal that has bitten him. His mother listens to his story and exclaims that if he already feels this bad after being stung by a bee, he should imagine how bad people would feel being stung by him.¹⁷² Looking at the English version of the poem, the verses become clearer. In this version, Cupid is the boy who is stung by the bee. He goes to his mother, Venus for comfort. In Roman Mythology, Cupid is the god of love and the son of Mercury and Venus. Venus is the 'ancient Roman goddess of beauty and love.'¹⁷³ Interestingly, Ghose has adapted the poem not only for a Bengali speaking public by translating it into his mother tongue but also for a different culture. In his version, Madon represents Cupid. As a consequence, the mother's answer becomes clearer as she explains that the people he hits with his arrow have to overcome much greater pain than his. As with many stories and poems included in literary annuals, this poem also includes a moral. During the 1820s, many British writers translated Anacreon, including the Orientalist poet Thomas Moore. Consequently, readers were probably familiar with this text and did not need a translation. The *Reading Experience Database* affirms the popularity of Anacreon's writings, both in English and in Greek.¹⁷⁴ In order to open up Bengali culture to a British audience, Ghose therefore chose a classical poem that was part of the western canon.

¹⁷² Special thanks go to Alhaj M. Kaisar Rahman, Alhaj Tahmina Begum and Abdullah-Al-Mahfuz for their help for translating the poem.

¹⁷³ "Venus," *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁷⁴ The *Reading Experience Database* refers to readers like Samuel Johnson (read between 1725 and 1728), Hester Lynch Thrale (read until 1780), James Boswell (read in 1783), Robert Southey (read in 1794), Claire Clairmont (read in 1818), Mary Shelley (read in 1814 and 1821) and Thomas Cooper (read between 1834 and 1836).

Many writers of the *Bengal Annual* depicted the ‘foreign other’ versus the ‘superior British.’ In ‘Dihlee’ (*Bengal Annual 1834*), for example, Lieutenant G.E. Westmacott describes the barbarous, savage and grotesque customs of the Indians versus the tasteful, modern and more advanced practices of the British. Many Indians had, according to Westmacott:

The barbarous custom of painting the walls [of their houses] with grotesque figures of animals, birds, flowers, and various quaint devices, [that] detract[ed] much from their otherwise handsome appearance (*Bengal Annual 1834*, p. 112).

Even though ‘[t]he gold-workers [were] deservedly celebrated for their skill,’ they were using ‘tools [...] of the most primitive kind’ (*Bengal Annual 1834*, p. 113), this does not mean that there was no hope for the natives, however, as ‘[t]wo of the most able [artists] were instructed by a talented English amateur’ (*Bengal Annual 1834*, p. 113). Furthermore, there was the possibility of helping some of the people as ‘[t]he higher and more affluent classes ha[d] acquired a taste for British fashions: they dress[ed] in [their] fabrics, and decorate[d] their houses with articles of European furniture’ (*Bengal Annual 1834*, p. 113). Such oppositions between both cultures were important in order to create on the one hand ‘them,’ ‘the other,’ or the Indian outsider and on the other ‘us’, the British insider.¹⁷⁵ Francis G. Hutchins also refers to this oppositions and states that ‘[r]eformers [...] had all presumed that England’s rightful claim to dominance in India was founded on the efficacy of English character and law.’¹⁷⁶ This means, in other words, that the ‘British insider,’ or those who ‘know’ about

¹⁷⁵ Loomba, p. 104.

¹⁷⁶ Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence – British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 153.

civilization, had to instruct the ‘Indian outsider,’ those who are ignorant and need help.

Steven Morton notes that:

The teaching of British cultural values to the upper middle class in India was intended to instruct and enlighten the Indian middle class in the morally and politically superior culture of the British Empire. By employing such policies and practices, the British tried to persuade the Indian middle class that colonial rule was in its best interests.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, the Christian colonisers had to justify colonialism and the images of savages and barbarians, ‘since the Bible held that all human beings were brothers descended from the same parents.’¹⁷⁸ The explanation given was therefore that the colonised people had aroused God’s anger and had to ‘be brought back into the fold, and converted to Christian ways.’¹⁷⁹ The *Bengal Annual* was an important tool for the reproduction of Imperial ideology both amongst its British audience in India and those back in the home nation. The content of the *Bengal Annual* produced an image of a savage nation that needed help and had to be converted to British Christianity and European consumerism in order to be civilized.

In C.W. Stuart’s tale ‘Hoojjut Beg and the Suodagur’s Wife’ (*Bengal Annual* 1833), however, the characters are presented in a different manner, and one can say that the story could also have taken place in the western world.¹⁸⁰ In this tale, Furfundee Begum is left at home by her husband and has to provide for herself during his absence. When her husband fails to return, however, Begum borrows money from Hoojjut Beg and uses a ruse when he

¹⁷⁷ Stephan Morton, *Gayatri Charavorty Spivak* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ Loomba, p. 105.

¹⁷⁹ Loomba, p. 105.

¹⁸⁰ W. Stuart, “Hoojjut Beg and the Suodagur’s Wife,” *The Bengal Annual: A Literary Keepsake for MDCCCXXXIII* (Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1833).

wants his money back. Stuart describes the heroine as a young, beautiful and intelligent woman, worthy of her husband's attention:

Furfundee Begum, the Suodagur's wife, the heroine of the present tale, was well deserving of all her husband's care and solicitude. She was young, handsome, and sweet-tempered; while her wit and intelligence surpassed that of most females educated behind a purdah (*Bengal Annual 1833*, p. 62).

She is a loyal and faithful wife but, in order to remind the reader that the heroine is different from European women, the writer puts an emphasis on the fact that she is Muslim:

It is well known to every reader, that no woman in India, [...], is ever to be seen in public; when native females of respectability have occasion to go abroad, they are effectually concealed from view in their rut'hs, moohoffas, or dolees (*Bengal Annual 1833*, pp. 63-64).

Consequently, when Begum has to meet an Indian officer, she pleads her cause from the interior of a sedan rather than meeting him face to face. Either by accident or by intention, Kotwal manages to catch a glimpse of her:

It so happened, either from accident or design, that she pushed one of the quilted curtains partly aside, and discovered to the keen eye of the Kotwal a cheek and ringlets, that quite enchanted him. He was at once prepossessed in her favor. From being her judge, he became her admirer (*Bengal Annual 1833*, p. 64).

In 'Costandi: A Tale of the Levant' (Keepsake 1830), Dilber has the same effect on Costandi. Like Kotwal, Costandi falls in love with Dilber after glimpsing her unveiled face. Both

Costandi and Kotwal fall for the Muslim women when they are able to glimpse their faces. The veil, therefore, represents the barrier, between the known and the forbidden world and stimulates what Roberts calls 'the harem fantasy' of the nineteenth century British reader (Roberts 9). The result of their trespassing, therefore, is that Costandi almost forgets to save the other victims and Kotwal credulously offers to give her money to pay her debts. In these cases, the harem fantasy does not only represent eroticism and sexuality but danger and dependence.

Although this tale represents on the one hand the Western fantasy of India and the harem, on the other, however, it depicts ideas of femininity. In her distress, Begum takes money from different officers and as a consequence, the reader expects her to lose her virtue when she is unable to repay them. The concept of 'fallen women' was not new in nineteenth century Britain. Many writers incorporated this theme in their novels in order to save their readers from a similar fate. Amelia Opie, for example, depicted the fate of Agnes Fitzhenry, a fallen woman of society in *The Father and Daughter* (1801). In *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), Jane Austen describes the negative consequences Lydia's elopement could have for her and the whole family. Without marriage, Lydia was perceived as 'fallen' and for this reason the Bennet family tries everything possible to arrange a marriage and avert the shame. In 1853, for example, this theme was still relevant when Elizabeth Gaskell published *Ruth*. Different from most female characters, however, Begum is able to collect money without giving anything in return. Thus, she does not become a 'fallen woman' and does not lose her virtue. Consequently, everybody is impressed by the 'faithful Furfundee Begum, the mirror of wives, the amiable Penelope of the East' (*Bengal Annual 1833*, p. 77).

The setting of this story could also have been in Europe, as the heroine is described as a woman who patiently awaits her husband's return. She never questions why her husband does not come back and does everything to provide for herself and her servants in the mean

time. This notion resembles the description of Coventry Patmore's 'angel' in his narrative poem 'The Angel in the House' (1854). Even though this concept and the related discussion of women's social roles, later known as the 'woman question,' only emerged after the story was written, conduct books had been describing the ideal of womanhood from the eighteenth century onwards. Consequently, the qualities of gracefulness, chastity, politeness and angelic virtues, described in the middle of the century also apply to the character of Stuart's Begum. Begum is loyal to her husband because she is able to protect her virtue, and hence she is rewarded. Even though this woman is from India, the roles of femininity are in this story the same as in nineteenth-century Britain. Thus, one could argue that similar to Moore's political theme in *Lalla Rookh*, the author described ideas of British femininity and puts them in an Oriental context.

The *Bengal Annual* combines a variety of Eastern tales. Some authors preferred to give true accounts of horrifying stories such as sati burnings, while others decided on fictitious stories with an Oriental theme.¹⁸¹ All of them arouse curiosity in far away countries and cultures different from the reader's own. Although the *Oriental Annual* is composed in a different manner, there are certain themes that reoccur, including sati and human sacrifice. This section on the *Bengal Annual* does not refer to those themes in detail, as they will be discussed with reference to both annuals in a later part of this chapter.

¹⁸¹ Norbert Schürer, "The Imperial Spectator of Sati, 1757-84," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 42, no 1, Fall 2008, p. 39.

The Oriental Annual – Or Scenes in India

The proprietors of the *Bengal* and the *Oriental Annual* (1834-1840) delivered two very different annuals to their readers. They differ in terms of contributors, format, binding, purpose, engravings and content. Unlike other annuals, the *Oriental Annual* was written by only one person, Reverend Hobart Caunter (1792–1851) and was illustrated by only one painter, William Daniell (1769–1837). Caunter went to India in 1810 and recorded his impressions after his return. According to H. C. G. Matthew, Caunter did not find anything of interest on the continent of Asia and returned home.¹⁸² This statement seems surprising, as India remained a favourite topic, and one that he would address in several books. In the *Oriental Annual* series, Caunter describes landscapes, monuments, castles and palaces he has seen, and tells anecdotes he has experienced. In certain places, his writing is supported by historical facts or legends of former times. Another major difference is the fact that the engravings in this particular annual were provided by only one artist. At the age of fifteen, Daniell travelled with his uncle Thomas Daniell (1749-1840) to India as his assistant.¹⁸³ Together they toured Asia for about a decade until they returned home to process their impression and sketches into aquatints. Daniell published several books in which his drawings illustrate India and its customs. The fact that this annual does not include contributions from different artists and writers makes it stand out from other giftbooks. Interestingly, Caunter and Daniell were not the only writer and painter. Thomas Bacon (?)¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² H. C. G. Matthew, “Caunter, John Hobart (1792–1851),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

¹⁸³ Natasha Eaton, “Daniell, William (1769–1837),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

¹⁸⁴ There are several listings for ‘Thomas Bacon’ in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. None of them seem to refer to this individual.

and Captain Meadows Taylor (1808–1876)¹⁸⁵ took over in 1839. Nevertheless, Caunter did not cease publication the same year but published another version, *Caunter's and Daniell's Oriental Annual*. The *Gentleman's Magazine* explained why there were two versions available:

For eight years, from 1830 to 1838, Mr. Caunter wrote the letterpress to 'The Oriental Annual; or, Scenes of India, from drawings by William Daniell, R.A.:' and in 1839, after Mr. Daniell's death, he wrote another volume, also illustrated from Mr. Daniell's drawings which was published under the title of 'Caunter's and Daniell's Oriental Annual'—an alteration in title adopted because the former publisher at the same time produced another 'Oriental Annual,' the joint production of Thomas Bacon, esq. F.S.A., and Capt. Meadows Taylor. We believe Mr. Caunter edited a tenth volume of the Oriental Annual in 1840, which was the last.¹⁸⁶

The multiple versions of the *Oriental Annual* therefore prove that there was a market for Oriental literary projects. The restriction of the number of contributors to two at a time is, however, not the only difference between the *Oriental Annual* and other annuals.

Contrary to the concept of literary annuals, the proprietors decided to publish the series in a different format. An advertisement for the 1835 version states that 'in one respect the *Oriental Annual* differs from all works of a similar class; - it will be continued in yearly

¹⁸⁵ Richard Garnett, "Taylor, Philip Meadows (1808–1876)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

¹⁸⁶ *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review, January to June inclusive*, vol. XXXVII. (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1852), p. 628.

volumes, every three forming a distinct series.’¹⁸⁷ It is interesting that the publisher adopted the concept of the very popular three-volume or three-decker novel. In the nineteenth century, this publication method was very popular in the United Kingdom and authors would always try to bulk out a novel to fill the pages of a three-volume book. It was only in 1894 that novels were published in one single volume.¹⁸⁸ This could have been a strategy to ensure that the buyer would not only purchase one volume but the three volumes that form a set. Therefore, the three first volumes included ‘descriptions of the three English Presidencies:’ Madras, Calcutta and Bombay (*Oriental Annual 1835*, p. v), with Madras being the subject of the first volume, Calcutta of the second and Bombay of the third.

The binding of the *Oriental Annual* played a significant role in its distribution. As the reviews note, the appearance of this annual suggested something of its contents. For example, the critic of the *Literary Gazette* defined the annual as

[a] most elegant-looking volume, of a pale sage green, richly embossed with eastern devices of elephants and serpents in relief and in gold – a binding equally handsome and novel.¹⁸⁹

The *Mirror of Literature* describes it differently, recounting an ‘elegant exterior’ of olive morocco, with ‘gilt ornaments [at] the back [that] are a stately palm, with a lettered piece midway, and a camel at its base: on each side is a caparisoned elephant in gold, with a freighted houdah; and at each angle are intertwined serpents (cobras).’¹⁹⁰ The covers of the *Oriental Annual* depicts important symbolic animals of the Hindu religion that allow the reader to predict the type of narrative found in the volume. The cobra, for example, is in

¹⁸⁷ Rev. Hobart Caunter, *The Oriental Annual or Scenes in India* (London: Bull and Churton, 1835).

¹⁸⁸ Simon Eliot, and Jonathan Rose, eds., *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 291.

¹⁸⁹ “The Oriental Annual; or Scenes in India,” *Literary Gazette*, 873 (1833: Oct. 12), p. 647.

¹⁹⁰ “The Oriental Annual,” *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, 22: 633 (1833: Nov. 17), p. 324.

many parts of India an object of devotion and stands for creativity and the infinity of space and time. The snake induces fear and according to Julius Lipner, demonstrates that ‘the spiritual life is not without its hazards.’¹⁹¹ Furthermore, as a creature of the soil, it ‘symbolises the nurturing and fecundating qualities of the earth.’¹⁹² The elephant, on the other hand, symbolises, according to Nadine Weibel, spiritual power and authority.¹⁹³ In the Hindu religion, ‘people experience god in many different ways’¹⁹⁴ and that is why Hindus believe in many different gods. The camel, however, is not an animal of worship. In Tibet, it is seen as a vehicle frequently ridden by calm and peaceful deities and ‘in the Hindu tradition, the camel is sacred to the god Shukra.’¹⁹⁵ Of course, for Europeans, who were the main audience of this volume, the snake, elephant, and camel were symbols of the exotic Orient. As the *Literary Gazette* makes clear, however, its audience was likely to include those who had actually experienced the Indian sub-continent first hand:

It is a publication which must prove exceedingly interesting to persons who have been in India themselves, or who have near and dear connexions there [...]; and scarcely less so to all who are lovers of nature and art, as seen in some of their most picturesque, romantic, and pleasing shapes.¹⁹⁶

Thus, according to this journal, while the appearance of the annual was very important in setting up expectations about its contents, it was not perceived as fundamentally different from the mainstream annuals which also appealed to lovers of ‘nature and art.’

¹⁹¹ Julius Lipner, *Hindus: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 289.

¹⁹² Lipner, p. 289.

¹⁹³ Nadine Weibel, *Weiblicher Blick-Männergläubigkeit* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2008), p. 94.

¹⁹⁴ David Rose, *Hinduism* (Haddenham: Folens, 1995), p. 10.

¹⁹⁵ Hope B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 69.

¹⁹⁶ “Twenty-five illustrations to the Oriental Annual; 1834,” *Literary Gazette*, 870 (1833: Sept. 21), p. 601.

The aim of this particular annual was clearly identified as both entertaining and instructive. For example, the *Monthly Review* stated that:

The Oriental Annual for 1835 appears to comprise every thing [sic] that could render it entertaining and useful. It contains history interspersed with the most interesting anecdotes. It gives a faithful view of the manners and customs of the countries it describes. In short, it includes a great deal worthy of observation in the Indian scenes which it represents.¹⁹⁷

That the annual is not only a matter of amusement is suggested by the *Analyst*, which states that unlike the ‘majority of annuals’ which aim is ‘to amuse’ rather ‘than to instruct,’ the new volume of the *Oriental Annual* united ‘these two objects.’¹⁹⁸ If amusement and instruction go hand in hand in the *Oriental Annual*, the *Bengal Annual* is about enjoyment rather than learning as it consists entirely of fiction. The instructional and informal character of the *Oriental Annual* is provided by Caunter’s writing, which claims to represent the authentic experience of India. This is due to his own experience abroad: ‘In reference to the author’s own competency, he can only advert to the advantage which he has derived from having lived several years in the country, where the scenes represented in the *Oriental Annual* are laid’ (*Oriental Annual* 1834, ‘Address’). Caunter further emphasises the fact that Daniell also lived abroad for many years. Consequently, Daniell’s competence is due to his being a ten-year resident in India, ‘during the whole of which period he was professionally engaged, [and this]

¹⁹⁷ *The Monthly Review from September to December inclusive*, November, Vol. III (London: G. Henderson, 1834), p. 432.

¹⁹⁸ “The Oriental Annual,” *Analyst: a quarterly journal of science, literature, natural history, and the fine arts*, 5 (1836: June), p. 340.

has given him advantage over every living artist in the delineation of Eastern scenery' (*Oriental Annual* 1834, 'Address').¹⁹⁹

The *Caledonian Mercury* promised that this was the reason why the *Oriental Annual* would only include the best descriptions of the Eastern World: 'The Oriental Annual will present whatever is most grand and beautiful in the Natural and Artificial features of the Eastern World, commencing with India, owing to its immediate interest and connection with this country.'²⁰⁰ This is a major selling point for the publishers as it indicates that everything it contains is true rather than fictitious. The aim for the publisher is thus 'to make it a valuable reference and interesting work upon the East Indies.'²⁰¹ *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* refers to a review by the *Spectator* which states that Caunter's descriptive account 'is not a tour, but the impressions and the striking incidents of a tour, intermingled with individual portraiture and historical episodes. [...] It has the reality of a mere book of travels without its dryness, and some of the spirit of fiction without its untruth.'²⁰² Ideas of truth and reality were thus key elements in the reception of this text. This shows that even though the *Bengal Annual* was known to be written by people living in India, the *Oriental Annual* was not inferior in this perspective. These reviews therefore suggest that contemporary readers were interested in getting an authentic flavour of the East, as if they were travelling to a different country that could not be guaranteed by the kind of Orientalist

¹⁹⁹ Daniell's experience is not only referred to in the introduction of the annual, but can also be found in the footnotes of the 1834 version: 'It has been the object of the artist, in the pictorial subjects that embellish this volume, to give exact portraits of the scenes which his pencil has portrayed, and I am satisfied that no one who has been in India will deny the faithfulness of these representations' (*Oriental Annual* 1834, p. 194).

²⁰⁰ *Caledonian Mercury* 26 Sept. 1833.

²⁰¹ "Oriental Annual," *Metropolitan Magazine*, 11: 43 (1834: Nov.), p. 84.

²⁰² *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*, vol. 28, January to June 1836 (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1836), p. 76.

tale found in other annuals. In particular, the engravings were perceived as giving the impression that the reader was stepping into a different climate and different world:

While we look upon them [engravings] we feel as if gentle odours breathed from the page, and filled the air around us with perfumes,²⁰³

the tales and legends seem [...] to be precisely the stuff of which an Oriental Annual like this ought to be constructed. [...] they are curious illustrations of Eastern feelings and manners; and they are curious grounds for comparison with northern and more modern productions of the same genera.²⁰⁴

In the introduction to the 1834 version, Caunter clearly states his aim for delivering an annual of this kind: 'It has been his aim to blend entertainment with information, - to record such events as he considered best calculated to amuse, at the same time that they should afford an insight into the habits, manners and national prejudices of a remote and extraordinary people' (*Oriental Annual* 1834, 'Address'). Nevertheless, one has to keep in mind that Caunter describes his own point of view and perception of the people he has encountered. As Tim Youngs has pointed out, 'travel writing is not a literal and objective record of journeys undertaken. [...] It is influenced [...] by its authors' gender, class, age, nationality, cultural background and education.'²⁰⁵ Caunter 'tailored' the annual to British 'domestic tastes' by choosing topics that were shocking and novel.²⁰⁶ Despite what reviewers perceived as a realistic picture of a foreign land, most of Caunter's stories highlight the difference between the British author and the Indians that he meets.

²⁰³ "The Oriental Annual; or, Scenes in India," *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic*, 11: 5 (1837: Dec.), p. 236.

²⁰⁴ "The Oriental Annual; containing a Series of Tales, Legends, and Historical Romances," *Literary Gazette*, 1134 (1838: Oct. 13), p. 643.

²⁰⁵ Youngs, p. 2.

²⁰⁶ Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*, p. 13.

The engravings included in the *Oriental Annual* were also of a different character. Portraits and the depiction of women give way to prints of landscapes, buildings and monuments. There are further prints of wild native animals such as elephants, crocodiles, lions and scenes the painter and the writer have experienced on their travels. A major difference between the embellishments of the *Bengal* and *Oriental Annual* is that the images in the latter were produced by the best British engravers. In order to compete with the literary market and maintain high standards, the *Oriental Annual* was fully produced in Britain and not in India, meaning that it could be of much higher quality. It was common for a critic to cite extensive chunks of literature in their reviews, but it was rare to find reproductions of engravings in magazines. *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, however, reproduced with permission of the proprietors an engraving from the *Oriental Annual* for 1834. The critic did not only praise ‘Alligator and Dead Elephant’ but all the other prints likewise:

The *Oriental Annual* is, in every respect, the most magnificent of all the publications of its class. It alike surpasses them in magnificence of subject and execution, and is, without exception, the most exquisite specimen of engraving yet produced in this country, or in Europe.²⁰⁷

This review shows that the embellishments were of a very high quality and were therefore of importance to the number of sales.

Before the content of the *Oriental Annual* is looked at in more detail, it is important to briefly speak about its reception and price. Journals and magazines give the twenty-first century reader an idea of the reception of a particular annual. As with other literary annuals, the responses to the *Oriental Annual*, however, also differ. The *Blackwood's Lady's*

²⁰⁷ ‘The *Oriental Annual*,’ *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, 22: 633 (1833: Nov. 17), p. 322.

Magazine does not praise the annual and believes it to be far too expensive.²⁰⁸ The prices of literary annuals varied between 12s and one guinea and even though the reviewer of this magazine acknowledges the expense involved in producing the annual, he/she believes it to be too pricey. The proprietors of the *Oriental Annual* did not only adopt the high price range of the popular *Keepsake* but likewise published different sizes and different proof prints too. The reason for the high price and the different formats was that it was ‘a book for the Library as well as for the Drawing-room table,’ and hence had to look expensive and chic (*Oriental Annual 1835*, ‘Advertisement’).

The price is, however, not the only thing the reviewer disapproves of; she/he takes issue with the content too: ‘The plates are well enough, but the literature is badly chosen. Who cares about sketches of palaces, fortresses, accounts of savage sports, and robbers; cannot all this be seen in the Penny Magazine?’²⁰⁹ This demonstrates that the reviewer prefers the poetry and stories from other types of annuals because he/she is not interested in the Orient or/and the customs of its people from the colonies. As this review was published in *Blackwood’s Lady’s Magazine*, it gives the impression that travel annuals were not of interest to ladies and hence were intended for a predominantly male audience. This does not hold true, however, keeping in mind that many female writers, such as Mary Shelley and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, travelled the world and wrote accounts of their journeys because they felt interested in such things.

The journals do not only print negative receptions of the literary annual. The *Spectator*, for example, praises the *Oriental Annual* as a volume ‘unrivalled in its class.’

²⁰⁸ *Blackwood’s Lady’s Magazine and Gazette of the Fashionable World*, vol. 3 (London: Augustus H. Blackwood, George Simpkin, and James Page, 1837), p. 192.

²⁰⁹ *Blackwood’s Lady’s Magazine and Gazette of the Fashionable World*, vol. 3, 1837, p. 192.

The present volume nominally embraces Bombay; and completes the first series of a work which is unrivalled in its class, for the permanent interest and instructive character of its matter, for the unity and completeness of its design, for the clearness and strength of its composition, as well as for the splendour of its illustrations and of its more mechanical adornment.²¹⁰

This critic clearly favours this annual and does not fault its design, content, or illustrations. In order to maintain the high opinion of its readers, the proprietor had a plan. In the advertisement for the 1835 *Oriental Annual*, the proprietor for example, explained that production would be stopped if the reading public was no longer interested: ‘Although no Series of the *Oriental Annual* will extend beyond three volumes, the work itself will be continued until the demand for it ceases’ (*Oriental Annual 1835*, p. vi). This shows that although the reviews might have been split, the *Oriental Annual* was successful as production did not stop in 1836 but continued until 1840.

The content of the *Oriental Annual* differs from other annuals of its class. It is particularly unusual in that it contains no poetry. Each volume is divided into different chapters describing the landscapes and the scenes Caunter has experienced on his travels, with each chapter a continuation of the preceding chapter. Hence the reader gets explanations of Indian vegetation, animals, countryside and people. The incorporation of anecdotes breaks up the writing and makes it an interesting and sometimes rather shocking read. In his narrative, Caunter not only repeats Orientalist strategies, but occasionally refers to events, people, writings and trends which were known by his contemporaries. The narrator believes that his readers have the same knowledge as himself and therefore no further explanations are

²¹⁰ *Spectator*, 17 October 1835, quoted in Caunter, Rev. Hobart, *Oriental Annual* (London: Charles Tilt, 1837), p. 241.

necessary. Consequently, he refers for example to a new fashion which is inspired by the orient because the women ‘always wear an ornament, which has no doubt given rise to the Sévigné now universally worn by European ladies’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 21). Another important discussion in Britain, already lamented by Mary Wollstonecraft in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), was the rights of women. Caunter marginally picks up this debate because he believes that only a society that respects women can be a perfect civilization. In order to illustrate his statement, he gives the example of Mrs. Somerville (1780–1872)²¹¹ who is ‘an illustrious example of the supremacy of mind’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, 82-83). Caunter does not deal with her character in more detail, as he expects his readers to know of Somerville and her reputation as an influential woman of science. Caunter suggests that British India has to respect and educate their women in the same manner in order to achieve a perfect civilization. Therefore, according to Francis G. Hutchins, the aim of the missionaries and reformers was to ensure that ‘India’s ‘respectable classes’ would be Christian, English-speaking, free of idolatry, and actively engaged in the government of their country.’²¹² Many British believed that ‘embracing Christianity would quickly bring India to the forefront of civilization’ and therefore tried ‘to bring India as rapidly as possible up to the British standard.’²¹³

Caunter questions the humanity of the natives not only in connection with widow burnings, but on many other occasions. In most anecdotes, the native people act in an incomprehensible manner for a British audience. One morning, Caunter sees a very poor woman with her newly born child. Both of them are in an appalling state, as ‘every bone was hideously prominent’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, pp. 66-67). When he checks on the mother, he

²¹¹ Mary R. S. Creese, “Somerville, Mary (1780–1872),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

²¹² Hutchins, p. viii.

²¹³ Hutchins, p. 18.

realises that she is dead and takes the child away from her. The writer is shocked that rich people know about such poverty but are not interested in helping:

And yet these horrors are witnessed by the wealthy among their countrymen with an apathy that deplorably shows the unbenign influence of a religion which neither encourages nor admits the operation of human sympathies. What a different lesson does Christianity teach, and what a different practice does it enforce! (*Oriental Annual 1836*, pp. 69-70).

Caunter clearly favours Christianity over Hindu religion. He does not understand why a religion would not encourage people to help others in need. Rachel Ginnis Fuchs suggests that in the nineteenth century, connections inside the community helped to ‘save some [poor people] from poverty’ and devastation.²¹⁴ Thus, in most cases, neighbours would give ‘food, clothing, or firewood to the needy among them.’²¹⁵ Such kindness and solidarity are depicted in many novels including Jane Austen’s *Emma* (1816) and several decades later, Elizabeth Gaskell’s *Cranford* (1853). In the former, Emma helps the poor of her neighbourhood, whereas in the latter, Miss Matty is greatly helped by her neighbours and friends when she loses most of her income. Caunter depicts ostracism and neglect in his stories; elements that render the customs of Indian people alien and foreign and thus help missionaries and reformers to illustrate their cause. Many missionaries want to change the thinking of each part of Indian society in order to avoid and stop those customs which were revolting to the Western mind.

Caunter repeats an orientalist theme already presented in another annuals. There is some overlap between Caunter’s work and that which appeared in the *Keepsake*. For

²¹⁴ Rachel Ginnis Fuchs, *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 197.

²¹⁵ Fuchs, p. 197.

example, in one chapter an Englishman in India saves a girl from a buffalo in a text that deliberately echoes (or responds to) ‘Costandi: A Tale of the Levant’ from the *Keepsake for 1830*. In order to thank him, she takes him home to introduce him to her father Jumsajee Merjee. He stays with them and they fall in love. It does not take long, for her father to realize that his daughter is pregnant. Furious about his offspring, he decides that she has to die, because ‘her alliance with a Christian was, in the estimation of these heathen robbers, a deadly sin’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 251). When the English stranger hears what is about to happen, he decides to talk to her father and set everything right. Nevertheless, not even the fact that he wants to marry his daughter could soothe the father. On the contrary; he has to die too. They are led to the stake when a miracle happens. The couple is saved by a flash of lightning that ‘[strikes] the stake to which they [are] both tied and shiver[s] it in pieces’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 255). The victims are released because ‘the Deity [...] [has] interfered in their behalf’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 256). This moment of divine intervention is so remarkable that not only are the couple saved, but the girl is restored to her father’s favour and they are allowed to marry

...according to the rites of the Christian Church, and eventually inheriting the father’s wealth, proceeded to England, where the wife became a Christian; and the husband never found cause to regret that he had espoused the daughter of a Parsee (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 256).

Both this story and ‘Costandi’ depict couples that marry despite religious and cultural differences and in the end both women convert to Christianity. Both texts thus celebrate the triumph of Christianity over a despotic and repressive religion. Caunter’s text manipulates a series of tropes associated with colonial discourse, but unlike the Orientalist texts found in the *Keepsake* they attempt to cover up the possible criticism that they are fictions by

appealing to an aesthetic of authenticity that is in part based around this annual's rejection of much that is associated with the annual form.

The desire of the writer to depict native barbarity extends into other genres including history. In the *Oriental Annual* for 1837, Caunter describes for example, his travels to Madura, where during the Nayara Dynasty the king of Madura, Trimallia Nayaca also known as Trimal Naig, had 'erected a splendid palace within the fort of Madura' (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 51). The narrator tells the story of two architects who had designed the choultry who to 'prevent the possibility of' their building the same structure again, are 'immured in a dungeon, the entrance of which was built up, and they were thus buried alive' (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 55). Again the writer is shaken by this kind of treatment: 'In tracing the histories of tyrants, how generally do we find that death has been the reward where they have been faithfully served' (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 55). Even though these masons were buried alive in a different time period, the story links images of native violence (being buried alive, which has been discussed above in chapter two) with the Gothic imagination of the British reader. 'The Deserted Chateau' and 'A Tragedy of Other Times' were, for example, Gothic short stories and 'were written for the sake of 'Example and Warning.''²¹⁶ Caunter's anecdote, however, depicts the superstition and ignorance of the native people which often resulted in human sacrifice. Human sacrifice was an important aspect of the nineteenth-century British explanation of the 'otherness' of Indians, and to illustrate why their presence in India was necessary. As Gothic themes and human sacrifice are important aspects of oriental annuals, they are further explained in the following section.

As it was common for a writer to include footnotes in oriental inspired works, it is not surprising to discover this technique (that we have already seen, for example, in the *Bengal*

²¹⁶ Howells, p. 14.

Annual) in the *Oriental Annual* too. These footnotes are of a different character and can be arranged into different categories; first, they give Caunter the possibility to explain unknown words or concepts; secondly, they give further information that is likely to have been unknown to someone from outside India; thirdly, they may be used as a point of reference for further reading, or, fourthly, as a reference for a quotation. For the first category of footnotes, Caunter uses typically Indian words which would not need explanation for an Indian reader. The European reader, on the other hand, might be at loss when confronted with words such as ‘suras’ or ‘cotilla.’ Consequently, Caunter explains such words in footnotes, as he does not want to interrupt the narration.²¹⁷ In certain cases, the reader might guess the meaning of the words, but the writer does not want any confusion as his writing is supposed to be accurate and true. In terms of the second category, the explanations go much further. They are not necessary needed, but give the reader a better understanding of oriental things, places or topics. The *Oriental Annual* for 1834 notes for example that the structure of the camel’s foot prevents it from sinking in the sandy soil of the desert. This explanation is completed by further clarification in the footnote:

When employed to travel in hilly countries, where the surface is rocky, or where it has been rendered slippery by rain, the camel is apt to fall, and its fall is invariably fatal. The legs slip laterally, when especially if it is loaded, the ponderous body falls, the members dislocating and projecting horizontally from the shoulders and haunches, and so complete is the luxation, that the suffering animal can never be made to rise. Under such circumstances, it is immediately killed, not only in tender mercy, but probably more frequently for the sake of its hide and

²¹⁷ Hence, the reader finds out in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 that ‘Cotilla’ is ‘[a] fortified house’ (*Oriental Annual* 1835, p. 102), and in the 1836 version that ‘Suras’ are ‘good spirits’ (*Oriental Annual* 1836, p. 121).

flesh, which is esteemed, particularly, by the Arabs, as very delicate food. (*Oriental Annual 1834*, p. 210).

Caunter thus not only explains that the camel's foot structure is ideal for sandy surfaces but further states that it is not the best for rocky areas as it might fall fatally. In this case, it is killed by its owner and the meat eaten as it is a delicacy. Footnotes of this kind are not only found in Caunter's writing but are present in Bacon's too.²¹⁸ These explanations are not absolutely necessary but explain animals and vegetation unknown to the European reader. Hence, these footnotes help to instruct the reader about India and its animals. The third type of footnote gives the reader ideas for further reading. In the *Oriental Annual*, footnotes such as 'See Edinburgh Cabinet Library – British India, vol. III. chap. xvi' (*Oriental Annual 1834*, p. 12) or 'See the Bhagvat Geeta, an episode of the Mahabbarat, translated by Sir Charles Wilkins from the original Sanscrit, lecture xvii. page 120' (*Oriental Annual 1835*, p. 75) are not a rarity. These footnotes help the interested reader find further information on the same topic elsewhere. The last category refers to footnotes related to quotes given in the text. In order to provide accuracy and truth, the writer discloses his sources. Caunter quotes for example Captain Basil Hall in the 1836 version: 'I paid dearly for my temerity: indeed, I believe this island is nearly the most unhealthy spot in the East Indies' (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 89) and refers in the footnotes to Hall's travel account. Caunter notes that this statement can be found in 'Description of Hindostan' (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 179). On some occasions writers incorporate several lines of verse in order to illustrate their depictions. Again, the writers do not take the credit for these lines but tell their readers the source. The

²¹⁸ In the *Oriental Annual for 1840*, for example, Bacon describes a fight between an animal (a shark) and a man, and the shark's death: 'The monster turned* several times to seize its adversary, who, dexterously evading the intended visitation by diving under it, renewed his attack with the knife' (*Oriental Annual 1840*, p.18). The asterisk at the beginning of the sentence refers to a footnote at the bottom of the page. It explains that 'The shark always turns upon its back to seize its prey' (*Oriental Annual 1840*, p. 18).

use of footnotes helps Caunter to give his writings a sense of authenticity and truth. Footnotes were present after Beckford's *Vathek* (1786) in all major oriental stories and poems, including those by Southey, Byron and Moore, providing the orientalist descriptions in their works with realism.

Depiction of Human Sacrifice and Sati death in the *Bengal and Oriental Annual*

The *British Critic* recommended the *Oriental Annual* to a special type of audience: 'A volume quite gorgeous in its embellishments, and in its letter-press interesting, on many accounts, to the Biblical student and Christian reader.'²¹⁹ Caunter's work, like that found in the *Bengal Annual*, certainly seems to justify the growth of missionary activity and colonial expansion. The writers often describe the backward and barbaric customs of the natives in their stories. Hence the 'Christian reader' receives a justification for its civilising mission in India. As of the eighteenth-century Europeans believed that all non-Christian and non-European civilizations had evolved from the primitive stage to 'barbarism.'²²⁰ Hence, '[f]ixed by tyrannical rulers and superstitious priests, such 'barbarous' societies seemed to be condemned to lag behind progressive, enlightened Europe.'²²¹ This view is due to human sacrifices, cannibalism, sati burnings, and infanticides, which can be found in both annuals. 'Human sacrifice' can be seen as the main category, with sati, cannibalism and infanticide as sub-categories. Each of these categories can be divided into two groups; those who make the sacrifice willingly and those who do not. The following section will look at different

²¹⁹ "The Oriental Annual; or, Scenes in India; comprising Twenty-five Engravings from Original Drawings,"

The British Critic, Quarterly Theological and Ecclesiastical Record, 15: 29 (1834: Jan), p. 239.

²²⁰ Leask, 'East,' p. 139.

²²¹ Leask, 'East,' p. 139.

examples from both annuals. Examples of this kind were often used to explain and justify the civilizing mission.

In the nineteenth century, contemporaries were aware of the problem of human sacrifice, and many newspapers also wrote about this phenomenon. The *Imperial Magazine* numbered in April 1830 for example, the amount of death in India:

Still *six or seven hundred* females are annually burnt or buried alive in British India, besides what fall a sacrifice to this horrid practice in the allied and independent states; according to the philanthropic Col. Walker, '3,000 infants are annually murdered in Western India; thousands still perish in pilgrimages, allured to shrines of idolatry, [...] or are hurried down in a state of sickness and debility to the Ganges, and there cruelly murdered, - and yet no inquisition is made for their blood.'²²²

For this critic, sati counts as a human sacrifice, despite the fact that some Indian women might have freely chosen death. The aim of this essay was to shock the reader and make sure that 'the friends of humanity [were] deeply impressed with the nature and extent of human sacrifices in the East'²²³ and that therefore everyone would sign petitions to help the people in India:

Let cities, towns, and villages, petition for the exertion of British humanity and justice, to abolish every species of human sacrifice in India; and when the public voice is temperately and reasonably

²²² *Imperial Magazine*, (1830: Apr.), p. 349.

²²³ *Imperial Magazine*, 1830, p. 349.

expressed, we may rest assured that it will not be suffered to plead in vain.²²⁴

These kind of petitions were an attempt to help mostly those people who did not willingly sacrifice their own lives.

The first edition of the *Bengal Annual* (1830), 'Human Sacrifices' by Captain Gavin R. Crawford, describes the barbarous practices of human sacrifice in India, which the *Imperial Magazine* tries to prohibit. Crawford's informant, Enkya Pudlwar observed 'On the 23rd September, at eight o'clock, P.M., the following sacrifice was offered in the portico in front of the temple, the Rajah being present [:] 5 Goosyns, 10 People of different castes, 600 he-goats, and 10 Male buffaloes' (*Bengal Annual 1830*, p. 629). Whether those ten victims accepted their fate or were killed is explained soon after:

The sacrifice takes place every third year, and the number of human victims ought to be fifteen. Should it be impossible to procure *any* victims by the seizure of travellers, or others, not inhabitants of the Bustar country, the Rajah, in that case, causes *one* of his own subjects to be seized for the sacrifice (*Bengal Annual 1830*, p. 629).

Crawford is clearly presenting a ritual in which travellers are captured and offered to the Gods. One year later, the *Bengal Annual for 1831* included another essay in which Crawford²²⁵ reported another case of human sacrifice. Crawford states that in January 1828 the Rajah decided that twenty-two men should be sacrificed to Devi. One man was seized by the Rajah's men and taken away. When his brother tried to buy him free without success, he

²²⁴ *Imperial Magazine*, 1830, p. 349.

²²⁵ The article on human sacrifice in *the Bengal Annual* for 1830 is written by Captain G. R. Crawford, and the letter published a year later is signed G. R. Crawford. The letter makes clear that it consists of a typing error and that both writers are the same person.

‘assembled his Bunjarree brethren to the number of one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five’ and the Rajah decided to release the prisoner to his friends (*Bengal Annual* 1831, p. 307). In this paragraph, Crawford described another oriental phenomenon widely known by his contemporaries: oriental despotism. Even though in this particular case the brother was freed, the Rajah had absolute power in his kingdom. Despotism was therefore another reason for colonialism, as it was ‘the responsibility of the British imperialists of India to liberate Indians from the slavery of their own making.’²²⁶ The reaction of the Rajah is surprising, as one does not expect him to release the prisoner. In 1853, Karl Marx wrote that in order to achieve:

...the solid foundation of Oriental despotism [, one has to] restrain the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energy.²²⁷

This type of despot is often described in oriental tales. Crawford explains that the tyrant has given in and granted freedom to someone who was supposed to die. Looking at this from a naive point of view, this might show that the Rajah has human traits, but on the other, and more realistically, he might have been intimidated by the large number of people willing to fight for the prisoner’s life. It is nevertheless surprising that the people revolted against the Rajah and that they managed to free one of their own in the first place. Furthermore, these examples show that human sacrifice was not necessarily a voluntary death but that the Rajah captured people in order to offer them up. Furthermore, the number of sacrifices was not fixed but varied according to the Rajah who was in power.

²²⁶ Brantlinger, p. 78.

²²⁷ Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, p. 118.

According to Brantlinger, even though ‘neither utilitarians nor evangelicals respected Indian customs, beliefs, and patters of social organization,’²²⁸ Crawford tried to find the reason why human sacrifice was still popular:

The blood of a tiger pleases the goddess (Kali) for one hundred years, and the blood of a lion, a reindeer, or a man, a thousand. But by the sacrifice of three men, she is pleased 100,000 years (*Bengal Annual 1830*, p. 629).

Clearly such a view of the savagery of native Indians suited an Imperialist vision of domination, and different journals picked up the article and reprinted it. *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle* for example was intrigued by the Crawford’s essay and reprinted it under the title of ‘Human Sacrifices in India.’²²⁹

Even if the outcome of the human sacrifices mentioned in the essay was not what one might normally expect, they show that ‘human sacrifice’ was not only a myth but that it occurred regularly. In order to give a more realistic picture and prove that the story is accurate, Crawford included a detailed description of the course of action during a human sacrifice:

When the intended number of victims is completed, they are kept without food for three days; on the fourth day they are entirely shaved, bathed, and rubbed with oil, after which they are led to the image of Devi, and made to worship it. Then they are taken to the tree, and when there, the

²²⁸ Brantlinger, p. 76.

²²⁹ Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle, from July to December* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1830), p. 629.

Gond Poojaree takes the knife out of the temple of Devi, and cuts off their heads (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. 307).

The *Oriental Annual* also illustrates the opposite case, in which the victim chooses to die. The narrator witnesses, for example, what is termed an ‘awful act of superstitious devotion’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 25). On his trip, Caunter observes a ritual of self-immolation, during which a man prepares to plunge into the river to drown himself. The drowning process is made more difficult by two large jars that are attached to his shoulders. In order to drown, the man has to fill each of them with water. This is a torturous death as ‘[it] only served to lengthen the dreadful process of death; for the other jar being empty prevented him from sinking, whilst that which was full drew him sufficiently under water to obstruct his breathing’ (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 25). Caunter regularly refers to this type of anecdote in his travel writing. Such examples proved what the British already knew, namely that the ‘chief force deflecting Indians from the path of genuine civilization was false religion, particularly Hinduism.’²³⁰ Brantlinger points out (Reginald Heber’s statement) that ‘[a]ll that is bad about them appears to arise either from the defective motives which their religion supplies, or the wicked actions which it records of their gods, or encourages in their own practice.’²³¹ Heber refers amongst others to the above mentioned human sacrifice, as well as infanticide and sati burnings, which were other respected customs in India.²³² These examples proved the superiority of their own ‘race,’ and justified the conquering, governing and civilizing of a nation that was ‘inherently incapable of governing and civilizing themselves.’²³³

²³⁰ Brantlinger, p. 77.

²³¹ Brantlinger, p. 77.

²³² Brantlinger, p. 77.

²³³ Brantlinger, p. 21.

An example of human sacrifice that is less often depicted in the *Bengal* and *Oriental Annual* is cannibalism. In ‘Human Sacrifices – Cannibals’ (*Bengal Annual 1831*), Crawford recalled a description of a particular Cannibal tribe by Lieutenant Prendergast. The tribe lived in small groups in the hills of Oomercuntuc and were ‘Cannibals in the real sense of the word’ (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. 309). The narrator informs us of the occasions when family members who are severely ill or too old because they are feeble and weak, have their throat cut and are eaten by the rest of the tribe. Whether cannibalism really existed in these parts is not possible to prove. Gananath Obeyesekere points out that

The mere fact that a native population admitted to their cannibalism was not proof of the existence of that practice because cannibalism became a ‘weapon of the weak’ to keep European intruders away from native homes and habitations.²³⁴

It is surprising that the lieutenant was curious enough to find out more about this tribe considering the fact that he could have died during the adventure. The reader finds out, however, that Prendergast was never at risk, as they ‘never eat the flesh of any person not belonging to their own family or tribe, nor do they do this except on particular occasions’ (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. 309). This example might indicate that cannibalism was used to keep foreigners away. ‘Dreading being eaten by the savages,’ cannibalism helped the European to establish the ‘discourse on the other.’²³⁵ Consequently, like the harem fantasy, cannibalism was, according to Obeyesekere, a product of the European fantasy.²³⁶ Like the

²³⁴ Gananath Obeyesekere, “Cannibal Feasts in Nineteenth-Century Fiji: seamen’s yarns and the ethnographic imagination,” *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, ed. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 63.

²³⁵ Obeyesekere, p. 63.

²³⁶ Obeyesekere, p. 64.

sacrifices before, cannibalism was used as a process of ‘othering’ those cultures different from their own.

Sati (or suttee) was an often depicted theme in travel literature. Even though this shocked the reader, the colonizers did not at once intervene into widow-burnings because, according to Norbert Schürer, colonial control was previously not feasible.²³⁷ Before the official abolition of sati in 1829, the British distinguished between two kinds of widow-deaths; voluntary and coerced.²³⁸ In terms of the former, the widow was seen as ‘a heroic figure admired for her bravery’ and for the latter, as ‘a passive, voiceless victim of superstition, society and Brahmins.’²³⁹ That is why Europeans were reluctant to interfere at once. Both annuals illustrated a vast number of anecdotes of sati deaths. *The Oriental Annual for 1834*, for example, depicts a woman, who wants to die a sati but is not able to, as her husband’s body could not be retrieved:

She therefore could not go through the ceremony according to prescribed form, she was spared the necessity of dying a death, distinguished indeed in her eyes, but nevertheless truly horrible (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 27).

Caunter believed that this woman was lucky, and explained that the reason for self-immolation in this case was the rewards the wife would get when she reached the paradise of God (*Oriental Annual 1836*, p. 28). Although this description is shocking, the narrator witnesses a different kind of sati in the *Oriental Annual for 1834*.

Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter give examples of the duties of a faithful Hindu widow from 1789, which explains why some women choose death over life:

²³⁷ Norbert Schürer, “The Impartial Spectator of Sati, 1757-1841,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 42, no 1, Fall 2008, p. 3.

²³⁸ Schürer, p. 3.

²³⁹ Schürer, p. 5.

She who follows her husband *to another world*, shall dwell in a region of joy for so many years as there are hairs on the human body, or thirty-five millions.

The woman who follows her husband *to her pile*, expiates the sins of three generations, on the paternal and maternal side, of that family to which she was given while a virgin.

There, having the best of husbands, *herself best of women*, enjoying the best delights, she partakes of bliss with her husband *in a celestial abode*, as long as fourteen INDRAS reign.²⁴⁰

The *Bengal* and the *Oriental Annual* did not explain why many women chose to die. The only explanation Caunter and Crawford gave was superstition and wrong religious beliefs that forced women to act accordingly.

Like Caunter and Crawford, there are other contemporaries who wrote about this phenomenon, including L.E.L.. Landon's 'Immolation of a Hindoo Widow' described the fate of a woman, '[t]he bride of Death!'²⁴¹ who is about to die. Contrary to the widow in Caunter's story, Landon's widow mounted the pyre without hesitation to be reunited with her husband again. Landon's poem is rather short, which might suggest that the whole practice does not take much time either. Caunter believed that 'the quicker the process, the less the chance of rescue or escape' (*Oriental Annual 1834*, p. 97). It is clear that the whole scene is cruel and that Caunter does not approve of the sacrifice. He describes the people as 'stern,'

²⁴⁰ Barbara Harlow & Mia Carter, eds., *Imperialism and Orientalism* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999), p. 94.

²⁴¹ Letitia Elizabeth Landon, "Immolation of a Hindoo Widow," *The Poetical Works of Miss Landon* (Philadelphia: E.L. Carey and A. Hart, 1839), p. 299.

‘cruel,’ ‘violent’ and ‘unfeeling’ and it becomes evident that the woman is not willing to die anymore but that her countrymen will not let her live:

She was soon dragged to the pile and forced upon it; at this time she appeared exhausted by her continued exertions. [...] Lest in her agonies she should leap from the pile, she was kept down upon it by long bamboos; the ends being placed upon her body by the officiating Bramins, who leaned their whole weight upon the centre of the pole with which each was furnished, and which each zealously applied to this holy purpose, so that she could not rise. Her sufferings were soon terminated, as the wood burned with extreme rapidity and fury. Thus ended this infernal holocaust! (*Oriental Annual 1834*, p. 98).

This woman clearly changed her mind and did not want to die a sati death. Caunter’s descriptions are shocking and it is not surprising that he questions these rituals: ‘What can we think of the advocates and abettors of a religion which lends its sanction to such a barbarous rite as that of human sacrifice?’ (*Oriental Annual 1834*, p. 98). Such depictions provoke horror and repulsion and therefore form part of the pornography of violence. This term is often used in connection to cinema and film to describe modern horror, as these illustrations are only possible without censorship.²⁴² Teresa A. Goddu suggests that violent scenes are truly effective if they are indirect and suggestive, and if they leave ‘the horrific primarily to the viewer’s imagination.’²⁴³ Here, Caunter vividly describes a horrific scene and helps the reader to imagine it. Descriptions of this kind brought the horror of that practice into the English drawing-room, reminding the readers of Gothic stories. Nicola Trott suggests that Gothic initially meant ‘all things primitive, barbarous, and savage; on the other, it designated

²⁴² Ken Gelder, ed., *The Horror Reader* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 260.

²⁴³ Gelder, p. 260.

a historical period, known evocatively as the ‘dark ages.’²⁴⁴ Even though the nineteenth century was not the ‘dark age,’ the human sacrifices described above combined fear, savagery and violence. Furthermore, Cannon Schmitt argues in *Alien Nation* that ‘the Gothic is preoccupied with opposing binaries.’²⁴⁵ This is also the case in this story, as one can find the insider (Indians)/ outsider (Caunter), sadistic Brahmins/victimized widow, death/life. Brantlinger suggests in *Rule of Darkness* that in the late nineteenth century another type of Gothic emerged; the ‘imperial Gothic,’ that blends ‘adventure story with Gothic elements.’²⁴⁶ During the early nineteenth century, many places remained undiscovered and unexplored. Consequently, many travellers started their journeys to fill the blanks, including Caunter and Crawford. The question arises as to whether these writers maintained a line between fact and fiction or whether reportage and imperial fantasy sometimes intermingled. Readers realised, however, that people in the Orient needed help as their customs seemed far inferior to their own. Gothic elements can be found in depictions of rescues, clerical villains, murder, burials, and obsessions including the supernatural.²⁴⁷ The Gothic and the oriental stories both cover horrific and terrifying moments that frighten the reader. Nevertheless, the former is known to be fictitious whereas the latter is real. Consequently, despite the fact that both are terrifying, the latter is even more shocking as the reader is aware that human sacrifices really exist.

A final and interesting example of sati can be found in ‘A Scene in the Zenana’ (*Bengal Annual 1831*), in which sati and the harem fantasy are linked together. Emma Roberts explains that the Ranah is about to die and everyone knows that there is no hope for recovery. With fearful anticipation, the harem awaits what is about to happen:

²⁴⁴ Nicola Trott, “Gothic,” *Romanticism - An Oxford Guide*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 482.

²⁴⁵ Cannon Schmitt, *Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 13.

²⁴⁶ Brantlinger, p. 227.

²⁴⁷ Alexander, p. 411; Schmitt, p. 7.

Within the principal apartment of the Zenana, the same unnatural tranquillity prevailed, not a word was uttered by the female crowd amongst whom all the customary employments were suspended; they also stood calmly awaiting the event fraught as it was to them with incidents of the most fearful nature (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. 327).

It is not clear at first why everyone is afraid of the Ranah's death because one would rather expect sadness and sorrow. Roberts solves the mystery and states that most of the women 'considered the death of the Ranah to be so completely bound up with [their] own, that [they] must follow as a thing of course' (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. 328). It becomes clear why the women are fearful. Following the death of the Ranah, the harem is expected to die with him, as choosing life is considered dishonourable. The exotic and erotic harem fantasy is transformed into a fearful and dangerous depiction of the East. Roberts' description is reminiscent of Delacroix's depiction of the Orient in 'The Death of Sardanapal' (1827), described earlier in this chapter. Unlike the painting, however, in which the women cannot escape, the reader learns, however, that due to the presence of the British resident (the witness of the scene), the women have freedom of choice and therefore only four women choose the painful but honourable death, whereas the rest 'resolve[...] to endure an existence embittered by penury, contempt and neglect' (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. 329). The resident tries to change the mind of one of them, but without success; as he was not able to 'be the divine instrument for bringing Christian light and truth to' this woman.²⁴⁸ Consequently, this rescue was a typical case of a white man saving uncultured women from their fate.²⁴⁹ Roberts states in the footnotes that the story is not fictitious and that she has recounted it accurately: 'The account was given to me by a gentleman attached to the Residency, who could vouch for its

²⁴⁸ Brantlinger, p. 77.

²⁴⁹ Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, p. 287.

truth, and I have related it as I received it from him, without addition or embellishment' (*Bengal Annual 1831*, p. 332). This type of essay, however, facilitated a major racial divide as the difference between both cultures became more evident, and the difference between 'us' and 'the other' was highlighted. In *Converting Colonialism*, Dana L. Robert states that opinions of missionary work were split between those who saw them as heroic figures who risked their lives to bring people a better life, and those who 'pursued single-minded goals in collusion with such forces as colonialism, imperialism, modernisation, or globalisation.'²⁵⁰ This means in other words that for the second group, essays like Crawford's helped to impose European domination as natives were depicted as backward, barbaric, and cruel, and had to be saved by the British, their different thinking and modernisation. Although these essays were shocking, the critic believed that 'the details will be read with painful interest,'²⁵¹ as British readers were curious about what happened to the people who lived in the colonies. Crawford's description of human sacrifice could thus be seen as a reportage for an interested audience. One has to keep in mind, however, that human sacrifice as well as sati, despotism and the harem, are themes which are part of an imperialist fantasy. Consequently, the Europeans did not try to understand those spectacles without prejudice but were judging them from a European point of view. Harriet Martineau, for example, described in her tale *Dawn Island* (1845) the reason for the conversion of savages. Hence, such accounts helped to justify European invasion in faraway countries.

²⁵⁰ Dana Lee Robert, *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914* (Cambridge: Eerdmanns Publishing, 2008), p. 1.

²⁵¹ *Monthly Review*, 1839, p. 539.

Oriental Stories - Conclusion

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were still many blank spaces on the map and many other places remained unexplored. This encouraged people to travel and explore those places in order to fill in the blanks. The technological development of the steam engine facilitated travel from one place to another. Hence, journeys that previously took days could be undertaken in a few hours or within a day.²⁵² Travel writing and Oriental tales in literary annuals brought excitement, the novel and the shocking to the drawing-rooms of those who stayed at home. The European market had been interested in the Orient since the translation of the *Arabian Nights*. Hence, 'Writers make readers, not merely by the wholesome or grateful food which they offer to intellectual appetite, but by the creation of the appetite itself' (*Bengal Annual 1830*, p. 5).

However, as Tim Youngs states, it is wrong to think that travel writing in the nineteenth century as consisting only of British writers writing about India. On the contrary, Michael Fisher, for example focused on works by South Asian writers describing their journey to and their impressions of Britain. Works like these reverse the gaze of Orientalism.²⁵³ This reversal of focus can also sometimes be found in the oriental stories in literary annuals. In 'The Turkish Visit,' the female narrator is turned into the foreign 'Other' as she does not smoke the pipe with her hostess, and Mustapha does the same with Costandi in 'Costandi – A Tale of the Levant;' turning Costandi into a giaour, an infidel and an unbeliever. Nevertheless, this reversal is only momentary and even these texts still fulfil the stereotypical notion of the East as the 'other.' In the end, the superiority-inferiority perception of the West towards the East is maintained.

²⁵² Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 103.

²⁵³ Youngs, p. 13.

Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter argue that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works of writers such as Robert Orme and Thomas Babington Macaulay, represent India in negative terms, as;

...a lawless and chaotic land, inhabited by various despotic governments and roving bands of thugs and bandits; it is characterized by a myriad of superstitions and contradictory religious beliefs and troubled by a history of bribery and corruption, which served as poor imitations of civil jurisprudence.²⁵⁴

Consequently, in order to bring the inhabitants of India a more structuralized and orderly government, Macaulay proposed to introduce the British penal code, which would enable a ‘superior judicial import’ as well as instill ‘enlighten[ing] qualities.’²⁵⁵ In many stories, the Orient is depicted as a barbaric and dangerous place. This is often the case in relation with human sacrifices or sati deaths. Nevertheless, the heroes of fictitious stories are often described as having European characteristics. As a consequence, Dmitri is depicted in ‘The Evil Eye’ as someone who is different from his fellow countrymen as he has a better education and a more refined taste (*Keepsake 1830*, p. 151). These rather European characteristics help the western reader relate to the foreign hero and share the excitement of his adventures. Relating to someone from a different culture therefore enables the reader to learn and gain an alternative view on the Orient.

Overall, the negative depictions of Non-Europeans enabled these writers to explain why their presence in India and other places was necessary. Thus their contemporaries believed that the ‘civilizing mission’ was absolutely necessary in order to help improve the

²⁵⁴ Harlow and Carter, p. 67.

²⁵⁵ Harlow, p. 67.

foreign nation. As a consequence, contemporaries including Martineau believed that Europeans had to help those people to change, as they ‘make constant war on each other, offer up human sacrifices, and practice cannibalism and infanticide.’²⁵⁶ The aim of the Europeans was therefore to change barbarism to reason, infanticide to domestic harmony, and transform war and lack of industry into commercial relations.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ Brantlinger, p. 30.

²⁵⁷ Brantlinger, p. 31.

Conclusion

Despite recent research conducted on literary annuals, many aspects of giftbooks remain unexplored. For many decades, annuals have been classified as books with unworthy literature and therefore have been ignored. Chapter one of this thesis has however demonstrated the importance of these books in the nineteenth century by having a closer look at different novels published in the 1830s, 1850s and 1860s. As many writers tried to give an accurate picture of their time, references of the precious giftbooks can be found in many contemporary writings. In addition, the analysis of different advertisements in newspapers, journals and periodicals especially between 1828 and 1838 has revealed that the *Keepsake* was highly visible in the early nineteenth century. One can thus conclude that many people knew of the literary annuals and that they were forming part of the nineteenth-century society. Descriptions in novels, advertisements and reviews in newspapers and periodicals kept the annual phenomenon alive and provide us with further information on the annuals. They sparked the interest of contemporary readers, made them more popular and stimulated their sales. It is therefore difficult to understand why these popular books suffer such a bad reputation.

A closer look at novels and critics has however revealed that opinions widely differed in the nineteenth century and that the reception was split. In addition, critics like Linley, Hoagwood and Ledbetter have already established that male writers felt threatened by the increased publications of female authors, which was one fundamental reason why the popular publications had been denigrated. The results of my research have, however, shown that this fear was causeless as there was a much higher percentage of male writers in the *Keepsake*.

Even if annuals have provided female writers access to a larger audience, the statistics have shown that there was still a very large gender performance differentiation. It follows that a closer look at annuals was needed in order to know if the bad reputation was undeserved and mistaken.

During my research I have come across many interesting short stories by canonical authors like Mary Shelley and Sir Walter Scott as well as works by rather unfamiliar and unknown writers like Ralph Bernal, who have fallen into oblivion although their writings were highly sought after in the nineteenth century. Thus, it becomes clear that the *Keepsake* includes the works of disregarded authors who are still worthy of consideration. Bearing in mind that poetry was mostly discussed by twentieth and twenty-first-century critics, the figures highlight the popularity of short prose in the nineteenth century. Keeping the negative reputation of these books in mind, and knowing that short stories were rather ignored by critics, it was of importance to analyse the prose contributions of a female author who was, pursuant to the statistics in high demand and who was able to claim her right to write: Mary Shelley.

Shelley used the literary annuals as a major source of publication and different from her male contemporaries valued the little giftbooks. She was aware of the popularity of the annuals and used them to her advantage and it becomes clear that Shelley did not perceive her works for the *Keepsake* as inferior. On the contrary, her novels were similar to the short stories in terms of theme, plots and character types. Shelley was not only testing the ground with her shorter stories and reusing those elements for larger projects, she also employed certain components of her longer works and reworked them in her short stories. The second chapter focuses therefore on Shelley's writing style and the themes she was touching on in order to establish whether Shelley's short stories were inferior quality to her novels. This analysis revealed that the techniques she used, such as the first person narrator, the framing

situations and the Gothic elements were main teaching tools in her short stories. Even if Mary Shelley was influenced by the writings of her parents and her husband, and touched on very serious themes such as equal rights and politics, she always put forward the moral character of her tales. Considering the themes of elopement, illegitimacy, mistrust, acting against parents' wishes, and death, it is understandable why Hoagwood and Ledbetter believe that annuals were not safe to read. However, even if social ideas and customs have been challenged in some of the short stories, the analyses of Shelley's tales have revealed that they were always written for a *Keepsake* audience by implying a certain kind of moral behaviour.

In addition, this second chapter has further shown that *Keepsake* editors encouraged Gothic stories after the 1820s and published stories like Scott's 'The Tapestry Chamber' (*Keepsake* 1829), George Agar Ellis' 'A Tragedy of Other Times' (*Keepsake* 1830) and Colley Grattan's 'The Curate-Confessor of Virofloy – A real ghost story' (*Keepsake* 1833). Contrary to what Robert D. Mayo suggests, my research on the *Keepsake* and the travel annuals have, however, shown that Gothic short stories remained popular throughout the 1830s and did not decline after the 1820s. Moreover, the examples have shown that there are different kinds of Gothic stories; those who are frightening and/or shocking, and those who are rather comical. Both types of stories had an educational value; either by scaring the reader off from mimicking the inappropriate behaviour (as the outcome might be as disastrous as in the stories), or by providing funny characters and hilarious scenes which are exaggerated, and make the reader turn away from this kind of behaviour (as they do not want to become a laughingstock themselves).

One can thus conclude that most of the short stories had a teaching character, but different from conduct books, the main purpose was to amuse and not to instruct. This is linked with the second type of story this thesis has looked at in more detail: the moral tale. In certain cases, the message might be hidden but the reader was still able to learn from them.

The *Keepsake* stories include not only Gothic and moral tales but many other writing genres can be found. Hootman defined these categories as child fiction, historical, imperialistic, Newgate novels, provincial, psychological, science fiction, sensational novels, and social realism. Like Gothic and moral tales, the different categories often overlap and had mostly an educational character. Unfortunately, not every theme depicted in the literacy annuals could be analysed in this thesis. As there were a big variety of themes, many stories are worth further discussions and in-depth analysis. It would for example be of interest to have a closer look at the kind of topics female readers were interested in.

As annuals were not only composed of prose and poetry, it seemed crucial to analyse the engravings too, in order to understand their added value. Like the literary contributions, the engravings were often discussed by critics and heavily praised in advertisements. It becomes clear that those engravings were not only mere illustrations but that they were often considered as more important than the story in itself. Thus the most famous authors could not select their own story topic but needed to incorporate already existing engravings in the writing process. Consequently, this section discusses a variety of engravings and the different existing techniques permitting writers to connect the engraving to their story. As for the prose contributions, the engravings were depicting a large variety of themes, such as the orient; the past; lovers; death, illness and recovery; the role of women; landscape and sea, negative character traits; bribery and escape; the lower-class; children; religion; ghosts and mystic events, to name only a few. As it is impossible to look at all of these themes in detail, this thesis focuses on the Orient, past events and the role of women. The analysis of these themes had permitted to demonstrate that certain themes manage to create a distance between themselves and the reader and hence the writer is able to address topics which could not be mentioned otherwise.

Furthermore, the engravings were not only important because they matched the literary contributions of the annuals. This chapter has in addition shown that these pictures allowed the middle-class people to own famous paintings without having to pay enormous commission fees. Prior to the giftbooks, paintings were reserved for the wealthy aristocracy and were out of reach for 'ordinary' people. Thus, literary annuals facilitated the circulation of paintings, and therefore inspired many readers to form better taste. The engravings, like the stories themselves, had thus an educational value.

Finally, the last chapter of the thesis focuses on one particular sub-genre of the literary annuals; the travel annuals. Chapter Four has a closer look at *The Oriental Annual* (1834-1840) and *The Bengal Annual* (1830-1834). How do they differ from oriental stories of the *Keepsake*? Do the editors follow the same recipe for success as the *Keepsake*; including expensive engravings and winning over many famous contributors?

Similar to the *Keepsake* stories, the travel annuals depicted the oriental 'Other.' The readers were interested in the East and wanted to find out more about its people and customs. During the nineteenth century, there was a tendency to depict either a barbaric or an exotic East. This holds also true in the travel annuals. On the one hand, the writers depicted for example the barbaric custom of human sacrifices and sati deaths, on the other, they described the fine jewellery and expensive clothing of women. At first sight, it seems that these stories make the readers learn about traditions, clothes and values of distant countries. Nevertheless, an important factor, which cannot be ignored, is the missionary experience conquests of the nineteenth century. Many British people travelled around the world and tried to "civilize" the natives. In order to justify these missions in eastern countries, the writers often depicted their barbaric customs, showing that the intervention of the "civilised" world would be needed. Again, the books should cultivate the cultural minds of nineteenth century society.

It follows that during the nineteenth century a large amount of literary annuals existed on the literary market. Many of them (including many writers, many contributions and many engravings) have fallen into oblivion. However, as this thesis has shown literary annuals were a social phenomenon of the nineteenth century, having as objective to shape the mind, behaviour and cultural understanding of its reading public. It is therefore of interest to have a closer look at those rare books, as they include many hidden treasures permitting us to know more about the values and the gender evaluation of the nineteenth century. My thesis has tried to make aware of the many short stories buried in the giftbooks which like the poetry contributions should enjoy more attention and future discussions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Contents Page

Primary Sources	332
<i>The Keepsake</i>	332
<i>The Bengal Annual</i>	340
<i>The Oriental Annual</i>	341
<i>Nineteenth-Century Newspapers, Journal Articles and Books</i>	342
Secondary Sources	360
Books and Articles	360

The bibliography of this thesis is divided into two parts. The first part consists of the primary resources and the second of the secondary sources. The former is divided into four sections: the *Keepsake*, the *Bengal Annual*, the *Oriental Annual* and *Nineteenth-Century Newspapers, Journal Articles and Books*. The short stories mentioned in the thesis are listed in their respective categories. Ralph Bernal's 'Delusion of Three Days' (published in the *Keepsake for 1830*), for example, can therefore be found in *The Keepsake* section of the primary resources. The article 'About a Christmas Book' published in 1845 in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, on the other hand can be located in the *Nineteenth-Century Newspapers* subdivision. The fourth category contains materials published in the nineteenth century. The latter, includes works which were printed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

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