

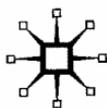
# Bookish Histories

Books, Literature, and Commercial  
Modernity, 1700–1900

Edited by

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# 6

## The Art of Sharing: Reading in the Romantic Miscellany

Andrew Piper

### Assorted books

'Sharing is more difficult than you think.'<sup>1</sup> This was the advice offered to the Major by his friend in Goethe's novella, 'The Man of Fifty', and it concerned the difficulties of transmitting the *Verjüngungskunst*, the art of rejuvenation, that the Major required in order to remain vital and youthful for his niece who, in a typical Goethean fantasy, had fallen in love with him. 'The Man of Fifty' had initially appeared in part in 1817 in Cotta's *Ladies' Pocket-Book*, and it was a story that was in fact largely concerned with the problem of the part – with the parting, imparting, and parting with things. It would later be included in Goethe's last novel, *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* (1821/29), where it would achieve its fame as one of his most important prose works, and yet its initial placement within Cotta's miscellany disclosed an important fact about the culture of nineteenth-century miscellanies in which it first appeared: that the question of the part, imparting and parting with – in a word, *sharing* – was integral to the miscellanies' success as a literary format in the nineteenth century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century whether in France, England, the German states, or the United States, a vast amount of writing was circulated through eclectic collections of poetry, short fiction, essays, and anecdotes. These were enormously influential books during the romantic period, books that have until recently largely been left unexplored by literary historians, much like the book itself. Recent work by Barbara Benedict, Leah Price, Ina Ferris, Kathryn Ledbetter, Seth Lerer, and Meredith McGill in English, York-Gotthart Mix, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrinck, and Siegfried Wenzel in German, Armando Petrucci in Italian, and Ségolène Le Men in French have put the miscellany

back onto the literary historical map.<sup>2</sup> The theory of reading 'the whole book', put forth by the medievalists Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, has drawn our attention to the way texts can interact with one another in the physical space of the codex, opening up new spaces of readerly activity.<sup>3</sup> Unlike another essential romantic bibliographic format, the collected edition, the miscellany was not organized around the unifying figure of the author, but instead, as Barbara Benedict has suggested in her study on the early modern miscellany, around the figure of the reader.<sup>4</sup> Where the collected edition aimed to canonize its author and in the process create a literary canon, the miscellany was far more a document of the impulse to undo such rules, standards, or means. With the absence of any obvious organizing principle and with the simultaneous presence of high, low and outright weird texts, the romantic miscellany authorized the reader to create the linkages between such cultural strata. Like the stitching that bound together the loose leaves of the book, it was the reader who provided the intellectual threads that connected the book's diverse parts. As Leah Price has suggested, anthologies and miscellanies 'determine not simply who gets published or what gets read but who reads, and how'.<sup>5</sup> In their capacity to slice, select, condense, combine, and reproduce, miscellanies' prominence during the romantic period reflected, as Ina Ferris has shown in the case of Isaac D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, the rising importance of the elsewhere and the afterward, transmission and excision, to romantic literary culture.<sup>6</sup>

The miscellany was of course not a new bibliographic format to the romantic period. It had played an important role both as a printed book since the early modern period and as a manuscript book since the Middle Ages. But the romantic period did give birth to a particular type of miscellany, one that has traditionally been classified according to different names depending on which language one is working in. We speak of *almanacs* in French, *Taschenbücher* in German, and *gift-books* or *literary annuals* in English, a fact of nomenclature that I suspect has had much to do with why the study of these books has been so nationally focused. While there were of course important differences between these regional articulations of the miscellany, I want to suggest that there was a fundamental continuity in the cultural work that such books performed during the romantic period.

In drawing upon the much older book format of the 'almanac' or 'calendar' that appeared in yearly instalments, nineteenth-century miscellanies were drawing upon one of the oldest available bibliographic genres and thus engaging in that familiar romantic quest for origins.

As Leigh Hunt said in his introduction to the English miscellany, *The Keepsake* (1828), 'The history of Pocket-books and their forerunners, Almanacks, Calendars, Ephemerides, &c. is ancient beyond all precedent: even the Welshman's genealogy, the middle of which contained the creation of the world, is nothing to it'.<sup>7</sup> But in mapping such serially appearing collections onto the seasonal rhythms of nature – most visible in the calendrical tables that often appeared in these books' front matter – the romantic miscellany also played an important role in marking the transition from the cyclicity to the seriality of cultural production that would become a hallmark of both nineteenth-century literature and twentieth-century mass media more generally.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, in the small size captured in the notion of the *Taschenbuch* – the book that could fit in one's pocket – the miscellanies articulated the increasing reproducibility and affordability of printed books that brought with it a growing sense of losing control that surrounded the book's accessibility. The appellation of 'gift book', on the other hand, captured the way these books were increasingly being explicitly produced as gifts in both their content and design.<sup>9</sup> While books had always functioned as gift objects, the miscellaneous 'gift book' was emerging at precisely the moment when books were overwhelmingly being defined by their status as commodities. In replacing a system of anonymous circulation with a more intimate system of exchange between friends and family, the gift book was a means of compensating for, but also propelling, the new commercial proliferation of books. Finally, what all of these books had in common was the *mixed* nature of writing that appeared within them. They reflected, and indeed celebrated, the growing heterogeneity of writing within the larger literary market. As the editors argued in the miscellany, *Curiositäten-Almanach* of 1825, which was dedicated to 'friends of encyclopedic entertainments', such collections were expressly for people who read 'fragmentarisch'. The miscellanies thus represented a powerful challenge to assumptions about the book's capacity to promote sequential reading habits.

It is precisely the mixedness at the core of writing in the miscellanies that I want to explore in this essay, a mixedness understood not just as the diversity of form, but the diversity of ownership, too. By returning to the bibliographic scene of Goethe's reflections on sharing – by reading the linguistic and material codes of this particular genre of books – I want to suggest that the book format of the romantic miscellany functioned as a particularly acute space in which the mutual relationship of sharing and owning – a common right and copyright to writing – could be rehearsed during the first half of the nineteenth century. How *was*

one to know how to share something with someone else, to have it in common without losing it completely? With so much material moving about with ever greater ease, how was one to reliably negotiate the complex contours between the mine, the yours, and the ours? Sharing was integral to writing's diffusion in the nineteenth century, making it increasingly available at the same time that writing's availability made sharing that much easier. But the more writing was shared and shareable, the more difficult it became to claim something as one's own. The more one shared, the less one paradoxically had to give away. As Goethe suggested, sharing *was* more difficult than one might have thought.

Following on the work of Martha Woodmansee, there have been numerous excellent studies in the course of the last two decades on the origins and evolution of the notion of copyright, the long and contentious process of establishing the conditions for the proprietary ownership of ideas that emerged out of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> What we know less about, are the numerous ways that this period emphasized the sharing, and not the owning, of information. As Natalie Zemon Davis argued in an essay that remains a key contribution to the history of intellectual property, 'We have concentrated on the book as a commodity rather than on the book as a bearer of benefits and duties, on copyright rather than common right'.<sup>11</sup> In our emphasis on the proprietary, we have overlooked how sharing has served as a crucial site for literary or intellectual innovation both during and after the romantic period. At the same time, we have overlooked just how complicated and contentious such a practice was and continues to be, the complexity of trying to work out the principles of parting, imparting, and parting with something.

By turning to the history of a *common* right and not a copyright to writing, then, we can begin to see how our current predicament over file sharing, for example – where writing, in the form of computer code, is now the basis of all of the arts – is not something distinctly new, but reflects a persistent problem that has always surrounded writing as an allographic art, that is, as an art form that can be reproduced without degrading or changing its value.<sup>12</sup> With each new innovation in writing technology, with each new contribution towards the *reproducibility* of writing, the question of sharing only seems to emerge with renewed force. Rather than offering another trenchant critique of the current institutional exuberance for stricter and stricter mechanisms of copyright,<sup>13</sup> I want to identify the richness of a literary and intellectual tradition of sharing and sharedness, so that we can begin to understand contemporary digital practices not as essentially aberrant,

but as standing in a long and legitimate history. We can begin to see how sharing and owning should not be seen as agons, as mutually exclusive of one another – as they are increasingly understood today – but as standing in a necessary, mutual, and always tangled formation with one another.

As I will try to show, it is precisely when we take into consideration the romantic miscellany as a material object, when we attend to the range of paratextual elements such as bindings, front matter, and dedicatory leaves, that we can observe the intricate ways that miscellanies dramatized questions of sharing and the sharedness of writing during this crucial moment of media change. At the same time, I am interested in illustrating how text and book worked in concert with one another to incubate such a culture of sharing. By focusing on one work in particular, Washington Irving's, 'An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron', which appeared in the miscellany *The Gift* (1836), we can see how literature, too, functioned as a key space for readers to think about and adapt to the changing nature of their own bibliocosmos. As in Goethe's 'The Man of Fifty', Irving's work offers an emblematic instance of a piece of writing that elaborately turns around questions of sharedness and ownness, the complicated bipolar project of imparting something and owning it at the same time at the core of the romantic miscellany. It is only when we combine these two very different spaces of analysis that we can see the full extent of the *Kulturtechnik*, or cultural engineering, employed through the medium of the romantic miscellany to facilitate nineteenth-century readers' adaptation to their increasingly bookish world.

## Book-keeping

In the introduction to the first issue of the English miscellany, *The Keepsake* (1828), Leigh Hunt writes:

What renders a book more valuable as a keepsake than almost any other, is, that, like a friend, it can talk with and entertain us. And here we have one thing to recommend, which to all those who prize the spirit of books and or regard it above the letter, can give to a favourite volume a charm inexpressible. It is this: that where such an affectionate liberty can be taken either in right of playing the teacher, or because the giver of the book is sure of a sympathy in point of taste with the person receiving it, the said giver should mark his or her favourite passages throughout (as delicately as

need be), and so present, as it were, the author's and the giver's minds at once.

(16)

Hunt's alignment here of the categories of the book and friendship was a familiar strategy that dated back at least to Erasmus's choice to frame the commercial printed text as common property, beginning with the choice of 'Friends hold all things in common' for the opening adage of his adage collection. Equating the book with a friend was not simply a way of enlivening the dead letter on the page as Hunt suggested. It was also a way of replacing the anonymous distribution of mass-produced objects with a model of intimate circulation of personalized copies among friends, however paradoxical such a notion of the 'personalized copy' might have been. The discourse of friendship and the practice of gift-giving under which miscellanies were produced and circulated were intended to counteract precisely the anonymity of mass circulation that the format itself was engendering during the romantic period.

Perhaps no other practice facilitated this mode of intimate exchange more than the act of *inscription*, the placement of the giver's handwriting alongside, or in front of, the printed text. As Hunt intoned, 'One precious name, or little inscription at the beginning of the volume ... is worth all the binding in St. James's' (17). Numerous miscellanies, including *The Keepsake* for which Hunt was writing, contained a printed space that was designed to allow givers to dedicate these books to their recipients. Whether it was ornamental presentation leaves or dedicatory poems that included a blank space to write in the dedicatee's name, miscellanies consistently used white space to encourage their users to write within them. Unlike the white space that would emerge in another key romantic bibliographical format, the critical edition, which functioned as a kind of immaculate border insulating the author's work from the work of the editor, white (or blank) space in the miscellanies was an invitation to co-ownership, to cross the boundaries between reader and reader and reader and author to produce the presence of multiple hands on the page.

If we look at individual copies of nineteenth-century miscellanies – and here I will be drawing on examples from the holdings of the American Antiquarian Society – we find numerous instances of inscriptions, a practice that was of course not limited to the miscellanies, but was nonetheless uniquely solicited within them. On December 25, 1849, for example, Mary Hinsdale received a copy of *The Garland* from

her 'Uncle Beardsley', and in a copy of *Hyacinth* from 1849, we find the note, 'Christmas present for Sarah J. Lord, North Berwick; from her bro. Charles', written to his sister when she was ten years old. Miscellanies were not only given by men to women – as in a copy of *The Token* of 1830 where we find the inscription, 'Mrs. Julia A. Jackson from her husband' – but also functioned as a means of establishing a matrilineal network of reading. Sarah M. Park of Groton, Massachusetts, received a copy of *Robert Merry's Annual for All Seasons* in 1840 from Mrs. Eliza Green when she was seven, and in *The Gift for All Seasons* (1844) we find the note, 'Abby M. Gourgas from her afftn. Aunt Anne. Jan 1, 1843', given to Abby when she was six. At the age of ten she would also receive a copy of Longfellow's *Evangeline* (fifth edition) from 'Mrs. Tyler'. In an interesting case in a copy of *The Literary Souvenir* of 1838, we find *two* dedications, 'Mary F. Quincy from Mr. J. M. Newhall' (when Mary was nineteen) and 'Lizzie Quincy from sister Mary' (when Lizzy was sixteen), suggesting how it was probably not uncommon that such gifts were regifted in an ongoing extension of the network of readers. Finally, there were also examples of these books being given to men from women, as in a copy of *The Rose of Sharon* from 1852 in which Miss Achsa Hayford of Abington, Mass., dedicated the book to Daniel Temple Noyes on November 25.

What such examples illustrate is that at the historical juncture when we witness the gradual disappearance of the vertical dedication of author to patron in books (as Balzac dramatically said: 'Madame, the time of dedications is past'<sup>14</sup>), we find the growing profusion of horizontal dedications between *readers* in books specifically designed to foster such exchanges. When we look at the various ages of the recipients of such gifted books, we see how the miscellany was most often transferred at moments marking crucial biological thresholds, either when one was beginning to read or becoming a young adult, husband, or wife. The horizontal exchange was simultaneously reverticalized, only now in the opposite direction. Where the book was formerly 'given' upwards to an aristocratic patron through the book's dedication as a sign of the recipient's power, the inscription and the book it gave away downwards now marked the power of the giver. Instead of an acknowledgment of debt, the romantic inscription transferred debt from one reader to another.

On one level, then, the inscription was part of a larger cultural matrix in which the acquisition and deployment of handwriting played a pivotal role in the socialization of nineteenth-century readers and writers.<sup>15</sup> As we know from nineteenth-century handwriting handbooks, the

production of manuscript involved an extraordinary investment of one's entire body to the execution of this technology.<sup>16</sup> If handwriting manuals served as treatises on the incorporation of writing – of bringing the letter into the body – miscellanies and their inscriptions served as sites for the opposite process of bringing the body into the book and, by association, the world of books. Unlike printed dedications of authors to patrons, which inscribed the private into an otherwise public mode of address, the handwritten dedication – writing in a book – endowed this seemingly private mode of address with a certain publicness. But the important message that it communicated, beyond any well-wishing included in the often prescribed dedicatory lyrics, was that the printed writing in the book was something that was fundamentally shareable between readers. The inscription conveyed the ease with which printed objects could be transferred from one reader to another, shared in the sense of held in common.

Hunt's introduction went one step further to motivate another kind of writing in books and thus another mode of shareability: that between *author and reader*. When Hunt instructed owners of the book to further 'mark' the text beyond the inscription ('the said giver should mark his or her favourite passages throughout (as delicately as need be)'), this act of handwriting was not understood as an act of giving away, but conversely, as one of taking. Instead of authorizing the shareability of books, such marking with the hand authorized the shareability of ideas within them. It instructed readers on how to make the ideas in the book their own property, just as their 'property' was importantly being framed as a selection of someone else's ideas.

The inscription thus functioned as a starting point – a portal – to initiate more writing in books. But where the handwritten inscription emphasized the importance, and the singularity, of the material object of the book (this copy is special because it bears my personal handwriting), Hunt's invocation for readers and givers to move beyond the signature and to mark-up the text was not a way of prizing the book as an object, but as a bearer of ideas ('to all those who prize the spirit of books and or regard it above the letter'). The individual book was transformed in Hunt's injunction into a space of literary work. When Hunt concluded this invitation to write in miscellanies with the words, 'and so present, as it were, *the author's and the giver's minds at once*', he was granting to handwriting an extraordinary power, suggesting that the reason to write in books was to endow writing in books with authorial status. By marking the book with one's hand, the giver – or more generally the reader – was in some sense making the ideas *her own*.

Her markings would create a new work within the material space of the book; she would occupy, as Hunt suggested, the same space and thus the same status as an author.

According to the textual economy of the miscellanies, then, writing was not only a product of more writing, it was even more significantly founded on the critical act of selection, not origination. Following Hunt's directions, when the giver shared a selection of readings (a miscellany) gleaned from a particular selection of texts (another miscellany), she was modelling an activity for the receiver to create her own miscellany within the miscellany. She was illustrating for her how to participate in this system of marking one's debts and forwarding one's credits. Whether handwritten or print, writing in the miscellanies was conceived as miscellaneous, as a practice of (medial and transactional) mixing. It was always framed as a share and thus shareable.

Hunt's instructions to mark-up these books was not only a rhetorical extension of the typographical invitations of the miscellanies' dedicatory leaves. It was also an extension of a more general visual logic in the miscellanies' front matter that encouraged readers to mark their books. There was an intimate connection between the cosmos of book formats that all fell under the heading of the romantic 'miscellany' and typographical invitations to get readers to write in books. Such note-taking was mobilized by designs such as financial ledgers, for example in *The American Ladies' Calendar* (1818) or the German *Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft gewidmet* (1805–7); diary spaces found in books like *Le Souvenir* (1826) or a later issue of *Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft gewidmet* (1808); or, finally, wallet bindings that were common to such miscellanies and into whose pockets readers could place their own writing. Goethe had done this for example in his many shipments of his writings to his English translator, Thomas Carlyle, where he would place his own poems in the pockets of the books' bindings (one of which was called *Ein Gleichniß*, or *A Likeness*, and was an exquisite comparison of the practice of translation to a vase of cut flowers).<sup>17</sup> In all of these cases of writing in books, readers' writing was importantly being framed as a part – a share – of a larger universe of writing. Typographical spaces like the accounting tables or the diary sheets encouraged readers to learn to narrate their own lives – to recount and thus account for their actions – but these autobiographical spaces were of course not taking place in blank books, but books with other writing in them. There was a transactional logic to such writing that was also encoded in the 'in' and the 'out' of those accounting tables. In framing the reader's writing according to the logic of bookkeeping, such

writing was framed not as an act of keeping books, of possession, but as a way of mapping lines of exchange.<sup>18</sup>

Yet unlike the popular early-modern book format comprised of the collection of textual parts, the commonplace book, the miscellany did not take excerpts of what was 'out there' and inscribe them 'in here' in one's own personal book, but rather inscribed the individual into a book *already composed* of textual parts. As in Lucy Walsh's copy of *The American Ladies Pocket Book* (1818) or Edward King's copy of *The Gentleman's Annual Pocket Remembrancer* (1816), which bear their readers' annotations, the act of writing no longer took place on the blank page of the commonplace book, but on the printed page of the miscellany. Indeed, in Prudence Carter's copy of *Le Souvenir* (1826), we can see how her own annotations mingle with those of another, a certain William A. Howard of Charlestown, who has written some occasional poems on the theme of friendship on the tissue paper that covers the book's images. When the Major in Goethe's 'The Man of Fifty' looks over his commonplace books in order to select a citation to adorn his poem that was to be sent in a kind of pocket-book (a *Briefertasche*) that has been woven by the beautiful widow, we can see how Goethe's novella was staging precisely this bibliographic transition from the handwritten collection of one's own writing to the 'woven' collection of the writing of others.

In drawing attention to these manuscriptural spaces within printed books, my aim is to expand the study of romantic book culture to include observations of the *simultaneity* of various writing technologies within what we have traditionally called 'print culture'. As Margaret Ezell has illustrated in her study of late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century manuscript literature, handwriting continued to have an important role to play in literary communities even with the ascent of print in the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In Ezell's words, 'public' did not always mean 'publication'.<sup>20</sup> And as Meredith McGill, Pat Crain, and Bernhard Siegert have shown, handwriting continued to play an important role in literary culture well after Ezell's timeframe into the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> As Wilhelm wrote to Nathalie in Goethe's *Travels*, 'One has no idea how much people write today. I'm not even talking about what is printed, although that is still plenty. One can only imagine what is circulated in silence through letters and essays about the news, letters, stories, anecdotes and descriptions of individual lives'.<sup>22</sup> If Wilhelm's observation was true and manuscript production far exceeded print production at the turn of the nineteenth century, can we still reliably speak of a 'print culture'?

Rather than simply move from one category to the other, rather than conceive such manuscriptural work as an *alternative* writerly space to print (which has achieved the status of a scholarly commonplace these days),<sup>23</sup> I'm interested in exploring the ways that handwriting and printed writing were brought into contact with one another, the way these two very different technologies could literally overlap in the space of a single book. It is precisely the book as an object of inquiry that allows us to see how such different writing technologies intersected with and depended upon one another. Unlike Laurence Sterne's use of handwriting in the printed book, for example, who signed copies of the first edition of *Tristram Shandy* to keep it from being pirated,<sup>24</sup> the miscellanies did not use such invitations to write with one's hand to *authorize* the printed book, but instead to frame the book as a *shared* space, either between one reader and another or between readers and authors. An inscription was crucially *not* a signature. The singular identity of the hand in Sterne's SHANDy starkly contrasted with the commonality of hands framed by the miscellany's typographical layout and that was captured in the familiar miscellany title, 'by *several* hands'. The invitation to handwriting in the miscellanies thus did not serve a compensatory function – an articulation of an alternative, human space in a world of mechanized, mass-reproduced objects – but served instead as a kind of initiation into a way of thinking about writing more generally within the printed public sphere as a space of commonality. Reformulating writing as a share was not a means of capturing some larger sense of modern fragmentation, but was the precondition, indeed the foundation, upon which a culture of intellectual ownership was being built in the romantic period and that found one of its most successful articulations through the bibliographic genre of the romantic miscellany.

### Textual hollows

The reading world has, I apprehend, by this time become possessed of nearly every scrap of poetry and romance ever written by Lord Byron. It may be pleased, however, to know something of a dramatic poem which he did not write, but which he projected – and this is the story: –<sup>25</sup>

This was the opening of Washington Irving's 'An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron', which appeared in the miscellany *The Gift*, for the year 1836. The contribution was based on information that Irving had

recorded in his journal in 1825 under the heading, 'Unpublished note by Capt. Medwin'.<sup>26</sup> The note that Irving received and then transcribed in his journal was itself based on Medwin's conversations with Byron in Italy about a play that Byron intended to write that was in turn based, so Irving tells us, on a play by Calderon entitled, *Embozado de Cordova*. No such play existed, but Calderon's *El Purgatorio de San Patricio*, which was based on a long tradition of reusing the St. Patrick myth (perhaps most notably by Marie de France), was translated by Shelley and read by Byron, who eventually incorporated elements of it into his *unfinished* drama, *The Deformed Transformed*.<sup>27</sup> To begin to recover the story of 'An Unwritten Drama' is not only a means of reconstructing a literary history in miniature, a chronicle of the borrowing, sharing, misreading, transcribing, and transforming of ideas and motifs that make up the field of literature. It is also a means to understand the medium of the book in which this contribution appeared. As we will see, Irving's short piece is a telling lens to understand the culture of sharing that was being promoted by the bibliographic format of the romantic miscellany.

Irving and the American literary culture to which he did (and did not) belong are of particular interest here because both his fame and subsequent marginalization within the European and American romantic canons has rested on the overt miscellaneity that surrounded his writing (and by extension 'American' writing before the American Renaissance). Few writers were more associated with the miscellany and the genre of the 'short story' that emerged out of this format than Washington Irving.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, he would one day become a miscellany himself: *The Irving Gift* of 1853. At the same time, few writers have seemed both so central and yet so marginal to literary history, much like the genre of the miscellany itself.<sup>29</sup> Irving is at once the father of the short story and the American Renaissance as well as a deeply derivative writer whose work was far surpassed by his followers, a patriarch, like Rip van Winkle, always out of sync with his place and time. In trying to address the diminution of Irving within American literary history, Paul Giles has suggested that it is largely a function of nationalist critical perspectives. 'Irving is perhaps the best example', writes Giles, 'of an American author whose stature is diminished by a forced affiliation with agendas of literary nationalism, but whose subtleties can be appreciated more readily once he is situated within a transnational context'.<sup>30</sup> Michael Warner, on the other hand, has suggested that Irving's troubled reception is a function of Irving's own 'rhetoric of anachronism' and the problematic relationship to futurity staged in his own writing.<sup>31</sup>

What I want to suggest, by contrast, is that Irving's sinking fortunes have a bookish rationale, that the decline in his reputation has been closely related to the decline of a bibliographic format with very distinct gender associations and with which his writing was most intimately associated. The ambiguity of his patriarchy, in other words, was tied to both the femininity and the secondarity of this bibliographic genre that had little in common with the later critical biases of the profession. In resurrecting Irving around the genre of the 'short story' and not the miscellany, we overlook in the process the diversity and the very real derivative quality that surrounded his writing. The derivative that promoted the practice of derivation – as though such derivation was one's own – was precisely the complex point of Irving's literary programme, one that could be seen in crystallized form in 'An Unwritten Drama'.

What does it mean to write about something that has *not* been written? There is something wonderfully strange about the title of this work. In its emphasis on the *unwritten* and not the *unfinished*, Irving's piece posed an initial problem of genre, a problem whose availability was a function of the format of the miscellanies themselves with their constant jostling of genres. Was a work about something unwritten a work of fiction, an act of imagination, or was it philology, an act of textual criticism? In invoking the 'scraps of poetry' of Byron's writing, he aligns his work with the tireless energies of nineteenth-century manuscript-hunting editors and philologists. And yet at the same, when he writes, 'and this is its story', he assumes a narrator's stance, transforming his contribution back from philology to fiction. Irving's opening mirrored the fictional editors of so much romantic fiction, thus capitalizing on the referential ambiguity at the heart of romantic writing. And yet instead of a twice-told tale, a retelling of what has already been recorded, what we are about to hear is something that has *not* been written. At first glance it looks like the exact inverse of Borges' *Pierre Menard* whose title character's crowning authorial project was to write *Don Quixote* word for word *again*. Instead of writing the same work, Irving writes a work that does not exist. But it is still said to belong to another author, as it hovers between the generic spaces of imaginative writing (fiction) and commentary (criticism) that were both so prevalent in the miscellanies.

The opening to this work is as remarkable as its title, and its function seems to be precisely to make an opening. Beginning with the words, 'The reading world', as a replacement of, 'Dear reader', marks that all-important romantic shift from a familiar, coterie audience to a scene of mass communication, from a closed to an open system. The

first main verb in the sentence, 'become possessed', performs a clever parody of the ideals of completion and proprietariness – the possibilities of closure and enclosure – that suffused projects of nineteenth-century bibliomania. To want 'every scrap of poetry and romance ever written' was indeed to 'become possessed'. *Possession* embodied the bibliographic obsessions of the nineteenth century at the same time that it illustrated the impossibility of such projects in a world of overproliferation. To offer an *unwritten* drama was thus both to feed this possession of possessiveness as well as to confound it: how could you possess that which had not been written? To whom did the *unwritten* drama belong? It was to call the whole project of possession – the genitive case in the title (*of* Lord Byron) – into question.

Thus we are offered something that is both there and not there at once, Byron's, but also Irving's, a poem 'which he did not write, but which he projected'. It is 'an unwritten drama *of* Lord Byron', at the same time that another 'I' emerges merely five words into the story, set-off in its own privileged grammatical universe through the use of commas ('The reading world has, I apprehend'). The key word that Irving uses to negotiate this predicament of possession – the very predicament that makes Irving's authorial project possible – is that verb 'project'. The author is no longer equated with a *creator* in Irving's piece, but with a *projector* in a double sense: as someone who projects so that others will write (here represented by the proper name Byron) and as someone who projects – who throws forth (*projectere*), but also imagines – what others have *partially* written (here represented by the proper name Irving). Writing is established as a shared practice (collaborative *and* partial, transactional *and* creative), but also as a crucially intermedial one as well. Writing is reformulated as a kind of adaptation, as the *unwritten* drama is written, the *unpublished* note is published. The author – or each author – is only one component in this larger technological undertaking. In equating writing with projecting, the opening establishes, in numerous ways, an opening for more writing.

The story that Irving goes on to tell is about a Spanish nobleman, Alfonso, whose passions have become 'ungovernable' and who is soon plagued by a mysterious figure who remains 'masked and muffled up' and follows Alfonso 'at every turn' ('like the demon in Faust, he intrudes in his solitude'). The pursuer destroys Alfonso's 'zest' ('the sweetest cup of pleasure becomes poison to him') and soon Alfonso suspects that he is seducing Alfonso's lover. A duel ensues and Alfonso kills the pursuer only to learn that he is himself: 'The mask and the mantle of the

unknown drop off, and Alfonso discovers his own image – the spectre of himself – he dies with horror!’ (89).

Byron’s/Irving’s tale belonged, of course, to the rapidly expanding corpus of works about the *Doppelgänger* in the first half of the nineteenth century. The *Doppelgänger* has most often been thought of in psychologized terms, as a sign, in Christoph Forderer’s words in a recent monograph on the topic, of the ‘diffusion of identity [Identitätsdiffusion]’ or the ‘dedifferentiation of the I-Pronoun [Entgrenzung des Ich-Pronomens]’.<sup>32</sup> The proliferation of literary doubles was supposed to be the most emphatic sign of the growing psychologization of literature in the nineteenth century, the orientation of the literary as an exploration of an interiority that was undergoing both a remarkable expansion as well as internal division. The double was, according to Friedrich Kittler, where we learned to read properly, to see ourselves in our books and thus forget our books. ‘The printed word was skipped and the book forgotten’, writes Kittler, ‘until somewhere between the lines a hallucination appeared – the pure signified of the printed sign. In other words, Doubles in the era of classical Romanticism originated in the classroom where we learn to read correctly’.<sup>33</sup>

I want to pause for a moment and ask whether this rather common reading of the proliferation of the romantic double is not in need of some revision. If the encounter with the double in romantic fiction was most often a threatening one, why would such an agonistic figure function as a mechanism of *identification* between reader and medium? Why would the traumatic experience of one’s double lead a reader to see *through* the medium of the book? Why is the double a figure of the double self, in other words, and not just a figure of doubleness more generally? Instead of a figure of narcissistic personification or psychological division, perhaps the story of the double – the story about the proliferation of sameness – offered an extremely attractive plot to address a mediaspace defined by increasingly reproducible cultural objects. In capturing the crisis that surrounded the singular and the unique, the story of the double did not so much articulate some new psychological reality or a larger programme of psychologization at all, but represented with striking precision the material reality of a new communications environment. It represented the sheer discomfort of inhabiting a world constituted by so much of the same thing, or put differently, of a world of so little originality. The duel with the double was not so much an invitation to identify with the characters in books as it was a means of contending with the discomforts of so much sameness.

If the double captured a more general concern with reproducibility and sameness that inhered in the emerging nineteenth-century mediascape, the crisis of singularity at its heart also disclosed, on a more specific level, something essential about Irving's project of 'projection' and the culture of sharing surrounding the romantic miscellany. 'Diffusion of identity' and the 'dedifferentiation of the I' were as much at the heart of those spaces of bibliographic inscription in the miscellanies as in Irving's project of writing the 'unwritten'. Irving's story of the double – of the reproducibility but also shareability of writing – was at the same time also a story about the 'ungovernable', about the difficulties of order and classification that the growing shareability of writing produces. That is why the crowd plays such a crucial role here ('he follows him in the crowded street, or the brilliant saloon; thwarting his schemes, and marring all his intrigues of love or ambition'), a connection that would be elaborated in later stories of the double such as Poe's 'The Man of the Crowd' or Grillparzer's 'Der arme Spielmann'. That is why the concluding event that leads to the hero's downfall is the disruption of the dance: 'In the giddy mazes of the dance, in which Alfonso is addressing his fair partner with the honeyed words of seduction, he sees the stranger pass like a shadow before him; a voice, like the voice of his own soul, whispers in his ear; the words of seduction die from his lips; *he no longer hears the music of the dance*' (89; emphasis added). The order of the dance ('the giddy mazes') gives way to the disorder of the crowd, the hero's form-giving powers of orchestrating intrigues disappears ('marring all his intrigues'), along with the orchestrating power of the music *that he can no longer hear*. The harmony of the dance is replaced by the disharmony of the whisper, the key mode of communication from E.T.A. Hoffmann's tour de force narrative of an emerging culture of the copy, 'The Uncanny Guest'. Following this whisper, 'the words of seduction die from his lips', as we no longer know the content of speech. Speech is crucially hollowed-out here as closed forms like the 'intrigue', 'scheme', or 'dance' are replaced by forms without form that challenge the notions of governance and singularity that were essential to social and narrative order. A story that opens with an opening about openings is no less itself about openings.

Irving's story (if we can call it that) ends (if we can say that) also in proto-Borgesian fashion (idem):

How far the plan he had in view agreed with the Spanish original, I have not been able to ascertain. The latter was said to be by Calderon; but it is not to be found in any edition of his works that

I have seen. My curiosity being awakened on the subject, I made diligent inquiry while in Spain, for the play in question, but it was not to be met with in any of the public libraries, or private collections; nor could the book-sellers give me any information about it. Some of the most learned and indefatigable collectors of Spanish literature informed me that a play of the kind, called the *Embozado* of Cordova, was somewhere in existence, but they had never seen it. The foregoing sketch of the plot may hereafter suggest a rich theme to a poet or dramatist of the Byron school. (90)

We are offered a textual universe that consists of a chain of writers (Irving, Byron, Calderon) at the same time that the status of each preceding node in the network is called into question. The drama that Byron did not write, which Irving is merely summarizing and thus not 'writing' (in the sense of creating), is based on a drama that Calderon himself might not have written. Like Byron's unwritten drama, Calderon's drama is said to exist, but has never been seen. Irving consults all of the relevant nodes of the print economy (the library, the book-seller, the collector), but the textual gap continues to exist. The conclusion of the story creates yet another opening. The incapacity of Calderon's work to be possessed seems to be the very condition upon which its continued circulation depends, much like Irving's own project that is intended to motivate the possibility of future writing ('The foregoing sketch of the plot may hereafter suggest a rich theme to a poet or dramatist of the Byron school'). The bibliographic economy is conceptualized, like the crowd in the story, as necessarily incomplete, unwhole, and open.

To summarize Irving's story, and to interpret it, is thus to perform an amazing feat of repetition: like Susan Sontag's 'Description (of a Description)', we are summarizing a summary (articulated most forcefully in the wonderfully vague temporal markers that populate Irving's story, such as 'at first', 'by degrees', 'at length', 'soon after', 'at every turn'). But Irving's summary is not intended as a *summa*, a totality, but instead as a *projection*, as something to produce more writing. In her essay on nineteenth-century miscellanies, Laura Mandell has argued that miscellany contributions very often dramatized what she calls an act of 'productive consumption', where 'the poems, stories, and pictures in literary annuals are often about viewing, listening to, and reading works of art',<sup>34</sup> and on one level, we could say Irving offers an exemplary instance of this. But it is precisely the element of sharedness, which suffused these books and their contents, that problematizes the dualism of Mandell's terms of producing and consuming. Sharing stood outside

of the binary logic of both production and consumption, challenging such market rationale from within. In calling his story 'An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron', Irving was emphasizing the ambiguity surrounding the ownership of literary property, challenging the possibilities and even the legitimacy of possession that demarcated the twin, autonomous spaces of production and consumption. At the same time, in calling his story 'An *Unwritten* Drama of Lord Byron', he was also demarcating a space for future writers to call their own. Just as the origin of Byron's work (Calderon) could not be recovered, the origin for Irving and future writers was not there either. Writing what was *unwritten* was a way of simultaneously affirming and effacing the work's own origins, its indebtedness and sharedness to another writer. Like the complicated semiotics of the inscription, Irving was both inviting the practice of textual sharing at the same time that he was producing boundaries to facilitate the paradoxical sense of originality, of a space of one's own, within this shared space.

To conclude, then, however small or partial this particular miscellany entry of Irving's might have been – indeed precisely because of its summariness and partiality – I want to suggest that it can serve as an excellent entry-point for understanding the larger questions of sharing and owning that surrounded romantic miscellanies more generally. Unlike Irving's more famous 'tales', pieces like 'An Unwritten Drama' have not been anthologized with any regularity (if at all) and have most often been treated as textual anomalies in the critical literature. As the editors of Irving's critical edition write, 'No information is available as to the impetus which led Irving during the summer of 1835 to prepare his sketch for publication in an elegant gift-book ... Since he was extremely busy – revising and proofreading the second and third volumes of *The Crayon Miscellany*, purchasing and renovating a home, and overseeing the researches of his nephew Pierre for Astoria – it seems unlikely he would have written the work at this time unless solicited to do so'.<sup>35</sup> At work on more important miscellanies of his own, we have little idea why he would contribute a ten-year-old journal entry to another miscellany. Like the blank spaces that populated the miscellanies, Irving's contribution to *The Gift* is read as a kind of unmotivated blank space within Irving's own corpus of miscellaneous writing, itself a persistent blank space in the narrative of American literary history.

And yet 'An Unwritten Drama' has much to tell us about the bibliographic importance of Irving's writing that has been more properly classified as 'tales', whether it was the doubling of 'Rip van Winkle', the borrowings of 'The Art of Book-Making', the incompletions found in 'The Student of Salamanca', or the literal hollows of 'A Legend of

Sleepy Hollow'. In each case it was the figure of the hollow or the hollow text that served as a crucial figure for thinking about a poetics of the derivative. 'An Unwritten Drama' was thus no random contribution to randomly organized books – miscellaneity *in extremis* – but rather a very considered piece of writing that engaged with the principles of writing encoded in these increasingly prominent media objects. In exploring a notion of writing as projection – and all of the related, technologized ideas of amplification, division, processing, calculation and computation that accompanied it – Irving's work was engaging with the sharedness of writing that the miscellanies themselves were in the process of promoting, but of course also trying to control. Like the miscellanies, Irving's work made sharing a central principle in the creative process, but like the miscellanies, it also attempted to negotiate textual openings as well, to carve out writing spaces of one's own. As a part itself, it attempted both to impart and part with writing. Like the hero of Goethe's novella, 'The Man of Fifty', who eventually lost his front tooth and thereby quite literally fell to pieces, such romantic texts were compelling explorations of what happened when the body of writing fell to pieces too. 'An Unwritten Drama' suggests that sharing was not only more difficult but also far more important to the romantic *bibliocosmos* than we have traditionally thought.

## Notes

A note on illustrations: all images related to this article can be found at my website: <http://pipelab.mcgill.ca>.

1. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Man of Fifty*, trans. Andrew Piper (London: Hesperus Press, 2004) 12.
2. Kathryn Ledbetter, *A Woman's Book: The Keepsake Literary Annual*, Diss. University of South Carolina (1995); Barbara Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996); Leah Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel: From Richardson to George Eliot* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000); Seth Lerer, 'Medieval English Literature and the Idea of the Anthology', *PMLA* 118.5 (2003): 1251–62; Ina Ferris, 'Antiquarian Authorship: D'Israeli's Miscellany of Literary Curiosity and the Question of Secondary Genres', *Studies in Romanticism* 45.4 (Winter 2006): 523–42; Meredith McGill, 'Common Places: Poetry, Illocality, and Temporal Dislocation in Thoreau's "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers"', *American Literary History* 19.2 (Summer 2007): 357–74; Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1996); Paul Gerhard Klussmann and York-Gotthart Mix, eds., *Literarische Leitmedien: Almanach und Taschenbuch in kulturwissenschaftlichen Kontext* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998); Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrinck, 'La littérature des almanachs: réflexions sur l'anthropologie du fait littéraire', *Études françaises*

- 36.3 (2000): 47–63; Armando Petrucci, 'From the Unitary Book to Miscellany', *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995): 1–18; and Ségolène Le Men, 'Quelques définitions romantiques de l'album', *Art et métiers du livre* (Jan. 1987): 40–7.
3. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds, *The Whole Book*.
  4. Barbara Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader* 40.
  5. Leah Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel* 3.
  6. Ina Ferris, 'Antiquarian Authorship'.
  7. Leigh Hunt, 'Pocket-Books and Keepsakes', *The Keepsake* (London: Hurst, Chance & Co., 1828) 4–5.
  8. On the importance of the series for mass media environments, see Umberto Eco, 'Serialität im Universum der Kunst und Massenmedien', *Streit der Interpretationen* (Konstanz: Universitäts-Verlag, 1987) 49–65.
  9. Writing of the emergence of the modern, commercial function of the Christmas holiday, Nissenbaum writes, 'Books were on the cutting edge of a commercial Christmas, making up more than half of the earliest items advertised as Christmas gifts'. Stephen Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas* (New York: Vintage, 1997) 140–55; 140.
  10. Martha Woodmansee, 'The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the "Author"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17.4 (1984) 425–48 and *The Author, Art, and the Market: Rereading the History of Aesthetics* (New York: Columbia UP, 1994). See also Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993) and Heinrich Bosse, *Autorschaft ist Werkherrschaft. Über die Entstehung des Urheberrechts aus dem Geist der Goethezeit* (München: Schöningh, 1981). For a discussion of contemporary issues in copyright, see Peter Jaszi, 'Toward a Theory of Copyright: The Metamorphoses of "Authorship"', *Duke Law Journal* (1991): 455–500. For a discussion on the common rights of copyright, see Trevor Ross, 'Copyright and the Invention of Tradition', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26.1 (1992): 1–28.
  11. Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5.33 (1983): 69.
  12. 'Let us speak of a work of art as *autographic* if and only if the distinction between original and forgery of it is significant; or better, if and only if even the most exact duplication of it does not thereby count as genuine ... Thus painting is autographic, music non-autographic, or *allographic*'. Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1976) 113.
  13. Two of the most powerful recent critiques are Siva Vaidhyanathan, *Copyrights and Copywrongs: The Rise of Intellectual Property and How It Threatens Creativity* (New York: New York UP, 2003) and Lawrence Lessig, *Free Culture: How Big Media Uses Technology and the Law to Lock Down Culture and Control Creativity* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).
  14. Cited in Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997) 123. Genette writes, 'Tending to disappear at the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, are two features, obviously connected: the most direct (economic) social function of the dedication, and its expanded form of the laudatory epistle'.
  15. For an excellent discussion of the socialization into writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that does not however touch on the role of the

- miscellanies, see Patricia Crain, *The Story of A: The Alphabetization of America from The New England Primer to The Scarlet Letter* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2000).
16. For example, see *Dean's Universal Penman* (1808), where he advises, 'Sit at a convenient distance, avoid leaning hard on the pen, and incline the left side of the body toward the desk, without leaning upon, or even touching it ... The forefinger should lie on the top of the pen, and be just as low as the top of the nail of the second finger ... Lay the third or ring finger, over the little finger inward, and when writing, rest lightly on the end of the little finger' (unpaginated). It was also not uncommon for manuals to call for a system of tying-up pupils' limbs. See Ray Nash, *American Penmanship 1800-1850* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1969) 33.
  17. Carlyle writes to his mother in 1827: 'News came directly after breakfast that the packet from Goethe had arrived in Leith! ... In the box containing the necklace [for Mrs. Carlyle], and in each pocket of the pocket-book were cards, each with a verse of poetry on it in the old master's own hand'. Charles Eliot Norton, ed., *Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle* (London: Macmillan, 1887) 28.
  18. For an excellent recent material example of this intersection of accounting and fiction, see Borges' manuscript for the *Library of Babel* – a story that is overwhelmingly concerned with the infinite interchangeability of writing – that was written on ledger paper. On the relationship of bookkeeping to modernist fiction, see Stanley Corngold, 'Bookkeeping in the Modernist Novel', *Approaching Modernism*, eds Astradur Eysteinnsson and Vivian Liska (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2007) 367–81.
  19. Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1999). She writes, 'In contrast to existing interpretations of the heroic, democratizing impact of print technology in the seventeenth century, I explore the cultural world of the script author and the 'hidden' female participation in it as author and as reader ... We still need histories of authors and readers – often women – who resided away from the centers of publishing and technology of 'modern' authors. In short, we still need studies that are not focused on the 'advanced' or modern concept of authorship during this period of transition but instead on all the varied aspects of the material culture of literature' (11–12).
  20. Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Social Authorship* 25.
  21. Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Handwriting in America* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1996); Meredith McGill, 'The Duplicity of the Pen', *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production*, ed. Jeffrey Masten, Peter Stallybrass, Nancy Vickers (New York: Routledge, 1997) 39–71; and Bernhard Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System*, trans. Kevin Repp (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999).
  22. J.W. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 10, ed. Gerhard Neumann (Frankfurt/Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989) 339.
  23. For an explicit and exemplary argument of the differentiation of script and print in their evolution, see Thornton, who writes that Americans around the turn of the nineteenth century 'came to understand handwriting in contradistinction to print and to make handwriting function in contradistinction to the press, as the medium of the self'. Tamara Thornton, *Handwriting in America* 30. See also Michael Warner, *The Letters*

of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1990) 7–9.

24. Kenneth Monkman, 'The Bibliography of the Early Editions of *Tristram Shandy*', *Library: A Quarterly Journal of Bibliography* 25 (1970): 11–39.
25. Washington Irving, 'An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron', *The Gift* (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1836) 166–171. Reprinted in Washington Irving, 'An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron', *Miscellaneous Writings 1803–1859*, vol. 2, ed. Wayne R. Kime (Boston: Twayne, 1981) 88–90.
26. 'Textual Commentary', *Miscellaneous Writings 1803–1859* 2: 394.
27. For a discussion of the sources of both Byron's and Irving's work, see Charles E. Robinson, 'The Devil as Doppelgänger in the *Deformed Transformed*: The Sources and Meanings of Byron's Unfinished Drama', *The Plays of Lord Byron: Critical Essays*, ed. Robert Gleckner (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1997) 321–46. Robinson's move from calling it an 'unwritten' drama to an 'unfinished' one in his scholarly essay indicates the way these different terms underwrote different genres and also shows the generic ambiguity that the term 'unwritten' could provoke and that necessitated its replacement.
28. On Irving as father of the American short story, see Eugene Current-Garcia, 'Soundings and Alarums: The Beginning of the Short Story in America', *Midwest Quarterly* 17 (1976): 311–28.
29. On Irving as ambiguous patriarch, see Edward Wagenknecht for a summary of this position: 'Irving's position in American literature is a rather odd one. So far as his name goes, he is still one of the most famous American authors. There is also a conventional honor paid to him as the Father of American Literature. Yet the living body of his work is small, and in the critical estimate generally placed upon his effort as a whole, he now ranks below any of the others who enjoy a comparable fame'. Edward Wagenknecht, *Washington Irving: Moderation Displayed* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1962) ix.
30. Paul Giles, 'Burlesques of Civility: Washington Irving', *Transatlantic Insurrections: British Culture and the Formation of American Literature 1730–1860* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2001) 142–63; 143. For a discussion of Irving in a similar vein through a reading of his biographies of English writers, see James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1998).
31. Michael Warner, 'Irving's Posterity', *ELH* 67.3 (2000): 773–99.
32. Christof Forderer, *Ich-Eklipsen. Doppelgänger in der Literatur seit 1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999) 25.
33. Friedrich Kittler, 'Romanticism – Psychoanalysis – Film: A History of the Double', *Literature, Media, Information Systems*, ed. John Johnston (Amsterdam: G&B Arts, 1997) 90.
34. Laura Mandell, 'Hemans and the Gift-Book Aesthetic', *Cardiff Corvey* 6 (2001): unpaginated.
35. 'Textual Commentary', *Miscellaneous Writings 1803–1859* 2: 394.