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AMERICAN WOMEN'S LITERATURE AND ALMANACS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Advisor: Dr. Douglas Ceccagno

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“Apart from a very few celebrated figures such as Louisa May Alcott, Emily Dickinson, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, most of the women writers before 1900 may be unfamiliar to readers”.

Elaine Showalter

ABSTRACT

This paper proposes a recovery of forgotten women writers, who had their literary texts reproduced in *The Lady's Annual Register* and in *The Lady's Almanac*, two periodicals of the nineteenth century. Thus, main objective of this research is to analyze, thematically and stylistically, this recovered female-authored literature, in order to extend the critical and biographical considerations made to the creations and lives of such American women writers. Consequently, this study also contributes to the delineation of a female tradition of literature present in women's almanacs. In order to complete the main goal, the chosen theoretical approach for this paper is Elaine Showalter's (1977; 1979; 1981; 1993; 2010) Gynocriticism. The development of this paper occurred in some stages. Initially, it was necessary to do a bibliographic research on the history of almanacs. The American ones were prioritized. This was followed by an investigation on how to approach women's literature, following a gynocritical perspective. In the last part of the paper, the recovered material was compiled in tables, brief biographies about the recovered women writers were written and their compositions were analyzed. Finally, aside from a recovery that contributed for the unearthing of forgotten women's creations in a marginalized material – women's almanacs –, it could be verified that a female tradition of literature conveyed in women's almanacs has influence from romantic and transcendentalist themes – aspects of the canonical tradition – and from genteel lyrics – a popular form in the female tradition –, in terms of style.

Keywords: Recovery. Women's literature. American literature. Women's almanacs. Gynocriticism.

RESUMO

Este trabalho propõe um estudo de resgate de escritoras esquecidas, que tiveram seus textos reproduzidos no *The Lady's Annual Register* e no *The Lady's Almanac*, dois periódicos do século XIX. Dessa forma, o objetivo desta pesquisa é analisar, em termos de tema e estilo, essa literatura de autoria feminina resgatada, a fim de estender as considerações críticas e biográficas feitas às criações e às vidas dessas escritoras estadunidenses. Consequentemente, este ensaio também contribui para a delineação de uma tradição feminina da literatura presente em almanaques femininos. Para completar o objetivo principal, escolheu-se, como abordagem teórica, a Ginocrítica de Elaine Showalter (1977; 1979; 1981; 1993; 2010). O desenvolvimento deste trabalho ocorreu em algumas etapas. Primeiramente, foi necessário realizar uma pesquisa bibliográfica na história dos almanaques, priorizando os dos Estados Unidos. Tal procedimento foi seguido por uma investigação nas abordagens da literatura de autoria feminina, a partir de uma perspectiva ginocêntrica. Posteriormente, o material recuperado foi compilado em quadros, breves biografias sobre as escritoras foram escritas e os seus textos foram analisados. Assim, além desse resgate, que contribuiu para trazer à luz tais criações, presentes em um material marginalizado – os almanaques femininos –, foi possível verificar que uma tradição feminina da literatura veiculada em almanaques para mulheres apresenta a influência de temas românticos e transcendentalistas – aspectos da tradição canônica – e, também, dos *genteel lyrics* – uma forma popular na tradição feminina –, estilisticamente.

Palavras-chave: Resgate. Literatura de autoria feminina. Literatura estadunidense. Almanaques femininos. Ginocrítica.

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SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

During the nineteenth century, periodicals were particularly important for everybody in the West. The useful almanacs, the quotidian newspapers or the magazines for leisure are some of the examples of the necessity of spreading the happenings that surrounded these people's lives. For women, they were exceptionally important, since, as Stearns (1930, p. 628) considers, "[…] they furnished entertainment of a sort to hundreds of women, and offered one means of self-expression to innumerable others".

Therefore, this study decided to value a type of literature that is somewhat marginalized within the Literary Studies: women's literature published in the women's almanacs of this period. Among the women's almanacs of the 1800s, there are not many studies about two American ones and their literary texts: *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum-Book*, henceforth *The Lady's Annual Register*, edited by Caroline Howard Gilman; and *The Lady's Almanac*, edited by Amanda Maria Edmond in its first years and later replaced by unnamed editors.[1] Thus, the research problem here is "how might forgotten American women writers have their critical and biographical considerations extended?"

Based on the question above, the main objective of this final paper is to analyze, thematically and stylistically, female-authored literary texts that were reproduced in *The Lady's Annual Register* and in *The Lady's Almanac*, in order to extend the critical and biographical considerations made to the literature and lives of nineteenth century forgotten American women writers. This analysis will also contribute to the delineation of a tradition of women's almanac literature.

This main goal will be split in the following specific objectives: a) Investigate the history and contents of the almanac genre, focusing on The United States of America, especially examining women's almanacs, *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac*; b) through a bibliographic review, reflect on how women writers and their literary texts may be recovered and analyzed; c) recover forgotten women's literary texts that were present in *The Lady's Annual Register* and in *The Lady's Almanac*; d) write a brief biography of the women who had their literary texts conveyed in these almanacs, in order to supplement their

[1] Since the first edition of the *Almanac*, her identity is omitted. According to the preface of the first edition, "the compilation is placed in charge of a lady, whose discriminating taste can hardly fail to render the work a welcome annual visitor to its many readers". (ANONYMOUS, 1854, n. p.). However, while searching more about her biographical information in the *Proceedings of the Brookline Historical Society* (1909), it was possible to discover, in this paper, that "[…] she snatched moments to from other duties to write poems and stories for the young and for the *Ladies' Almanac*, of which she was editor for a series of years, over the signature of 'A. M. E.'" (CANDAGE, 1909, n. p.).

biographical considerations; d) according to the principles of Gynocriticism, analyze the recovered texts, prioritizing aspects of theme and style, in order to contribute to the extension of the critical considerations over these women's creations and to the delineation of a female tradition of literature present in women's almanacs.

The interest in such topic for this work comes from some perspectives, personal and academic. The personal ones resulted from my opportunity to join a research group, regarding Gender Studies and literature, as an assistant, which broadened my horizons regarding the discipline and, still nowadays, has been making me even more curious about female authorship in the West. The academic ones are related to the omission of nineteenth-century women writers' texts in the traditional histories of literature, that, due to sexism, need to be recovered from the oblivion and have their critical considerations amplified. Furthermore, the almanacs, which were sometimes targeted to women and often contained literature – written or not by them –, are important objects for this type of research.[2] Thus, this paper is written with the intent of extending the considerations to women writers and their art published in women's almanacs.

This final paper is an original research, since no studies specifically/exclusively regarding *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac* – except by some mentions of it – could be found. Additionally, it intends to complement other studies regarding gender, literature and print culture, such as Danky and Wiegand's (2006), which does not sufficiently explore the almanac genre in relation to women's print culture in the selected period of time, and Stearns' (1930), which only includes a few considerations about *The Lady's Annual Register* in her essay "New England magazines for ladies: 1830-1860".

The relevance of this research may be proved by the following aspects. The American state of Massachusetts, in which *The Lady's Annual Register*, for example, was printed more than a hundred and eighty years ago, has been the third region of the country that, within the last five years, mostly searches the word "feminism" on Google.[3] Feminism, which is nowadays a phenomenon in the mainstream media, is not as recent as it is supposed. According to Muzart

[2] Although proven conducive, the quantity of research found about almanacs was not as abundant as expected, given the fact that they are often considered a marginalized genre. As Dodge (2002, p. 11) states, "like many other articles of popular culture, almanacs have too often been considered beneath the efforts of scholarship". Despite this reality, Whittaker (1980) values that "[...] students of literature can find not only the gradual popularization of European authors, but also the emergence of native prose and poetry in early [American] almanacs [...]". Furthermore, women's writings, according to Showalter (2010, p. 33), are abundant in American periodicals: "Many annuals – *The Token*, *The Talisman*, *The Western Souvenir*, *The Literary Souvenir*, and *The Gift* – published exclusively American materials, and women wrote at least a third of their contents".

[3] This data is available at https://trends.google.com, searching for the word "feminism" and then selecting the area of The United States of America and setting the period for five years.

(2003), Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was the first person to use the expression "feminism". However, women's intentions of vindicating equality came much earlier. The first feminist text is attributed to be Christine de Pizan's (1364-c. 1430) *Le livre de la cité des dames* (c. 1405), in which, through an allegory, "the 'construction' of the city of women will raise a wall against the prejudices and sexist divisions".[4] (MUZART, 2003, p. 264, my translation). Thus, it is possible to perceive the long and arduous journey that women – and women writers – needed to go on to conquer their rights. This final paper is going to approach this topic that, in the contemporaneity, may be more relevant than it has ever been.

Methodologically, this study is based on bibliographic research, which, according to Gil (2002), consists in a review on material that has been already written about a subject. Some specific authors were consulted to compose this paper. Theoretical contributions about almanacs as a genre and their history are given by Drake (1962), Sagendorph (1970), Stowell (1977), McCulloch (1980), Correia and Guerreiro (1986), and others. The ones about feminist literary criticism and Gynocriticism are provided by authors like Showalter (1977; 1979; 1981; 1993; 2010), Robinson (1983), Freibert and White (1985), Heilbrun and Stimpson (1989), Gilbert and Gubar (2000) and Carr (2007).

This paper is developed in some sections. In the first chapter, "American almanacs through the centuries", the history of almanacs, from their beginnings as manuscripts to the invention of printed ones, is explored. It is investigated what constituted the almanac as a genre. Furthermore, timeline describing its characteristics in each century – from their emergence to the nineteenth century –, in the United States, is done.

In the second chapter, "Women and literature: writers, feminist criticism and Gynocrticism", a review of feminist literary criticism and Gynocriticism material is done. First, an overview in some women's attitudes that were relevant for the establishment of a feminist consciousness is executed. Given the paper's topic, there is a concentration in Anglophone feminist thoughts. These women are Mary Wollstonecraft, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Virginia Woolf.

This initial part is followed by a brief study of the emergence of the Gender Studies and feminist criticism in the 1960s, in which the developments of feminist theory and the forgetfulness of women writers is explored. The major focus, however, is in a bibliographic

[4] From the original: "A 'construção' da cidade das mulheres vai erguendo um muro contra os preconceitos e divisões sexistas". (MUZART, 2003, p. 264).

review of Elaine Showalter's cultural theory, Gynocriticism, since this is the theoretical approach used in this paper.

The third chapter, "American women's almanacs", explores the emergence and most abundant contents of women's almanacs, prioritizing the ones from the nineteenth century. Furthermore, a brief consideration on women as printers is written in this part. This is followed by the subchapter "*The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum-Book* and *The Lady's Almanac*". In this section, the contents of the objects of study of this paper are investigated. Following the criterion of availability, only some editions could be accessed and are taken into consideration: concerning *The Lady's Annual Register*, 1838, 1839 and 1840; and regarding *The Lady's Almanac*, 1854, 1856, 1866, 1871, 1872 and 1875.

Additionally, the women writers, collaborators of these almanacs, are recovered in this part. Brief biographies about their lives are written. They are compiled in a table, available in appendix A. After these women's recovery, their texts are also recuperated and arranged in a table, present in appendix B. They are separated by almanac; moreover, their titles, authorships, genres and main topics are informed.

After the recollection of these texts, they are analyzed in terms of theme and style, in "Nature, spirituality and genteel lyrics: defining women's almanac literature". Six texts are investigated. They are divided by theme: two about nature, represented in a canonical perspective; two about spirituality, also written in the modes of this tradition; and two about nature in the form of a *feminine* literature, a phenomenon that could be identified in this paper.

From now on, in the next section, the initial part about almanacs will be explored.

2 AMERICAN ALMANACS THROUGH THE CENTURIES

The word "almanac" has many possible origins. Partridge (2006) states that it can be traced back to Greek *almenikhiaka*, plural of *almenikhiakon*, meaning calendars; or to Moorish Arabic *al-manākh*, the calendar. Furthermore, also from Arabic: *al* (the) + *manākh* (weather); or *al* (the) *ma* (prefix for a place) *nākha* (to kneel, where the camels kneel), therefore, a camp, a settlement, which is connected to the word settle, hence settled weather. (PARTRIDGE, 2006). The author concludes, then: *al-manākh*, (that which records) the weather one may expect. (PARTRIDGE, 2006).

The contents that constitute the almanac as a genre were modified across the years; however, in general, some aspects were maintained. Some characteristics of this publication, aside from being annually issued, according to Correia and Guerreiro (1986, p. 4, my translation), are that:

> 1. regarding the goals, it must be of easy and lasting consult;
> 2. regarding the structure – despite frequently varying –, its content is organized in reference to a chronological table or a calendar, in which annotations about religion (celebrations, saints) are written, fairs and events are indicated, and the moon phases are registered;
> 3. regarding nature of its content, it might cover astronomical and meteorological information, ephemerides, curiosities, advice, remedy suggestions, small tables about events, phenomena or people, and even astrological notes (especially predictions about the year, horoscopes), anecdotes, charades, proverbs, quatrains and even poetry.[5]

Given the fact that the almanac was directed to the masses, it had many practical functions for its time. McCulloch (1980, p. 109) mentions that

> it was thought to be invaluable because it served the purpose of a timekeeper (for few had timepieces), weather predictor (on which their crops depended), and calendar (to schedule events). When anecdotes, poems, and stories were added, it also served as entertainment.

[5] From the original: "1. quanto aos seus objectivos, ser obra prática de fácil e permanente consulta;
2. quanto à sua estrutura, apresentar-se muito variada, embora as diferentes matérias se organizem por referência a uma tábua cronológica ou calendário, em que se fazem anotações religiosas (festas, santos), se indicam as principais feiras e arraiais, se registram as fases da lua;
3. quanto à natureza dos conhecimentos que veicula, abranger desde os dados astronómicos e meteorológicos, efemérides, ou ainda curiosidades, conselhos práticos, mezinhas, pequenas notas sobre acontecimentos, fenómenos ou personagens, até a notas astrológicas (sobretudo o «juízo do ano», horóscopos), anedotas, adivinhas, provérbios, quadras e mesmo algumas poesias". (CORREIA; GUERREIRO, 1986, p. 4).

Almanacs, despite their decline in popularity nowadays,[6] have a long tradition. According to Correia and Guerreiro (1986), they were originally handwritten. Stowell (1977, p. 8) traces a brief chronology of manuscript almanacs, stating that they

> […] are believed to have been prepared by the Alexandrians as early as the second century A.D., but none exist today. The earliest Christian almanac was written in A.D. 354, on parchment. Reconstructed from fragments, it was published in 1634 and again in 1850. References exist to manuscript almanacs by Solomon Jarchus, 1150; Roger Bacon, 1292; Walter de Elvendene, 1327; John Somers, 1380; and Nicholas de Lynne, 1386. The controversial Petrus de Dacia almanac (circa 1300) is perhaps the most famous of the manuscript almanacs.

The printed ones started to appear in Germany and France during the fifteenth century. (CORREIA; GUERREIRO, 1986). Stowell (1977) infers that the first printed almanac might have been the *Astronomical Calendar of 1448*, made by Gutenberg in Mainz. However, as the scholar states, the first almanac similar to the classic format may have been the *Kalendarium Novum*, by the mathematician and printer Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller von Königsberg), in c. 1472 – the earliest existing copy dates 1476, printed in Venice by Bernard Victor, Petrus Loslein, and Erhardus Ratdolt –. (STOWELL, 1977). A general idea of what this almanac looked like, based on a timetable of December for the 1483 edition, can be seen in attachment A.

The use of almanacs was popular in the United States during colonial times, because, "since there were no American newspapers before 1704 and no magazines before 1740, the almanac served as the only periodical […]". (WHITTAKER, 1989, p. 91). Even when other modalities of publication started to be produced and imported, it was still preferred, given that, "whereas books, newspapers, and magazines were somewhat of an expense and difficult to purchase in outlying areas, the almanac was available for a small sum from the nearby traveling peddler". (McCULLOCH, 1980, p. 109). It is possible to verify, then, that "[...] it was adopted as an American tradition and probably reflects in its early issuance more of an idea of colonial life than any other publication. [...] In fact, it was considered a necessity in every household". (McCULLOCH, 1980, p. 109).

[6] The popularity of almanacs ceased in the end of the twentieth century. The genre was substituted by other means of communication more relevant to the period, then. According to Sampaio (2019, p. 44, my translation), "as the time passes by, technological advances, readers and reading practices inevitably transform themselves. The diffusion of internet, especially after the 1990s, instituted new ways of consuming and spreading information. Therefore, the internet enabled the access to a new diverse content in great scale, overcoming some meaningful media of the past, turning them obsolete".

In Massachusetts, the first American almanac – and second publication of the United States, according to Burdick (2009) – was printed. Moreover, as maintained by Stowell (1977, p. ix-x), in this region

> […] eighty almanacs made up four-fifths of the secular literature published there before 1700. Of the 157 books published by the press at Cambridge, Massachusetts, between 1639 and 1670, almanacs were outnumbered only by books of religion – the most popular subject in America for more than a century.

The seventeenth century printed material in colonial times consisted of almanacs and, especially, religious literature by a reason: Massachusetts' efficient literacy, for example, was motivated by the necessity of reading the *Bible* and, thus, "passed the earliest law on reading in 1642, requiring all parents and masters of apprentices to have their children taught to read". (MONAGHAN; HARTMAN; MONAGHAN, 2002, p. 224).

In fact, religion guided a great part of literacy during that period, as Monaghan, Hartman and Monaghan (2002, p. 225) emphasize that "the sequence of texts for colonial instruction reflected the Protestantism of most immigrants: the hornbook, primer, Psalter, New Testament, and then the entire Bible". Another relevant work was *The New England Primer*, a best-seller reading textbook printed around 1690. (MONAGHAN; HARTMAN; MONAGHAN, 2002). It contained short religious verses and woodcut pictures. Stowell (1977, p. x) informs "the average New England home library consisted of a Bible, an almanac, the *New England Primer*, and perhaps a few sermons". Consequently, Spero (2010, p. 41) concludes that, during this period, "the almanac and primer were two of the most popular genres on both sides of the Atlantic, as generations in both England and the colonies learned literacy through a primer and then, as adults, became regular consumers of almanacs".

The first American almanac was the *Almanack*[7] *Calculated for New England*, printed in Cambridge (MA), in 1639, by William Pierce. McCulloch (1980, p. 109) informs that "as with the majority of colonial almanacs, the text was printed on a single sheet, both sides, and then cut into eight or more pages". In fact, most of the almanacs, prior to the nineteenth century, were unostentatiously crafted, and each century had its preferences regarding the content. Seventeenth century almanacs were called "philomaths". Whittaker (1989, p. 92) states "[...] they were more mathematical and astronomical than their later counterparts". Furthermore, Stowell (1977, p. 42) describes that they

[7] According to Drake (1962), the nineteenth century had the letter "k" in "almanack" suppressed in the English language.

> […] contained sixteen pages (eight leaves), of which twelve were the monthly calendars. It emphasized astronomy for over thirty years – as long as the Cambridge Press was the only press in the colonies – teaching Copernican theory and preparing the public to accept Newtonian science.

As a genre, a philomath almanac "[…] included explanatory notes for the calendar, a discussion of the eclipses, the calendar pages, verse, and approximately two pages of astronomical, religious, or historical essays". (STOWELL, 1977, p. 61). However, Stowell (1977) remarks that some editors included other matters of their interest: John Tulley added humor and satire; Daniel Leeds inserted agricultural practices – a popular subject in eighteenth century almanacs, as it shall be seen further in this chapter –; and John Foster added astrological material. In fact, Astrology was rather popular in philomaths. Whittaker (1989, p. 91) adds that these almanacs

> [...] included the "Man of Signs", a figure of a man surrounded by astrological signs or drawings with indicators to those parts of the body that are governed by these signs whenever the moon passes through their part of the heavens. This diagram was usually accompanied by a key giving each symbol for the astrological sign. These symbols were usually incorporated into the calendar section of the almanac.

The man of signs had been used since ancient times, being particularly popular in the Middle Ages. It was common to find one even in the almanacs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Stowell (1977) informs that the first American to include the *Homo signorum* in its pages was the John Foster's almanac, printed in Cambridge, entitled *An Almanack of Cœlestial Motions for the Year of the Christian Epocha 1678*. It can be seen in attachment B.

In the eighteenth century, the United States became more urbanized than in its colonial times. Besides, the agriculture became more sophisticated, especially after the Independence. These two aspects were connected, as Lemon (1987, p. 84) remarks that "[…] urban demands did eventually induce greater attention to [agricultural] practices, though mechanization and improved care of the land came slowly". This would also resonate in the almanacs of that period, because, aside from becoming more voluminous and starting to focus on other subjects, they privileged information related to agriculture – a theme that would also resonate in the nineteenth century ones –. According to Eisinger (1954, p. 108), the reason may be justified by a cultural belief that

> [...] men have a natural right to the land; ownership of it gives them status and a stake in society, as well as social and economic security; agriculture is the most productive form of labor, and it is conducive to moral and physical health; the agrarian way of life stimulates and makes possible individualism and self-reliance; the farmer is the backbone of democracy whom the government must support. [...]. Generally speaking,

> the almanacs accepted the agrarian view of eighteenth century life in America and conveyed it to their readers, thus fulfilling their function as media of popular culture.

The earlier philomath was substituted by the farmer's almanac, then. About its contents, Stowell (1977, p. 63-64) informs that this new genre, aside from keeping the philomath basic format,

> […] added more verse, aphorisms, and humor – and even some romantic tales. The preface was often amusing […]. The calendar pages usually contained verse and aphorisms and, sometimes, notes of advice or scientific information. The last pages were devoted to essays and poems or to miscellaneous tables and lists, or to both. The list of roads became almost indispensable. There were "how to" articles and there were more "receipts" and anecdotes. […] Chronological lists of important events continued to be popular. […] There were short biographies and other historical notes. Later in the century, some almanacs became propaganda pamphlets for the American Revolution. Essays and poems were sometimes "continued next year," and the solutions to mathematical problems were given in the succeeding issue […].

Thus, it is possible to perceive that the farmer's almanacs – in addition to calendars, astronomical and astrological information – included agricultural tips for those who dedicated themselves to the practice. Moreover, a growing interest in the entertainment aspect that this genre could provide is more explored through varied literature: from the ones that privilege less literariness, such as essays, aphorisms, humor columns, historical notes, biographies, and the more literary ones, like short verses and traditional poems.[8]

An example of these almanacs is *The Old Farmer's Almanac*,[9] created by Robert B. Thomas. Alongside the calendar of each month, it inserted a farmer's calendar (see attachment C). The farmer's calendar gives advice based on a specific day of the month and its astronomical characteristics. For example, the April edition, presented in the attachments of this paper, suggests sowing peas by the sixteenth and setting trees by the twenty-seventh of this month. (THOMAS, 1792).

Other than the philomaths and farmer's, another two almanac genres emerged during the eighteenth century: the pocket and the register. They were simpler and more focused on utility than entertainment, unlike their counterparts. As stated by Stowell (1977, p. 65),

> the pocket almanac contained no essays or poetry and specialized in current affairs; such as the names of government officials, the members of organizations, and copies of laws and regulations. […] The register was of the same character as the pocket almanac, was of larger size, had no literature per se, and contained even more miscellaneous governmental data.

[8] This will be even more explored in nineteenth century almanacs, which became extremely commercial.

[9] It might also be simply called *The Farmer's Almanac* in some editions. Its complete name may be found in the references of this paper.

Finally, regarding the eighteenth century, it is necessary to mention the most popular almanac of this period: the *Poor Richard's Almanack*, edited by Benjamin Franklin.[10] The *Poor Richard's Almanack* came in 1732, under the pseudonym Richard Saunders, and it was, as considered by Denker (1954), successful from the start. Gastaud (2006, p. 28) emphasizes its high selling: "[…] 10,000 copies a year, in a colony whose total population in the 1730s was less than 15,000". It is still remembered nowadays for its inclusion of aphorisms and proverbs, which were passed through generations and still are used in the English language, such as "there are no gains without pains" and "one day is worth two tomorrows". Other printers often copied its contents and style. However, Stowell (1977) does not consider Franklin innovative in his approaches. His genius was in creating "[…] two characters, Richard and Bridget Saunders, and to write his borrowed maxims in a more quotable style than any of his predecessors". (STOWELL, 1977, p. 82). The *Almanack* was published until 1758, a year after Franklin's travel to England for government business. (STOWELL, 1977).

The nineteenth century brought some modifications to American almanacs. Drake (1962) emphasizes that what was previously regarded as an agricultural instrument, now caught everybody's attention. Exposing these differences, McCulloch (1980, p. 111) contrasts that "the first hundred years of American almanacs concentrated on nautical subjects, predictions, astrology, public schedules and officers, whereas the almanacs of the 1800s turned to special topics, advertisements, or those that offered remedies and humor". Thus, more than the eighteenth century ones, the almanacs of this period became more ostentatious and focused on information and leisure.

Advertisements, perhaps, were the newest addition to nineteenth century almanacs. Sagendorph (1970, p. 25) states that

> […] before 1850 there were very few paid advertisements of any kind. There were announcements of horses and cattle for sale, ships wanting cargoes, stage schedules, and land opportunities. But they were more notices than advertisements – simply listing what was available.

Drake (1962) complements that many groups turned to almanacs to sell their good – and their ideas! –, like professionals, business groups, religious groups, political parties and others.

[10] Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) started working with printing at a very early age and followed professions related to it throughout his life. In 1723, aged 17, he was hired by Samuel Keimer, a Philadelphian printer. (BLOOM, 2008). Later, in 1724, he went to London, where he also worked in a printing office, being introduced to London's intellectual circle. (BLOOM, 2008). Back to the United States, in 1726, he worked for Thomas Denham as bookkeeper and shopkeeper until the death of his boss. (BLOOM, 2008). Then, he went back to work with his first boss, Keimer, and expanded his intellectual community, activity and business in America. (BLOOM, 2008).

Thus, despite the farmer's almanacs maintaining their popularity in the 1800s, a modification came to the almanac genre: it was the emergence of specialty almanacs.[11] Drake (1962) mentions some of their types: religious (*Christian Almanac*, *Baptist Almanac*); uplift (*Temperance Almanac, Health Almanac*); pressure groups (*Anti-Slavery Almanac*, *Woman's Rights Almanac*); political (*Henry Clay Almanac, Democrat's Almanac*); labor and professional (*Merchants' and Miners' Almanac, American Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Almanac*); fraternal (*Masonic Register*, *Odd Fellows' Almanac*), sales promotion (*Stove Almanac*, *Mark H. Newman & Co.'s Useful Almanac*); and newspaper (*Tribune Almanac, Herald Almanac*).

Furthermore, the scholar considers that the humor magazines, comics, and joke books succeeded the so-called comic almanacs, like the *American Comic Almanac* – first published in Boston in 1831 –, and many others that imitated it. (DRAKE, 1962).

In the end, Drake (1962) alludes to a phenomenon in nineteenth century almanacs: the patent medicine almanacs. The author presents that the first one was the *Free Almanac for 1843*, promoting a "wondrous panacea", the Bristol's Sarsaparilla.[12] (DRAKE, 1962). Moreover, according to him, there were more than fifty almanacs of this type, published for many years, and some of them, like Bristol's, Jayne's, Sloan's and Ayer's were printed in millions. (DRAKE, 1962).[13]

Each of these types of almanacs had specific goals, contents and public. Regarding this last aspect, in fact, the emerging changes in nineteenth-century almanacs saw a great opportunity to seek a new target audience: women. Many were the women's almanacs, edited by both men and women, and they had, as the others above, their distinctions: some contained household tips, information taken as relevant to the women of the period, men and women's literature, as well as many other specificities. This paper's major topics, women's almanacs and literature, will be explored in the next chapters.

Before exploring almanacs directed to a female audience, however, it is necessary to investigate a possible approach to study nineteenth century women's writing, which will be done in the following chapter.

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[11] Sagendorph (1970, p. 237) mentions an interesting fact regarding the impacts of some specialty almanacs in the history of American almanacs: "[…] it [specialty almanac] was generally given away (to advertise some cause or product) free of charge. This led eventually to a demoralization of the almanac business from which it was never fully to recover".

[12] Even though patent medicine ads had been inserted in almanacs, this was the first advertising giveaway almanac of the type. (DRAKE, 1962).

[13] Ayer's was so successful that it was distributed in 15 foreign languages and was still published in the twentieth century, Drake (1962) states.

3 WOMEN AND LITERATURE: WRITERS, FEMINIST CRITICISM AND GYNOCRITICISM

In the history of Anglophone countries, some events were particularly important for women's and women writer's rights. One might be traced back to the end of the eighteenth century, more specifically 1792, in England, when Mary Wollstonecraft's *A vindication of the rights of woman* was published. In this work, Wollstonecraft (1833, p. 9) condemns the format of education given to women in that period, which consisted of accomplishments:[14]

> The education of women has, of late, been more attended to than formerly; yet they are still reckoned a frivolous sex, and ridiculed or pitied by writers who endeavour by satire or instruction to improve them. It is acknowledged that they spend many of the first years of theirs lives in acquiring a smattering of accomplishments: meanwhile, strength of body and mind are sacrificed to libertine notions of beauty, to the desire of establishing themselves, the only way women can rise in the world – by marriage.

In this criticism, she argues that women should have access to the same fundamental rights as men, reiterating that, in order to conquer their emancipation, they must gain access to an education in the same format as men already had. This is frequently considered one of the first consistent proto-feminist thoughts regarding women's education and emancipation. According to Mountjoy (2008), Wollstonecraft's thoughts influenced many women, including the American Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who is related to another memorable moment in women's rights history: the Seneca Falls Convention of July 1848, in New York.[15] As stated by Mountjoy (2008), a meeting was held, counting 300 people of whom 240 were women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton had read a document based on the *Declaration of Independence*, the *Declaration of sentiments*, that "[...] spelled out women's rights in much the same way the Declaration of Independence had specified the unalienable rights of American men to break away from the despotism of Great Britain". (MOUNTJOY, 2008, p. 57). Mountjoy (2008) affirms that, in the end of the gathering, 100 people had signed the document: 68 women and 32 men.

As for women writers, a milestone was Virginia Woolf's *A room of one's own*, originally published in 1929, in which she defends that "[...] a woman must have money and a

[14] Charlton (1999, p. 118) mentions that some of the "accomplishments", in education, were "[...] singing, dancing, lute and virginal playing and, much more occasionally, modern languages".

[15] The month of July is particularly important for this happening, since it was the commemoration of the Independence of The United States of America, in which the spirit of emancipation had a great impact. About 1848, Mountjoy (2008, p. 55) asserts that "Americans continued their tradition of reciting the Declaration of Independence in public squares, at picnics, and on courthouse lawns to commemorate the momentous break with Great Britain 72 years earlier".

room of her own if she is to write fiction [...]". (WOOLF, 1977, p. 7). This vindication is relevant, given the reality of women of that period, who could not easily become writers. Another complaint is made through an allegory. She imagines that, if Shakespeare had a sister, the siblings' lives would have been very different:

> Meanwhile, his extraordinarily gifted sister, let us suppose, remained at home. She was as adventurous, as imaginative, as agog to see the world as he was. But she was not sent to school. She had no chance of learning grammar and logic, let alone of reading Horace and Virgil. She picked up a book now and then, one of her brother's perhaps, and read a few pages. But then her parents came in and told her to mend the stockings or mind the stew and not moon about with books and papers. (WOOLF, 1977, p. 53).

Through this allegory, it is evident the impossibility of women writers having an important role in literature due to their reality and denied opportunities. Woolf's arguments would resonate much later, because, as stated by Goldman (2007, p. 66), she is "[...] rightly considered the founder of modern feminist literary criticism". Based on Humanities' Gender Studies, this school of criticism would emerge in the United States during the 1960s and it is, as Sielke (1997, p. 16) defines, "[...] an approach to literature that analyses literary texts, the conditions of their production, reception, circulation, and their cultural effects from the perspective of gender difference".

In the 1970s, Heilbrun and Stimpson (1989) identified that this theory had developed some essential differences and, in a dialogue, separate them into two major ramifications, named "x" and "y" at that period. "Y" was compared to the Old Testament, "[…] looking for the sins and errors of the past […]" (HEILBRUN; STIMPSON, 1989, p. 64), and its goal is cleverly defined by "x": "You look for the ways in which women have not been represented in literature; you look for the absences, the stereotypes, the whole unfairness". (HEILBRUN; STIMPSON, 1989, p. 63). "Y" would be later defined as *feminist criticism*, and it had been concerned with the representation of female characters in fiction written by male authors. Furthermore, it had been a successful approach, also investigating the woman as a sign in other semiotic systems later. (SHOWALTER, 1979).[16]

On the other hand, "x" would seek another interest. It was not concerned with male writers' productions anymore, but with those of women writers. It was, according to Heilbrun and Stimpson (1989), the emergence of the New Testament of feminist literary criticism, later named "Gynocriticism" by Elaine Showalter.

[16] "X" did not come to replace it, but to complement it. (HEILBRUN; STIMPSON, 1989).

During the 1970s and the 1980s, according to Carr (2007), feminist publishing houses were founded in the USA and Great Britain. They were important to the recovery of women's literature, because they started reprinting books that were no longer available, forgotten. Scholars, then, were concerned with the marginalization of these seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century women writers from the canon and histories of literature, questioning the reasons that excluded these artists – even the most commercially successful ones, during their lifetimes – from these spaces. Regarding this reality in nineteenth-century America, Freibert and White (1985, p. xi) affirm that

> when Augusta Evans Wilson's *St. Elmo* was published in 1866, it quickly sold 300,000 copies; between 1860 and 1870 E.D.E.N. Southworth produced three novels that matched that record. Works by Rowson, Foster, Wilson, Southworth, Susan Warner, and Maria Cummins appear on Mott's list of "over-all best sellers" […]. The success of these women in attracting readers and joining men on the best-seller lists did not put an end to the long-standing debate over whether women should write.

These considerations prove the exclusion of American women writers from literary debates, despite their triumphs.[17] Thus, feminist studies decided to change these scenarios. Showalter (1977, p. 8) even declared that "one of the most significant contributions has been the unearthing and reinterpretation of 'lost' works by women writers, and the documentation of their lives and careers". Researchers had been demonstrating, through critical analysis based on literary theory principles, that some of their novels, novellas, short stories and poems – which people and the Academy, frequently, had never heard of before – were proven to be as worthy as some canonized literature.[18] The concepts of a static, frequently male, canon and a singular traditional history of literature, that had no space for women writers, was revised.

Some women writers were, indeed, included into these spaces. However, most of the literature produced by women that was integrated in literary spaces founded by men, such as most literary histories and the canon, could be read and studied by male visions. The vast majority of women writers, who did not fit into these spaces, could not be completely understood by such perspective. The problem, yet, was not that all misunderstood female-authored texts were "bad literature", as the male prerogative supposed.[19] It was simply that, since critics were always trained under male-dominated theories of how to perceive the world,

[17] Such marginalization even affected the presence of women writers in the syllabi of university courses, as Robinson (1983) remarks: most of them were only present as characters from male literature and sometimes, if present, they would just appear in the "historical background" of literature.

[18] An example of an author benefited by this approach, according to Robinson (1983), is the *fin de siècle* American writer Edith Wharton.

[19] It is interesting to clarify that it is not a matter of good or bad when comparing men and women's literature: they are simply different. This will be discussed further in this paper.

they were not taught to look at them with the adequate perspective, one that would really understand those texts, a "female" one. Women's literary texts, therefore, can be read by the perspective of "a double-voiced discourse, containing a "dominant" and a "muted" story (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 204) –, an aspect that makes them palimpsestic, according to Gilbert and Gubar (2000). To solve this impasse, Showalter (1979, p. 28) proposes to focus on the female one and, thus,

> […] to construct a female framework for the analysis of women's literature, to develop new models based on the study of female experience […]. [To] free ourselves from the linear absolutes of male literary history, stop trying to fit women between the lines of the male tradition, and focus instead on the newly visible world of female culture.

Since no term existed for this mode of study, Showalter decided to call it Gynocriticism, a theoretical approach focused on the

> […] study of women *as writers*, and its subjects are the history, styles, themes, genres, and structures of writing by women; the psychodynamics of female creativity; the trajectory of the individual or collective female career; and the evolution and laws of a female literary tradition. (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 184-185).

If the aspects above are the goals of the analysis, what are the perspectives of the "female readings" mentioned earlier in this paper? Showalter (1981), in "Feminist criticism in the wilderness", divides them into four possible models: biological, linguistic, psychoanalytic and cultural.

The biological model follows the prerogative that women are anatomically different from men; therefore, they write differently. The body is the source of imagination. (SHOWALTER, 1981). Therefore, it supposes a reading that comprehend the bodily difference and its effects on writing. An example, given by Showalter (1981), is "Armoured women, naked men: Dickinson, Whitman and their successors", by Terrence Diggory. In this essay, Diggory (1979) examines how Dickinson and Whitman explore and represent the body in their works. Whitman starts "Visor'd" with the following verses: "A mask, a perpetual natural disguiser of herself,/Concealing her face, concealing her form […]". (WHITMAN, 2004, p. 231). Diggory (1979) emphasizes that Whitman rarely represents bodies as covered and, in "Visor'd", condemns the concealed female one. According to her, he prefers the nakedness, as represents a male one in "Song of myself": "I will go to the bank by the wood and become undisguised/and naked […]". (WHITMAN, 2004, p. 4). On the other hand, Dickinson, in "The last of summer is delight", welcomes associations with armors:

> To meet it – nameless as it is –
> Without celestial Mail –
> Audacious as without a Knock
> To walk within the Veil. (DICKINSON *apud* DIGGORY, 1979, p. 136).

Other than the "celestial" mail and the veil, Diggory (1979) argues, is Dickinson's approach to "The bee": "[…] His Helmet, is of Gold […]". (DICKINSON *apud* DIGGORY, 1979, p. 136). While revisiting other examples as well, it is concluded by the author, thus, that Dickinson uses the imagery of concealing not merely as an ornament, but as means of protection. (DIGGORY, 1979). Showalter (1981, p. 189), while reassessing this analysis, concludes that

> physical nakedness, so potent a poetic symbol of authenticity for Whitman and other male poets, had very different connotations for Dickinson and her successors, who associated nakedness with the objectified or sexually exploited female nude and who chose instead protective images of the armored self.

Through this study, it is possible to perceive an example of how analysis focused on the corporal differences are carried out. The problem about this type of criticism, Showalter (1981) argues, is its prescriptivism and the exclusive focus on the body in the search for a female identity. What is valid about the biological model, she assumes, is that it is "useful and important as long as we understand that factors other than anatomy are involved in it". (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 189).

The linguistic model is focused on the distinct uses of language by men and women in literature. Some of its goals are to

> ask whether men and women use language differently; whether sex differences in language use can be theorized in terms of biology, socialization, or culture; whether women can create new languages of their own; and whether speaking, reading, and writing are all gender marked. (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 190).

Linguistic gynocritical research is done mostly by French critics. Considering natural language as a system constructed by men and, therefore, oppressive towards women, some of them started looking for a project of revolutionary female language, as Leclerc's *Parole de femme* advocates: the need "to invent a language that is not oppressive, a language that does not leave speechless but that loosens the tongue". (LECLERC *apud* SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 191). This has proven to be impractical due to aspects such as finding a language that is intellectual, theoretical and that works within the Academy. (SHOWALTER, 1981).

Supported by Derridean deconstruction and concept of *différance*, as well as Lacanian psychoanalysis, the French even coined the term *écriture féminine*. While Anglo-American

feminist theories had been focused on either the representation or creations of women, the French one sought how the *feminine* is incorporated in the text. (WEIL, 2006). In the remarkable work "The laugh of the Medusa", Cixous (1976, p. 875) proclaims:

> Woman must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies – for the same reasons, by the same law, with the same fatal goal. Woman must put herself into the text – as into the world and into history – by her own movement.

Écriture féminine, therefore, argues that women should incorporate their differences and experiences, channeled through their bodies, in the texts using a language of their own. This would confront patriarchal structures, languages and phallogocentrism.

The linguistic model, focused on a female language, has found many problems in its prerogatives. First of all, "[…] there is no mother tongue, no genderlect spoken by the female population in a society, which differs significantly from the dominant language", Showalter (1981, p. 192) affirms. Moreover, evidences that infer that men and women develop innate structurally different linguistic systems are scarce, the scholar states. (SHOWALTER, 1981).

Furthermore, some of the literary analyses seeking for a *feminine style* that rely on "the repetition of stylistic devices, image patterns, and syntax in women's writing tend to confuse innate forms with the overdetermined results of literary choice". (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 193). Linguistic choices in literary texts, the author suggests, are not simply decided; they are guided by specificities of genre, tradition, memory and context. (SHOWALTER, 1981).

The *écriture feminine* has also received many criticisms. Aside from being taken as essentialist by its Anglo-American critics, the theory is considered more utopian and *avant-garde*-ish then practical. (SHOWALTER, 1981). Cixous (1976) herself exposes the difficulties of concisely defining a feminine practice of writing, in her essay.

In the end, what is useful about language in a gynocritical reading is women's access to language and lexical choices, since they are "ideological and cultural determinants of expression". (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 193).

Gynocriticism has also received many contributions from psychoanalysis. Therefore, the model circumscribed in this theory privileges the "[…] difference of women's writing in the author's psyche and in the relation of gender to the creative process". (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 193). The authors of *The madwoman in the attic* would ask the emblematic question: "Is a pen a metaphorical penis?" (GILBERT; GUBAR, 2000, p. 3). According to them, "in

patriarchal Western culture, […] the author[20] is a father, a progenitor, an aesthetic patriarch whose pen is an instrument of generative power like his penis". (GILBERT; GUBAR, 2000, p. 6). Psychoanalytic gynocriticism, however, did not focus on the search for a female organ from which women would use as a metaphorical writing instrument; instead, it focused on the absent phallus. Even though the theory has produced good material, it has shown, in addition, its flaws. According to Showalter (1981), women's relationship with language, fantasy and culture had been often associated with Freud's concepts of penis envy, the castration complex and the oedipal phase. Moreover, the Lacanian School of psychoanalysis "[…] has extended castration into a total metaphor for female literary and linguistic disadvantage". (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 194). Therefore, dealing with women's lack and disadvantage is a problem adepts of Freudian, post-Freudian and Lac(k)anian[21] concepts constantly face. (SHOWALTER, 1981). Additionally, restricting gynocriticism to the study of women writers' and characters' psyche in individual texts marginalize aspects of "historical change, ethnic difference, or the shaping force of generic and economic factors" (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 197), which are also important when studying female-authored literature.

In the 1980s, Showalter (1981) had already declared the superiority of the cultural model in comparison to the biological, linguistic and psychoanalytic ones. In a more recent study, she perceives it as the only possible model: "In my view, the female tradition in American literature is not the result of biology, anatomy, or psychology". (SHOWALTER, 2010, p. xv). In fact, the cultural theory subsumes the others, because:

> The ways in which women conceptualize their bodies and their sexual and reproductive functions are intricately linked to their cultural environments. The female psyche can be studied as the product or construction of cultural forces. Language, too, comes back into the picture, as we consider the social dimensions and determinants of language use, the shaping of linguistic behavior by cultural ideals. (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 197).

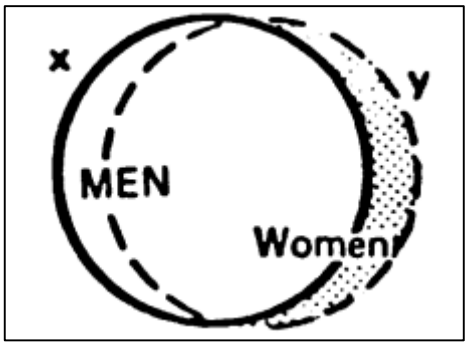
[20] The scholars even quote Edward Said's metaphorical association of the words *author* and *author*ity: "*Authority* suggests to me a constellation of linked meanings: not only, as the OED [*Oxford English Dictionary*] tells us, 'a power to enforce obedience,' or 'a derived or delegated power,' or 'a power to influence action,' or 'power to inspire belief,' or 'a person whose opinion is accepted'; not only those, but a connection as well with *author* – that is, a person who originates or gives existence to something, a begetter, beginner, father, or ancestor, a person also who sets forth written statements. The is still another cluster of meanings: *author* is tied to the past participle of *auctus* of the verb *augere*; therefore *auctor*, according to Eric Partridge, is literally an increaser and thus a founder. *Auctoritas* is a production, invention, cause, in addition to meaning a right of possession. Finally, it means continuance, or a causing to continue. Taken together these meanings are all grounded in the following notions: (1) that of the power of an individual to initiate, institute, establish – in short, to begin; (2) that this power and its product are an increase over what had been there previously; (3) that the individual wielding this power controls its issue and what is derived therefrom; (4) that authority maintains the continuity of its course". (SAID *apud* GILBERT; GUBAR, 2000, p. 4).

[21] Showalter (1981) plays with language when associating "Lacanian" with "lack".

Furthermore, this theory acknowledges aspects of class, race, nationality and history as much as gender, solving some of the problems that the prior ones mentioned here faced.

Showalter (1981) argues that women's writing can only be understood by looking at historically based cultural relationships between men and women,[22] proposing to comprehend them by the Ardner's cultural model (Fig. 1):

Figure 1 – The Ardner's cultural model



Source: Showalter (1981, p. 200).

The author explains that much of women's culture – or muted culture, represented in Y – belongs to men's – or dominant – culture. However, there is a kind of half-moon in Y, inaccessible to X: it is the wild zone, as nominated by Ardner. This wild zone of women's culture can be viewed in three perspectives: spatial, experiential and metaphysical. According to Showalter (1981, p. 200),

> spatially it stands for an area which is literally no-man's-land, a place forbidden to men, which corresponds to the zone in X which is off limits to women. Experientially it stands for the aspects of the female life-style which are outside of and unlike those of men; again, there is a corresponding zone of male experience alien to women. But if we think of the wild zone metaphysically, or in terms of consciousness, it has no corresponding male space since all of male consciousness is within the circle of the dominant structure and thus accessible to or structured by language. […] In terms of cultural anthropology, women know what the male crescent is like, even if they have never seen it, because it becomes the subject of legend (like the wilderness). But men do not know what is in the wild.

The cultural model, therefore, comprehends the female experience and its inclination in women's writing based on women's culture. This model also aids in the understanding of women's literary culture. Since they are inside the dominant culture, women writers can understand the male literary tradition and, frequently, absorb their aesthetic criteria. Although they have internalized the dominant standards of aesthetic value when producing their art

[22] This argument, she affirms, is also valid for other dominant and muted groups. (SHOWALTER, 1981).

(biggest part of the circle), women also have their authentic aesthetics (minor part in Y).[23] It is the case of the palimpsest, already mentioned earlier. In fact, one of Showalter's (1981) procedures for analyzing women's literature is to understand women's specificities in relation to men's and to comprehend that there is a muted and a dominant discourse in women's literature. That is why it is not valid to ask why did not exist a woman writer as good as Melville. As Fetterley *apud* Showalter (1993, p. 114) remarks: "Had a woman gone whaling and decided to write about it, she would not in fact have written *Moby Dick*; she would have written a book about the experience of women on whalers and about what whaling meant from a woman's point of view". Men and women, thus, write differently, based on their experiences, which are influenced by their socio-cultural contexts, a valued aspect in this type of analysis.

Furthermore, it is necessary to remark that women's writings are still influenced by male literary prerogatives, because "[…] if women choose a literary career, they cannot afford to renounce tradition, the formal resources of language, the rules of the marketplace, the test of aesthetic standards". (SHOWALTER, 1993, p. 115). That is why nineteenth-century women writers are not expected to revolutionize literary standards just because they are women. Showalter (2010, p. xvii) even called the first phase of women's literature "feminine" and considered it as "[…] a prolonged phase of imitation of the prevailing modes of the dominant tradition […]". Finally, it is concluded that the cultural notions of women writers and their literature should be used "in relation to what women actually write, not in relation to a theoretical, political, metaphoric, or visionary ideal of what women ought to write". (SHOWALTER, 1981, p. 205).

The final goal of Gynocriticism is to "[…] construct a framework for the analysis of women's literature […]". (SHOWALTER, 1979, p. 28). It is to delineate a Female Tradition, with its themes, genres, aesthetics and other specificities, that may contrast with standard literary aesthetics. This paper may not contribute directly to the Female Tradition, but to an outline of a female tradition of literature published in women's almanacs.[24] Thus, in the next section, women's almanacs will be explored as a genre, according to its specificities.

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[23] Another example of women's culture inaccessible to men, present in Y, would be the French attempt to produce a female language, according to Showalter (1981).

[24] Additionally, regarding this aspect, this work follows Showalter's (1981, p. 202-203) necessity of considering the "variables of literary culture, such as modes of production and distribution, relations of author and audience, relations of high to popular art, and hierarchies of genre". The reproduction and choices of women's literary texts featured in almanacs were often done by its editors. Therefore, it is necessary to comprehend that merely one text, that was reproduced, does not necessarily reflect the writer's whole poetic. Furthermore, there might be some political enterprises behind this: avoiding texts that may have contents considered out of the traditional conducts and that, therefore, would displease their target audience – as it shall be seen in the next section, mostly, regarding women living in domestic environments –.

4 AMERICAN WOMEN'S ALMANACS

The first American almanacs focused exclusively on women appeared for the first time in the eighteenth century. However, prior to exploring them, it is interesting to mention another aspect related to women and almanacs: the women printers of almanacs of that century. Stowell (1977, p. 122-123) compiles many women's names that ran or managed printing businesses – and some even printed material – in several different regions:

> […] Ann Franklin and Sarah Goddard in Rhode Island; Elizabeth and Ann Timothy (Timothée) and Mary Crouch in South Carolina; Cornelia Bradford in Pennsylvania; Catherine Zenger and Elizabeth Holt in New York; Dinah Nuthead, Mary Katharine Goddard and Anne Catherine Green in Maryland; Clementina Rind in Virginia; Margaret Draper in Massachusetts; and Hannah Watson in Connecticut.

These women did not run almanacs directed to other women, but to the general public. For instance, Ann Franklin "[…] printed the laws, government forms, sermons, and the *Rhode Island Almanack* ("Poor Robin") sometimes in partnership with her son, sometimes with other printers, and sometimes alone". (STOWELL, 1977, p. 123). Cornelia Bradford, whose husband was well known in the printing field, "[…] ran a bookstore […] and published the *American Weekly Mercury*". (STOWELL, 1977, p. 124). Most of these women, related to men that already operated in this business, became widowed and, therefore, had the necessity to control it.[25]

The first almanac for women might have been, based on Drake's (1962) compilation, *The Lady's Almanack for 1786*, printed in Portsmouth – New Hampshire, by Robert Gerrish.[26] Its authorship was credited as "By a Female. Being her First Public Production of the Nature". Stowell (1977, p. 122) states that it contained "[…] stilted verse about Phoebus Apollo and his courtship of Tellus; some Persian fables; verse from Sterne, Fielding and Pope; the usual astronomical information; and a few articles of domestic science". It was followed by other

[25] On the other hand, the Goddards did not inherit their deceased husband's presses. Sarah Goddard became involved with printing because her son, William, was a wanderer and, thus, she had to run his errands in Providence, Rhode Island. (STOWELL, 1977). While in there, she printed some periodicals, later selling the company to follow his son to Philadelphia. (STOWELL, 1977). When Sarah died in 1770, the printing business in Philadelphia was passed down to her daughter, as William left to Baltimore to found the *Maryland Journal*. (STOWELL, 1977). Four years later, Mary Katharine even "[…] went to Baltimore to manage the Goddard Press and edit William's newspaper […]". (STOWELL, 1977, p. 126). She directed many almanacs, such as the *Maryland and Virginia Almanack* and the *Mary K. Goddard Almanack* (using her own name in the title, as men did). (STOWELL, 1977).

[26] Little could be found about Robert Gerrish. Adams (1825, p. 295), in his *Annals of Portsmouth*, regarding 1788, states that: "Robert Gerrish commenced the publication of a weekly newspaper, entitled, the New-Hampshire Mercury, sometime between the years 1780 and 1790, which he continued to publish about four or five years". Through Drake's (1962) compilation, it was possible to perceive that he also printed other publications, such as *An Astronomical Diary, or Almanac for 1785*, edited by Daniel Sewall.

almanacs directed to women, for example: *The Lady's Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1792*, printed in Exeter – New Hampshire, by Henry Ranlet. (DRAKE, 1962); *The Village Lady's Almanac, and Housewife's Companion for 1841*, printed in Hartford – Connecticut, by Robins & Folger. (DRAKE, 1962); *The woman's rights almanac for 1858*, by Z. Barker and Co., in Worcester, and R. F. Walcutt, in Boston; and the *Frank Leslie's Lady's Illustrated Almanac for 1865*, made in New York, by Frank Leslie.

The content of one women's almanac to the other varied. Alongside the traditional elements, such as calendar and memoranda for the months and astronomical and astrological information, they frequently conveyed some specific columns. Texts about home economies, for instance, are represented through topics of gardening, cooking recipes, instructions to make remedies, needlework, general economy tips. Furthermore, diverse literature is also present in the form of poetry, chronicles, anecdotes, puzzles, advice, selections of sayings, miscellanea. Even though these were the most common contents, each editor considered which characteristics he/she found more suitable.

For instance, the *Frank Leslie's Lady's Illustrated Almanac for 1865* contained almost one picture per page, justifying the *illustrated* in its title. It also included many fashion tips and figures, being more similar to nineteenth century women's magazines than almanacs. On the other hand, *The Woman's Rights Almanac for 1858* – edited by a man, based on its foreword – was very different and more revolutionary. Although it was not literary, it contained many columns regarding women's rights, such as "Statistics of Cotton Factories by the U. S. Census, 1850", a table comparing that, despite being the majority of employees in many cotton factories through the country, women had lower salaries than men. (HOWLAND, 1857). Moreover, after each calendar, it considered a curiosity regarding women across the world.

Advertisements were also frequently present in the almanacs' last pages, aiming to sell clothing, jewelry, soap, furniture, nets for preventing mosquitoes and life insurance. The visual aspect of women's almanacs was often ostentatious, presenting many effort-crafted images; for examples, see attachment D.

The next section shall investigate what general aspects constituted *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac* (general characteristics, kinds of texts/columns that it conveyed). It will be followed by a subsection analyzing general topics of women's literature present in these almanacs. Prior to advancing, it is necessary to emphasize some relevant information: both almanacs analyzed here, despite minor differences – such as *The Lady's Annual Register* being more domestic –, are similar. They are traditional and are probably

directed to Caucasian middle-class women. This also reflected on the conveyed literature. Its female collaborators (or authors of the texts reproduced from other periodicals by the editor) are also Caucasian middle-class women and, therefore, the choices of genre, theme and style may indicate a female tradition of women of these characteristics, not including women of color or of lower classes.

4.1 *THE LADY'S ANNUAL REGISTER AND HOUSEWIFE'S MEMORANDUM-BOOK* AND *THE LADY'S ALMANAC*

The objects of this study are two traditional women's almanacs: one edited by a woman using her own name, *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum-Book*,[27] by Caroline Gilman, printed in Boston, New York and Philadelphia; and *The Lady's Almanac* (1854-1878), published by Damrell, Moore & Coolidge[28] – with texts chosen by an anonymous woman (discovered, in this paper, to be Amanda Maria Edmond, in its initial years), according to its preface –, originally from Boston, although it was printed in other regions as well.[29] Following the criterion of availability, this research only considers the available editions under public domain from the website Hathitrust: regarding *The Lady's Annual Register*, 1838, 1839 and 1840; and from *The Lady's Almanac*, 1854, 1856, 1866, 1871, 1872 and 1875.

These two almanacs inherited some aspects of earlier, already mentioned, almanacs. *The Lady's Annual Register* is very similar to a farmer's almanac. It devoted many of its pages to agriculture, advice and poetry. *The Lady's Almanac*, on the other hand, has much of a specialty almanac.[30] According to the edition of 1871, it cost fifty cents and the payment had to be mailed. (COOLIDGE, 1870). It was mainly concerned with subjects that would interest women, like, aside from literature, columns about women's education, employment and

[27] This almanac's longevity is uncertain. Even though only three editions could be found, Stearns (1930) reveals that it was published for at least eight years. According to WorldCat's database, it was printed under different names during its existence: *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum-Book* (1838-1839); *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Almanac* (1840-1843); *The Housekeeper's Annual and Ladies' Register* (1843-1846). Such information is available when searching for "The Lady's Annual Register" at https://www.worldcat.org/.

[28] The later editions were only in charge of George Coolidge.

[29] *The Lady's Almanac for 1856* was also printed in Cleveland – Ohio by Jewett, Proctor and Worthington. The edition of 1875, despite still edited by George Coolidge, started to be printed in many locations by many "News Companies". For instance: in Boston, by the New England News Company; in New York, by the American News Company; in Chicago, by the Western News Company; in Philadelphia, by the Central News Company; in Baltimore, by the Baltimore News Company; and in St. Louis, by the St. Louis Book and News Company.

[30] It is necessary to remark that *The Lady's Almanac* still conveyed similar columns, about cooking and gardening, for instance. However, they were not as abundant as in *The Lady's Annual Register*.

biographies. They converged in conveying the classic almanac contents, like calendar and memoranda. Furthermore, similar to other women's almanacs of the nineteenth century, they devoted a great part of the pages' space to visual aspects, especially the covers and frontispieces. Each month's calendar was often accompanied with a picture, often portraying people and the nature. These almanacs were constituted of a little more than a hundred pages. The last pages of *The Lady's Almanac* contained advertisements. The number of pages dedicated to them varied: the 1854 edition had only three, while the 1871 one had 17.

When opening the first edition of *The Lady's Annual Register*, it is noticeable that, even though clearly being an almanac, the word "almanac" has been curiously suppressed.[31] Another remarkable aspect within its initial pages is the fact that it emphasizes its focus on aiding housekeeping, starting from the periodical's title (*Housewife's*) and frontispiece (see attachment E). The goals of this almanac are clear: provide home economy and other instruction tips as well as entertainment, this last aspect being in literature's charge. Such characteristics reflect on its contents; in fact, most of its texts consist of either housekeeping or poetry. Thus, *The Lady's Annual Register* was an accessible reference work about home maintenance information for middle-class women that spent most of their time in their homes. Moreover, if such texts were these people's orientations for the household, the literature conveyed in the genre, responsible for the entertainment, was also important for shaping the cultural and literary repertoire of women as readers.

The Lady's Annual Register shared many similar characteristics with the women's almanacs listed previously. It is possible to separate the tips for housekeeping in some subjects: agriculture, cooking suggestions, general home economies, housework, goods' maintenance, and generalities by Mrs. Child.

Agriculture was manifested into two different kinds of farmer's calendar: "Northern garden calendar" and "Southern garden calendar", specifically written for those who lived in the north and south of the USA. Some advice for January in the North, for instance, is to "strew rice, oats, flax [...] in a glass vase or tumbler, and the effect, as they grow, will be very agreeable in contrast to the leafless trees without". (GILMAN, 1837a, p. 25-26). As for January in the south, "sow radishes any time this month". (GILMAN, 1837a, p. 27).

Cooking suggestions were present in the form of recipe transcriptions. Among many recipes of breads (apple bread, corn bread) and cakes (wedding cake, sponge cake, tea cake),

[31] This word would only be inserted in its next edition's subtitle: "with an almanac". The third edition would modify its title on the cover – however, it would still be named with "Memorandum-Book" inside – to *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Almanac for 1840*.

for example, there is the loaf cake one, which consists in: “Half a pound flour, quarter of a pound of butter, one pound of sugar, half a pound of currants, half a pint of molasses, ten eggs, a small lump of pearlash dissolved in a table-spoonful of cream – clove, cinnamon to your taste; one glass of wine”. (GILMAN, 1837a, p. 61).

What constituted the general home economies, for instance, was the advice of how much men and women should spend in a year with clothing. In the column “Expenses of dress”, while men are advised to spend $200,00, women should only afford $161,62. (GILMAN, 1837a). In “Economies”, the editor taught people how to save: oil, candles, money, time and the reader’s house, if it had been on fire! (GILMAN, 1837a).

In texts regarding housework, readers were taught how to clean and care for different textiles, as silk, how to iron clothes, how to color flannel and needlework and knitting tips. The editor also inserted tips for craft, like how to make cement, inks and glue. (GILMAN, 1837a).

The goods’ maintenance texts were, perhaps, the most general ones in the history of the publication. They ranged from cares with food and drinks to textiles. For example: the 1838 edition advised on the preservation of furs; the 1839 one, pears and cranberries; in the end, the publication of 1840 taught how to prevent cider from becoming sour. (GILMAN, 1837a).

When in doubt about a subject, nineteenth century readers often sought their almanacs for help. In *The Lady’s Annual Register*, Mrs. Child[32] gave the general tips about daily life issues.[33] She was highly influential in *The Lady’s Annual Register*, as it is possible to perceive according to the names of the following columns: “Mrs. Child’s recipe for chicken pie”; “Simple remedies, from Mrs. Child and other sources”; “Hints from Mrs. Child”; and “Cooking”, “Recipes”, “Herbs”, written under her pen. (GILMAN, 1837a).

The format of *The Lady’s Almanac* was more miscellaneous and inconsistent. It reserved a fixed number of pages for recurrent contents, such as calendars, eclipses, moon phases, memoranda and advertisements. Furthermore, it conveyed columns, not necessarily

[32] This woman, whose first name is not revealed at first, seems to be a wise authority, giving many general tips regarding housekeeping. The last, unnamed, column of *The Lady’s Annual Register and Housewife’s Memorandum-Book for 1838* suggests some books that should be found in every domestic library, between them, *The American frugal housewife*, by Mrs. Child. (GILMAN, 1837a). Even though it was published under this contracted name, it is possible to recognize her as Lydia Maria Child nowadays, also revealing her identity in the almanac.

[33] Lydia Maria Child (1802-1880) was a popular writer and abolitionist in the United States during the nineteenth century, despite frequently forgotten nowadays. (SHOWALTER, 2010). A prolific writer and editor of periodicals – like *Juvenile Miscellany* (for children) and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (abolitionist) –, Child, aside from her best-known historical novel *Homobok* (1824), published a wide variety of literature, including short stories, verses, biographies, children’s literature and domestic manuals. Regarding this last genre, her work *The American frugal housewife* (1829) was a success, since it had 33 editions. (DALEY, 2015).

fixed, of general advice, gardening, cooking, preservation of goods, biographies, puzzles, information about women's education, employment and writing.

The texts about gardening, general advice, cooking and preservation of goods are very similar to those of *The Lady's Annual Register*. "Flowers and parlor plants" – taken from another periodical,[34] the *Horticultural Register*, as it is marked in the text –, for instance, offered tips about which flowers should be planted in each specific month. (DAMRELL; MOORE; COOLIDGE, 1853). Two columns may exemplify general advice: "Preserve your health", among other tips, advises to "use cold water freely. Wash yourself thoroughly with it every morning". (DAMRELL; MOORE; COLIDGE, 1853, p. 100); and "Births and deaths", which advised: "parents shall give notice to the town clerk of all births and deaths of their children […]". (DAMRELL; MOORE; COOLIDGE, 1853, p. 90). Cooking, as in the column "Receipts", taught how to cook sponge cake, jelly cake, cookies, pork cake, ladies' cake, and many other recipes. (COLIDGE, 1865). The preservation – and cleaning – of goods may be exemplified by the column "Miscellaneous receipts", which conveyed suggestions like "To take out bruises of furniture", "To clean silks (from a Parisian dyer)" and "To prevent white silks and muslins from turning yellow". (DAMRELL; MOORE; COOLIDGE, 1853).

Biographies, puzzles and information about women's education, employment and writing are, on the other hand, some examples of very different columns from *The Lady's Annual Register*.

In the first edition of *The Lady's Almanac*, for 1854, some biographies of relevant women writers of the period, followed by their portraits, could be found: Anna Cora Mowatt (1819-1870), Alice Bradley Neal (1828-1863), Frances Sargent Osgood (1811-1850), Sarah Josepha Hale (1788-1879), Sarah Jane Lippincott (1823-1904), Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896). It contained some relevant facts about their lives and attempted to do a brief literary criticism of some of their major works.[35] Furthermore, other than these writers, the edition of 1866 also considered a biography of Mary of Scotland.

Puzzles also served as minor entertainment for the almanac's readers. They were presented in the edition of a specific year and, in the edition of the following year, the editor would clarify how to solve them. When looking at the first edition, again, there is the puzzle

[34] It was very common for almanacs to take texts from other periodicals and credit them. While *The Lady's Annual Register* did this sometimes, *The Lady's Almanac* did it very often.

[35] Mowatt's works, for instance, are considered "[…] marked by considerable vigor, grace, and fancy, and display sufficient knowledge of life to give them strong hold upon the feelings […]". (DAMRELL; MOORE; COOLIDGE, 1853, p. 54).

"Enigmatical dinner", which consists of many different random information that the reader has to guess and reunite to form meaning. For an idea of what it looks like, see attachment F.

The Lady's Almanac, in addition, seemed interested in spreading news about women's achievements in various areas through information texts without explicit authorship. In most columns, it favored their emancipation. In "Employment for women – schools of design", from the first edition, women's rights to labor are vindicated: "It shows the capacity of woman to labor, not only in the household, in mere servile drudgery, or with the needle, but with head and hands united, is beginning to be felt, and that the needing for educating her for her work is recognized". (DAMRELL; MOORE; COOLIDGE, 1853, p. 65). *The Lady's Almanac for 1856* conveyed "Progress of female medical schools and physicians, which vindicated women's access to the study of Medicine and presenting a case of an 1848 institution that trained them in this field. (DAMRELL; MOORE; COOLIDGE, 1855). Furthermore, some pages later in this edition, "Medical missionary women", emphasizes the relevance of physicians going into missions for raising awareness about health after they graduate. (DAMRELL; MOORE; COOLIDGE, 1855). In the edition of 1866, despite a crescent addition of housekeeping columns – such as "The housewife's handbook", by "a Housekeeper", and "Our house" –, an interesting text named "Thoughts for husbands" explains that housewives face trouble with working at home and, therefore, deserve respect for it. (COOLIDGE, 1865).[36]

As the general contents of women's almanacs has been explored, in the next section, an important entertainment content will be covered: literature and its manifestation in these periodicals.

4.2 WOMEN'S LITERATURE IN ALMANACS

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of almanacs is its miscellany. Among random elements – columns about the moon and the seasons, women's emancipation, recipes, advice, illustrations, puzzles, and other contents –, there was literature in its most varied type. It can be found in the form of simple, brief, anecdotes and other more "literary" genres. Anecdotes have proven to be very popular, since an extensive part of the almanac is dedicated to them. For

[36] The edition of 1871, on the other hand, conveyed a column that may be thought of as feminist, based on its title "Scientific education for women". Unlike the columns mentioned before, the goal of the education vindicated by the text is not to emancipate women, but merely for women to become good wives. As it is stated in the text: "[…] the art of good and economical living which mainly depends upon the exertions of the wife, no matter how liberal the provision made by the husband, can only be secured in the highest degree through the aid of technical knowledge". (COOLIDGE, 1870, p. 85).

example, in *The Lady's Annual Register*, there is "A coward": "'You're a coward,' said a low Londoner to a poor countryman, who had refused to fight. 'No I heant,' said the countryman, 'I have nothing to do with cows, I am a shepherd'". (GILMAN, 1837a, p. 51). Other more literary texts that could be found are dramatic texts, short stories and, mainly, poetry.

Regarding the two almanacs of this study, it is not possible to guess if women writers contributed directly to them, by sending their texts, or if they had their texts reproduced from other periodicals by the editor of the almanac. In any case, in this paper, a brief biography of the women writers related to *The Lady's Annual Register* and to *The Lady's Almanac* can be found in appendix A. All of their contributions[37] to these almanacs are compiled in a table, available at appendix B.

Based on this recovered material, some biographical and literary aspects could be identified, regarding the writers and their productions conveyed in *The Lady's Annual Register* and in *The Lady's Almanac*. From both almanacs, a total of 27 authors and 72 texts could be recovered. From these numbers, 26 texts were collected from *The Lady's Annual Register* and 46 from *The Lady's Almanac*; from the first periodical, seven different authors could be identified, and, from the second, 20. These numbers may be more explored for further information.

First, concerning authorship, the writers with the most expressive number of contributions in each almanac are Caroline Gilman and Amanda Maria Edmond. Coincidently, they were the editors of *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac*, respectively. Gilman had 15 texts, while Edmond had 26 – together, they are responsible for more than half of the texts of the table present in the appendixes –. Therefore, if both almanacs are taken into consideration, Edmond is the writer with most texts recovered.

There were also some other remarkable collaborators. In *The Lady's Annual Register*, Mary E. Lee had five texts conveyed, being followed by Anna Maria Wells, who had two. The others had only one. In *The Lady's Almanac*, Harriet Woods and Elizabeth Barrett Browning had two texts considered, while all the others had only one.

[37] This study shall not consider anecdotes, since they are under nobody's authorship. Some other texts were discarded too, due to authorship issues: texts without explicit authorship; those that the pen names are not gender marked; and those that contain contracted names without an explicit last name, or those that contain contracted names with an explicit last name – but could not be found at Google or in studies such as the ones made by May (1848), Read (1849), Griswold (1852), Hart (1855), Forrest (1860), May (1869), Haynes (1882), Willard and Livermore (1893) –, that could possibly belong men. Other texts, despite claiming explicit authorship, will not be considered either, such as Mrs. Child's advisory columns, because this research's selection of texts privileges literariness.

Most collaborators are from the north of the United States.[38] In fact, from both almanacs, only Mary E. Lee and Sallie A. Brock are from the south.[39] Six writers are from the state of Massachusetts, making it the most expressive. In *The Lady's Almanac*, there were also four writers from the British Isles.

Regarding the texts, there is a preference for the lyric genre. In fact, out of 72 texts, 69 are poems; the other genres are the dramatic – represented by one play – and the narrative – which consisted of one chronicle and one short story –. Thematically, 48 texts are about nature, therefore, more than half of the total. Another important secondary theme is spirituality. Finally, when observing the creations present in both *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac*, a phenomenon could be identified: while the first editions had many women's contributions, the later ones had more men's and without authorship.

Having said that, the next sections will be focused on more thorough analyses of these recovered texts. The two more abundant themes will be considered: nature, the main one; and spirituality, a secondary theme. It will be sought what these women writers wrote, based on such topics. Aside from that, what were their styles? How did they use form in poetry? Assuming that they wrote under a Female Tradition, what were the differences between their literature and the canonical? These are some questions that shall be answered in the next chapter.

[38] It is necessary to remark that the place where some authors were born could not be found, such as Jane Fredland, Harriet Woods (it could only be supposed), Mary E. Atkinson, Dora Burnside, Mary B. Dodge and Grace F. Coolidge.

[39] Even though Caroline Gilman lived many years in the south, she was born in Boston.

5 NATURE, SPIRITUALITY AND GENTEEL LYRICS: DEFINING WOMEN'S ALMANAC LITERATURE

Regardless of identity aspects, like nationality and gender, many writers of the nineteenth century wrote about nature. In the canon of literature produced in the United States during this period, it is possible to perceive two antebellum literary movements intensively focused on this theme: Romanticism and Transcendentalism.

The literature of American Romanticism was written between the end of the 1830s and the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861, according to Hurley (2000). Even though the author presents these dates, in the end, it is a matter of perspective, since Phillips and Ladd (2005) considered that it has happened from 1800 to 1860.

Despite the search for the American uniqueness and denial of European influence, the romantics were considerably influenced by the Old World prerogatives. The American romantic novel was based on a mix of gothic literature, the British novel and romantic characteristics, and its plot often relied on symbolism and allegory, as stated by Hurley (2000). On the other hand, poets "[…] were attempting to draw a connection between art and nature". (HURLEY, 2000, p. 15). Therefore, nature became one of the main topics for American poetry.

Nature was present in Romanticism predecessor movement, Neoclassicism, in which it was represented as an ideal force of total harmony. The romantics, however, cultivated it a different form. Johns (2000, p. 81) contrasts that

> Romanticism set up opposition to the Neoclassic insistence on order and hierarchy by championing individual freedom through man's relationship to nature. The Romantics believed that nature was the inherent possessor of abstract qualities such as truth, beauty, independence and democracy.

Therefore, the wilderness of the United States, a new nation, was a source of creativity and inspiration to be celebrated and written about. Perhaps the clearest example of nature and romantic poetry is in *Leaves of grass*, by Walt Whitman, originally published in 1855. Vanspanckeren (2007) affirms that some aspects of his poetry were innovation, free verse, open celebration of sexuality, democratic views, and the notion that the poet was one with the poem, the universe and the reader. Thus, she concludes that *Leaves of grass* "[…] is vast, energetic and natural as the American content". (VANSPANCKEREN, 2007, p. 31). These assertions may be exemplified by looking at the following verses of "Song of myself":

> I believe in you my soul, the other I am must not abase itself
> to you,

> And you must not be abased to the other.
>
> Loafe with me on the grass, loose the stop from your throat,
> Not words, not music or rhyme I want, not custom or lecture,
> not even the best,
> Only the lull I like, the hum of your valvèd voice. […].
> (WHITMAN, 2004, p. 7).

Based on this part, it is possible to perceive many of the aspects of romantic poetry that Whitman cultivated. Aside from disrupting formal conventions – like the visible use of free verse –, it is necessary to remark how these people's encounter is represented. As the poem's persona invites the other being to "loaf" by the grass with him, it is evident the relevance of nature, where they get involved. Furthermore, when the person is called "my soul", a spiritual inclination may be identified, which is another characteristic of Romanticism. Even though this aspect can be found in his poetry, it was cultivated more intensively in another movement of the nineteenth century, which occurred simultaneously with Romanticism: Transcendentalism.

The transcendentalist movement valued nature and spirituality combined in its prerogatives. Phillips and Ladd (2005) affirm that it was consolidated in 1836, when a group of American intellectuals reunited to discuss about philosophy, art, education and religion. They became known as the Transcendental Club, which included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederic Henry Hedge, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, George Ripley, Amos Bronson Alcott, Jones Very, Henry David Thoreau and Margaret Fuller. (PHILLIPS; LADD, 2005). The characteristics of the movement may be summarized as

> […] a deep appreciation of nature; a preference of emotion over reason; a belief in the self and of the potential of the individual; a predilection for the artist in particular and the creative spirit in general; and a distrust of classical forms and traditions. […] A central tenet of Transcendentalism was the conviction that human beings could elevate themselves beyond their baser animal instincts, attain a higher consciousness, and take part in the spirit of the divine. (PHILLIPS; LADD, 2005, p. 34).

Perhaps the writers who caused more impact in this movement's literature by adhering to the aspects above were Thoreau, Emerson and Fuller, each one with their specificities. In the autobiographical treatise *Walden*, after living alone among the woods for two years, Thoreau proposes people to live a simpler life. By his experience, he affirms in conclusion: "In short, I am convinced, both by faith and experience, that to maintain one's self on this earth is not a hardship but a pastime, if we will live simply and wisely; as the pursuits of the simpler nations are still the sports of the more artificial". (THOREAU, 1971, p. 70-71). On the other hand, in the essay "Nature", Emerson visualizes the world as a mix of nature and spirituality. In the preface, he affirms that

> philosophically considered, the universe is composed of Nature and the Soul. Strictly speaking, therefore, all that is separate from us, all which Philosophy distinguishes as the NOT ME, that is, both nature and art, all other men and my own body, must be ranked under this name, NATURE. (EMERSON, 1849, n. p.).

In order to comprehend the reality, therefore, he proposes that people should observe nature. By saying that, he does not mean merely looking at it, but relating to it in a state of contemplation. As an example, Emerson (1849, n. p.) provides that

> when we speak of nature in this manner, we have a distinct but most poetical sense in the mind. We mean the integrity of impression made by manifold natural objects. It is this which distinguishes the stick of timber of the wood-cutter, from the tree of the poet. The charming landscape which I saw this morning, is indubitably made up of some twenty or thirty farms. Miller owns this field, Locke that, and Manning the woodland beyond. But none of them owns the landscape. There is a property in the horizon which no man has but he whose eye can integrate all the parts, that is, the poet.

In this task, thus, artists had a prime role. Even though they might not have the possession of the natural world, they would channel their thoughts – inspired by this wilderness – on the creation of art. In fact, an artist who succeeded in this orientation was Fuller.[40] The first verses of initial stanza of "Meditations", under her authorship, present how nature and spirituality are intertwined in the creative writing of a transcendentalist:

> The clouds are marshalling across the sky,
> Leaving their deepest tints upon yon range
> Of soul-alluring hills. The breeze comes softly,
> Laden with tribute that a hundred orchards
> Now in their fullest blossom send, in thanks
> For this refreshing shower. The birds pour forth
> In heightened melody the notes of praise
> They had suspended while God's voice was speaking,
> And his eye flashing down upon his world. […].
> (FULLER, 1833, n. p.).

In this part, written in a not so even rhyme scheme, there is a depiction of a natural scene. The persona of the poem represents the sky among the hills, which are expressed as "soul-alluring", attributing an ethereal notion to these inanimate elements. The poem continues

[40] The only woman of the transcendentalist group, Fuller was a brilliant writer, who could write as a *man* or a *woman*. This aspect, however, caused her a feeling of not fitting in any side. As Showalter (2010, p. 54) states, "if she followed her womanhood, her heart, she had to keep her feelings private. If she followed her intellect, her writing would seem stiff, artificial and cold". Therefore, Fuller could not belong to the conventional women's poetry of the period, perhaps because of her formation as a reader, which consisted of a repertoire of Latin stories and Shakespeare, as Showalter (2010) presents. Furthermore, even though she could emulate a masculine way of writing, she was still a woman, and could not produce Literature, with a capital L, as men did. In the end, Showalter (2010, p. 54) concludes, "[…] as a woman writer, Fuller could not feel comfortable in any literary genre. She identified this struggle with being a woman, rather than an American, writer".

with a description of a breeze, possibly a drizzle. To this natural phenomenon, many fruit trees metaphorically show their appreciation. The occurrences are interrupted by singing birds, probably an omen for who is about to come: God. It is possible to infer, thus, that the precipitation of the sky was the voice of the holy being. Therefore, in this short excerpt, it is possible to perceive how transcendentalist writers associated nature and spirituality. In the first part, hills are associated to an ethereal characteristic. In the last verses, God's voice is metaphorically represented by the rain that is about to come.

Aside from nature, spirituality had a major role in nineteenth-century American literature. About this relation, Buell (2000, p. 76) affirms "[…] nature tended to become a crucial touchstone in matters of religion […]". In "Nature", Emerson (1849) considered the universe to be composed of nature and soul. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, a period when many people were becoming materialists, given to the advances of capitalism, he proposed to recover the spirit. Therefore, as Phillips and Ladd (2005, p. 36) remark, there was the following transcendentalist dilemma: "In a world in which everything is spirit and everything is one with God, the question arises, what, then, is MY role in this world?" Emerson (1841, p. 15) proposes an answer to this – and to the vices of materialism – in the essay *Self-reliance*: "It is easy to see that a greater self-reliance must work a revolution in all the offices and relations of men; in their religion; in their education; in their pursuits; their modes of living; their association; in their property; in their speculative views". Therefore, he saw the necessity to "[…] renounce the ordinary beliefs and customs that most people readily accept and look for truth within the self". (PHILLIPS; LADD, 2005, p. 37). If the truth that people must look for is inside the self, then, the truth is essentially spiritual, hence the importance of the theme for Transcendentalism.

God – who was a recurring figure, previously, in Romanticism and Puritan thoughts in America – was also important in Transcendentalism. As mentioned before, people believed to be connected with Him. Furthermore, they thought they "had sufficient spiritual power to intuit God in their daily lives". (PHILLIPS; LADD, 2005, p. 34). Moreover, He was connected to the principle of self-reliance, as Phillips and Ladd (2005, p. 34) state that "[…] when we observe the spirit beyond things and sense perception, we transcend ourselves and participate in that higher reality. In this way, we live in the world as God intended". Thus, the transcendentalists followed their philosophy as if they were one with God and owed something to Him, always aiming for living in a superior lifestyle.

In a female tradition of literature in women's almanacs, nature and spirituality are also present. Consequently, it shares these common themes with the canonical tradition. However, even though women collaborators were thematically influenced by this tradition, what they have produced, in terms of style, is quite different from strict Romanticism and Transcendentalism. When tracing the general American female tradition of literature, Showalter (2010) considers the 1840's – roughly the initial publication of *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac* – a period of conventional poetry for women (and some men),[41] which she calls *genteel lyrics*. Quoting Bennett (1998), Showalter (2010) affirms genteel lyrics presented a metrical regularity and a poetic diction that was conventional; moreover, the themes were clichés of morality and death. The three main scholars and critics of women's poetry of the period, in the opinion of Taylor (2001), – Caroline May, Rufus Griswold and Thomas Read – established this modality of writing as "[…] the effortless and natural form of women's poetic essence". (SHOWALTER, 2010). Therefore, the style was much disseminated in the women's writing of the period.

Thus, women writers, whose texts were conveyed in almanacs, mixed aspects of the two traditions: the vast majority of themes were the same of those cultivated by the romantics and transcendentalists; the form, on the other hand, consisted of women's genteel lyrics. In the following pages, this will be evidenced and further explored. First, a thematic and stylistic investigation will be carried out on texts about nature. It will be followed by one in texts that have spirituality as a major focus. Finally, the same will be done in texts that contained a third major theme – which is, in fact, a recurring one treated in a completely different way –: nature in the form of flowers, presented in a *feminine* literature.

In 1838 edition of *The Lady's Annual Register*, under the authorship of Mary E. Lee, there is the poem "Summer clouds". It verses about a natural scenario:

> Summer clouds, summer clouds, that hurry away
> In your loose flowing robes; I pray ye yet stay!
> Oh! stay for a moment, for I too would know
> From what land ye have come, and whither ye go?
> In your beautiful barks, too quickly ye glide,
> With your light tinted sails, through ether's blue tide.
>
> We have roam'd, we have roam'd, all reckless and free,
> O'er earth's boundless regions, its treasures to see;
> We have hover'd afar o'er the wide western main,

[41] Showalter (2010) informs that "[…] American women's genteel lyrics in the 1840s were not very different from men's poetry, and we would have a hard time identifying the gender of the writer by looking at and individual poem". The major difference between the genteel lyrics written by them may be that women "[…] faced constrains and social pressures about their subjects and styles which made them even dustier than men". (SHOWALTER, 2010, p. 60).

> To the land where the forests in free grandeur reign:
> We have shadow'd the spot where the glassy lake gleams,
> And hung our dark spells o'er the flood's thousand streams.
>
> We have knelt, we have knelt, to the mountain's proud crest;
> And spread our white shroud o'er the valley's pure breast;
> We have kiss'd the wet cheek of the lone waterfall,
> And cared not to stay, although ceaseless its call;
> Then cheer'd the frail flower, sick of Phœbus' bright face,
> And wak'd with our presence a magical grace.
>
> Summer clouds, summer clouds, why hurry away?
> Still wreathe with your garlands the brow of the day:
> Pass not yet, pass not yet on your feathery flight,
> But rest in your beauty, ye children of light!
> Still hover around us, and stir your soft wings;
> Nor long to glide from us, like earth's lovely things.
> (LEE, 1837, p. 105-106).

Thematically, an interest in versing about clouds can be perceived. The first stanza is written entirely about the clouds' movement. In addition, its last verse considers the colors. The persona of the poem begs for the clouds of summer to stay in the sky. It is not known where the clouds are from, or where they are going; it is just known that they move too fast.

In the second stanza, it seems as if the clouds are replying to this persona's question about where they went. They say they went all over the world, interacting with other natural entities, which are emphasized: forests and lakes. Flood, mentioned in the last verse of the second stanza, is also a natural phenomenon and may have been used as a metaphorical word for downpour, given that the clouds "hang their dark spells" over its "thousand streams".

In the third stanza, the clouds continue to describe their journey of interactions. An interesting, metaphorical, mention to Phoebus is made in the sixth verse. According to Showalter (2010, p. 62) "elevating mythological applications abound; the sun is always 'Phoebus,' poetic inspiration the 'Aeolian harp'. This may be a remnant influence from Neoclassicism, which persisted in nineteenth century women's genteel lyrics. After the clouds have described their entire journey along the summer, in the last stanza, the voice is given to the poem's persona again. Despite the clouds' reply, they are still begged to stay in the sky, and not escape like "earth's lovely things", that is, possibly, a metaphor for people who pass away.

Thus, it is possible to verify that this poem's themes are very similar to those of Romanticism and Transcendentalism. First, because the whole poem is about the journey of clouds and their involvement with other natural elements. Moreover, the adjectives used to qualify the nature that the clouds get involved with, in the third and fourth stanzas, make these elements become more humane, as if the natural aspects were living beings: mountain's "proud" crest; valley's "pure" breast; "lone" waterfall; "frail" flower; Phœbus' "bright" face; and

“magical” grace. This was an aspect of romantic poetry, which qualifies nature as the possessor of abstract characteristics, Johns (2000) states. Furthermore, the contemplation of nature is also present, since the persona’s thoughts are expressed as if there is a person talking to the clouds about their journey, which is described with many details. This follows the transcendentalist prerogative proposed by Emerson (1849), that writers should channel their thoughts of the natural world in the art they produce.

Stylistically, its composition consists of four stanzas, in sestet, which is a fixed form. Its external rhymes follow an AABBCC scheme. The two first verses of each stanza also contain a repetition of a part of the verse, which is written with the intention of adding musicality and easier memorization. Aside from these sound elements, it is even possible to perceive some internal repetition of consonants, which adds rhythm. In the first verse of the second and third stanzas, there is a repetition of *r* and *n* sounds, creating a melodic flow: “We have *r*oam’d, we have *r*oam’d, all *r*eckless and f*r*ee,/[…] We have *kn*elt, we have *kn*elt, to the mou*n*tai*n*’s proud crest”. (LEE, 1837, p. 105, my emphasis). These aspects, of conventional fixed forms and melodic verses, qualify it as a genteel lyric. (SHOWALTER, 2010).

Moreover, regarding lexical choices, there is an intensive use of adjectives to embellish the nouns, mainly in the second and third stanzas. A quality of genteel lyrics, Showalter (2010, p. 61) emphasizes that “in women’s poetry, brooks are limpid, trees are lofty, a wave is billow (and it is foaming), hair is tresses”. In addition, there are many uses of metaphorical language. In the first stanza, for instance, the clouds (inanimate beings) have “flowing” robes and bark “beautifully”. Furthermore, a metaphysical vocabulary is used to qualify some nouns, as in “magical” grace and children “of light”. There were also some contractions in some words, like “roam’d”, “o’er”, “hover’d”, “shadow’d”, “kiss’d”, “cheer’d”, “wak’d”. Regarding this aspect, Showalter (2010, p. 61) affirms, “unskilled in fitting their thoughts to meter, they depended on ‘poetic’ contractions like ‘twixt,’ ‘o’er,’ ‘ne’er’ to make their syllables fit their metrical patterns”. Thus, the form, versification and vocabulary used by Lee (1837) in this poem qualify it to be a genteel lyric. In conclusion, it is possible to see the marks of the female tradition of poetry of this period, which prioritized the genteel lyrics, in style.

In the 1856 edition of *The Lady’s Almanac*, Amanda Maria Edmond had a poem of her authorship conveyed, “Flowers in winter”, in which nature is celebrated once more:

> Ye come in summer’s sweet array,
> Ye beautiful and bright,
> Though colder sunbeams round ye play,
> And shed a paler light.

Ye come to rouse in windy days
Glad thoughts of summer's bloom,
When birds pour forth their thrilling lays,
And flowers the gales perfume.

Flowers in the vale and on the hill,
And by the river side,
And in the green wood cool and still,
Their modest beauties hide.

Abroad the storm is howling loud,
Rough winds sweep to and fro,
And earth lies silent 'neath her shroud
Of newly fallen snow.

Ye sheltered, calmly view the scene,
As if the skies of May
Looked calmly down on fields of green
That stretched beneath them lay.

We know that summer flowers are fair,
But they are frequent too;
And 't is because that ye are rare
We fondly turn to you.

Because, when autumn's ruthless blast
Has laid your kindred low,
Ye, blooming, bring us back the past,
So late that charmed us so.

O! Flowers in winter! Glad we hail,
Amid the raging storms
That wildly sweep o'er hill and vale,
Your bright and beauteous forms.
(EDMOND, 1855, n. p.).

In terms of theme, this poem is about flowers that survive the winter. It verses about the journey of these winter flowers, which are celebrated by the poem's persona. Therefore, its progression is, in fact, similar to "Summer clouds", despite being in a different almanac and had been written by another author 18 years later.

The first and second stanzas are focused on the flowers' emergence and its interactions with summer. In the first, they are qualified as "beautiful" and "bright" and, although they are born in this season, they are able to "play" with "colder sunbeams*"*; that is, they will not die if affected by the cold, but will play with it. In the second, it is stated that they show excitement when other plants bloom in summer's windy days, therefore, a period when natural elements interact with the environment: birds fly and flowers release their perfume.

The other six stanzas will describe the flowers' interaction with the cold. Initially, in the third stanza, it is informed where, in nature, they are located: "vale" [valley], "hill", "river side" [riverside], "green wood". In the fourth, their relation with snow is explicit, since they protect

earth from it with their “shrouds”. In the fifth, it is mentioned that the flowers are watching everything that is happening around them. It is being attributed, thus, a personification to them, as if they can view it consciously. In the sixth, the persona of the poem disdains the summer flowers, because, even though they are beautiful, they are common, unlike the winter ones, which are qualified as “rare”. The flowers of winter can cause a sentiment of nostalgia to people, as the persona emphasizes in the seventh stanza, since they can survive the autumn too, unlike their “kindred”, other plants. The poem is concluded with a last homage to these plants. The persona is grateful that people are able to be in the presence of such flowers’ fascinating appearance even in raging storms, which would damage valleys and hills.

Therefore, the whole poem proceeds as if its persona is reporting about his/her knowledge over flowers that survive the winter, based on these observations of their journeys across the seasons. These mentioned aspects evidence, again, an influence of the transcendentalist prerogative of the representation of nature in artists’ creations, proposed by Emerson (1849), and the cult to the natural world, very expressive in Romanticism and Transcendentalism, as informed by Hurley (2000) and Phillips and Ladd (2005).

In terms of style, it is composed by using a fixed form of quatrain, in eight stanzas. The quatrain is one of the most common forms of poetry in almanacs, as claimed by Stowell (1977), present since the eighteenth century. This is also valid for women’s poetry of mid-nineteenth century. As maintained by Showalter (2010, p. 61), “their favorite forms were quatrains and couplets”. The poem follows a standard external rhyme scheme of ABAB, which is alternate. In addition, a lack of punctuation in the end of the verses could be perceived. Furthermore, there is a preference for using prepositions, like “of” in the last verse of the fourth stanza, and conjunctions, as “and” in the last verse of the first stanza and “but” in the second verse of the sixth stanza. These aspects, and the fact that the text is composed with short verses, add musicality to the poem, which is supposed to be read in a quick and continuous way, only pausing in the end of each stanza.

Regarding the lexis, there is also an expressive use of adjectives. In the first stanza, for instance, every verse contains at least one adjective: “Ye come in summer’s *sweet* array,/Ye *beautiful* and *bright*,/Though *colder* sunbeams round ye play,/And shed a *paler* light […]”. (EDMOND, 1855, n. p., my emphasis). Moreover, there is a constant use of the personal pronoun *you*, as if the persona of the poem was talking directly to the flowers, based on the following selection of verses: “*Ye* come in summer’s sweet array,/*Ye* beautiful and bright,/Though colder sunbeams round *ye* play, […]/*Ye* come to rouse in windy days […]/*Ye*

sheltered, calmly view the scene, […]/*Ye*, blooming, bring us back the past, […]". (EDMOND, 1855, n. p., my emphasis). Perhaps it grants more proximity between the poem's persona and the flowers, as if he/she knew them better, aiding in the transcendentalist necessity of a closer observation of the nature and connecting to it.

Finally, based on the fixed form of quatrain, use of adjectives and essential musicality, there is an evident stylistic influence of the genteel lyrics, of the female tradition of women's poetry of this period, in "Flowers in winter".

Other than nature, spirituality was a theme that many writers cultivated in this period. An example, based on this theme, is Caroline Gilman's "God our Father", from the 1838 edition of *The Lady's Annual Register*:

> Is there a lone and dreary hour
> When worldly pleasures lose their power? –
> My Father! let me turn to thee,
> And set each thought of darkness free.
>
> Is there a time of racking grief
> Which scorns the prospect of relief? –
> My Father! break the cheerless gloom,
> And bid my heart its calm resume.
>
> Is there an hour of peace and joy,
> When hope is all my soul's employ? –
> My Father! still my hopes will roam,
> Until they rest with thee their home.
>
> The noon-tide blaze, the midnight scene,
> The dawn, or twilight's sweet serene,
> The glow of life, the dying hour,
> Shall own my Father's grace and power.
> (GILMAN, 1837b, p. 98).

Thematically, the text is about the interaction between God and the poem's persona. In the first stanza, the persona, in a confessional tone, is asking for a connection with God, in order to purify his/her thoughts, during a determined period – "a lone and dreary hour" –. This represents a mark of self-reliance, because, as stated before, it is being asked about "worldly pleasures" losing their power; therefore, the persona is trying to overcome vices in his/her life, which will be aided by God.

In the second stanza, a period of sadness is denounced by this persona. Always relating himself/herself to God, he/she seeks for help to overcome such melancholic feeling and comfort the heart. The third stanza will complement the previous and the one before it. The persona will ask if there will be another period – "an hour of peace and joy" – in which he/she will find hope. Hope is associated with the soul. Thus, in this part, the aspect of spirituality becomes explicit.

In fact, according to Phillips and Ladd (2005, p. 45), "the Transcendentalists urged their readers to become 'whole' people, and this was possible only to the degree that the readers saw themselves as spiritual beings". God, being begged for spiritual relief for the third time, is told that these hopes will wander until they find Him in heaven. In the last verse of the third stanza, the hours that the persona was referring to have their meaning unveiled. Since the beginning of the poem, he/she is asking for the peace of mind. Therefore, this is concluded to be only obtainable when he/she gets to heaven to be with God.

The fourth stanza is responsible for a final acclaim of the godly figure. Nature is, then, present in the background of the poem. It is under its responsibility to celebrate God's "grace and power" through its landscapes. In "God our Father", a poem focused on spirituality, nature is more of a complement, whereas in "Summer clouds" and "Flowers in winter" it was the major topic.

Thus, concerning theme, it is possible to perceive that it values the transcendentalist aspects of spirituality, self-reliance, God and, in a minor way, nature. Death is also present with less expressiveness. Even though spirituality is present in the whole poem, it is more evident in the third stanza, in which the persona affirms hope is connected to his/her soul. Self-reliance, as defined by Emerson (1841), is marked in the first stanza, given the persona's necessity of dissipating unnecessary thoughts. God, needless to emphasize, is the driving force of the poem. Unlike represented in the previous poems of this chapter, nature is merely used for concluding and acknowledging God in the poem. It plays an external role, therefore, in these poems that focus on spirituality.

In terms of style, the poem is constituted of four quartets. The external rhyme scheme used by the poet is AABB. A certain flow is obtained by the repetition of some letters in some verses. For instance, in "[…] *W*hen *w*or*ld*l*y* p*l*easures *l*ose their po*w*er? – […]" (GILMAN, 1837b, p. 98, my emphasis), the constant use of the phonemes /w/ and /l/ create a consonance. This is also present in "[…] Which sco*r*ns the p*r*ospect of *r*elief? – […]" (GILMAN, 1837b, p. 98, my emphasis), in which there is a repetition of /r/ sounds. There is also a repetition of some expressions in the verses, as "Is there […]" and "My Father". Thus, a musical characteristic can be verified in this poem.

Regarding lexis, there is a frequent use of adjectives. "Lone and dreary" hour, "racking" grief, hour "of peace and joy", "sweet" serene are some examples of adjectives found in each stanza. Furthermore, the personal pronoun "you" is used in an interesting way. It is used in the archaic form "thee". According to Showalter (2010, p. 61), the writers of genteel lyrics

frequently "[…] employed a stilted rhetoric: 'thee' and 'thy'; 'fain,' 'woe,' 'beauteous,' 'bootless,' 'perchance,' and 'tarry'. Therefore, by analyzing lexical and formal aspects, it is possible to consider the style used by Gilman in "God our Father" as similar to that of genteel lyrics.

Another spiritual poem is "Prayer for the absent", by Amanda Maria Edmond, present in the 1856 edition of *The Lady's Almanac*:

> Bless thou the absent, O my God! remember
> Those whom I fondly cherish far away;
> Some in the season of life's drear December
> Some in its summer, and its soft spring day.
> Kindly regard them, O thou Holy One,
> For the dear sake of thine anointed Son.
>
> Bless thou the absent, when the light of morning
> Flashes in splendor over land and sea,
> When from the gorgeous clouds the East adorning
> Breaks forth the golden sun sublimely free.
> Scatter rich blessings on their devious way,
> And guide their footsteps through the coming day.
>
> Bless thou the absent in the hour of trial,
> Help them to battle in thy holy might;
> Give back the tempter strong words of denial,
> And victors stand upon the field of fight.
> Cleanse them from every earthly pain and dross,
> Teach them to seek the crown beneath the cross.
>
> Bless thou the absent in the hour of sorrow,
> When the wide world seems lonely, dark and drear;
> Rich consolation may they ever borrow
> From thine own Word, to thine own children dear.
> There may each promise sweet, a healing balm,
> The deep, keen anguish of the spirit calm.
>
> Bless thou the absent! guide and guard them ever
> Through life, in death, and to that world on high,
> Where care and grief and trial enter never,
> Where death itself in endless life shall die;
> And the long-parted meet around thy throne,
> Unknown to tears, to farewell words unknown.
> (EDMOND, 1855, p. 70).

This poem is highly allegorical. Concerning theme, it is possible to perceive that the poem is about God's blessings to "absent" people, with a spiritual focus. In each stanza, the poem's persona ask God to bless a different group of these "absents". In the first, he/she asks for his/her beloved ones, who is away, to be blessed. In this stanza, nature, as a background, first appears in the poem. The persona asks to bless people who are away from him/her, regardless of the season, more specifically, some in "drear December" (winter), summer or

spring. Due to the expression “season of life”, this may be a metaphor for the period of life that these people are/were living, as they might also be dead.

In the second stanza, blessings are asked for those who are absent when nature is expressing itself. The persona describes some natural scenes: a sunrise over land and seas; and a clear weather. According to the persona, those who miss these landscapes live in “devious” ways and need God’s guidance. This may represent an aspect of self-reliance, as considered by Emerson (1841). The fact that these people do not live close to nature and are condemned by the persona may mean that they live a life of vices of materialism. Thus, they need God’s help to transcend and live a superior lifestyle.

The third stanza is focused on religion. Blessings are sought for those who are not present in the “hour of trial”. In the fifth verse, another transcendentalist mark of self-reliance is present. The persona asks God to “[…] cleanse them from every earthly pain and dross […]”. (EDMOND, 1855, p. 70). This could mean, again, the materialism to which people are strongly connected. The fourth stanza also revolves around an hour, the “hour of sorrow”. Blessings are sought for those who are in a melancholic state, who might have their spirits calmed by the word of God. In the last verse of this stanza, thus, spiritual inclination of the poem is explicit.

The last stanza does not explicitly mention for whom the blessings are targeted. God is just asked to protect all of the absents in life, death and the afterlife. In fact, the afterlife is explored in this part of the poem, in which the persona states that these people will find God in heaven.

In conclusion, although the focus is on God, there are many minor themes that are explored along this poem, such as nature, feelings, death, sadness and the afterlife. Many of them can be found in Romanticism and Transcendentalism. Furthermore, regarding this last movement, the text has two allegories that could be interpreted as characteristics of Emerson’s (1841) self-reliance, in which the persona of the poem condemns the materialist, away from nature, lifestyle.

Stylistically, “Prayer for the absent” is constituted of four sestets. There is an external rhyme scheme of ABABCC, an unprecedented form in the present analysis until now. There is also an internal minor flow, generated by the repetition of phonemes. For instance, “[…] *H*elp *th*em to battle in *thy h*oly m*i*ght; […]”. (EDMOND, 1855, p. 70, my emphasis). In this verse, the /h/ sound is present in “help” and “holy”; the /ð/ one, in “them” and “thy”; and the /aɪ/ one, in “thy” and “might”. Additionally, there is “[…] *W*hen the *w*ide *worl*d seems *l*one*l*y, *d*ar*k* and *dr*ea*r*; […]”. (EDMOND, 1855, p. 70, my emphasis). In this verse, the /w/ sound can be found

in “when”, “wide” and “world”; the /l/ one, in “world” and “lonely”; the /d/ one, in “dark” and “drear”; and the /r/, in “world”, “dark” and “drear”. The phrase “Bless thou the absent” is constantly repeated along the poem. Therefore, it is possible to notice a fluidity of sounds in “Prayer for the absent”. Lexically, there is, one more, the use of archaic forms of pronouns, such as “thou” and “thine”. The regularity of forms and musicality indicate an influence of genteel lyrics in form.

In conclusion, whereas aspects of Romanticism and Transcendentalist thematically influence the poem, the ordinary form is that of women’s genteel lyrics.

A later phenomenon in the female tradition of nineteenth-century American literature were the marks of femininity. Showalter (2010, p. xvi) remarks that “[…] by the mid-century a vogue for flowery and hyperfeminine names had sprung up […]”. Poets acted as if they wanted to stress their feminine marks. This also reflected in their poetry. As Showalter (2010, p. 62) presents,

> in the mid-nineteenth century, women poets split between, on the one hand, those who believed men and women were equal and entitled to the same liberties in writing as in life – the Enlightenment feminists, inspired by Wollstonecraft, who used eighteenth-century techniques of wit and artful structure – and, on the other hand, those who saw women as different from men, more emotional, nurturing, sensitive, and pure, who preferred inspiration to art – the sentimentalists.

In almanacs directed to a female target, this type of poetry would obviously resonate, especially the one from the second group, due to its conventionality. In *The Lady’s Annual Register* and *The Lady’s Almanac* around the half of the nineteenth-century, themes from Romanticism and Transcendentalism and form from c. 1840s women’s genteel lyrics were cultivated. On the other hand, the sentimentalists, mentioned by Showalter (2010) as a phenomenon in the mid-nineteenth century, appeared on the later years of *The Lady’s Almanac*.[42] Thus, nature, as a theme, was mixed with these aspects of women’s sentimentalist – henceforth, feminine[43] – poetry.

The feminine poems of the later years of *The Lady’s Almanac* decided to focus on a specific element of nature: flowers. During the nineteenth century, women writers were often associated with flowers. Sarah Josepha Hale called her anthology of Anglophone women poets

[42] Therefore, it is possible to perceive that women’s literature in almanacs suffered from a delay from other genres, like magazines and printed books.

[43] In this paper, this phenomenon will be called feminine instead of, as Showalter (2010) considers, sentimental, since the poems do not necessarily stress a characteristic of sentimentality, but of femininity.

The ladies' wreath: a gift-book for all seasons (1837). Therefore, authors are considered as if they were flowers that, when assembled, would form a wreath.

Hale starts the book with a discussion about the British writer Felicia Dorothea Hemans and, comparing her to the other writers analyzed in the book, states: "The name of Mrs. Hemans stands pre-eminent among female poetic writers, as unquestionably as the *rose* holds the rank of '*garden* queen' among the *flowers*". (HALE, 1839, p. 17, my emphasis). Furthermore, the editor would also use flowers as metaphors for complimenting other writers. Among many examples, Anna Laetitia Barbauld's poetry is compared to a lavender; Caroline Norton's beauty and gracefulness, to a dahlia; and Mary Ann Browne's genius, to a jasmine. (HALE, 1839).

This association is also present in the preface of *The American female poets* (1848), in which Caroline May contrasts women's poetry from Europe and the United States with a flowery metaphor:

> As the rare exotic, costly because of the distance from which it is brought, will often suffer in comparison of beauty and fragrance with the abundant wild flowers of our meadows and woodland slopes, so the reader of our present volume, if ruled by an honest taste, will discover in the effusions of our gifted country-women as much grace of form, and powerful sweetness of thought and feeling, as in the blossoms of woman's genius culled from other lands. (MAY, 1848, p. v-vi).

The poets, perhaps, decided to internalize the use of the flower as an element to stress their femininity. The later use of flowers in *The Lady's Almanac* poetry is different from Edmond's "Flowers in winter", present in the edition of 1856, which had an influence of Romanticism and Transcendentalism in the representation and celebration of the natural environment. They are represented as merely plants – accompanied by some compliments – that interact with the poems' female personas, which are indicated by hints. They are not recognized, unlike previously, as forces of nature. These considerations may be exemplified by the two poems. The first one, from the 1875 edition of *The Lady's Almanac*, is "The lily-of-the-valley", by Dora Burnside:

> "O lily-of the valley! why will you be so coy,
> And hide away where few of us your beauty can enjoy
> Your little flowers, so white and pure, are fragrant to smell;
> Yet in the valley's cooling shade you always love to dwell."
>
> "If you will listen very close, I'll tell you, little maid,
> Why thus I pass my lily life here in cooling shade:
> If I were on the sunny bank, where all could see and praise,
> In such a glare I'd find it hard to live out half of my days." (BURNSIDE, 1874, p. 45).

As marked by the use of apostrophes, this poem consists of a conversation between the poem's persona and a flower. It is, therefore, about a lily of the valley. The first stanza is constituted of the persona's perspective. She asks why the flower is so shy, even though she is beautiful. The use of adjectives indicate an intention to qualify the plant in an idealistic way, "white", "pure", "fragrant". In the second stanza, the lily replies. In the first verse, the persona's gender is marked: "little maid". The lily answers that, if she was under the sun in an open land, she would not be able to live properly. In conclusion, the poem is about a flower, but it progresses differently from "Summer clouds" and "Flowers in winter". In this one, unlike the other two previous poems – in which the natural element is celebrated along all the verses, using many adjectives –, the flowers are merely in complimented in two stanzas with a minor use of adjectives. In addition, the use of a female persona indicates the necessity of producing a poem that stresses femininity. It is interesting to observe that earlier poems, like "Summer clouds" and "Flowers in winter", did not mark this. Thus, by using flowers as a major theme – in a way that they are not really celebrated as nature, but used as an object to verse about – and a female persona, the poem is part of a feminine poetry of the female tradition.

Concerning style, it is possible to verify the continuous use of genteel lyrics, despite Showalter (2010) stating that it was a phenomenon of the 1840s, in fact, 30 years before. It is written in the fixed form of quatrain, containing two stanzas. There is musicality, since the external rhyme scheme is AABB. In addition, the first verse of the each stanza contains a repetition of *l* sounds, creating an initial flow: "'O *li*ly-of the va*ll*ey! why wi*ll* you be so coy,/ […] 'If you wi*ll l*isten very close, I'*ll* te*ll* you, litt*l*e maid, […]". (BURNSIDE, 1874, p. 45, my emphasis). The lack of period marks makes the poem flow continuously, in a reading that is supposed to be quick, only with brief pauses because of the commas and semicolons. Therefore, due to the presence of fixed forms and musicality, the poem is still part of the genteel poetry of the nineteenth century female tradition.

Another example of a feminine poem is "My rose", by Harriet Prescott Spofford:

> Over my mantel hangs a rose –
> Such a great red-hearted and dewy thing
> That, though on the wild air drive the snows,
> In my room dwells Summer with folded wing.
>
> Some painter painted it in a dream
> Of a haunted dell and a spicy night,
> His pencil lit by the flying gleam
> Of bloom and fragrance and all delight.
>
> And I lie, when I look at this magic flower,
> In a Persian garden and wait the morn,

> While a bird, from starlit hour to hour,
> Sings with his breast against a thorn. (SPOFFORD, 1871, p. 29).

The poem is about a rose, as it is first revealed in the title and then in the text. In the first stanza, the flower is presented. It is located in a mantelpiece and it is briefly described with two adjectives: "red-hearted" and "dewy". It is followed by a depiction of a natural scene. The persona of the poem states that, despite driving the snow when it is exposed in the nature, in her room, the rose passes the summer "with folded wing", possibly a metaphor for not having its petals opened. In comparison to "Summer clouds" and "Flowers in winter", the descriptivism of nature is reduced.

In the second stanza, the rose is presented in a metaphysical experience: it served as the object of inspiration for an artist, which drew it in a dream. It is interesting to mention that, in feminine – or sentimentalist, as called by Showalter (2010) – poetry, women preferred inspiration to art. This is why, perhaps, the persona only imagines a painter painting the rose in a dream, but she is not painting it herself.

The third stanza consists, once more, of a brief depiction of a natural scene: the persona is looking at the flower in a private space – as indicated by the fact that she is lying in a Persian garden and the flower is in a mantelpiece –, waiting for it to die, while a bird sings outside. Nature, again, is used merely as an object for the poet to compose about. Its interactions with the persona of the poem are described, but nature is no longer celebrated, aside from a few compliments.

This stanza also reveals the intention to mark femininity in this poem: the persona states that she passes her time in a private environment observing the natural element, the rose, inside it. This is the opposite of "Summer clouds" and "Flowers in winter", in which the (not gender-marked) persona does not reveal where he/she is observing the nature from. Thus, such use of the private space in poetry marks femininity, since it was a conventional theme for nineteenth century women poets. As Hale (1839, p. 8) mentioned, when writing criticism in this period, "the tendency of female poetry is always to hallow and exalt the household affections". Even if the private space living did not reflect the writers' experience – since many women writers did not live recluse in their houses and, as seen in the appendix A of this paper, lived a public life and travelled –, it was still a sellable theme, from a marketing point of view. About this aspect, Taylor (2001, p. 74) mentions that

> in many cases, the homey flavor of women's poetry reflected the experiences and expectations poetesses imagined of their audiences far more than such domesticity reflected the day-to-day life of the poetess. […] If a poetess failed to maintain the

> charade of conventionality, she ran the danger of becoming an outcast, a fate as ultimately tragic as that of Corinne, Sappho, the lady of Shallot, and Mariana combined.

Therefore, given these reasons, the private space and domesticity became marks of a *feminine* poetry. All of these mentioned aspects indicate the intention, in "My rose", of marking the persona as a being living in a private environment talking about her private experiences of watching a rose die. Therefore, given the necessity of having all these elements of femininity in the poem, the status of a female persona is verified. Furthermore, it indicates that this poem is part of the feminine poetry of *The Lady's Almanac*.

Regarding style, "My rose" is constituted of three stanzas, written in the fixed form of quatrain. There is an external rhyme scheme, which is alternated, in ABAB. Similar to the previous poems, this aspect, alongside the lack of punctuation and use of conjunctions, like that in the third verse of the first stanza, and prepositions, as of in the last verse of the second stanza, collaborate for the musicality of the poem. Thus, in form, this poem continues the fashion of the genteel lyrics of the 1840s.

Finally, it is possible to verify that a great part of women's literature from *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac* consists of poems about nature and spirituality. In fact, these women poets derived their themes, in the initial years of the periodicals, from Romanticism and Transcendentalism, movements established within the canonical tradition. They used the poems' personas to describe nature extensively, as if they were observing every detail of it, in a celebratory way. When the main theme was spirituality, nature faded to the background of the poem. Instead, the focus was on God and the concept of self-reliance. The poems of this period did not contain gender marks.

In contrast, later in the almanacs, a phenomenon could be identified: the feminine poetry. Similar to what Showalter (2010) called sentimental literature, it consisted of texts in which marks of femininity were stressed by the poems' personas. In order to do that, there was the use of hints that indicate a female persona, as well as restricting nature to flowers. Therefore, nature, as a theme, was modified. Unlike previously, it was not presented as influenced by Romanticism and Transcendentalism, which was gloriously described, but in the form of flowers as merely objects to verse about.

Stylistically, they used fixed forms of quatrains and sestets. The musicality was also present through some internal rhymes, repetition of letters, and external rhymes in standard patterns (ABAB/AABB/ABABCC). There was the use of many adjectives, contracted words and archaic word forms. In form, when compared to those canonical, more innovative, of

Whitman and Fuller, they were dissimilar. Their form, thus, was the one identified by Showalter (2010) as part of the female tradition of American women's poetry, the genteel lyrics of the 1840s. Despite being a trend in the 1840s, these lyrics were used even in the 1870s, in almanacs, 30 years later.

CONCLUSION

This paper proposed the recovery of some forgotten women writers, who had their literary texts conveyed in two almanacs: *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac*. Following the criterion of availability, only some editions could be accessed: from *The Lady's Annual Register*, the first three, of 1838, 1839 and 1840; and from *the Lady's Almanac*, the editions of 1854, 1856, 1866, 1871, 1872 and 1875.

The major goal of extending these writers' critical and biographical information could be executed through the paper. As brief biographies about them were written, they had their biographical information supplemented. Furthermore, since their literary texts were analyzed, in terms of theme and style, they had their critical considerations extended. This also contributed to the delineation of a female tradition of almanac literature. Some investigations had to be carried out to complete such goals. They were divided into four chapters, focused, majorly, on three themes: American almanacs; women's writing and Gynocriticism; women's literature in *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac*; and the analysis of such literature.

The first chapter, "American almanacs through the centuries", focused on the investigation of the history of American almanacs across the centuries. It was sought which aspects constituted almanacs as a genre and their characteristics in each century. It was possible to verify that almanacs were annual publications for popular use that considered different contents. These contents were modified across the time.

The first printed almanacs were discovered to be printed in Germany and France, during the fifteenth century. The first one might have been the *Astronomical Calendar of 1448*, crafted by Gutenberg in Mainz, according to Stowell (1977). It was possible to find that, in the United States, the first American almanac was the *Almanack Calculated for New England*, printed in Cambridge (MA), in 1639, by William Pierce. In the seventeenth century, they were called philomaths. Simpler almanacs, they included calendars, eclipses, astronomical and astrological information and miscellany.

It was possible to perceive that, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, almanacs were modified. In the eighteenth century, farmer's almanacs were in vogue. Aside from the previous material, they included agricultural information and more entertainment, in the form of varied literature. In the nineteenth century, they were ostentatiously crafted and started to seek other publics. Therefore, almanacs became focused on diverse specialties, such as religion

and politics. Their contents were based on the themes they proposed to specialize. One of the types of these new specialty almanacs was the one focused on women. Since this paper was focused on the connection between women's almanacs and literature, before advancing to such periodicals, it was necessary to investigate how to approach women's literature.

Thus, the second chapter, "Women and literature: writers, feminist criticism and Gynocriticism", was developed with the intent of comprehending the possible ways of studying and analyzing literature produced by women, following a gynocritical perspective. In an initial moment, in order to understand the development of feminist thoughts, a research was carried out on protofeminist intellectuals' ideas and acts of Mary Wollstonecraft, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Virginia Woolf. This last woman was so relevant to the studies of women and literature that this caused her to be considered the founder of feminist criticism.

This theory, which emerged in the 1960s, proposed to analyze literature from the perspective of gender difference. In the 1970s, the movement was separated in two ramifications, as noticed by Heilbrun and Stimpson (1989), who made a relevant commentary. The first was entitled "x" and consisted of the analysis of female representations in the work of male writers. The second, called "y", was concerned with the study of women writers and their texts. In fact, this last modality of investigation gathered interest of researchers because a great part of forgotten women's literature from earlier periods started to be recovered.

Elaine Showalter defined the "y" theory as Gynocriticism, which was the theoretical perspective used in this paper. Gynocriticism was concerned with how women wrote, what were their themes, styles, genres, structures. (SHOWALTER, 1981). Showalter proposed that women and men write differently and, therefore, their writings must be looked at as different entities. Such dissimilarity did not result from biological, linguistic or psychoanalytical differences, but from cultural ones. Since men and women are inserted in different spheres in the society, they behave differently in relation to culture. As a result, they wrote under different aesthetic traditions: the standard, canonical, male, tradition and the female tradition.[44] Therefore, in order to analyze the recovered women's literature in this paper, in terms of theme and style, it was necessary to use this gynocritical approach. Since this theory was used, this study also contributed to the subsidiary aim of defining a female tradition of almanac literature. After all, as Duarte (1990, p. 21) emphasizes, "the recovery of forgotten women writers should not be merely constituted of a reunion of these 'forgotten' people, but also permit the knowledge

[44] However, it should be remarked that, despite writing under different traditions, the male still influenced women, due to a marketing necessity.

of their traditions […]".[45] Thus, aside from analyses of theme and style, the texts' characteristics were often compared to what the two traditions prioritized. After this bibliographic review on gynocritical procedures, women's almanacs, the object of study of this paper, were investigated.

"American women's almanacs" started by exploring the emergence of women's almanacs and the contents of some nineteenth century almanacs directed to this gender. The first almanac aimed at American women was discovered to be, based on Drake's (1962) compilation, the *The Lady's Almanack for 1786*. Many others followed it, such as the *Frank Leslie's Lady's Illustrated Almanac* and *The Woman's Rights Almanac*. Despite varying in content, they had a focus on information that would possibly interest women and entertainment.

In the subchapter "*The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum-Book* and *The Lady's Almanac*", the contents of these two objects of this study were investigated. Aside from the typical almanac content already mentioned, they majorly conveyed content related to housekeeping and agriculture. *The Lady's Almanac* also included information about women, such as women's education and employment. Entertainment was in charge of puzzles and, mainly, literature.

In fact, literature was the focus of the second subchapter of this part: "Women's literature in almanacs". In this part, women's *literary* texts *with authorship* were collected from *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac*. It was possible to identify a total of 27 authors and to recover 72 texts. Twenty-six texts, under the authorship of seven different authors, were collected from *The Lady's Annual Register* and 46, written by 20 different women, from *The Lady's Almanac*. The writers with the most expressive numbers of collaboration, in each almanac, were Caroline Gilman and Amanda Maria Edmond, their respective editors. In fact, a great discovery could be done in this part. Based on an early biography of Amanda Maria Edmond, made by Candage (1909), it could be verified that she was the secret editor of *The Lady's Almanac* in its initial years. It was possible to notice that the most abundant theme, in these literary texts, was nature, which was present in 48 out of 72. The second major theme was spirituality. In terms of genre, there was a preference for the lyric, since 69 out of 72 were poems.

These identified forgotten women writers had their biographical information supplemented – one of the main goals of this paper – by the writing of brief biographies, which relied on information that could be found in varied anthologies from the nineteenth and

[45] From the original: "O trabalho de resgate das escritoras antigas que começa a ser feito, não deve pretender apenas se constituir num arrolamento das "esquecidas", mas sim permitir o conhecimento das tradições literárias das mulheres [...]". (DUARTE, 1990, p. 21).

twentieth centuries. Some websites, like the WorldCat and the one of the Library of the Congress, were also relevant for this task. When writing these biographies, the focus was on their lives and literary accomplishments. Among 27 recovered women, only five could not be identified. Some important details could be found, in relation to the most forgotten ones. For instance, Harriet F. Woods, a writer whose life facts could not be found anywhere, had two works published: *Historical sketches of Brookline, Mass.* (1872) and *The blue-book stories* (1870 or 1871). Another positive point about this recovery was the fact that many scattered information could be reunited. Thus, this paper might serve as a research source for those who are interested in such writers.

After these women were identified, their literature was recovered from the available editions of *The Lady's Annual Register* and *The Lady's Almanac*, present in the websites Hathitrust and Google Books. In the last chapter, "Nature, spirituality and genteel lyrics: defining women's almanac literature", following another necessity – of extending the critical considerations made to these collaborators' literary creations –, the recovered texts were analyzed in terms of theme and style.

Since a gynocritical perspective was followed, they were often compared to what was written within the canonical tradition, which followed romantic and transcendentalist prerogatives. Furthermore, as this theory was used, it was also possible to trace initial considerations to what were the aspects of a literature written by women and specifically conveyed in women's almanacs, hence, a female tradition of literature in women's almanacs. Thus, these writings were not only compared to the canonical aesthetics, but also to the general American female tradition of literature – based on the work made by Showalter (2010) –, in order to consider the specificities of women's creations that were conveyed in this particular genre (women's almanacs).

Before starting the analysis *per se*, a bibliographic review on the main aspects of Romanticism and Transcendentalism was executed, given that they were the two movements within the canonical tradition that valued nature and spirituality – the two main themes of the recovered women's literature –, in this chronological period. From the general female tradition, based on Showalter (2010), a bibliographic review was done in genteel lyrics, which was a common form of women's poetry in this period.

Since poetry had an outstanding prevalence, as a genre, six poems were analyzed in this subchapter. They were divided into three thematic groups for analysis: two of them, in which nature was presented in a romantic/transcendentalist; two that focused on spirituality, also in a

manner similar to these movements; and two in which nature was considered in the form of a *feminine* literature.

"Summer clouds", by Mary E. Lee, and "Flowers in winter", by Amanda Maria Edmond, were thematically focused on nature in a way of celebration. They glorified natural elements, such as clouds and flowers, in all stanzas, similar to what was done in the canonical tradition, in Romanticism and Transcendentalism. The style they valued, however, was very different from the writers of this tradition, such as Whitman and Fuller. They used what Showalter (2010) calls genteel lyrics, a form with great emphasis on metrical regularity, fixed forms and musicality. Therefore, it could be perceived that, even though they were influenced by the canonical tradition in terms of theme, they were, in contrast, influenced by the standard female tradition in terms of style. Thus, they valued aspects of the two traditions.

The same happened in poems that prioritized spirituality as a theme. "God our Father", by Caroline Gilman, and "Prayer for the absent", by Amanda Maria Edmond, versed about the interactions between God and people. Thematically, they valued God, death and, in a minor way, nature, aspects of Transcendentalism. Emerson's (1841) concept of self-reliance, another characteristic of this movement, was present. The prioritized style, again, was not of the canonical tradition, but of the general female tradition: the genteel lyrics. Thus, once more, themes were taken from one tradition and styles from the other.

A later phenomenon was observed in this recovered literature: the necessity of women marking feminine traits in their literature. This was called, in this paper, feminine literature. In the two analyzed poems in this part, – "The lily-of-the-valley", by Dora Burnside, and "My rose", by Harriet Prescott – nature, a theme of the canonical tradition, was still used. However, it was represented very differently from the previous analyzed women's poems. The glorification of it was not the focus anymore. They restricted nature to flowers and used them merely as an object to verse about. Stylistically, they continued using genteel lyrics, originally a form of the 1830s, which proved to be a success in women's literature of women's almanacs, since they were still expressively valued in the 1870s, many years later.

In conclusion, aside from the recovery work done in here, it was possible to delineate an initial female tradition of women's almanac literature in the following format: both traditions, the canonical and the standard female, influenced the writers studied here.

The canonical, male, tradition influenced them in terms of theme. In this aspect, poets derived their inspirations from what was accepted in Romanticism and Transcendentalism.

They versed about nature in varied forms. In the later years, nature became restricted to flowers, and poets started to emphasize feminine marks in their art.

In contrast, in terms of style, they were influenced by the conventional poetry of genteel lyrics, a form valued by women writers within the standard female tradition of women's literature, developed by Showalter (2010). The way they employed form followed fixed and regular conventions. Moreover, they were experts in the creation of musicality with their rhymes and the ways they used language.

Despite coming to an end, due to time restrictions, this research may be continued. Since the recovered material is rich, it may serve for other types of research. Furthermore, aside from poetry, there were other genres present in these almanacs. Their analyses would be very valid for complementing the ones that were done in here. Moreover, the subsidiary contribution of this work – of tracing a female tradition of literature in women's almanacs – is just in its start. Many other almanacs aimed to this gender were published in the nineteenth century and are available online. Therefore, studies in a tradition of literature present in this specific almanac genre may be extended. Since only two almanacs could be consulted in this study, the delineations here may be complemented or revised.

Finally, this paper proved how fruitful the research focused on the recovery of forgotten women writers might be, indicating new perspectives to studies based on press, gender and literature.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A – BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF THE WRITERS OF *THE LADY'S ANNUAL REGISTER* (1838-1840) AND *THE LADY'S ALMANAC* (EDITIONS OF 1854, 1856, 1866, 1871, 1872 AND 1875)

Authorship, as it appears in the almanacs	Full name	Biography
Caroline Gilman	Caroline Howard Gilman	There is no doubt that Caroline Gilman is the author with most texts reproduced in the first three editions of *The Lady's Annual Register*. Born in Boston – Massachusetts in 1794, Caroline Howard Gilman has had an extensive literary production, which includes "[…] a large collection of personal letters, poems, novels, and essays that span a 70-year period". (RUMENIK, 2003). Even though she was not educated in the best format, Rumenik (2003) emphasizes that Gilman often visited the library of her neighbor and, then, decided to study independently. Her debut occurred with the poem "Jephthah's rash vow", in 1810, which was followed by "Jairus' daughter", published in the *North American Review*. (FORREST, 1860). Rumenik (2003) considers that her career as a professional writer began with the publication of *The Rose Bud*, in 1832, a periodical for children, later renamed *The Southern Rose*, which added literary reviews and short stories targeted to adults. It contained the writings of renowned people such as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Thomas Paine and Ralph Waldo Emerson, but stopped circulating by 1839 because of the death of Gilman's son. After *The Southern Rose* had its publication stopped, she rarely wrote. (RUMENIK, 2003). Her most well-known works are, according to Read (1849), *Recollections of a housekeeper* (1834) and *Recollections of a southern matron* (1838). She was a popular writer during her lifetime, since she appeared in the three most prominent collections of works by American women poets of the mid-nineteenth century – as considered by Taylor (2001) –, Griswold's *Female poets of America*, Read's *Female poets of America* and May's *American female poets*, as well as in three other similar compilations of this period, Hale's *The Ladies' Wreath*, Hart's *The female prose writers of America* and Forrest's *Women of the south distinguished in literature*. She passed away in 1888. (RUMENIK, 2003).

Mrs. Sarah J. Hale	Sarah Josepha Buell Hale	Hale was Born in Newport – New Hampshire, in 1788. Despite passing her early years in a time when, in Newport, "[…] formal education was sketchy at best for boys and nonexistent for girls […]" (ROGERS, 1985, p. 12), she was well educated by her mother at home. (ROGERS, 1985). Hale had read *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, by Anne Radcliffe, when she was seven, and *The history of the American Revolution*, by David Ramsey, when she was ten; at the age of 12, she had read Milton, Addison, Pope, Johnson, Cowper, Burns and Shakespeare. (ROGERS, 1985). Later, she married David Hale, with whom she had five children, the last one being born in the year her husband passed away, 1822, due to a pneumonia. (PARKER, 2009). She was, then, a thirty-four-year-old widow with five children and had no income. (PARKER, 2009). Aided by David's masonic friends and her sister Sarah, she was able to control the situation. (PARKER, 2009). Her debut occurred with the small verse book *The genius of oblivion and other original poems*, by "a lady of New Hampshire", financially supported by the masonic friends, however, it did not grant her much recognition. (ROGERS, 1985). Then, she started writing the novel *Northwood*, and submitted her texts to periodicals, which were frequently accepted. *Northwood* came out in 1827 and it was a success. It earned her an invitation to become the editor of *The Lady's Magazine*. (ROGERS, 1985). *The Lady's Magazine* was one of the first American magazine dedicated to women and it was an immediate success. Hale is, in addition, famous for suggesting the creation of the American holiday of Thanksgiving. She was a popular writer during her lifetime, as she was considered in the compilations about women writers of Griswold, May, Read, Hart and even her own. She passed away peacefully at the age of 90, in 1879. (ROGERS, 1985).
Mrs. Wells	(?)	Perhaps Mrs. Wells is, in fact, the writer that will appear after her in *The Lady's Annual Register*, Anna Maria Wells. In this paper, they are not considered the same person, because it was common for periodicals to present a first contribution with the author's full name and, in the subsequent contributions, abbreviate their names, but not the contrary, which is what has happened here.
Anna Maria Wells	Anna Maria Wells	Wells was born in Gloucester – Massachusetts, in 1794. (MAY, 1848). Her father passed away when she was young and, therefore, her mother married

		Joseph Locke, which makes her half-sister of the famous nineteenth century poet Frances Osgood. (ROLLER, 1933). Given this occurrence, Wells moved to Boston, where she was educated. (HALE, 1839). Aside from literature, she demonstrated talent for drawing and music. (MAY, 1848). Even though she started writing at a very young age, her literature was not published until she got married in 1829. (GRISWOLD, 1852). Her official debut came in 1830, with *Poems and juvenile sketches*, published by Carter, Hendee and Babcock, in Boston. Griswold (1852) and Roller (1933) correctly presented this date, which was mistaken by Hale (1839), Read (1849) and May (1848), who informed that the book was actually published in 1831. She was a collaborator of many periodicals, one of them being *The Southern Rose*, by Caroline Gilman. (HALE, 1839). Despite being mentioned in the three main compilations of women poets of the nineteenth century – Griswold (1852), May (1848) and Read (1849) –, her lack of recognition is remarked by Griswold (1852, p. 63), who claimed that "while therefore her successes have not been brilliant, they have been honorable, and she has to regret no failures". Even though many websites claim that she passed away in 1868, this information is not mentioned by Roller (1933).
Mary E. Lee; M. E. L.	Mary Elizabeth Lee	A writer of the south of the United States, Lee was born in Charleston – South Carolina, in 1813. (FORREST, 1860). She started her education at the age of 10 and soon demonstrated interest in books and languages. (FORREST, 1860). She became a collaborator of *The Rose Bud*, by Caroline Gilman, when she was 20. (BRADSHAW, 1900). Her literature got recognized soon and, thus, her contributions reached various periodicals, such as the *Graham's Magazine*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Southern Literary Messenger* (BRADSHAW, 1900), *New Orleans Miscellany*, *Philadelphia Courier*, *Token*, *Gem*, *Gift*, *Mr. Whitaker's Journal*, *Southern Literary Messenger*, *Orion Magazine*. (HART, 1855). Her official debut occurred with *Social evenings, or historical tales of the youth* (1840), by the Massachusetts School Library Association (FORREST, 1886), which was prized by the Massachusetts Board of Education. (BRADSHAW, 1900). She also translated many writings from German. (FORREST, 1886). She passed away when she was 36, in 1849. (FORREST,

		1886). Still, she is celebrated in the compilations and studies of Forrest, Griswold, May, Read, Hart.
Jane Fredland	(?)	No information could be found about this writer. Her only contribution present in *The Lady's Annual Register* is a letter, similar to a chronicle in its writing style. Perhaps she was not even a professional writer and just sent this to Gilman.
Mrs. Ellet	Possibly Elizabeth Fries Lummis Ellet, since Hart (1855), in his work, inserted a portrait with the subtitle Mrs. Ellet for her. Furthermore, he affirms that "[…] she has contributed largely, both in prose and verse, to many leading periodicals" (HART, 1855, p. 177), fact that reaffirms that this pen name may belong to her.	Ellet was born in Sodus – New York, in 1818. She was a very popular writer and historian during her lifetime, as she appears in the works of Griswold (1852), Hale (1839), Hart (1855), May (1848), Read (1849). She started her literary career by collaborating with periodicals in 1833, like the *American Lady's Magazine*. (HALE, 1839). Her first work was a translation of *Euphemio of Messina*, by Silvio Pellico, in 1834. (PHILLIPS, 1988). Her second book, *Poems, translated and original* (1835) contained the tragedy "Teresa Contarini", which was performed in New York and other cities. (MAY, 1848). A collaborator of the *American Quarterly Review*, her critical thoughts in this periodical included, as stated by Griswold (1852), considerations about the Italian tragedy, the Italian lyric poets, Lamartine's poems and many other topics. She even wrote works about Schiller and Joanna of Sicily. (HART, 1855). Considered by May (1848) a superior linguist, she demonstrated knowledge in translation and in Italian, French and German literatures. Her greatest work might have been *The women of the American Revolution*, a book of three volumes (1848-1850). Despite her triumphs, nowadays, she might be better known for her scandals with the writers and critics Edgar Allan Poe and Rufus Wilmot Griswold. Poe and the poet Frances Osgood, both married at the period, started to flirt with each other through poetry in the *Broadway Journal*. (MOSS, 1963). One day, Ellet also had a flirtatious poem to Poe published in this same periodical, although it was not responded by him. (MOSS, 1963). Ellet, jealous, started to calumniate Osgood, implying that her relationship with Poe was far from merely literary. (MOSS, 1963). When the calumnies reached Osgood's husband, he demanded an apology from Ellet; otherwise, he would sue her for libel. (MOSS, 1963). Ellet, then, apologized to Osgood through a letter, blaming Poe entirely. (MOSS, 1963). After such situations, Osgood ceased her participation in the *Broadway Journal*. (MOSS, 1963). The other scandal, involving Griswold, happened due to Ellet

		not recognizing the help she had received from him to gather information for her work *The women of the American Revolution*. Griswold, bitter, wrote, in Ellet's biography in *The female poets of America*: "[…] with the assistance of a few gentlemen more familiar than herself with our public and domestic experience, she has made a valuable and interesting work". (GRISWOLD, 1852, p. 199). She passed away in 1877, aged 58. (PHILLIPS, 1988).
The Lady's Almanac		
A. M. Edmond; A. M. E.	Amanda Maria Edmond	Edmond had the greatest number of texts conveyed in the first editions of *The Lady's Almanac*. This may be explained by the fact that she was actually its editor in the first years, as revealed many years later by Candage (1909) in her biography, even though she – and/or the publishers – tried to omit it. Edmond was born in Brookline – Massachusetts, in 1824. (CANDAGE, 1909). Candage (1909) considers her a very religious person, and informs that she joined the Baptist Church at the age of 14. Her first work might have been *Willie Grant, or the little Pharisee* (1844), by A. M. C. (Amanda Maria Corey, maiden name), as it is stated in the catalog of Library of the Congress.[46] In the following year, 1854, her poetry was first published as *The broken vow and other poems*. May (1848) affirms that they were written during her transition from adolescence to adulthood, aged 14 to 18. Despite the author's lack of recognition – as she is, among the nineteenth century women poets compilations, only present in May's –, the writer and critic Edgar Allan Poe reviewed *The broken vow and other poems* in the *Broadway Journal*. Poe emphasizes her omission in the literary field: "The name – Amanda M. Edmond – is quite unknown to us: although if we may judge from the number of poems contained in this volume (110) the fair poetess must have been for several years before the public. Perhaps, however, she may have employed a *nom-de-plume*, or written anonymously. We do not remember having before seen any poem of the collection". (POE; WATSON, 1965, p. 210). Even though the critic was not very amazed by her work – "They [the poems] are by no means impressive" (POE; WATSON, 1965, p. 210) –, he considered her English, versification and imagery respectable. (POE; WATSON, 1965). Furthermore, having a place in his criticism column was still an achievement. Her official debut was

[46] Available at: https://lccn.loc.gov/2016660025. Accessed in 23 May 2020.

		followed by many books: *Vase of flowers* (1846), *Ralph Mobrey, or the child of many prayers* (1847), *Forget me not* (1854), and a *Memoir of Sarah D. Comstock* (1854), which can be found in the catalog of the Library of the Congress.[47] She passed away in 1862, aged 38. (CANDAGE, 1909). Her posthumous work *Religious and other poems* (1872) also contained a letter by Harriet F. Woods, who was revealed to be her friend and schoolmate, and who could possibly be her fellow collaborator of *The Lady's Almanac*.
H. F. Gould	Hannah Flagg Gould (probably)	Hannah Flagg Gould was born in Lancaster – Massachusetts, in 1789. (APPLEBY; CHANG; GOODWIN, 2015). When she was a child, she moved to Newburyport. (GRISWOLD, 1852). She never got married, and lived with her father – Benjamin Gould, a soldier of the American Revolution – until his death, who she took care of. (APPLEBY; CHANG; GOODWIN, 2015). Appleby, Chang and Goodwin (2015, p. 112) reveal that "[…] she did not begin to write until she was in her thirties". She started, then, sending her contributions to periodicals. (GRISWOLD, 1852). In 1832, her first work, a recollection of poetry entitled *Poems*, came out, which was republished in 1833, 1835 and 1836. (APPLEBY; CHANG; GOODWIN, 2015). Other works under her authorship include, as stated by Appleby, Chang and Goodwin (2015): *A gift for the young* (1843), *The mother's dream and other poems* (1853) and *Poems for the little ones* (1863). She can be found in the nineteenth century collections of women writers of Griswold (1852), Hale (1839) and Read (1849). She was extremely celebrated in these books. Griswold (1852, p. 45) affirms that "Miss Gould's poems are short, but they are frequently nearly perfect in any kind". Furthermore, Hale (1839, p. 278) states that "truly such a genius is a blessing to the world". Finally, "her writings, while they are devoid of imagination and passion, possess more delicacy of sentiment and playfulness of fancy than any other of the female poets, with the exception of Mrs. [Frances] Osgood's", Read (1849, p. 35) declares. She passed away in 1865. (APPLEBY; CHANG; GOODWIN, 2015).
Fanny Fern	Sara Payson Willis Parton	The most prominent woman writer of this list is Fanny Fern, perhaps. According to White (1988, p. 581), her pen name, Fanny Fern, "[…] was inspired

[47] Available at https://catalog.loc.gov/ when searching for "Amanda Edmond".

		by happy childhood memories of her mother picking sweet fern leaves". She was born in Portland – Maine, in 1811. (WARREN, 2018). Her family moved to Boston when she was young, and she attended a seminary in Hartford, Connecticut. (WARREN, 2018). Warren (2018) informs that, during a period of her life, Fern lost her mother, one of her daughters and her husband. Thus, she tried to earn her living by working with sewing and teaching, but could not succeed in these jobs. (WARREN, 2018). Therefore, she started collaborating with Boston periodicals, and became popular. (WHITE, 1988). Her following works, *Fern leaves from Fanny's portfolio* (1853) – a recollection of her periodical writings, which had another volume in the next year – and *Little fern's for Fanny's little friends* (1854) – children's literature –¸ sold 180.000 copies in the United States and England, making her successful. (WHITE, 1988). Her most famous book may be *Ruth Hall* (1855), a *roman à clef*. It was followed by many works, as summarized by White (1988): *Rose Clark* (1856), *Fresh leaves* (1857), *Play-day book* (1857), *Folly as it flies* (1859), *A new story book for children* (1865), *Ginger-snaps* (1870), *Caper-sauce* (1872), *Fanny Fern*: a memorial volume (1873) [posthumous]. She was the most highly paid columnist of her time, who received, in 1855, 100 dollars for writing a column for *The New York Ledger*. She is mentioned in Hart's *The female prose writers of America*, who affirmed, among many compliments: "In examining Fanny Fern's writings, even the earliest of them, one is struck with the evidence they exhibit that the writer understands her own powers perfectly; or rather, that she knows positively that she can do certain things better than they have ever been done before". (HART, 1855, p. 471). She passed away in 1872, aged 61. (WHITE, 1988).
Harriet Woods	Harriet F. Woods (?)	Perhaps this writer is, in fact, Harriet F. Woods, friend of the former editor of *The Lady's Almanac*, Amanda M. Edmond. Her middle name, contracted through the letter "F", could not be identified. In the posthumous work of Amanda M. Edmond, a letter of her authorship, celebrating the life of her deceased friend, was inserted. It was written in the 1st of June 1862, in Brookline. Some relevant information was included in it. First, the section in which Woods writes: "Since I was six years old I have known her, in school and at home, in sickness

		and in health, in prosperity and adversity, and I never saw her temper ruffled. She has been the first to die, of a class of us Sunday-school scholars, who were baptized together upwards of twenty years ago". (WOODS, 1872, p. 252). According to the letter, they were baptized together c. 20 years ago. Candage (1909) informs that Edmond joined the Baptist Church when she was 14, therefore, in 1838. Thus, they have been related since then. Woods might have been born in Brookline, or moved to the city at a very young age, given the following facts: she had known Edmond since she was six; her letter about Edmond was written, as it was signed, in Brookline, 1st of June, 1862; she wrote *Historical sketches of Brookline, Mass.* (1874), and, in the end of its preface, she signed "Cypress st., Brookline, April, 1874". (WOODS, 1872, p. iv). Thus, she lived in Brookline through the years c. 1838, 1862 and 1874. According to the WorldCat database, the following books are published under her authorship: *Historical sketches of Brookline, Mass.* (1872), published by Robert S. Davis, in Boston; *The blue-book stories* (1870 or 1871), published by the American Tract Society, in Boston. This last book was part of children's literature.[48] The date she passed away could not be found.
Caroline A. Mason	Caroline Atherton Briggs Mason	Caroline A. Mason is clearly Caroline Atherton Briggs Mason, given that, aside from the name similarity, Mason's contribution to *The Lady's Almanac* was taken from *The Independent*, of which, Hanaford (1883) reveals, she was a collaborator. Mason was born in Marblehead – Massachusetts, in 1823. (PERLEY, 1889). The youngest of seven sisters, she was educated at the Bradford Academy. (AMES, 1891). She started her literary career with poetical contributions to the *Salem Register*, under the pen name Caro. (HANAFORD, 1883). Later, she became a collaborator of many periodicals: *National Era*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *The Congregationalist*, *The Liberal Christian*, *The Monthly Religious Magazine*, *The Independent*, *The Christian Union*, *The Century Magazine*, *Commonwealth*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *Lippincott' Magazine*, *St. Nicholas Magazine*. (PERLEY, 1889). Her first work was *Utterance*: a collection of home poems (1852), which was followed by a small prose book, *Rose Hamilton* (date not mentioned), by the

[48] Available when searching for "Harriet F. Woods" in https://www.worldcat.org/. Accessed in: 23 May 2020.

		Massachusetts Sunday-School Society. (PERLEY, 1889). A collection of poems was published, as a posthumous work, under the title *The lost ring and other poems* (1891). Even though she is not present in Griswold's (1852) May's (1848) and Read's (1849) works about women's poetry, she is present in Hanaford's *Daughters of America* (1883), in the chapter "Women poets". She passed away in 1890, aged 66. (AMES, 1891).
H. P. Spofford	Harriet Elizabeth Prescott Spofford (probably)	Spofford was born in Calais – Maine, in 1835. (HOLLOWAY, 1889). Due to her father's disabilities, she moved to Newburyport, Massachusetts, at an early age, where she went to the Putnam School. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). She moved, then, to Derry, New Hampshire, and was educated at the Pinkerton Academy, of which she graduated in 1852. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). During this period, both of her parents were invalids; therefore, she started writing and contributing to Boston periodicals to aid her family. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). According to Holloway (1889, p. 33-34), "[…] it required almost incessant work to procure sufficient funds to meet the most necessary expenses of herself and her family. She sometimes wrote for fifteen hours a day, and continued at approximately hard work for many years". Success came in 1859, when she had her story "In a cellar" published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. (HOLLOWAY, 1889). Then, she became a collaborator of many periodicals. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). Shinn (1988, p. 711-712) states that, aside from her first book, *Sir Rohan's ghost* (1859), she had many works published during her lifetime: *The Amber gods, and other stories* (1863), *Azarian* (1864); *New England legends* (1871); *The thief in the night* (1872); *Art decoration applied to furniture* (1878); *The servant girl question* (1881); *Hester Stanley at St. Marks* (1882); *The marquis of Carabas* (1882); *Poems* (1882); *Ballads about authors* (1887); *House and hearth* (1891); *A lost jewel* (1891); *A scarlet poppy, and other stories* (1894); *A master spirit* (1896); *In titan's garden, and other poems* (1897); *An inheritance* (1897); *Stepping-stones to happiness* (1897); *Hester Stanley's friends* (1898); *Priscilla's love-story* (1898); *The maid he married* (1899); *Old Madame, and other tragedies* (1900); *The children of the valley* (1901); *The great procession, and other verses for and about children* (1902); *That Betty* (1903); *Four days of God* (1905); *Old Washington*

		(1906); *The fairy changeling* (1911); *The making of a fortune* (1911); *The king's Easter* (1912); *A little book of friends* (1916); *The elder's people* (1920). In fact, Shinn (1988, p. 710) affirms that "from the 1860s until her death, S. was one of the most widely published of American authors". She passed away in 1921, aged 86. (SHINN, 1988).
Mary E. Atkinson	Mary Ellen Atkinson (possibly)	Little could be found about Mary Ellen Atkinson. Under her authorship, these books were published: *Ivy leaves*, Philadelphia – J. B. Lippincott & Co., in 1870, and *The architect of Cologne and other poems*, Boston – D. Lothrop & Co., in 1873. *Ivy Leaves* is a poetry book. Its poems considered themes of nature and spirituality. *The architect of Cologne and other poems* started with a long story in verse, "The architect of Cologne", which occurred in the year 1248. The other poems were also related to such themes. "A moonlit river", from *The Lady's Almanac*, is similar to "By the river", inserted in *Ivy leaves*. The first one has the following verses: "The river glided into sight,/ Forth from the tangled wildwood,/ As indistinct in the dusky night/ As the memories of my childhood". (ATKINSON, 1872, p. 50). The second one, similarly, considers: "Whence I may watch again the river's flow,/ The river, whose bright changeful course I know/ From spring to sea". (ATKINSON, 1870, p. 55). Thus, both considered nature – represented in the figure of the river –, and nostalgia – based on the words "memories" and "I know" –. Furthermore, the works and the contribution of *The Lady's Almanac* were published around the same years. Aside from the name similarities of Mary E. Atkinson and Mary Ellen Atkinson, these clues, especially the last one, may hint that they were the same person.
Dora Burnside	(?)	Aside from her contribution to *The Lady's Almanac*, nothing could be found about Dora Burnside.
Anna C. Brackett	Anna Callender Brackett	Brackett was born in Boston – Massachusetts, in 1836, being the oldest of five children. (KENDALL, 1915). She went to school in Boston, Somerville and attended the Abbot Academy. (KENDALL, 1915). Later, she attended the State Normal School at South Framingham – Massachusetts, of which she graduated in 1856, aged 20. (KENDALL, 1915). Then, she persuaded a career in Education. She was a teacher in East Brookfield (MA), an assistant in Cambridge (MA), an assistant principal in South Framingham (MA) and a vice-principal in Charleston (SC). (KENDALL, 1915). Given the American Civil War, she had to leave this last job.

		(KENDALL, 1915). Then, in Saint Louis, she became the first woman principal of a High School in the United States, where she embraced the fight for women's education. (KENDALL, 1915). In 1870, she established a private school in New York. (KENDALL, 1915). She retired in 1895, after forty years of teaching. (KENDALL, 1915). She translated Karl Rosenkranz's *Pedagogics as a system*. (ROGERS, 2005). Some works were published under her pen: *The education of American girls* (1874); *Poetry for home and school* (1876), aided by her friend Ida M. Eliot; *Women and higher education* (1893). (KENDALL, 1915). Kendall (1915) affirms that she was a collaborator of many periodicals for more than 25 five years, such as the *New England Journal of Education*, *American Journal of Education*, *Boston Transcript*, *Western School Journal*, *Evening Post*, *Countersign*, *Times*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Educational Weekly of Chicago*, *Springfield Republican*, *Tribune*, *Commonwealth*, *Academy*, *Commercial*, *Home Journal*, *Christian Union*, *New England Syndicate*, *Independent*, *Century*. It was possible to discover that she had her contributions conveyed in the *Scribner's Monthly*, as her poem from *The Lady's Almanac* was taken from there. Her literary career has not been much explored, as stated by Kendall (1915, p. 6), "it seems hardly to have been appreciated that Miss Brackett was a poet, yet she has left about 150 poems, many truly exquisite". She is present in Hanaford's *Daughters of America* (1883), in the chapter "Women educators", where it is stated that "Anna C. Brackett is among the educational forces in New York City, laboring in her private school and with voice and pen for the good cause". (HANAFORD, 1883, p. 518). She passed away in 1911, aged 85. (ROGERS, 2005).
Sallie A. Brock	Sarah Ann Brock Putnam	Putnam was born in Madison – Virginia, in 1831. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). Regarding her name variations, as stated by Willard and Livermore (1893, p. 591), "she is known in literature by her maiden name, Sallie A. Brock". During the American Civil War, she helped the Confederate army by nursing, knitting and rolling bandages. (DRIGGS, 2013). After the war ended, she decided to follow a literary career to earn money. (DRIGGS, 2013). Her first book, *Richmond during the war* (1867), was published in both London and New York. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). It was based on her own experiences as a woman during

		the War. (DRIGGS, 2013). It was followed by other works, such as *The southern amaranth* (1869), an edited recollection of southern poetry of the War period, and *Kenneth, my king* (1873), a novel set in the south and similar to *Jane Eyre*. (DRIGGS, 2013). She travelled to Europe in 1869, accompanied by the bishop Lynch of Charleston (SC), where she visited England, Paris, Switzerland, Austria, Germany and Italy. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). In Rome, she met the Pope Pious IX. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). Putnam and her husband went to Europe in 1893, where they visited "England, France, Italy, Egypt, Palestine and other portions of Syria, Turkey in Asia, Turkey in Europe, and Greece, returning through Italy, Switzerland, France and Belgium". (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893, p. 592). She collaborated with many periodicals, like *Frank Leslie's Lady's Journal*, *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine* and *Home Journal*. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). Even though she wrote two more novels and started a third one, none of them was published. (DRIGGS, 2013). She passed away in 1911. (DRIGGS, 2013).
Harriet McEwen Kimball	Harriet McEwen Kimball	Kimball was born in Portsmouth – New Hampshire, in 1834. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). She was educated by her mother and showed an early interest in literature. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). She was a very religious person and dedicated herself to philanthropy. (WILLARD; LIVERMORE, 1893). All of her works are available at the website Archive.[49] Her first work, *Hymns*, a poetry book, came in 1867. It was succeeded by *Swallow-flights* (1874) and *The blessed company of all faithful people* (1879). In 1887 came *All's well*, a small book of verses. In 1889, her complete poetry was reunited in *Poems*, which also contains her contribution to *The Lady's Almanac*, "The crickets". Actually, it was possible to discover that she had her texts conveyed in *The Cristian's Union*, since this poem was taken from there. Her books contained many pictures and were ostentatiously crafted. She is briefly mentioned in Hanaford's *Daughters of America* (1883). She passed away in 1917, aged 82, as it is stated in the pages of the 57th volume of the periodical *The Living Church*.[50]

[49] Available when searching for "Harriet McEwen Kimball" in http://archive.org. Accessed in: 27 May 2020.
[50] Available in: https://books.google.com.br/books?id=kw-Jap3BINQC&pg=PA651. Accessed in: 27 May 2020.

Mary B. Dodge	(?)	Aside from her contribution to *The Lady's Almanac*, nothing could be found about Mary B. Dodge.
Grace F. Coolidge	(?)	Aside from her contribution to *The Lady's Almanac*, nothing could be found about Grace F. Coolidge.
Constance Fenimore Woolson	Constance Fenimore Woolson	Woolson was born in Claremont – New Hampshire, in 1840. (ROWE, 1988). She was educated in Cleveland and New York. (ROWE, 1988). From 1861 to 1865, she contributed to the Union cause, during the American Civil War. (MOORE, 1963). After her father's death in 1869, the started collaborating with periodicals. (MOORE, 1963). Her first work, a children's literature book, *The old stone house*, came in 1872. (MOORE, 1963). A book of short stories, *Castle Nowhere* (1875), followed it. (MOORE, 1963). The following periods of her life consist of living in various countries in Europe. (MOORE, 1963). Moore (1963) affirms that she lived in Florence, Venice, Rome, London, Warwickshire, Cheltenham, Oxford, places in Switzerland and Germany, and even visited Egypt. Despite living abroad, her writings still appeared in periodicals, like the *Harper's Magazine*. (MOORE, 1963). Aside from the two books already mentioned, her bibliography include: *Rodman the keeper* (1880); *Anne* (1880, in the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*; 1882, book publication); *For the Major* (1883); *East Angels* (1885, *Harper's*; 1886, book form); *Jupiter lights* (1889, *Harper's* and then book publication); *Horace Chase* (1893, *Harper's*; 1894, book form); *The front yard and other Italian stories* [posthumous] (1895); *Dorothy and other Italian stories* [posthumous] (1896); *Mentone, Cairo, and Corfu* [posthumous] (1896). (MOORE, 1963). Rowe (1988, p. 860) concludes that "at the time of her death she had achieved a moderate degree of recognition as a writer; today her works are virtually unknown". She passed away in 1894, in Venice, aged 53. (ROWE, 1988).
Eliza S. Turner	Eliza Sproat Turner	Turner was born in Philadelphia – Pennsylvania, in 1826. (LYBRAND, 1903). She was a schoolteacher for many years. (LYBRAND, 1903). Moreover, she defended the cause of public schools; in the book *Quaint corners in Philadelphia* (1883), she contributed with a chapter about the topic. (LYBRAND, 1903). She fought for the equal suffrage, and was the correspondent secretary of the Pennsylvania Society of the Woman's Suffrage Movement, when it was formed in 1870. (LYBRAND, 1903). Her book *Out-of-door rhymes*

		came in 1872.[51] Despite that, Lybrand (1903) mentions that she collaborated with many magazines, journals and newspapers. In fact, most of her writing is sparse in these periodicals. Regarding this aspect, Lybrand (1903) affirms that: in the *Sartain's Magazine* (1849-1852), her early poems may be found; in *The National Era*, from 1850 to 1855, part of her prose can be seen; in *The Woman's Journal*, a woman's right periodical, a great part of her prose is also present, including her longest story published there, "Nobody to blame", a text of sixteen pages; and the poem "Granny and I" can be found in a *Graham's Magazine* of 1853. Her contribution to *The Lady's Almanac* was taken from her book. She passed away in 1903. (LYBRAND, 1903).

Source: made by the author.

[51] This first edition could be found in https://archive.org/details/outofdoorrhymes00turn. Accessed in: 27 May 2020.

APPENDIX B – WOMEN WRITERS' LITERARY TEXTS THAT WERE PUBLISHED IN *THE LADY'S ANNUAL REGISTER* (1838-1840) AND IN *THE LADY'S ALMANAC* (EDITIONS OF 1854, 1856, 1866, 1871, 1872 AND 1875)

Edition	Title	Authorship[52]	Genre	Main topics
***The Lady's Annual Register* (1838-1840)**				
1838	"The merchant's bride"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Journey of a woman
	"It snows"	Mrs. Sarah J. Hale	Poem	Nature
	"The betrothed"	Caroline Gilman	Play	Love
	"Disappointment"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature and feelings
	"The Earth is beautiful"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature
	"The household woman"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Women, household and spirituality
	"Song"	Mrs. Wells	Poem	Nature and New England
	"To a friend"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature
	"A lament, over a failing musical voice"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature and feelings
	"Gentleness"	Anna Maria Wells	Poem	Nature
	"God our Father"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature and spirituality
	"Hymn: temptation resisted"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature and spirituality
	"The sabbath"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature and spirituality
	"Summer clouds"	Mary E. Lee	Poem	Nature
	"Hymn: the sabbath"	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Spirituality
	"City clouds and	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature and spirituality

[52] As it appears in the almanacs.

	stars”			
	“Visiting in the city”	Jane Fredland	Chronicle	Visiting acquaintances’ houses
1839	“Spring flowers”	Mary E. Lee	Poem	Nature, feelings and spirituality
	“The maiden and the mariner”	Caroline Gilman	Poem	The relationship between a man and a woman
	“My closet”	Anna Maria Wells	Poem	The private space
	“To October”	Mary E. Lee	Poem	Nature and spiritual metaphors
	“The year’s last hour”	Mrs. Ellet[53]	Poem	Nature and the end of the year
1840	“The winter’s evening fire-side”	Mary E. Lee (from Charleston – S. C.)	Poem	Nature and family
	“The sabbath a delight”	M. E. L. (from Charleston – S. C.)[54]	Poem	Nature and spirituality
	“My garden”	Caroline Gilman	Poem	Nature, with some mentions to spirituality and feelings
	“My piazza”	Caroline Gilman	Poem	The private space, with mentions to nature and spirituality
The Lady’s Almanac **(editions of 1854, 1856, 1866, 1871, 1872 and 1875)**				
	“The New Year”	A. M. Edmond[55]	Poem	Nature
	“Snow in February”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“Invocation to spring”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“April”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature

[53] Probably Elizabeth Fries Lummis Ellet. According to Hart (1855), she used the pen name Mrs. Ellet

[54] Probably Mary E. Lee, given the initials and location, which also appeared in her previous contribution. Furthermore, Haynes (1882) confirms that she used this contraction as a pseudonym.

[55] Amanda Maria Edmond, one of the editors of *The Lady’s Almanac* during its existence.

1854	“May”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“June”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“The farmer”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	The farmer’s labour
	“The greenwood depths”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“The last sigh of summer”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“The falling leaves”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“November”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature
	“December”	A. M. Edmond	Poem	Nature and the end of the year
	“To young Virginia”	H. F. Gould[56]	Poem	Nature
1856	“Benevolence”	A. M. E.[57]	Poem	Inner feelings
	“Flowers in winter”	A. M. E.	Poem	Nature
	“Plea for the Washington Monument”	A. M. E.	Poem	Tribute to George Washington
	“Evening reflections”	A. M. E.	Poem	Spirituality, the world and God
	“Childhood”	A. M. E.	Poem	Children’s innocence in a metaphor related to sleeping and waking up in heaven (spirituality)
	“Child’s welcome to June”	A. M. E.	Poem	Nature and the afterlife (spirituality)
	“Moonlight upon the waters”	A. M. E.	Poem	Nature
	“The grapes and the stream”	A. M. E.	Poem	Nature with uses of metaphor for transcending
	“The Sabbath bell”	A. M. E.	Poem	Religion and the afterlife (spirituality)

[56] Probably Hannah Flagg Gould.
[57] Amanda Maria Edmond, contracted form.

	"The light ship"	A. M. E.	Poem	Nature and spirituality
	"Adoration of the wise men"	A. M. E.	Poem	Religion, related to Christmas
	"The province of woman"	Hannah More[58]	Poem	The ideal woman (with housekeeping inclinations)
	"Prayer for the absent"	A. M. E.	Poem	God's guidance and blessings
	"Two in heaven"	Fanny Fern	Short story	A mother's deceased children, with focus on spirituality and heaven
	"The sunlight of home"	A. M. E.	Poem	Nature, God and a wanderer
	"A tribute to the past"	A. M. E.	Poem	Dying and ascending to heaven (spirituality)
1866	"The departing snow"	Harriet Woods[59]	Poem	Nature
	"April"	Harriet Woods	Poem	Hard times
	"A child asleep"	Elizabeth Barrett Browning[60]	Poem	A toddler and nature
1871	"Floral day"	Caroline A. Mason[61]	Poem	Nature and death
	"The winter fire"	Mary Howitt[62]	Poem	Fire (nature)
1872	"My rose"	H. P. Spofford[63]	Poem	Nature
	"Truth"	E. B. Browning[64]	Poem	Religion
	"A moonlit river"	Mary E.	Poem	Nature

[58] British writer. It is interesting to notice that, unlike the other American women writers of the *Almanac* previously mentioned, her name is not written in a contracted form. In fact, since they are female contributions, texts by British women writers are considered in this table for the sake of recovery, but not in the analyses.
[59] Possibly Harriet F. Woods, a friend of Amanda M. Edmond. Since Edmond passed away in 1862 and Woods' contributions are from the edition of 1866, the editor might have saved the contribution for a later edition, if this is the case. This author might also have been Harriette Newell Woods Baker (1815-1893), writer of children's literature; however, given the different first name spelling, this is highly doubtful.
[60] British writer.
[61] Caroline Atherton Briggs Mason.
[62] British writer.
[63] Probably Harriet Elizabeth Prescott Spofford.
[64] Elizabeth Barrett Browning. British writer.

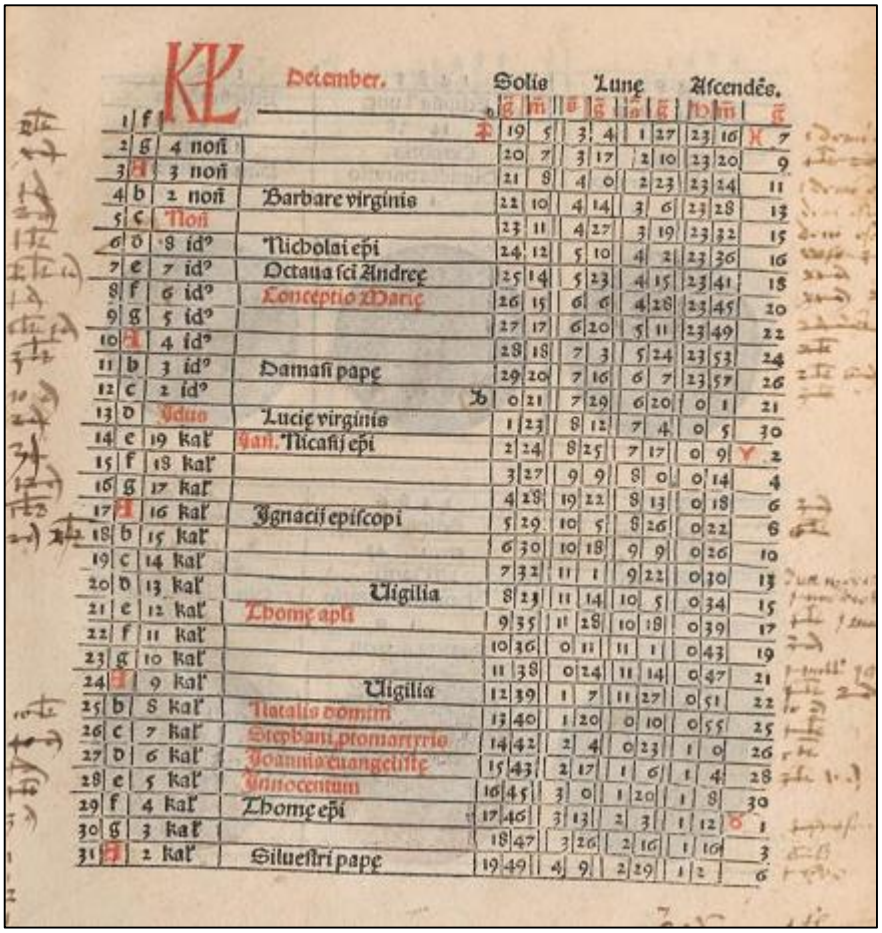
		Atkinson[65]		
1875	"The lily-of-the-valley"	Dora Burnside	Poem	Nature
	"Following footsteps"	Anna C. Brackett[66]	Poem	Nature
	"September"	Sallie A. Brock[67]	Poem	Nature and a matron
	"The crickets"	Harriet McEwen Kimball	Poem	Nature
	"Autumn voices"	Mary B. Dodge	Poem	Nature and the Autumn
	"A September afternoon"	Grace F. Coolidge	Poem	Nature
	"Memory"	Constance Fenimore Woolson[68]	Poem	Time and love
	"A dirge"	Christina Rossetti – British writer	Poem	Nature, living and dying
	"A housekeeper's tragedy"	Eliza S. Turner[69]	Poem	A housewife's work condition and regrets regarding the domestic life

Source: made by the author.

[65] Possibly Mary Ellen Atkinson.
[66] Probably Anna Callender Brackett.
[67] Probably Sarah A. Brock Putnam.
[68] James Fenimore Cooper's grandniece.
[69] Probably Eliza Sproat Turner.

ATTACHMENTS

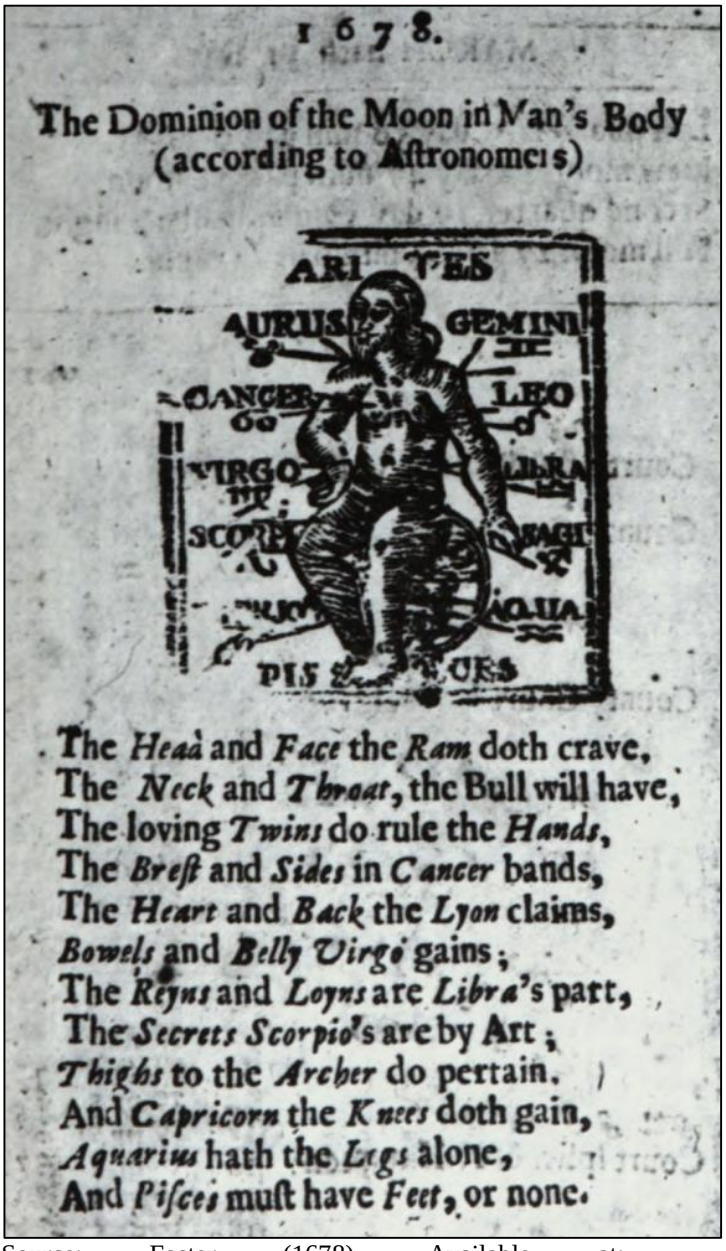
ATTACHMENT A – DECEMBER TIMETABLE OF THE *KALENDARIUM NOVUM* (1483)



				Solis			Lune			Ascendēs.		
			December.	♐	gr	m	♐	gr	m	♌	m	gr
1	f				19	5	3	4	1	27	23	16
2	g	4 noñ			20	7	3	17	2	10	23	20
3	A	3 noñ			21	8	4	0	2	23	23	24
4	b	2 noñ	Barbare virginis		22	10	4	14	3	6	23	28
5	c	Noñ			23	11	4	27	3	19	23	32
6	d	8 id⁹	Nicholai epi		24	12	5	10	4	2	23	36
7	e	7 id⁹	Octaua sci Andree		25	14	5	23	4	15	23	41
8	f	6 id⁹	Conceptio Marie		26	15	6	6	4	28	23	45
9	g	5 id⁹			27	17	6	20	5	11	23	49
10	A	4 id⁹			28	18	7	3	5	24	23	53
11	b	3 id⁹	Damasi pape		29	20	7	16	6	7	23	57
12	c	2 id⁹		♑	0	21	7	29	6	20	0	1
13	d	Idus	Lucie virginis		1	23	8	12	7	4	0	5
14	e	19 kal	Ian. Nicasij epi		2	24	8	25	7	17	0	9
15	f	18 kal			3	27	9	9	8	0	0	14
16	g	17 kal			4	28	19	22	8	13	0	18
17	A	16 kal	Ignacij episcopi		5	29	10	5	8	26	0	22
18	b	15 kal			6	30	10	18	9	9	0	26
19	c	14 kal			7	32	11	1	9	22	0	30
20	d	13 kal	Vigilia		8	23	11	14	10	5	0	34
21	e	12 kal	Thome apli		9	35	11	28	10	18	0	39
22	f	11 kal			10	36	0	11	11	1	0	43
23	g	10 kal			11	38	0	24	11	14	0	47
24	A	9 kal	Vigilia		12	39	1	7	11	27	0	51
25	b	8 kal	Natalis domini		13	40	1	20	0	10	0	55
26	c	7 kal	Stephani protomartyris		14	42	2	4	0	23	1	0
27	d	6 kal	Joannis euangeliste		15	43	2	17	1	6	1	4
28	e	5 kal	Innocentum		16	45	3	0	1	20	1	8
29	f	4 kal	Thome epi		17	46	3	13	2	3	1	12
30	g	3 kal			18	47	3	26	2	16	1	16
31	A	2 kal	Siluestri pape		19	49	4	9	2	29	1	2

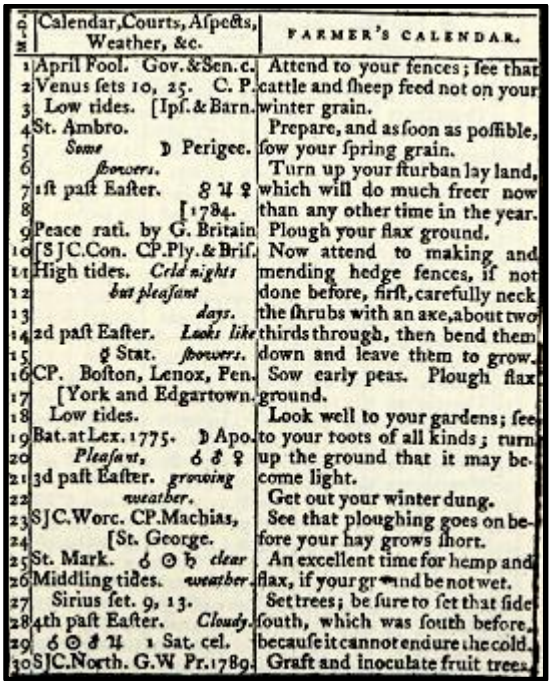
Source: Regiomontanus (1483). Available at: https://archive.org/details/OEXV762_2_P1/mode/2up. Access in: 30 Apr. 2020

ATTACHMENT B – THE FIRST MAN OF SIGNS INSERTED IN AN AMERICAN ALMANAC



Source: Foster (1678). Available at: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010586532. Accessed in: 1 May 2020.

ATTACHMENT C – THE APRIL "FARMER'S CALENDAR" OF *THE FARMER'S ALMANAC FOR 1793*



D.	Calendar, Courts, Aſpects, Weather, &c.	FARMER'S CALENDAR.
1	April Fool. Gov. & Sen. c.	Attend to your fences; ſee that
2	Venus ſets 10, 25. C. P.	cattle and ſheep feed not on your
3	Low tides. [Ipſ. & Barn.	winter grain.
4	St. Ambro.	Prepare, and as ſoon as poſſible,
5	*Some* ☽ Perigee.	ſow your ſpring grain.
6	*ſhowers.*	Turn up your ſturban lay land,
7	1ſt paſt Eaſter. ☿ ♃ ♀	which will do much freer now
8	[1784.	than any other time in the year.
9	Peace rati. by G. Britain	Plough your flax ground.
10	[S J C. Con. CP. Ply. & Briſ.	Now attend to making and
11	High tides. *Cold nights*	mending hedge fences, if not
12	*but pleaſant*	done before, firſt, carefully neck
13	*days.*	the ſhrubs with an axe, about two
14	2d paſt Eaſter. *Looks like*	thirds through, then bend them
15	☿ Stat. *ſhowers.*	down and leave them to grow.
16	CP. Boſton, Lenox, Pen.	Sow early peas. Plough flax
17	[York and Edgartown.	ground.
18	Low tides.	Look well to your gardens; ſee
19	Bat. at Lex. 1775. ☽ Apo.	to your roots of all kinds; turn
20	*Pleaſant,* ☌ ☍ ♀	up the ground that it may be-
21	3d paſt Eaſter. *growing*	come light.
22	*weather.*	Get out your winter dung.
23	S J C. Worc. CP. Machias,	See that ploughing goes on be-
24	[St. George.	fore your hay grows ſhort.
25	St. Mark. ☌ ☉ ♄ *clear*	An excellent time for hemp and
26	Middling tides. *weather.*	flax, if your ground be not wet.
27	Sirius ſet. 9, 13.	Set trees; be ſure to ſet that ſide
28	4th paſt Eaſter. *Cloudy.*	ſouth, which was ſouth before,
29	☌ ☉ ☍ ♃ 1 Sat. cel.	becauſe it cannot endure the cold.
30	S J C. North. G. W Pr. 1789.	Graft and inoculate fruit trees.

Source: Thomas (1792). Available at: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007286831. Accessed in: 23 Sep. 2019.

ATTACHMENT D – EXAMPLES OF VISUAL ASPECTS OF *THE LADY'S ALMANAC* AND *THE LADY'S ANNUAL REGISTER AND HOUSEWIFE'S MEMORANDUM-BOOK*

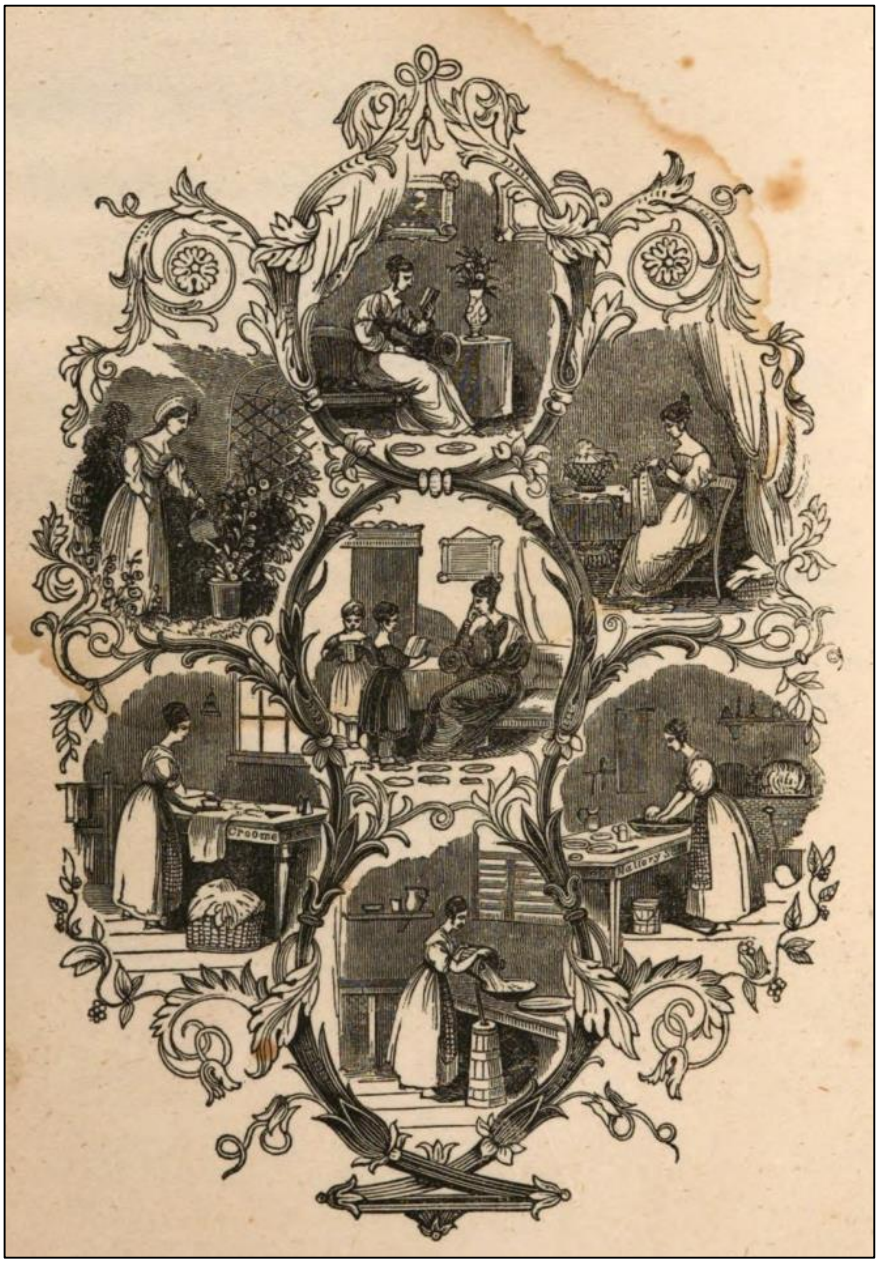
a) Illustration of *The Lady's Almanac for 1856*'s May calendar

Source: Damrell; Moore; Coolidge (1855). Available at: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005083598. Accessed in: 26 Sep. 2019.

b) Illustration of the poem "The feast of the months", by an unnamed author, included in the first pages of *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum-Book for 1838*

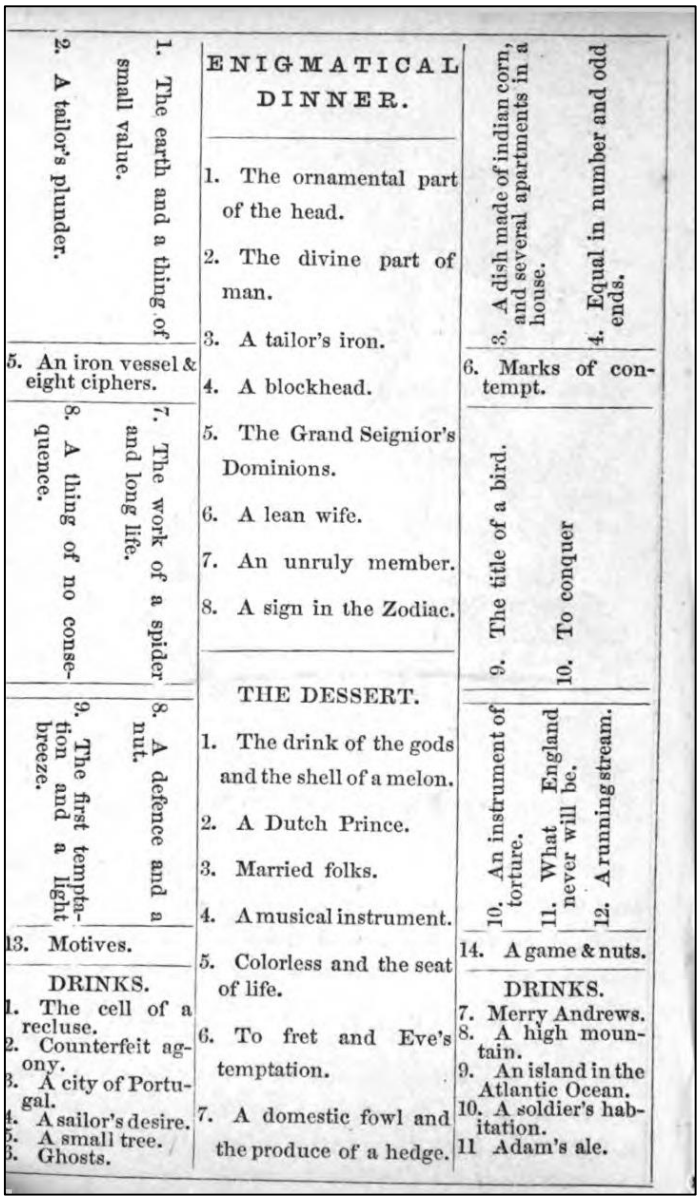
Source: Gilman (1837). Available at: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005777083. Accessed in: 26 Sep. 2019.

ATTACHMENT E – FRONTISPIECE OF *THE LADY'S ANNUAL REGISTER AND HOUSEWIFE'S MEMORANDUM-BOOK FOR 1838*



Source: Gilman (1837). Available at: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005777083. Accessed in: 26 Sep. 2019.

ATTACHMENT F – "ENIGMATICAL DINNER", A PUZZLE



ENIGMATICAL DINNER.

1. The ornamental part of the head.
2. The divine part of man.
3. A tailor's iron.
4. A blockhead.
5. The Grand Seignior's Dominions.
6. A lean wife.
7. An unruly member.
8. A sign in the Zodiac.

THE DESSERT.

1. The drink of the gods and the shell of a melon.
2. A Dutch Prince.
3. Married folks.
4. A musical instrument.
5. Colorless and the seat of life.
6. To fret and Eve's temptation.
7. A domestic fowl and the produce of a hedge.

1. The earth and a thing of small value.
2. A tailor's plunder.
3. A dish made of indian corn, and several apartments in a house.
4. Equal in number and odd ends.
5. An iron vessel & eight ciphers.
6. Marks of contempt.
7. The work of a spider and long life.
8. A thing of no consequence.
9. The title of a bird.
10. To conquer
8. A defence and a nut.
9. The first temptation and a light breeze.
10. An instrument of torture.
11. What England never will be.
12. A running stream.
13. Motives.
14. A game & nuts.

DRINKS.

1. The cell of a recluse.
2. Counterfeit agony.
3. A city of Portugal.
4. A sailor's desire.
5. A small tree.
6. Ghosts.

DRINKS.

7. Merry Andrews.
8. A high mountain.
9. An island in the Atlantic Ocean.
10. A soldier's habitation.
11 Adam's ale.

Source: Damrell; Moore; Coolidge (1853). Available at: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005777069. Accessed in: 20 May 2019.