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Trading in Death: Miscellaneity and Memory in the British Nineteenth-Century Press

In «Trading in Death» (1852), Charles Dickens attacked the outbreak of tawdry commercialism that accompanied the state funeral of the Duke of Wellington (figure 1). Published in his weekly periodical *Household Words* (1850-1859), the article condemned the funeral for reawakening the «general trading spirit» that had formerly degraded the solemnity of funeral customs.[1] In the past, a «system of barbarous show and expense» had been erected above the grave, associating «the most solemn of human occasions with unmeaning mummeries, dishonest debt, profuse waste, and bad example in an utter oblivion of responsibility.»[2] Wellington's funeral, which featured a grand procession that snaked from Horse Guards to St Paul's cathedral, threatened to resurrect such practices even as it supposedly honoured the Duke.[3] For Dickens, the state funeral had always been «a pernicious instance and encouragement of the demoralising practice of trading in Death», and its revival for Wellington – the funeral taking place two months after his decease – provided plenty of time to establish «this Public Fair and Great Undertakers Jubilee over his remains.»[4] To believe that the funeral, and all its attendant fuss, was the «general desire of the people» was founded on a «misconception of the popular character, and a low estimate of the general sense».[5] It was harder still to think the funeral «afforded a grain of satisfaction to the immediate descendants of the great Duke of Wellington, or that it can reflect the faintest ray of lustre on so bright a name.»[6] In its attack on the commercialisation of commemoration, «Trading in Death» expressed a broader anxiety about how best to remember.

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[1] Anonymous [Charles Dickens]: «Trading in Death». In: Household Words 6 (27 November 1852), 241-245, here p. 242.
[2] Ibid., p. 241.
[3] For the funeral see Harry Garlick: The Final Curtain: State Funerals and the Theatre of Power. Amsterdam 1999, pp. 99-130. For a contemporary account of the funeral, with all its lavish pomp, see Illustrated London News 21 (20 November 1852), pp. 425-456, and the shilling supplement published the following week, «Wellington Supplement to the *Illustrated London News*». In: Illustrated London News 21 (27 November 1852), pp. 473-488.
[4] Anonymous [Charles Dickens] (s. footnote 1), pp. 242-244.
[5] Ibid., p. 244.
[6] Ibid.

[Figure 1: «Trading in Death», *Household Words*, 6 (27 November 1852), pp. 241-245 (p. 241).]

Wellington's funeral took place on the 18 November 1852 but «Trading in Death» did not appear in *Household Words* until just over two weeks later. It was written, however, the night before the funeral and the narrator blamed the «mechanical exigencies of this journal» for having to submit it prior to the event.[7] As such, «Trading in Death» did not deal with the spectacle itself – the crowds that thronged the route; the progress of the car, drawn by twelve black horses, that carried the coffin; the ceremony in St Paul's – but how the occasion was being exploited in advance by the dubious purveyors of various goods and services. To provide evidence of such commercial exuberance, Dickens turned to the classified advertisements of the *Times* (1785-) for examples, breaking them into three categories – «seats and refreshments», autographs, and relics – and reprinting choice examples of each (figure 2). Despite the *Times's* reputation for political commentary, it was the classified advertisements that were the basis of its commercial success. At this period it carried between 1700 and 3000 advertisements a day, bringing in a rumoured £3-400,000 a year, far exceeding its revenue from sales alone.[8] In «Trading in Death», Dickens did not just quote the advertisements, but reproduced their characteristic typographic layout, distinguishing them from the rest of *Household Words* even though they were printed in the same typeface. The advertisements appeared in the *Times* for a limited period and in advance of a one-off event: bringing them into the pages of *Household Words* turned the weekly periodical into a newspaper archive, lifting ephemeral content from the newspaper press and lodging it somewhere likely to be better preserved instead.

[Figure 2: «Trading in Death», *Household Words*, 6 (27 November 1852), pp. 241-245 (p. 242).]

As the article only excerpted individual advertisements and not entire pages or issues, it had more in common with the book of clippings than the newspaper library. As such, it is situated in that continuum of practice that connects people excerpting articles for their scrapbooks to

[7] Ibid.
[8] For its advertising rates see «The ‹Times› Newspaper». In: Bow Bells 9 (9 September 1868), p. 150. For the estimate of its annual advertising yield see «British Journalism». In: London Quarterly Review 38 (1872), pp. 87-123, especially p. 121. At 3d a day and with an estimated circulation of 68,000 in 1868 its annual sales revenue, assuming every copy was sold at face value, would be £266,050.

subeditors resorting to scissors and paste to fill white space.[9] Nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals were serial media first – even if only a single issue was published it still existed in anticipation that there would be another – but they were also composite, embracing the modular logic of letterpress to incorporate a range of content. It is in this space between the library and the excerpt that I want to examine miscellaneity. On the one hand, the miscellaneity of newspapers and periodicals made them challenging archival objects. Unlike books, which were treated as if they were the work of one author and addressed a single subject, open-ended serials relied on the consistency of their address – whether expressed formally through typeface and layout or in the range and tone of their contents – to establish their coherence, both within the issue and, especially, over the run. On the other hand, the miscellaneity of newspapers and periodicals made them particularly valuable as archives. Comprised of different articles, these print genres recorded a greater diversity of content; because they were also serials, this diversity was anchored in one moment after another. Reading nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals today is to encounter the past as plural, represented variously within each issue and again with each issue that is read. Printing creates a record as it produces a copy and so puts into play two different ways of keeping the past present. Either copying is exploited to maintain currency, producing many impressions of the same thing or the same thing in different forms, or copies are gathered up and kept somewhere safe, out of the messiness of the world. «Trading in Death» is about commemoration but it also captures the way serial media are caught between these two modes of remembering. To keep content present, newspapers and periodicals reprinted articles from elsewhere, quoted from them extensively, or returned to a subject issue after issue. In the case of periodicals like *Household Words*, they could also reconstitute themselves as archival objects, providing matter that could turn them into books. Dickens was not worried that Wellington would be remembered wrongly in the future; rather, he wanted to preserve how Wellington was being commemorated wrongly in the present. The advertising columns of the *Times* offered a configuration of advertisements that anticipated the coming event, exploiting their miscellaneity to do so differently each day. Writing in a periodical that contained social commentary as well as literature, Dickens extracted the miscellaneous advertisements from the newspaper and lent them new coherence, both for readers reading week-by-week and those expected to read the bound volume to come. By

[9] For an account of this practice see Ellen Gruber Garvey: Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance. Oxford 2013.

maintaining the appearance of the advertisements, «Trading in Death» archived the daily present; by maintaining the appearance of the advertising column, it also archived the technology that helped that daily present pass.

To fructify in silence: newspapers, periodicals, and the ephemeral

Despite the subject matter of Henry Wheatley's *Prices of Books* (1898), Richard Garnett, then Keeper of printed books at British Museum, chose to use his introduction to reflect on the value of newspapers instead:

> Nothing grows in value like a newspaper; the sheets of to-day, which, perhaps, contain nothing of interest to any contemporary reader, will be priceless to the historian and antiquary of the centuries to come. They fructify in silence, and imperceptibly make their possessor rich. Their intellectual as well as their pecuniary value augments by lying still. Nothing so faithfully depicts an age for its successors; they are worth all the histories and all the novels. Their preservation – which involves their assemblage in one place for the sake of accessibility and of comparison with each other and with books – is a momentous trust, neglect of which would strike a heavy blow at historical, archæological, and sociological research, and inflict a grievous injury upon the ages to come.[10]

For Garnett, time converted the ephemeral into priceless historical record. Contemporary readers might have considered the newspaper as disposable, only reading those parts of interest to them and discarding it when done, but over time the newspaper would become newly valuable as its diverse contents allowed it to capture so much more of the transient detail that characterised the lived present. While novels and histories could document a period, their narrative frameworks necessarily turned the messy everyday into structured accounts, identifying key events and actors while tracing chains of cause and effect. The newspaper still structured its representation of the contemporary events, but its miscellaneity meant it was wider ranging and its limited temporal scope prevented the elaboration of longer narratives. Crucially, though, its seriality – whether dailiness, weekliness , or some other rhythm – meant that whatever was published was always provisional, at risk of being revised in other issues to come. It was because of this mode of recording time that Garnett thought the newspaper so valuable for the historian and antiquary. As an archive, the newspaper represented time as a series of regular, recurring parts, each issue a moment and one that looked, more or less, like any other. However, while the recurring structures of the newspaper

[10] Richard Garnett: «Editor's Introduction». In: Henry B. Wheatley: Prices of Books. London 1898, pp. i-ix, here p. ix.

provided a point of continuity from one moment to the next, its changing content, inscribed on every page, constituted a record of what was lost as the old made way for the new.
What Garnett registered was the way that the past, as recollected, failed to capture the rich texture of the moment as lived. Whereas other kinds of writing were necessarily selective, identifying what was to be recorded and how, the miscellaneity of open-ended serials like newspapers and periodicals ensured they were rich in the kinds of incidental details that were habitually forgotten. Recognising that the value of the newspaper, in particular, derived from its proximity to passing events, Garnett advocated preservation by benign neglect. However he was also a librarian and so knew the power of the archive. The appeal of old newspapers might have resided in the apparent rawness of their contents – the way their pages captured some of the present's disordered complexity – yet this, in itself, did not constitute the past and so further work had to be done if newspapers were to serve the historians and antiquaries of the future. Newspapers not only had to be preserved, argued Garnett, but gathered together so that they might be compared with one another and used alongside other material («books». Old newspapers might be from the past, but, because they could not bring it back, a new and better history needed to be written that used them as its source material. However, while such a history might more fully fill the void between now and then, it, like every narrative account, necessarily did so by overwriting the vestiges of the ephemeral everyday that connected newspapers to their moment of publication.
It is this promise to evoke the past as lived that gives printed ephemera their distinctive charm. Described by Maurice Rickards as the «minor transient documents of everyday life», ephemera are material designed to make things happen.[11] Encompassing everything from tickets to posters, leaflets to receipts, printed ephemera are difficult to define according to form or content. Instead, what unites them is function: they are designed to enable a social interaction and then be discarded. Usually, they are contrasted with the more monumental print genre of the book, whose unity and enclosure anticipates an archival life on the shelf. However, as Michael Harris has pointed out, this distinction is more conceptual than realised in practice.[12] Countless books prove themselves ephemeral, either disappearing without a trace or causing a sensation then forgotten. Equally, the book can be a useful form for certain types of ephemera such as directories or annuals. Ephemera are the material of social life,

[11] Maurice Rickards: Encyclopedia of Ephemera. New York 2000, p. v.
[12] Michael Harris: «Printed Ephemera». In: Michael F. Suarez, S.J. / H. R. Woudhuysen (Eds): The Oxford Companion to the Book. Oxford 2010, pp. 120-129, here p. 120.

part of that rich present it is necessary to forget. To be ephemeral is to be part of the now that makes way for that to come.

Ephemera might be intended to pass, but their potential to persist has long been recognised. As Susan Zieger has noted, the combination of cheap paper and steam-powered presses made possible the increase in range and number of printed ephemera in the nineteenth century.[13] In turn, this expansion sustained the print trade, providing jobbing work that kept printers busy in between orders for books or serials. The affordances of paper provided opportunities for pieces of ephemera to persist and the sheer number of copies increased their chances. Posters remained on the walls, for instance, even when pasted over, and leaflets could linger, tucked away in something more durable. Yet ephemera did not always have to survive despite themselves. While they were often foisted upon people as they went about their daily lives – thrust into hands, accumulating in pocketbooks, or simply as part of the fabric of urban life – they were not always considered a nuisance. Some types of ephemera were designed to be collectible – Zieger claims cigarette cards were the first to be so designed – whereas others were made as attractive as possible to tempt people to keep them, even if to reuse them as something else.[14] Ephemera might be intended to be forgotten but first they circulated, either passed from one person to another or pasted up on the walls. By designing them to be as attractive as possible, appealing both to people's acquisitive and aesthetic desires, the social life of ephemera could be extended by deferring their inevitable end.

It was the association of ephemera with the transient events of social life, however, that gave them the best chance of survival. Most forms of printed ephemera – from tickets and posters to issues of newspapers – were oriented to a particular moment and intended to pass with it. As such, they made excellent souvenirs. In Susan Stewart's terms, the souvenir serves as a trace of authentic experience, its partiality and distance from that experience creating necessary space for narrative. For Stewart, the souvenir «speaks to a context of origin through a language of longing, for it is not an object arising out of need or use value; it is an object arising out of the necessarily insatiable demands of nostalgia.»[15] Ephemera are particularly well-suited in this regard. If nostalgia is put into play by the unrecoverability of the moment in all its lived richness then the essential disposability of ephemera makes them at once supplementary to whatever is being remembered while also anchored in the moment that has

[13] Susan Zieger: The Mediated Mind: Affect, Ephemera, and Consumerism. New York 2018, p. 2.
[14] Ibid. For use and reuse, see Leah Price: How to do Things with Books in Victorian Britain. Oxford/Princeton 2012, especially chapter seven.
[15] Susan Stewart: On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection. Durham, NC/London 1993, p. 135.

been lost. Ephemera function both as metonyms for the moment, maintaining a link to it but standing insufficiently in its place, and a reminder of the forgotten material richness of all time passed. Again, the appeal of print ephemera as souvenirs has long been recognised and things like tickets and receipts were embellished to better serve such a purpose. But because ephemera are ephemeral there is always something of the souvenir about them, whether intended or not. The rush of feeling we experience when we find something that we have forgotten – the ticket tucked away in a book for instance, or a postcard at the bottom of a box – testifies to the power of the ephemeral to evoke the fullness of the moment, if never the moment itself. And we feel something similar whenever we find something ephemeral out of time. Designed to pass and so make space for narrative recall, ephemera remind us of everything that has to be forgetten.

The miscellaneity of newspapers and periodicals makes them particularly rich records of time passed. While there is nothing inherently documentary about miscellaneity – if anything, increasing randomness takes texts out of time – the composite nature of these print genres allowed them to include more of the moment. News was a valuable commodity and so large parts of newspapers and periodicals were dedicated to news and news-like items, whether formally identified as such or not. Such content also helped serials fill their pages: the easiest way to fill white space being to report on content-producing institutions such as the courts, celebrities, fashion, and sport. Not only did this make newspapers and periodicals even more timely, both establishing what constituted the present and helping it to pass, but also more miscellaneous, as this content tended to be in the form of short, fragmentary articles whose combination was justified by its contemporary relevance. Even the presence of advertisements registered the passage of time. Advertisements situated newspapers and periodicals firmly within the market, itself constantly in flux as well as a powerful reminder of how time was commodified. They also provided diversity: not only did the pressure to attract the reader's attention prompt advertisers to employ a variety of typefaces, as well as images of various kinds, but the way space was commodified also meant advertisements often varied in size, further breaking up the appearance of the page. Underpinned by a rhetoric of newness and nowness and changing in every issue, advertisements provided a powerful and repeated statement of contemporaneity that complemented the parts of the publication that explicitly referenced passing events.[16]

[16] For more on newspaper advertisements, particularly newspaper advertisements and the contemporary, see Catherine Waters: Commodity Culture in Dickens's Household Words: The Social Life of Goods. Aldershot 2008, chapter two, especially pp. 26f.

The actual ephemerality of newspapers and periodicals in the period depended on the type of publication and the behaviour of readers. Whereas nineteenth-century newspapers, for instance, gave little consideration as to how they might constitute an archive, they were not always discarded once read, and, even if they were, they were likely to first find other readers and other uses before they were eventually destroyed. Similarly, while periodicals continued to number themselves off in volumes in the expectation of being bound, not many were, the vast majority remaining unbound and so uncollected. Yet as open-ended serials, both newspapers and periodicals, then and now, encoded ephemerality in their form. As only the most recent issue had the currency of the present, passing was integral to progression. Different periodicities required different conceptions as to what constituted the present – daily, weekly, monthly, for instance – but what the latest issue always shared, regardless of the period it represented, was that it was the only one in the run for whom the future remained unwritten. While the words remained the same, on the appearance of the next issue the meaning of the represented moment changed. Whereas before it could only anticipate what was to come, the new issue now stood as an authoritative witness to whatever had come to pass, rewriting what was an anticipated future as a new embodied present. In turn, the issue now displaced joined its predecessors, its pages merely recording another present passed. For Zieger, thinking of printed ephemera as «facilitators of ephemerality» releases their «theoretical and political potential.»[17] Whether kept or not, nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals performed ephemerality through their serial rhythms, marking both periods of time and their passing.[18]

Making sense of the miscellaneous archive

Newspapers and periodicals provided a record of the ephemeral, while enacting ephemerality. This was widely recognized in the period, and serial media were often celebrated for the timeliness of their content even as concern was expressed for their survival. In a report published by a Commission appointed to investigate the British Museum in 1850, the Commissioners privileged the needs of future readers over those demanding immediate access to the latest issues. In the case of scientific periodicals, they recognised readers required the issues as soon as they were published but approved the Museum's policy of only

[17] Zieger (s. footnote 13), p. 3.
[18] See Margaret Beetham: «Time: Periodicals and the Time of the Now». In: Victorian Periodicals Review 48 (2015), pp. 323-342, especially p. 327.

making them available once bound in volume form. The same principle was applied to newspapers. Here objections were raised because the Museum only received its sets after they had been held at the Stamp Office for three years. The Commissioners, while acknowledging «early perusal» was even more pressing here than in the case of scientific periodicals, nonetheless approved the existing arrangements as they corresponded with «the main object of accumulating, in regular series, works whose value to the future political and historical student may be considered as progressing with years.»[19]

In his book, *The Theory of National and International Bibliography* (1896), Frank Campbell, an Assistant Keeper at the British Museum, made a similar argument for the longstanding value of this material. For Campbell, periodicals, which for him included newspapers, constituted «the chief medium of National Progress» and so «reflect the daily life and thought of a nation in a manner which other ‹Books› are incapable of.» As such, they deserved an accurate bibliography, «an exact Record of what the world is thinking about», the completion of which would not only «aid and hasten that progress for all time» but also «hand down a true Record of the same to the future Historian, and thus perform one of the chiefest duties entrusted to us as Librarians.»[20] There were valuable works contained within periodicals, lost amidst abundance, but accurate bibliography promised to preserve what the world was thinking about as well as what was thought.

Campbell recognised that the same features of newspapers and periodicals that allowed them to register the ephemeral also made them troublesome to preserve. This was not simply because they themselves were ephemeral – the British Museum, after all, had well-established channels via the Stamp Office and Copyright Act to guarantee their supply – but because these serial genres resisted the disciplinary structures designed to accommodate them within the collection.[21] The «development of Periodical Literature», he writes, «has been such to as to constitute a very considerable danger to the progress of knowledge»:

> for while, on the one hand, it has encouraged an excessive output of short and fragmentary articles, it has, on the other hand, attracted to itself a large number of very considerable works, which should naturally have been issued as *Separate* «Books»; and, having shorn them of their dignity *as* «Books», has issued them to the world in the humble guise of «Articles», so buried amid other «Collected Works» as to be comparatively useless for reference.[22]

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[19] Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum; with Minutes of Evidence. London 1850, p. 27.

[20] Frank Campbell: The Theory of National and International Bibliography. London 1896, p 105. For Campbell see Gordon Spinney: «Frank Campbell 1863-1905». In: Government Publications Review 4 (1977), pp. 21-29.

[21] That's not to say they always functioned effectively. For further details, see P. R. Harris: A History of the British Museum Library, 1753-1973. London 1998.

[22] Campbell (s. footnote 23), p. 91.

The miscellaneity of periodicals meant they contained all sorts of content, from the short and fragmentary to the more substantial works that Campbell characterised as «books». His solution was to treat them as such: periodicals were to be catalogued alongside other works, but so too were their contents. As «it is evident that the predominant feature of Periodical Literature is the introduction of confusion by the issuing of Separate works in a collected form» with the «consequent burial of a large mass of literature», Campbell's bibliographic scheme reclassified each periodical as containing a series of discrete publications.[23]
Archival institutions were oriented towards discrete, well-defined, coherent objects; newspapers and periodicals, however, were both issued in parts and made of them too. Existing practice at the British Museum was to record each newspaper and periodical as a single publication and assign it a place in the catalogue. As it was an author catalogue, however, these publications were grouped together and entered under a single heading. Antonio Panizzi's famous «91 Rules» instructed librarians to catalogue periodicals issued by learned societies under «Academies», first by country, then by the town or city in which the society met, and finally alphabetically by the name of the society.[24] Other periodicals were gathered under «Periodical Publications», again first by place of publication, but then alphabetically by title. With the expansion of the periodical press over the course of the period the latter of these headings, «Periodical Publications», soon became one of the largest in the catalogue; only «England», another non-author heading, contained more entries.[25] As for newspapers, they did not feature in the catalogue at all. Newspapers were shelved outside the main collection, and, until the appearance of a supplement to the printed catalogue in 1905, were accessible only through a combination of manuscript lists in the reading room.[26]
The British Museum catalogue dealt with the unruliness of serials by conceiving of each publication as a linear run that could be designated a single title.[27] The actual genealogy of newspapers and periodicals was much more complicated as publications appeared and disappeared, merged with one another and split into separate publications, and printed all kinds of supplements, some of which became serial publications in their own right. A degree

[23] Ibid. p, 97.
[24] The rules were published as the preface to the aborted 1841 printed catalogue. See «Rules for the Compilation of the Catalogue». In: Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum, vol. 1. London 1841, pp v-ix.
[25] A.H. Chapin: GK: 150 Years of the General Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum. Aldershot 1987, p. 64.
[26] See Harris (s. footnote 24), pp. 327f.
[27] See Mark W. Turner: «The Unruliness of Serials in the Nineteenth Century (and in the Digital Age)». In: Rob Allen / Thijs van den Berg (Eds): Serialization in Popular Culture. London 2014, pp. 11-32.

of this complexity was captured by the changes of title during a publication's run as it acknowledged the publications it absorbed or adjusted the title to reposition itself in the market. While the titles listed in the catalogue were usually those by which publications were commonly known, they were, nonetheless, a kind of fiction that took the publications out of time so they could be assigned a place in an abstract system of bibliographical order.

Campbell's scheme required a much more granular bibliographical system, requiring not just publications to be listed but their contents too. Periodicals already foregrounded the relevant features for such a scheme through the way they presented themselves for binding. To assert the unity of the publication, for instance, it was commonplace for volume titlepages to give a simplified version of the title, subordinating what it was actually called in the present to the broader and ongoing title by which it was more commonly known. As for their contents, while it was possible to read the volume from front to back, encountering articles in the order (and the issues) in which they were published, the volume index allowed readers to jump straight to an article regardless of where it appeared. The continuous pagination sequence, running on from issue to issue to the end of the volume, was a reminder that every article belonged not just to an issue but to a larger whole. While it indicated content to be kept – advertising wrappers and other paratextual material tended to be paginated separately, usually with roman numerals – it also anticipated a mode of reading that disarticulated articles from the issue in which they were published and recast them, instead, within the abstract space of the volume.

Indexes transformed volumes into archives that could themselves be readily located in wider archival systems. The most common form of volume index in the period was a general subject index, with articles indexed under one or more indicative words from their titles.[28] Notoriously inaccurate, such indexes presupposed first that titles of articles were sufficiently descriptive to express their contents and second that this content could be expressed by one or more words. There were periodicals like the *English Woman's Journal* (1858-1864) and *Contemporary Review* (1866-1988) that opted instead for lists of contents. As these lists gave articles in the order in which they were printed, recapitulating in miniature the structure of the issue, they assumed that readers knew what they were looking for and were content to read through the list until they found it. There were also some like the *Fortnightly Review* (1865-1954) and *National Review* (1855-1864) that made a virtue of their policy of signature,

[28] For some of the different ways in which periodicals indexed their contents see James Mussell: «Index: Periodical Parts and the Bookish Afterlife». In: Victorian Review 43 (2018), pp. 204-207.

foregrounding their contributors by organising their contents in an alphabetical list by surname. While these lists did not allow readers to search by subject, they did at least break the link between article and issue, allowing readers to quickly find contributions by a particular author regardless of where in the volume it appeared.

By reducing articles to their titles, often in abbreviated form, indexes made the miscellaneity of periodicals more pronounced but put it to the service of the period represented by the volume. However, while each volume might have had an index, readers needed to know in which to look. One solution was the cumulative index, often produced by a publication to mark a significant anniversary or new series.[29] Another was the general index, which attempted to survey a number of different publications to allow cross-searching. The most famous of these was William Frederick Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* (1882), which, as the name suggests, conceived of the periodical press as a single archive to be indexed. The *Index*, a substantial single volume of just under 1500 pages, contained 230 thousand entries culled from 232 periodicals. Just as Campbell would propose to do a few years later, Poole exploited the way periodicals archived themselves to produce a set of coordinates through which articles could be located. Individual entries were organised by subject, designated by a key word in the article heading, with readers then referred to the periodical title, volume, and page.[30]

To make periodical titles and volume numbers sufficiently robust to serve as references required a considerable degree of intervention. Firstly, to save space, Poole abbreviated the titles. Although «proper names do not easily admit of abbreviation», Poole noted in his «Preface», the words «*Review*, *Magazine*, *Journal*, *Quarterly*» were sufficiently common as to be «indicated intelligibly by the letters *R.*, *M.*, *J.*, *Q.*».[31] Well-known periodicals like *Atlantic Monthly* (1857-), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817-1980), and *Cornhill Magazine* (1860-1975) were also abbreviated, appearing as «*Atlan.*», «*Blackw.*», and «*Cornh.*» respectively. As the titles of quarterly reviews like the *North American* (1815-1940), *Quarterly Review* (1809-1967), and *London Quarterly Review* (1853-1968) were, according to Poole, «in common parlance, abbreviated in similar manner», these appeared as

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[29] Ibid., p. 206. A list of indexes issued by periodicals for their own content can be found in «Preliminary List of English Indexes». In: Henry B. Wheatley (Ed.): What Is an Index?, 2nd Edition. London 1879, pp. 75-108, especially pp. 89-96.

[30] For more on Poole's *Index*, see James Mussell: «‹Night Work or Night Play›: Periodicals, Archives, and Poole's Index». In: Daniela Gretz / Marcus Krause / James Mussell / Nicolas Pethes: Media (B)Orders Between Periodicals and Books: Miscellaneity and Classification in Nineteenth-Century Magazines and Literature Hannover 2019 (= Pfennig-Magazin zur Journalliteratur, vol. 4), pp. 34-43.

[31] William Frederick Poole: «Preface». In: Index to Periodical Literature. Boston, 1882), pp. iii-xii, p. viii.

«*No. Am.*», «*Quar.*», and «*Lond. Q.*».[32] However, as it was not possible «to indicate the minor changes which have been made from time to time in the title of the same serial», the «title has been assumed by which the serial has been best known».[33] In most cases this was straightforward: the *American Whig Review* (1844-1852) appears under this title rather than that under which it was launched («*American Review*») and the *Dublin University Magazine* (1833-1880) appears as such even though the journal had dropped the «*Dublin*» four years previously in 1878. Other choices, however, were more tenuous. The *New Monthly Magazine* (1814-1884) is abbreviated as 'Colburn', even though its founder's name never appeared on the title page and he sold the magazine in 1845 (it went on without him until 1884). Poole also amended the volume numbers in order to regulate them across his archive. Objecting to the «absurd practice […] of breaking the continuity in the numbering of volumes by starting *new series*», Poole made the decision to ignore the volume number as given and to count instead from the first.[34] This meant that in many cases the volume numbers in Poole's did not correspond with those given by the periodicals on their title pages and mastheads, requiring readers to count the volumes themselves. As a result of these changes, users of the *Index* who wanted to know the year an article was published had first to decipher the name of the periodical (there was a list of «Abbreviations, Titles, and Imprints» if they could not work it out from the initials) and then turn to the «Chronological Conspectus of the Serials Indexed» to discover the year to which the (often implied) volume number corresponded for that publication. The overall effect was to bury time – or at least make it paratextual – transforming a set of periodical articles, each linked to a publication and a moment, into a reference book in which each entry was equivalent to every other.

There were, however, general indexes that retained the periodical's connection with time in order to repurpose it on their own terms. W.T. Stead's annual *Index to the Periodical Literature of the World* (1891-1902) indexed the periodicals published that year, creating a series of its own with each year it was published. Part of Poole's scheme was the publication of supplements every five years and the first of these duly appeared in 1888.[35] Stead's annual indexes, prepared by his long-term collaborator Eliza Hetherington and her staff of women indexers, were intended to exploit the gaps between Poole's supplements by providing a subject index for around 150 publications. While Poole's *Index* provided both a precedent

[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., p. ix.
[35] It was a year late. For details of the supplements see Mussell (s. footnote 34).

and competitor, Stead's indexes were much more grounded in periodicals as ongoing publications. Rather than take Poole's *Index* as a model, for instance, Stead looked to the press directories. These were also published annually, and Stead imitated their longstanding practice of providing extensive prefatory material that surveyed the year's developments. Stead called this «handbook matter», and, as the series progressed, it became constrained both by cost and the expanding size of the index.[36] Nonetheless, through essays and tables, Stead's indexes provided an annual overview of the press, describing publications from the United Kingdom, the United States and various European countries (including Russia), and furnishing tables of information about them. Further interest in the periodicals was evident in the entries. Like Poole's *Index*, Stead's was classed by subject, with references to the publication (in abbreviated form), the volume number, and page. However, unlike Poole's *Index*, Stead's also included the date an article appeared, as well as a reference to any notices of the article in his own monthly magazine, the *Review of Reviews* (1890-1936). While these dates had no structural effect – there was no order to the entries under each headword – they nonetheless registered that the article appeared in a particular periodical at a particular moment, allowing the discerning reader to situate each article in time and so track a discussion across the press.

The British Museum catalogue subsumed the complicated (and in many cases ongoing) histories of periodicals into a neat series of titles, each of which stood for a single publication published in a particular place. The same was done for newspapers once the newspaper supplement to the catalogue was added in 1905. The indexes, whether those produced by publishers for inclusion in bound volumes or those supplied by people like Poole and Stead, reconstituted periodicals as containers for articles, the size of the container depending on the period indexed. Just as the British Museum catalogue represented all publications as equivalent, its entries mixing the most prestigious amongst those more obscure, the long-running with the short-lived, so the indexes flattened out the distinctions between articles, paying no heed to when they were published, their length, or subject matter. Both types of bibliographical tool, the catalogue and the index, lent coherence to what were diffuse print genres, gathering together parts so that they constituted a searchable archive while, at the same time, identifying the parts to be searched. Miscellaneity imperilled memory, not

[36] See for instance W.T. Stead: «Preface». In: Index to the Periodical Literature of the World. London 1894, p. v.

through the introduction of difference – this, after all, allowed parts to be differentiated from one another – but by troubling the idea of wholeness.

The bound volume both anticipated and performed this archival logic. It gathered together its component issues to constitute a single object, designated with the same title as its fellows but with its own place in the sequence. It also recast its articles, each published in a particular part of the issue and at a particular moment in time, within that single space demarcated by the volume's covers. In «Trading in Death», Dickens exploited *Household Words's* position within this economy to gather up and store otherwise ephemeral material. By turning miscellaneous advertisements into subject matter for an article, he lent them coherence while binding them up within *Household Words's* volumes. Yet by reprinting them, attending to both what the advertisements said and how they looked, Dickens exploited that other way that print remembers. Printing was a way to leave a mark on paper that could then be stored somewhere, but it also made things move.

Trading in death: Dickens, the archive, and the ephemeral

The centrepiece of Wellington's funeral was the car that carried his body from Horse Guards in St James's Park to St Paul's Cathedral in the City. Directed by Prince Albert to «not only be a symbol of English military strength and statesmanship, but also an expression of all the efforts of Victorian art», the car was intended to honour both the Duke and the country that honoured him.[37] It was designed and built in just three weeks by the newly-formed Department of Practical Art and overseen by its General Superintendent Henry Cole. Costing £11,000, the car consisted of a bronze carriage, twenty-seven feet long, eleven feet wide, that supported a pediment with ornate gilt carving and panels emblazoned with the names of his victories. Above this was a bier, six feet wide, four feet high, and covered with a black pall decorated with silver embroidery. On top of it all was the coffin: in Spanish mahogany with the Duke's hat and sword on the lid, it had to be secured with copper wire so as not to slip from its perch as the car negotiated the uneven London streets. Flanking this structure were sets of arms, helmets, flags, and drums provided by the Board of Ordinance and, at each corner, tall halberds supported an elaborate embroidered canopy in silver tissue.[38] While the

[37] Quoted in Peter Sinemma: The Wake of Wellington: Englishness in 1852. Athens, OH 2006, p. 75.
[38] For a description and engraving of the car see «Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington». In: Illustrated London News 21 (20 November 1852), pp. 439f.

car was pulled by a team of twelve horses, the halberds were lowered mechanically to allow it to pass beneath Temple Bar and into the City of London.

For Henry Cole, the car was intended to make the Duke's coffin «the principal object» and he claimed success, asserting that «every one of the hundreds and thousands of the mourning spectators would point to the coffin as the object best impressed in his memory.» It was to be «real», according to Cole, «not a sham», with only genuine arms and ornaments and no elements mocked up purely for effect.[39] Yet for Dickens the contradictions embodied in the car made it the perfect symbol for the fake solemnity of the occasion. The funeral, he writes:

> is so plainly a pretence of being what it is not: is so unreal, such a substitution of the form for the substance: is so cut and dried, and stale: is such a palpably got up theatrical trick: that it puts the dread solemnity of death to flight, and encourages those shameless traders in their dealings on the very coffin-lid of departed greatness.[40]

All this pomp was unnecessary, argued Dickens, Wellington's burial a mere pretext for nationalist celebration and shameful profiteering. The car – ostentatious yet supposed to defer to the coffin; ‹real› yet intended to evoke the triumphal cars of antiquity – was the perfect representative of boastful exuberance passed off as a modest expression of respect. Taking the car as a metaphor Dickens put it to work as a vehicle, burying the sham solemnity of the state funeral as its tenor. Anticipating the events of the next day, he hoped such acts of commemoration would go down «to their tomb, most fitly, in the tasteless and tawdry car that nodded and shook through the streets of London on the eighteenth of November, eighteen hundred and fifty-two.»[41]

«Trading in Death» was an attempt to record the ephemeral. Not to better remember the Duke – as a national hero his legacy was secure – but to remember how the Duke was being misremembered in the moment. Dickens imagined History rescuing the car «from the merciful shadows of obscurity». Remembering Wellington's «true, manly, modest, self-contained, and genuine character», History would reflect «with amazement» that this same man rendered «his last enduring service to the country he had loved and served so faithfully» by making the car «the last monster of its race.»[42] By reprinting the advertisements, Dickens prevented them from being swallowed by the «merciful shadows» and instead offered them to his readers, both then and to come, as examples of the «general trading spirit» awakened

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[39] «The Wellington Funeral Car». In: Illustrated London News 21 (27 November 1852), p. 463.
[40] Anonymous [Charles Dickens] (s. footnote 1), p. 244.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

by the State Funeral in all its «inherent emptiness and want of consistency and reality».[43] By gathering them together, lending them new coherence, and inscribing them within a more durable form, Dickens set out to archive the present and so assist History in its recollection. The advertisements, according to Dickens, were «all faithfully copied from the advertising columns of the *Times*.»[44] In this period the *Times* was eight pages but added a supplement of four pages – an additional sheet – whenever there was sufficient content.[45] In general, classified advertisements occupied the first page and more general advertisements (railways, banks, legal notices) appeared on the second. Further advertisements appeared towards the back, with advertisements for the theatre and recent publications on page eight giving way to further columns of classified advertisements. The fact that the price of the newspaper (five pence) did not change when it published the supplement reveals how important advertising was to the newspaper. While the provision of the supplement allowed for additional material to be included in the main body, usually taking up the six columns given to advertisements on the last page, the supplement itself was almost entirely given to advertisements, doubling the space available for advertisements overall and so doubling the advertising revenue accordingly.

Regular readers of the *Times* knew where to look to find particular types of advertisement. Matthew Rubery cites an article in *Chambers's Journal* from 1843 that sets out what readers expected to find.[46] A «practised reader», its author claims, could tell, «within a column or so, where to pitch upon the sort of announcement he may wish to pursue».[47] In the first column was shipping news. The second and third, however, were dedicated to the «romance of advertising», the enigmatic personal advertisements that appeared in what was known as the «Agony column».[48] Following these, readers could expect to find advertisements for things «Lost and Stolen» and then various charitable appeals of dubious authenticity.[49] The fourth and fifth columns «display the multifarious ‹wants›», mostly for employment but also for

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[43] Ibid., p. 242.
[44] Ibid.
[45] This would become absorbed into the paginated issue in 1853, providing the option of eight or twelve pages. The newspaper would add another sheet in 1856 becoming 16 pages. See Stanley Morison: The English Newspaper: Some Account of the Physical Development of Journals Printed in London Between 1622 and the Present Day. Cambridge 1932, especially chapter twelve. For a forensic, data-driven examination of the size of the *Times* see Dallas Liddle: «The News Machine: Textual Form and Information Function in the London Times, 1785–1885». In: Book History 19 (2016), pp. 132-168.
[46] «Advertisements of the Times». In: Chambers's Edinburgh Journal 65 (29 March 1845), pp. 199-202. See Matthew Rubery: The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction After the Invention of the News. Oxford 2009, p. 50.
[47] «Advertisements of the Times» (s. footnote 50), p. 202.
[48] Ibid., p. 199. For the Agony column, see Rubery (s. footnote 50), chapter two.
[49] «Advertisements of the Times» (s. footnote 50), p. 200.

money; in the sixth came «equestrian and vehicular advertisements»[50]. Overleaf readers expected advertisements for accommodation, notices from companies, and a miscellaneous collection including «announcements of new works, either just out or in preparation; patent medicines, and sales by auction».[51]

While readers learned which advertisements appeared where, they could also navigate the page according to how it looked. Although the majority of classified advertisements were six lines or so, for instance, business and shipping notices could be twice or three times that, making them easy to spot. But there were also other ways in which the sections became legible. While individual advertisements attempted to differentiate themselves from one another, attracting the reader's eye and offering something specific, they did so under strict formal constraints that created patterns. Each advertisement, for instance, began with a large dropped initial, the size of two lines of text, which introduced the first few words of the advertisement printed in large caps (figures 3 and 4). This served as a title, but, while some were informative (shipping advertisements typically began with the destination, for instance) or intriguing (the enigmatic hints of the agony column), others were oblique or repetitive, signalling the type of advertisement rather than what it was advertising. Runs of advertisements beginning «For Sale» or «Wanted» were common, and in the «Lost and Stolen» column, most started with the size of the reward rather than what the reward was for. The result was a dense two-dimensional grid of short, unillustrated advertisements, each different but nonetheless hinting at underlying structure. While readers could puzzle out the structure latent in an issue by working through the columns, reading issue after issue made it manifest. Repetition has a genre effect, lending structure integrity over time.

[Figure 3: *Times*, 11 November 1852, p. 1. From the *Times Digital Archive, 1785-2014* (Gale Cengage, 2003-).]

[Figure 4: Detail from front page, *Times*, 11 November 1852, p. 1. From the *Times Digital Archive, 1785-2014* (Gale Cengage, 2003-).]

The advertisements excerpted in «Trading in Death» were printed in the same face as the rest of *Household Words* but sufficiently reproduced the typographical appearance of those in the *Times* to make them instantly recognisable. There was the same dropped cap for the initial, the same large caps for the first few words, and, as Dickens offered his examples first before

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., p. 201.

commenting upon them, they were also presented as if in an advertising column (figure 2). However, such verisimilitude had to be carefully managed. As advertisements were highly mobile, appearing more than once and in lots of places, there was a danger that excerpting might become a form of reprinting. To mitigate the risk of turning his pages into free advertising spaces, Dickens lightly edited the advertisements in order to defuse them. Using the *Times Digital Archive, 1785-2014* it is relatively easy to trace the advertisements and see how they were altered.[52] The first set of examples were for rooms so that people could see the funeral procession as it passed. The first of these, «LUDGATE HILL», appeared in the third column of the *Times* for 11 November 1852 (figure 4). The original advertisement begins «The FUNERAL of the Duke of WELLINGTON» before giving the address of the property. Dickens has omitted this title and the number of the property, substituting the remainder of the address, «Ludgate Hill», as the title instead. The rest of the text is the same, Dickens even reproducing the capitals on «SEATS» in the body of the advertisement, but he removes the contact details of the advertiser with which the original ends.

While the alteration of the title helped differentiate «LUDGATE HILL» from the other advertisements, the fact that Dickens was happy to leave other titles (more or less) unamended suggests that he was keen to reproduce the redundancy. At the top of the second column, for instance, Dickens prints «FUNERAL of the late Duke of WELLINGTON» followed by «FUNERAL of the DUKE of WELLINGTON» (figure 2).[53] There then follows two «THE DUKE'S FUNERAL» with a further «FUNERAL of the late Duke of WELLINGTON» and «THE DUKE'S FUNERAL» down the column. Dickens made no attempt to reproduce the order of the advertisements from any particular issue, but, by printing advertisements with similar titles (sometimes identical), he added generic authenticity to the otherwise fabricated advertising columns. In each case the advertiser's details were removed, and, for «FUNERAL of the DUKE of WELLINGTON», further details that might otherwise identify the exact property being advertised were also omitted (see figures 2 and 4).

Similar changes were made to the other two categories of advertisements, the autograph letters and the relics. In terms of the former, Dickens introduced the examples by noting how each boasted that the letter offered was so «characteristic» of the Duke that it justified offering it for sale. Three appeared in the *Times* for 15 November 1852 and the only changes

[52] Times Digital Archive, 1785-2014. Gale Cengage, 2003-.
[53] 'FUNERAL of the DUKE of WELLINGTON' is 'FUNERAL of the Duke of WELLINGTON' in the *Times*.

to the versions reprinted in *Household Words* are the removal of the advertiser's details.[54] As for the relics, Dickens notes, wryly, that they must be very precious to the advertiser as they are not to be wrested from them «but with ready money». The first of these also appears in the *Times* for 15 November and it, too, is unchanged aside from the removal of the advertiser's details.[55]

The existence of these excerpted advertisements in *Household Words* was even more striking because the magazine, in its weekly version, did not have any advertising space of its own. *Household Words* was available in two formats: the weekly at tuppence and a nine pence monthly, which came in blue paper covers with advertisements on the inside and reverse. Lorna Huett has argued that the absence of advertisements in the weekly was intended to distance it from Dickens's serial fiction.[56] Dickens preferred to serialise his novels in twenty monthly parts at a shilling each (the last was a double number) and *Bleak House* (1852-1853) was being published in just such a format when «Trading in Death» appeared. As these parts came with an advertising wrapper, paginated separately and enclosed in lavishly illustrated blue paper covers, the monthly version of *Household Words* was much more closely associated with the serial fiction, even if its sparse, unillustrated covers maintained some distance between the genres. The weekly, however, was intended for a different part of the market and its appearance was carefully calculated to connote both cheapness and respectability. Issued without covers and with no visual material (not even in the masthead), readers just received twenty-four pages, each consisting of two columns of text. The only significant features that broke up the otherwise unremitting rectangles were the titles of articles (in large caps) and the horizontal rules that divided indicated where each article ended. Poetry, too, provided some variation as it was set in smaller type and indented from the margin. In this consistent typographical environment the excerpted advertisements not only stood out, but, as they were immediately recognizable as advertisements, they troubled readerly expectations of *Household Words* and its place in the market.

It is unlikely that anybody would have mistaken the advertisements for the real thing, and, with the amendments, Dickens made sure that they could not function as such. Nonetheless, by excerpting them and arranging them in columns, he had to engage with the troublesome character of the advertising column as textual space. All advertisements are explicitly

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[54] See «A CLERGYMAN has TWO LETTERS», «THE Duke of WELLINGTON», and «VALUABLE AUTOGRAPH NOTE». In: Times, 15 November 1842, p. 2.

[55] See «MEMENTO of the Late Duke of WELLINGTON». In: Times, 15 November 1842, p. 2.

[56] Lorna Huett: «Among the Unknown Public». In: Victorian Periodicals Review 38 (2005) 1, pp. 61-82, here p. 76.

intentional, and, for nineteenth-century advertisements, nearly always revealed their origins through an address. Yet in the way they appeared in different places at once, and, in the way the same product could be advertised in different ways, there was something anonymous and autonomous about them, almost as if they were able to take on a life of their own.[57] Similarly, while publications selected advertisements and organised them on the page, subjecting them to editorial control (if not by the editor him or herself), the sheer miscellaneity of content could lead to striking juxtapositions. As spaces, then, advertising columns challenged notions of both authorial voice and editorial intelligence and their supplementariness was a way of marking content as deriving from elsewhere while disavowing any unexpected meanings that might arise from its combination. When Dickens drew the examples in «Trading in Death» to a close, he remarked that they «might easily have been extended through the whole of the present number of this Journal.»[58] His point, of course, was that there were many from which to choose; however, the remark also acknowledges the promiscuity of advertisements and the nowhere of difference. Too many advertisements and *Household Words* might begin to resemble the *Times*. Too many advertisements and there would be neither *Household Words* nor *Times* at all.

Rather than create an advertising column or wrapper, including advertisements but making them supplementary, his narrative made them the object of its discourse. Included within an article printed in the continuous pagination sequence, the excerpts were part of both the weekly and monthly versions of the periodical but also destinted for inclusion in the six-monthly volume. Bound in cloth with a title page and index and costing five shillings sixpence, this was the most expensive way to read *Household Words*. The first index was published with the conclusion of the first volume in September 1850.[59] Although entitled «Contents», articles were listed alphabetically by the first substantive word in their titles. Some appeared twice, usually listed again under the next substantive word. «Valentine's Day at the Post Office», for instance, written by Dickens and his subeditor William Henry Wills, appears under «V» for «Valentine's Day» and «P» for «Post Office». Wills's «The Appetite for News» appears under both «A» and «N». This policy was not always applied consistently or effectively. For some reason Dickens's «A Preliminary Word», the first article in *Household Words*, is listed under «A» and «P», perhaps so it appeared first in the index too.

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[57] Dickens himself plays with this idea in «Bill-Sticking», imagining haunting his enemy by creating advertisements that allude to his secret. See «Bill-Sticking». In: Household Words 2 (22 March 1851), pp. 601-606.

[58] Anonymous [Charles Dickens] (s. footnote 1), p. 244.

[59] «Contents». In: Household Words 1 (1850), pp. ix-x.

«A Very Old Soldier» appears as «Very Old Soldier, A» and «Old Soldier, A Very», leaving it unindexed under the only noun in its title, «Soldier». Poetry was listed separately under «Poems», each appearing once by first substantive word.

«Trading in Death» was published in volume six of *Household Words* and it appears in the index once under «T». Plucked from the ephemeral context of the advertising column, the excerpted advertisements now took their place in the archive constituted by the sequence of volumes. Whereas before they had been emblematic of the ephemerality of print culture, designed to have an impact for a short time and then be forgotten, they were now archived to memorialise remembering done wrongly. Catherine Waters has discussed how the advertisements excerpted by Dickens exploited the spectacle of the funeral, endowing «their goods with symbolic value, appealing to nationalist sentiment, to the patriotic consumer who wants to be seen to be part of this great commemorative event.»[60] She notes how the advertisements for seats both sold a view of the procession but also put their purchasers on view, commodifying them by offering them the chance to be displayed.[61] The letters, she argues, had a different place in the market. Advertised on the basis that they were «characteristic», they captivated «the desire of consumers with the object's allure as a trace of authentic experience of British heroism.»[62] Like the relics that followed, the letters were offered as souvenirs, objects that retained an authentic link with the Duke, but, necessarily removed, provided space for fantasies of national glory. For both letters and relics, ephemerality enhanced their allure. All but three of the letters, for instance, were offered for sale by someone other than their recipient, suggesting they had been saved, whether from destruction or being kept hidden away. The relics – from locks of hair to discarded waistcoats – embodied this more fully, either parts of Wellington's body or bearing marks from it. The persistence of such objects warranted their authenticity, but because they were also the sorts of things usually destroyed, they were linked to that more authentic past otherwise forgotten. Ephemera make good souvenirs because they are of the present and meant to pass.

By excerpting the advertisements, Dickens subjected them to the same, grim, resurrectionist economy. As Waters points out, Dickens was deeply implicated in nineteenth-century commodity culture, using his name to sell his periodical and his periodical to sell his books. She also shows how Dickens traded in death, writing about it in other contributions to

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[60] Waters (s. footnote 17), p. 127. See also Catherine Waters: «‹Trading in Death›: Contested Commodities in *Household Words*». In: Victorian Periodicals Review 36 (2003) 4, pp. 313-330.
[61] Waters (s. footnote 16), pp. 128f.
[62] Ibid., p. 130.

Household Words, and, of course, exploiting it for sentimental or shocking ends in his fiction. Yet by reprinting the advertisements from the newspaper in the pages of his weekly magazine, Dickens was trading in death in another way too. Ephemera are of the present and intended to pass with it. By excerpting the advertisements, trying to memorialise what should be forgotten, Dickens attempted to store up and archive the past in all its richness. Not everything can be remembered, however, and history is made from miscellaneous remains.