

MAKING NEWS: A GIRL, HER PRINTING PRESS, AND THE CIVIL WAR

Sara R. Danger

Associate Professor, Valparaiso University

IN 1862, Marcus Rogers, the 19-year-old editor of *The Berkshire Courier*, received a letter from Ellen Theresa (Nellie) Williams, the founder and publisher of the *Penfield Extra*. This letter, requesting a promotional exchange between the two newspapers, also contained a small tintype photograph (fig. 1). Encircled in a gold-embossed frame, the sepia-toned image presents a slightly smiling girl, who peers out from below the caption: Nellie Williams, Editress of the *Penfield Extra*, Penfield, N.Y.¹

Aware that her photograph displays “a care worn expression,” which might lead the viewer to assume that the sitter is “older than I am,” Williams assures Rogers that she is indeed a child. And instead of a “girl editress” clad in a fine silk dress, this image of herself in “ten cent calico dress and a little crape sack” matters deeply to her self-presentation. As a motherless child, with little financial wealth and “no pride except in our loving Jesus,” she values her image for signifying that “were it not the aid of Him I could not withstand my burden, but he whispers to me in my dreams and says, ‘Nellie trust in me and I will make your burden easy’” (qtd. in the *Boy’s Herald*, 5).

Her family burdens were many. Williams elaborates:

My father being an old printer, and becoming sickly and blind, or nearly so, his printing establishment fell to me, and I am in a fair way, ‘through the mercy of God,’ to support myself and three younger sisters At the death of my kind mother she left me in the care of my Heavenly Father, and I intend to so live and bring up my little sisters. (5)

And so Williams pleads with Rogers to “remember your kindness to a poor motherless child. ... Your kindness to me causes my little eyes to water, my lips to

(cc) Danger. This article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NonDerivatives 4.0 International Licence (creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/)

Journal of Juvenilia Studies 3.2 (2020–21), pp. 65–93. DOI: 10.29173/jjs63

quiver and my pen to tremble, to think that strangers everywhere will take such interest in a strange child who is cast upon the broad ocean of life at my age” (5).

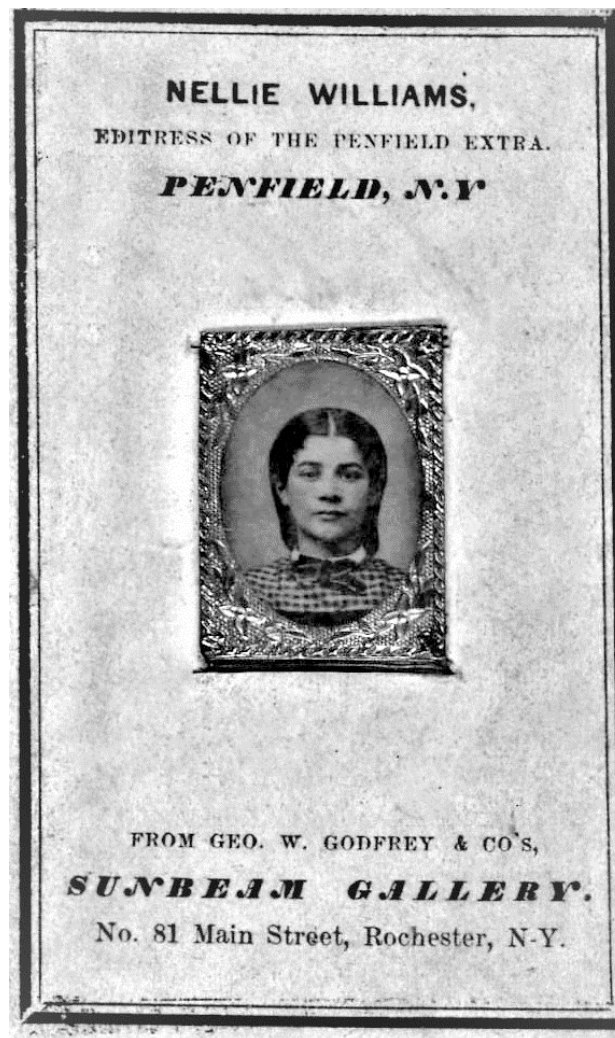


Fig. 1. Gem Tintype Portrait of Nellie Williams, photograph, c. 1862 (courtesy Local History Room, Penfield, NY).

At the time Williams penned this poignant appeal, she was twelve years old and producing the only weekly newspaper in her hometown of Penfield, a sleepy farming community of 3,000 in upstate New York and ten miles outside of Rochester. The same tintype portrait, which she shared with Rogers, was advertised in Williams’s weekly paper.² In her “Notice to Subscribers,” Nellie Williams, “Editress,” offers the tintype in exchange for readers’ purchase of a yearly subscription for the *Penfield Extra*. In her persona as editor, she urges her readers to

... make presents to their friends by subscribing for the *Extra*. ... Those *doing so much, should do more*; they should send enough to prepay postage and secure a photograph and a manuscript letter from Little Nellie. This many would consider a valuable present, and many have already done so.—One dollar will pay for the paper, postage, and photograph. Editors sending for their friends, will be entitled to all for seventy five cents (2, italics added).

The differences between the devout, sentimental voice of Ellen Theresa Williams, letter writer, and the imperative, strident tone of Nellie Williams, newspaper advertiser, are striking. And yet both texts stress Williams's role as editor.

Williams's facility with multiple discourses is illumined by the fact that her paper began in 1861, as the Civil War erupted. In that same year, her brother enlisted in the Union Army, leaving his young sister to become the sole printer and editor of her fresh creation, the *Penfield Extra*. Her paper's professed "neutral[ity] in politics" both masked and revealed her complex home life as well as her relationship to the home front (see fig. 2). Her father supported the Confederacy while her brother was away fighting for the Union.

Interpreting the material, rhetorical, and cultural meanings of Williams's *Extra* raises several questions. How are the signs of child authorship, and childishness, reconcilable (or not) with the paper's appropriation of genres and discourses that seem beyond her years—including sardonic humor, cutting-edge political criticism, and marketing prowess? How, for instance, did Williams's positioning as a working-class child and a white girl growing up in the North influence how she reported the news? Did the nascent visual and textual forms of nineteenth-century journalism allow her to map new territories through which to claim self-expression, autonomy, and public voice? Finally, how are we to interpret Williams's reliance on conventional modes of journalism, when these same modes are frequently disrupted by her paper's self-conscious references to its production by a child?

While exceptional personal circumstances certainly inspired Williams's publishing ventures and are worth noting,³ to date her paper has largely been read as a lens pointing to the exceptional realities of her life. I am more interested, however, in reading Williams's editorial personae as evidence of how a young writer harnessed the discourses of nineteenth-century print culture for her own ends. That is, in her private correspondence with a fellow journalist, and in her public voice as an editor formulating the news, Williams's acts of authorship straddled multiple subject positions, including those of dependent child, devout daughter, and acquiescent girl as well as perceptive provocateur, professional editor, full-time labourer, and ambitious newsmaker.⁴ Just as significantly, these various subject positions constructed a fascinating rhetorical dynamic, one that fueled the extraordinary success of the *Penfield Extra*, making it one of the most celebrated child-authored newspapers of the nineteenth century. And the fact that Williams wrote and published amidst the

culture-exploding Civil War was not coincidental. Between her appropriation of established journalistic conventions and her own free play as literary agent, Nellie Williams mimicked cultural discourses requiring children's obedience and innocence while also modeling the importance of children's independent political engagement and their capacity to talk back to power.

The Making of the "Youngest Publisher in the World"

EVEN A quick glance at an issue of the *Penfield Extra* tells us that we are viewing something both conventional and unconventional. Produced weekly throughout the Civil War, from 1861 until 1866, the *Penfield Extra* in some ways resembled other mainstream newspapers, but in other ways there was nothing like it. Even as the *Extra* resembled the sophisticated, nationally circulated *Harper's Weekly* in layout and size, its masthead announced its innovative approach ("Devoted to News and Literature and Neutral on Politics") and highlighted its distinctive ownership ("Little Nellie's Little Paper") (figs. 2 and 3).



Fig. 2. Penfield Extra, 31 December 1863, p. 1, Central Library of Rochester and Monroe County, Historic Newspaper Collection.



Fig. 3. Harper's Weekly, 10 January 1863, p.1.

Like other newspapers of its day, the *Penfield Extra's* front page featured standard newspaper fare, including weather reports, notices of marriages and deaths, poems and fiction, and news from both Civil War battlegrounds and the local main street. At the back, two pages of advertisements, with bold, varied typeface and catchy images, hawked the wares of merchants from Upstate New York (fig. 4). At the same time, however, the masthead—oriented around a tiny visual Bible subtitled “Our Hope”—announces that *The Penfield Extra* is “Little Nellie’s Little Paper” (fig. 2). When read together, then, the distinctive masthead and professional layout of the weekly paper both highlight and obscure the fact that the designer, author, and printer is a self-described “little Lass not yet in her teens who is the sole Editress, and Compositor, and probably the youngest Publisher ... in the world” (Publisher’s Box, 28 June 1862, p. 4).

Also exemplifying this tension is an 1864 advertisement for a Rochester dressmaker (fig. 6), arranged so that the type takes the shape of a woman’s dress. The placement of the image is unremarkable, as it adjoins a full-page and half of professionally designed advertisements, yet its design shows Williams placing her own stamp on the genre. Only after peering closely at the type-set-as-dress, which (with the head placed above it) resembles a girl’s plaything or paper doll, do we discover that it is an advertisement at all.



THE UNIVERSAL CLOTHES WRINGER.

It is the only Original, and only Genuine and Reliable Wringer before the people. It surpasses all others in **STRENGTH OF FRAME!** **CAPACITY FOR PRESSURE!!** **AND POWER OF ACTION!!!**

WE CHALLENGE THE WORLD!
We defy all Competition!!

WE WARRANT EACH ONE IN EVERY PARTICULAR. We have the highest testimonials certifying to its great value, both in the saving of labor and materials, as well as its perfect adaptation to the use for which it is intended. These notices, however, cannot be inserted here. We only ask that the public look at the descriptive Circular Wringer, and judge for themselves. We ask none to buy without giving it a thorough test, for which abundant opportunity will be given to all.

Canvassers Wanted.

To men who have had experience as canvassers, or any who would like to engage in the sale of this truly valuable invention, liberal inducements will be offered and good territory given them (they paying nothing for the Patent Right) in which they shall have the exclusive sale.

This Wringer is made by **The Metropolitan Washing Machine Co.,** Under the following patents:

The Improved Patent Cog-Wheel Regulator.—It saves friction of the clothes, and prevents the rolls from wearing.

The new Patent Method for Fastening the Rolls to the Shaft—Never breaks the clothes.

Dickensman's Patent Clamping Frame, for fastening to iron—saves work done from its place.

Lyman's Patent Adjustable Gauge, for different sized two-inch or three, straight, slanting, or circular.

Goodman's Patent, of which they are the exclusive owners for the right to make, sell, and use Vulcanized India Rubber Rolls or Covered Rolls for Washing, Wringer, or Squeezing Machines.

Any one making, selling, or using any Wringer, (the user as well as the maker,) the rolls of which were not purchased of them, and a license obtained to sell and use the same, are infringing on their rights, and will at once be prosecuted according to law. After an expensive litigation in the UNITED STATES COURTS, the suits are terminated and injunctions issued against the infringers. The parties prosecuted have sued for post-injunctions and are now acting under license, which (with their supply of Indian Rubber) they obtained from them with the right to use it for other Wringers, (they paying a price on all sold,) but under the most careful supervision as to terms and prices, both wholesale and retail.

All licensed parties will have a certificate, showing their rights and authority. The public should beware of all canvassers for Wringers who cannot produce such certificate—they are bogus.

Descriptive Circulars furnished by **JULIUS IVES & CO.** GENERAL AGENT 315 BROADWAY, N. YORK. Sold by Special Canvassers throughout the land.

Now is the time to subscribe for the **THE AMERICAN EXCHANGE AND REVIEW:** A monthly Journal devoted to Business, Industrial and Monetary Intelligence, National Resources and Literature. J. A. Fowler, Editor and Proprietor.

This valuable work for Dec. is upon our table. Terms of Subscription: One copy one year \$3.00 Five copies " " 12.50 Ten " " " " 25.00 Address: **Whiting and Co. Publishers,** No. 112 Chestnut St. Phila.

POWELSON'S Photograph and Fine Art

No. 58 State Street, Corner of Market, Rochester N. Y. and No. 302 Main Street, Buffalo N. Y.

R. B. APPLEBY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY Rochester N. Y. ARCADE, OVER THE POST OFFICE.

Mr. R. B. Appleby announces to his friends and the public that he is now prepared to execute Photographic Portraits and Pictures in every style of the Art, and in the most artistic manner. A skillful and experienced operator is engaged to attend specially to this department. The gallery has every facility for producing the very best results in Photography: a fine light, the best instruments, the complete stock of plates, chemicals, &c. The Rooms are eligible and accessible without much stair-climbing, and sitters will find their comfort provided for. Long experience in the business and the Art in this city, enables the proprietor to give the best satisfaction to those who patronize his Gallery.

R. B. APPLEBY, Arcade, over the Post Office.

M. H. MONROE, Photographic Gallery
83 Main Street Crystal Palace Rochester N. Y.
Fine Carte de Visite Vignette, Large Photographs and Ambrotypes of the best quality at low price. Call and see for yourself.

B. F. HALE, PHOTOGRAPHER 75 MAIN ST. Rochester N. Y.

N. B. Baker, Photographer No. 18 Buffalo St. Rochester N. Y.

R. W. SUTTER, PHOTOGRAPHIC & AMBROTYPE GALLERY
1014 STATE ST. ROCHESTER, N. Y.

HUDSON & MITH CANANDAIGUA SALOON, No. 2 south Water St. Rochester N. Y. Wishes to see his old friends and all the rest of mankind.

HERMAN MUTSCHLER, DEALER IN CHINA, WARTHEN, GLASS WARE, And General House Furnishing Goods, No. 121 Main Street.

BALMORALS.

JOHN KEMPTON,

Manufacturer of **LADIES, MISSES & CHILDREN'S FINE SHOES.**

63 Dey Street New York.

Made of the best Oleva, Wax and Grain Calf, plain and pelle Goat and Cloth. The Ankle Boot for Misses and Childrens meets with a ready sale. nos.2m

READ! READ!

The Bird Work Holder, for the lap in hand sewing, price 25 cents. The Kerosene Oil Burner for Fluid Lamps price 12 eta. ENGRAVINGS, Of Maj. General Geo. B. McClellan, Seigel, Hallock, President, and his Cabinet Army and its Generals &c. &c. The above articles can be sent by mail, by the undersigned, or will be furnished by Miss Anna M. Northrop P. O. Box 1368 Rochester N. Y. Agent for Monroe and Livingston Counties. Applicants for agencies should Address **Chas. A. Baldwin** Box 79, Arthrop N. Y. nos.2m

ARTIFICIAL LIMBS.

By **E. G. HUDSON N. D.,** CLYBURN HALL, (Up Stairs) Astor Place N. Y. Soldiers provided by commission of the Surgeon General U. S. Army. Hands of superior quality. Feet for limbs shortened by Hip Disease, a great benefaction. Dr. H. having devoted his attention and practice for forty years to the subject of Artificial Limbs, has made so great improvements upon the "Palmer Patent," the right to which is his by purchase, as to render his work in this branch of Surgery superior to all others. nos.2m

Clark's School Visitor, Vol. VII. A DAY SCHOOL MONTHLY.

The Visitor will commence its seventh volume with the January No., 1863. This is the only *Day School Periodic* published at FIFTY CENTS A YEAR! Magazine form. Beautifully illustrated. Readings, Music, Speeches, Dialogues, Stories, Puzzles, &c., &c., from the VERY BEST WRITERS.

The Visitor has the largest circulation of any Educational Journal published. Now is the time to form clubs for Winter Schools. Send for a specimen, and see inducement to clubs. Address **DAUGHADAY & HAMMOND, Publishers,** Philadelphia, Pa.

THE MAGIC ORACLE, OR WONDERS FOR THE EVENING.

This is a very amusing and exceedingly popular game, and just the thing to pass off a pleasant hour or two of a winter's evening, and which any Lady's or Gentleman's Age can be discovered. The cards of instruction are so very plain, that even a child can understand them.

PRICE 10 CENTS. Or 25 Cents with a gift. Send U. S. Currency, or Postage Stamps. Address **CHARLES D. CARTER,** Lowell, Lewis Co., N. Y.

"Is it not astonishing," said a wealthy individual, "that a large fortune was left me by a person who had seen me only once?" "It would have been still more astonishing," said a wig, "if he had left it to you after seeing you twice." Kingston Argus.

Fig. 4. Advertisements, Penfield Extra, 3 January 1863, p. 4. Central Library of Rochester and Monroe County, Historic Newspaper Collection.



Fig. 5. "Where did you get that beautiful dress?" Penfield Extra, 11 February 1864, p. 2. Central Library of Rochester and Monroe County, Historic Newspaper Collection.

The backstory of Nellie Williams's entrance into journalism proves just as remarkable as the material artifact she produced. Her father, a tailor from the small town of Penfield, New York, had won a printing press in a poker game and hoped to go into publishing, only to become bedridden a short time later. The family's circumstances were further straitened when the children's mother died. To support the family, Williams, beginning at the age of eight, along with her teenaged brother, learned to set type and print material, eventually producing a weekly circular for Penfield businesses. While many girls her age were learning to read, Williams was also engaged in the tactile process of setting physical letters into words, combining words into sentences, and seeing those sentences appear in multiple print copies.⁵ Not long after, her only brother enlisted in 1861, leaving Williams to become the sole printer and editor of her audacious publishing venture, the *Penfield Extra*. Unlike other child-authored newspapers, however, hers was not simply a hobby, but rather essential

employment through which the young editor supported her invalid father and sisters. Her newspaper's successful run lasted until 1866, when rising production costs caused Williams to shut down her press.⁶



Fig. 6 and Fig. 7. Nellie Williams in her printing smock (left) and the building that housed her print shop (right), undated photographs (courtesy Local History Room, Penfield, NY). In Fig. 7, Williams appears to be twelve or thirteen years of age.

The printer's exceptional age and gender made her rise to professional authorship a celebrated story. Numerous mainstream periodicals like Godey's *Lady's Book*, *The American Journal of Phrenology*, and the *Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser*, as well as other amateur papers of the time, praised the *Penfield Extra*. In 1862, during the first year of her newspaper's inception, the *American Odd Fellow* called hers a "sprightly little Weekly Newspaper ... every line of which is set in type by a precocious little girl of twelve years" ("*The Penfield Extra*" 365). That same year, the *Christian Ambassador* celebrated Williams as "the youngest publisher and editor in the world," praising her wit, sensible advice, and industriousness as models that "young ladies much older than Williams could profitably follow" ("*Little Nellie's Paper*" 31). *The Paterson Daily Register* (New Jersey) similarly stated, "We have seen many a pretentious weekly, edited and printed by men of large experience," and yet none of those "so good as little Nellie's" (qtd. in Golden, "Amateur Newspapers"). Not all

reviews were unequivocal in their praise, however. The editor of *The Water Cure* endorsed the “honest industry and laudable ambition” of the “little lass” in charge of the *Extra*, while also stressing that these remarkable efforts seemed “out of her sphere,” and he declared, “aint it lucky that there isn’t anything as girl’s rights?” (“*Penfield Extra*” 80). As this barb illustrates, not all of Williams’s contemporaries were impressed by a young girl’s cultivation of public voice and audience.

Part of what made Williams’s paper exceptional was the fact that she was clearly a professional, competing with other professionals who produced newspapers for profit. The *Penfield Extra* was in fact one of many newspapers produced by children in the nineteenth century: the American Antiquarian Society archive holds over 55,000 issues of nineteenth-century periodicals, popularly known as “amateur newspapers,” created by children who ranged in age from seven to eighteen.⁷ The enterprise became a national phenomenon, with child journalists producing newspapers from urban centers like New York, Boston, St. Louis, and Chicago, as well as from small towns like Saint Cloud (Minnesota), Evansville (Indiana), and Bethany (Kansas). Reaching its heyday in the 1870s with the advent of the “toy press”—small presses designed for small business and home use—thronged of children soon became their own printers.⁸ In 1876, young journalists formed a national association, which led to children from across the country traveling to annual conventions in celebration of amateur newspaper *Dom*, or the “*Dom*” as they affectionately termed it.⁹ The meteoric rise of amateur newspapers in the 1870s (from eighty papers in 1870 to 445 just eight years later), according to Jessica Isaacs, bore witness to the significance of late-Victorian periodicals “in mediating ... multiple paths to literacy and to professional identity, especially for young people interested in writing” (325). Might this profound shift have been anticipated a decade earlier? In the political and print landscapes reflected in and shaped by Nellie Williams’s newspaper, we find ample evidence of the creative outlets periodical culture offered young readers and authors. We glimpse a child at once profoundly shaped by the conservative discourses of the time, requiring her submission to adult authority, *and* a politically engaged, autonomous thinker savvy enough to engage those in power.¹⁰

Readers of Little Nellie’s Little Paper

FOR WILLIAMS, submission to conservative discourses involved, most obviously, acknowledging her status as a young girl and speaking as a child was expected to speak. However, while adopting and encouraging the sentimental and obedient rhetoric expected of children of her class and time, she used this persona in creative ways; in doing so, she effectively marketed her paper and also created intergenerational collaborations with adult and child readers turned writers.

Nellie Williams regularly foregrounded her identity as a child writing for other children. On each masthead and throughout her paper, she scattered references to her identities as child writer, young editor, and soon-to-be teen printer. In her publisher’s box from February 11, 1864, for instance, the self-professed “youngest editress in world” celebrates her growing following of “little” readers as well as the emerging adoration of adult editors and readers who “seem to appreciate little Nellie’s youthful ambition” (fig. 8).

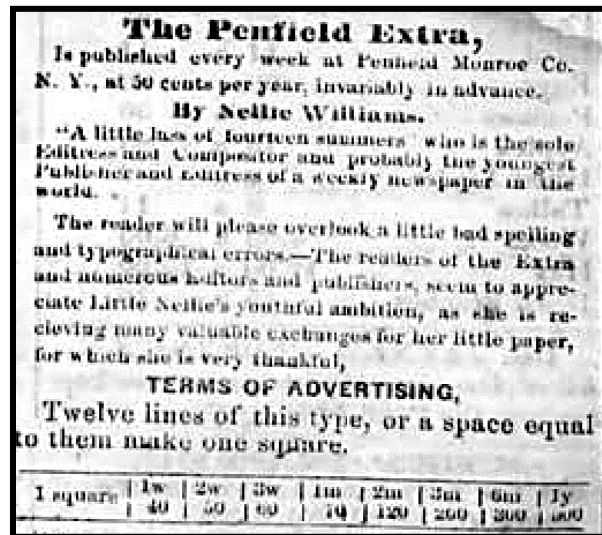


Fig. 8. *Publisher’s Box, Penfield Extra, 11 February 1864, p. 4, Central Library of Rochester and Monroe County, Historic Newspaper Collection.*

Punctuating the last point—“for which she is receiving many exchanges and for which she is very thankful”—Williams’s marketing bravado gives way to a gesture of childlike dependence towards the middle of the publisher’s box. Since she is but a “little lass,” she hopes “that the reader will please overlook a little bad spelling and typographical errors” (4). Similarly, in another short announcement titled “Nellie is Coming Out,” Williams generously thanks the “kind gentleman” of the Johnson and Co. Foundry for “the splendid present” of a newly designed masthead. This is the

masthead that incorporates the subtitle “Little Nellie’s Little Paper,” and her thanks exhibit a childlike deference appropriate to the subtitle’s emphasis on her youth (20 September 1862, p. 1).

As I will show in the following section, however, youthful deference was by no means the defining quality of all that Williams wrote. Given such a multiplicity of discourses, we may wonder whether Williams’s performances of youthful submission were truly concessions or rhetorical strategies for soliciting a wider range of readers and growing sales. Throughout the *Penfield Extra’s* five-year run, many issues contained at least one advertisement urging readers to buy “Little Nellie’s Paper” for their “little readers.” In an issue of January 1864, she goes so far as to contend that “the main object that I have in publishing my paper is to encourage little folks to work, to write, to be good to their parents” (1). On 31 December 1863 she claimed that “very many young boys and girls have been stimulated by reading my paper, to go to work at the type case” (2), and she boasted that over twenty-five new amateur papers in America and Canada appeared to be following her lead. Just a month later, she invites “all of our little subscribers to write for our little paper, do not say you can’t write, you can write one line, and if you can write one line you can write two” (31 January 1864). In each of these instances, Little Nellie shrewdly exploits her youth as marketing tool.

These solicitations not only won Williams a joint audience of children and adult readers but also developed a cohort of child and adult writers who wrote “expressly for the *Penfield Extra*.” Regular contributors included Aunt Mary, who penned advice columns for children and parents, and as well as the oldest Penfield resident, Samuel Strowger, who chronicled the town’s history. At the same time, the child-friendly venue of her paper attracted a network of young contributors, including Florence Rose Stanford, thirteen years of age, and Edmund Stevens, aged fourteen. In several instances, the content of the poetry and prose by regular contributors like N. D. Howe, Daffa Hanvey, Roxanna Leech, Jennie Saint Claire, and Homer suggests their youth. By bringing all these contributors together, then, Williams’s solicitations, with their characteristically childlike rhetoric, bolstered children’s participation in the news media in an era obsessed with the news. At the same time, they promoted a model of collaborative authorship in which writings by children and adults were published side by side.¹¹

Under Williams’s leadership, the newspaper’s compilation of writings for and about children, chiefly advice articles and sentimental poems, centred on several repeated themes, especially those of work and obedience. As Williams contends in the issue for 28 December 1863, “Our own articles, generally have been to teach the rising generation to love, serve and obey their heavenly Father, to be kind to their parents, and to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow” (2). Elsewhere she assures readers that her own biography sanctifies the established virtues of industry and obedience. In January 1864, she attributes the growing success of her paper to the fact that she has been “kind to my last remaining parent and toils hard;” thus, it

follows that with the success of her paper she is “receiving [her] reward.” She further punctuates the lesson, suggesting that all her “little reader[s] will surely prosper if you take my example, be clever and kind to every body, and then all will love and encourage you in any vocation which you wish to undertake” (28 January 1864, 1). In the issue for 17 January 1863, she goes so far as to exalt the work ethic of a toddler in a short feature article entitled “A Little Child’s Work for the Soldiers.” Here Williams announces that “a little girl has made a soldier’s hospital shirt which is to be sent to Washington, bearing the following inscription: ‘The little fingers of Alice Heath, of Bunker Hill, Charlestown, Mass., aged 4 ½ years sewed every stitch in this shift. She loves the soldier.’” Williams concludes her endorsement thus: “My little sisters, see what little girls can do.—Will you not be encouraged to learn to labor? You can make something pretty and valuable if you will try to do it. —Nellie” (2).

Didactic articles like these drive home the association of industry with virtue, with transparent titles like “Paddle your own Canoe,” “Obedience to Parents,” and “Keep on the Right Road.” In addition, several special interest pieces endorse the mid-Victorian ideals of children’s obedience—sometimes in stunningly violent ways. In an April 1864 issue of the *Extra*, for instance, between bland reports of the weather and local news, the reader might stumble across the following:

A little boy in Georgetown, D. C., attempted to frighten his mother, who had punished him for some misdemeanor, by feigning to hang himself, but not calculating the distance correctly, before aid could reach him, he was dead. We hope that little boys who read the *Extra* will take warning from the above, and never do anything wrong, as God will surely punish you. (28 April 1864, p. 2)

In a July issue of the same year, Williams describes how a local Penfield boy, who disobeyed his mother and playfully whipped a horse, became entangled in mowing blades and nearly died of his injuries (14 July 1864, p. 2). The sharply admonitory article, entitled “Accident from Carelessness,” concludes with the pious hope that the paper’s “little readers” would always honour their parents and obey God (2).

In Williams’s repetitive, nearly zealous endorsement of children’s obedience, we see that writing by young people—even as it exhibits agency—also “unmasks the elements of compliance entailed in efforts to speak,” as Karen Sánchez-Eppler asserts (*Dependent States* 40). The effort that compliance requires is perhaps most clearly evident in children’s attempts to write acceptably about suffering. Some of the most touching writing speaks to the fragile fault line between the everyday realities of children’s lives and the great national contest over Union and slavery. Throughout volume three, for example, “N. D. Howe,” most likely the child of a local family who lost their eldest son to the war, pens numerous macabre, heartfelt poems about death and loss, including a poem titled “Dear Brother, he is there”:

Dear brother, he is there.
 Upon that bright eternal shore,
 Where cruel wars are known no more,
 No pain, no grief, no care,
 But joys which here, we cannot know,
 Like a calm river overflow;
 Dear brother, he is there. (25 February 1864, p. 1)

Howe's poem acknowledges the Christian promise of the afterlife as a "bright eternal shore" with "joys which here, we cannot know." And yet his reference to "cruel wars ... known no more" disrupts the acquiescent tone, suggesting the speaker's suppressed anger. His poem expresses at once a longing for comfort and solace in the face of death and the anger and despair that children may have felt as witnesses to the unspeakable carnage of the Civil War.

A Child Making News: Williams's Adoption and Disruption of Journalistic Conventions

THE EMPHASIS on children's authorship as evidence of compliance with adult authority did not have the final word in the *Penfield Extra*. In true dialogic fashion, Williams regularly drew attention to the fact that she set her own type, edited all the copy, solicited her advertisers, marketed her own paper, cultivated her growing celebrity, and financially supported her family through her commercial labour.¹² In keeping with Juliet McMaster's contention that texts by young authors, including Jane Austen, Daisy Ashford, and others, rarely focus on "trying to produce 'children's literature' (whatever that is)," Williams's paper bears many signs of her writing to and for adults, questing to be "an author with authority among authors" (281; 296). Furthermore, through Williams's frequent associations with mainstream journalists and their modes of writing, she created a textual and material product that represented, and would be received by readers as, the "news" and not simply a juvenile novelty. In fact, when composing her own articles, Williams often encroached on territories typically reserved for adult journalists. She did so, moreover, in ways that both reflect and critique gender expectations.

Located throughout the pages of the *Penfield Extra*, amid articles previously printed elsewhere and obtained through her exchanges with other journalists, Williams's signed articles span multiple genres, including editorials, special interest pieces, weather reports, jokes, advice columns, and brief asides. From this work in mainstream journalistic genres, which she deploys to and for her own ends, a shrewd editorial persona emerges, one that is at times witty, sardonic, and charming, while at others politically charged, prophetic, and authoritative. In a front-page editorial for 9

May 1863, for instance, Williams muses on the return of spring and her longing to see loved ones return from war:

Penfield is again assuming a lovely appearance. The green buds are bursting from the shrubery [*sic*], and the pastures are becoming green. The husbandmen are repairing their fences ... and planting their spring crops. We feel to thank Him who only can make things lovely for us on earth, for the many blessings bestowed upon US; and were it not for our troubles caused by difference in opinion, we should be a happy and prosperous people. But we are daily looking forward to the time when we can again take our fathers, and our brothers by the hand and welcome them home from the battle field, to enjoy the fireside preserved by the precious blood of our Country; but we look in vain, as speculation at the present time seems to rule. (1)

In this essay, Williams moves nimbly from innocuous weather reports to religious longings to political commentary on the war (e.g., “troubles caused by difference in opinion”), to dreaming of future reconciliations.

The article continues, but its tone becomes harsher:

About every promoted officer appears to think more about the dollars, than he does the honors, of his country. Were this not the case, we should not have the hundreds of changes in the officers. ... In our opinion, if our officers, and soldiers had to fight without rations and without pay, the same as our forefathers fought, our troubles would soon be brought to a close. (1)

Unlike the prosaic and sentimental discourses employed in the first half of the article, the conclusion slides into direct political commentary; her rhetoric becomes blunt, bold, and brash.

A similar boldness characterizes many of Williams’s editorials and short asides, especially those that pertain to the Civil War. When writing about the politics and violence of war, she often assumes direct, accusatory language, discordant with the sentimental, charming, and witty voices that, as we have seen, she uses elsewhere. This shift is exemplified by her editorial “THE HORRORS OF WAR” (2 June 1864, original capitalisation):

On reading accounts from our numerous exchanges, it is enough to make ones blood run cold In a short time it will be necessary to send to China or some heathen Island, for Missionaries to civilize the inhabitants of the United States—The accounts given in public prints last week, of the situation of 4,000 white woman [*sic*] of

Nashville, Tenn. is heart-rending. Why don't our brothers of the Press adopt some means by which this evil can be eradicated, and the mothers and sisters of our country saved from destruction [*sic*]? What has become of the Christian population? Are they not able to save their mothers and sisters? Or is their undivided attention paid to the African race, while our white brothers and sisters are falling below the heathen nations of the Earth (1).

Here, Williams's commentary on news of civilian injuries and deaths, including those of 4,000 "mothers and sisters," turns angry, defensive, and prophetic ("What has become of our Christian population?") (1). Moreover, her complaint exposes the complex intersectional identities informing and formed by her prose: these include daughter of a pro-Confederate father (who wonders whether white women are not as valuable as "African Americans"), sister of a Union officer, Northerner, Christian, and defender of women and children. The article concludes with a gesture of childlike subordination: "But I will with-hold and leave the subject to some more able pen" (1). Yet the earlier scathing prose undercuts this submissive final line.

Williams can be equally stern when she engages political issues closer to home. In an editorial from January 14, 1864, entitled "How Many Will Be Like Them," the *Penfield Extra* editor sharply criticises two local Penfield men, recently returned from war, for not assisting their widowed mother (1). Without mincing words, she lambastes the two for failing to provide for the one who had cared for them their entire lives, including when they were recently wounded in battle (1). In "Remember the Poor," Williams goes even further, in that she places local injustice on national display—this time attacking town authorities for not assisting the poor (15 December 1864). As she recounts, "Last week, we heard a poor soldier's widow the mother of seven small children, tell our Supervisor that she had not a stick of wood to burn, and nothing but potatoes for her children to eat" (1). The directness of Williams's criticism and her condemnation of some Christians' hypocrisy is as shocking as the particular subject under attack:

Now if a boasted town of wealth like Penfield will allow their poor to suffer in this way they must expect that such doings will be published in the papers. . . . Many people look upon the county house with more dread than many of our pretend Christians look upon the place which they are sure to find after they pass from earth. It will probably soon be necessary for us to mention names. (1)

Calling out the hypocrisy of "many of our pretend Christians," she also threatens that if this behaviour does not change, offenders' names will be published (1).

Williams's defence of the vulnerable, whom her religion taught her to care for, echoes the nurturing, religious, and maternal roles that nineteenth-century conduct

literature assigned to women and girls. And yet, as they play out in the spaces of Williams' newspaper, these normative discourses gain additional meanings and depth. In the *Penfield Extra*, language practices associated with moral virtue and Christian charity intermingle with biting social criticism and no-holds-barred flaunting of the authority of the press.

Not all is serious, however, in Williams's prose. Relying on her ability to turn a phrase, to surprise and upend readers, and to convey important truths askance, Williams brings her precocious wit to what was recorded as news (e.g., when school was in session, when absurd accidents occurred, and when the weather was charming or dull). Yet when she ventures to tell a joke, Williams often enters overtly political, sardonic territory. For instance, to ring in the New Year of 1864, she offers her twist on the standard obituary: "DIED. In Penfield Dec, [*sic*] 31st, the old year Eighteen and sixty three. The funeral was attended by our fast young men who raffled all night for turkeys and had them stole in the morning" (7 January 1864, p. 2). In the same issue, she sarcastically mocks the contentious atmosphere surrounding the draft with a joke masked as local war update: "NOT COWARDLY.—Our boys did not like the statement week before last that they were all cowards, as since that time many of them have enlisted and we understand that Penfield have nearly filled their quota" (7 January 1864, p. 1). She offers another politically charged quip in the issue of 14 January 1864:

False Encouragement. —You should never encourage a child by false promises, except if he is a big child and you wish him to enlist, then you may promise him that the war will end in nine months and then he will get the large bounty for nothing. (1)

Humour, as Williams employs it, departs radically from the trivial banter we find in the material she recycled from her exchanges with readers, which is mostly derivative and stereotypical. Her bold sarcasm regularly targets issues of social justice.

By contrast, scattered throughout her paper are signed and unsigned quips, such as "some wicked rascal says that he has invented a new telegraph. He proposes to place a line of woman [*sic*] fifty steps apart, and commit the news to the first as a very profound secret" (20 July 1865, p. 2). Whereas recycled jokes, like this one, often reinforce cultural norms, Williams's wit regularly surprises and upends power structures. For those reasons, readers may have found Williams's humour reminiscent of a famous female journalist, the adult Fanny Fern, one of the leading newspaper columnists of the period. Famous for defending the rights of the disenfranchised, especially children and women, Fern's wry columns, as Joyce Warren claims, offered up "pungent satire" that "stripped people ... of their grandiose airs" and "satirized folly and pretensions in all facets of life" (xxxii). For example, in a column entitled "To Gentlemen: A Call to Be a Husband," Fern prods:

Has that man a call to be a husband, who having wasted his youth in excesses, looks around him at the eleventh hour for a “virtuous young girl,” (such men have the effrontery to be *very* particular on this point,) to nurse up his damaged constitution, and perpetuate it in their offspring? (280)

As the *New York Tribune* reported, Fern’s “taste for satire” and appeal for social justice, which we find expressed above, were also “tempered” by her Christian sympathies (qtd. in Warren xxxii). Like Fern, Williams mocks the socially powerful for preying upon rather than helping the most vulnerable and powerless. Far from derivative or deferential, Nellie Williams’s “jokes” are political and cutting.

Child Authorship as Public Performance

THE OVERLAID and competing discourses of the *Penfield Extra* turn the Romantic establishment of childhood and adulthood as separate states of being on its head. Indeed, Williams’s paper—which straddles discourses associated with children and adults—nicely illustrates Marah Gubar’s contention that the process of growing up forms “a messy and unpredictable continuum” (455) in which “our younger and older selves are multiple and interlinked, akin to one another, rather than wholly distinct” (454). Williams’s assumption of dual child and adult roles was more than a theoretical premise. Rather, Williams’s acts of authorship encompassed multiple intersectional identities—as child, female, working-class citizen, caregiver, professional journalist, and full-time labourer—and her paper witnessed to how these roles reflected and were shaped by the social and material realities of her life.¹³ As a result, the *Penfield Extra* testified to the ways by which working-class children were expected to balance their affiliation with the cultures and spaces of childhood with the mature responsibilities, caregiving, and labour associated with adults.

Williams’s authorial voice was further mediated by the public venues and audiences anticipated by her newspaper. Her publisher’s box for 5 May 1864 exemplifies this dynamic: announcing her age of “for teen [*sic*] summers” and repeating her tag line—“probably the youngest Publisher and Editress of a weekly newspaper in the world”—Williams petitions readers to “please overlook a little bad spelling and typographical error” (3). She then expresses gratitude that “the readers of the *Extra* and numerous Editors and publishers, seem to appreciate Little Nellie’s youthful ambition, as she is receiving many valuable exchanges for her little paper, for which she is very thankful” (3). In this instance, Williams’s sense of her manifold audience, the “numerous Editors and publishers,” who offered “valuable exchanges” as well as the readers and subscribers, who seemed to “appreciate” her “youthful ambition,” works to both invoke and plead for her favorable reception (e.g., the grammatical errors they will “please overlook”). In this same box, she also anticipates

a broad and receptive audience: “The *Extra* is claimed to be one of the best advertising mediums in the state as every body will read it from preface to finis. Circulation 1300” (3).

The many references to the distances, people, and papers reached by Williams’s editorial voice speak to the unique publics created for and by newspaper-making. As Michael Warner argues, the public assumed by journalists like Williams is both a literal entity—a broad audience of actual readers addressed by the text—and an imagined body constructed in and through writing. Clearly, the various ways that Williams’s paper imagines and anticipates its broad circulation and mass readership resonates with Warner’s account of how “all discourse or performance addressed to a public must characterize the world in which it attempts to circulate, projecting for that world a concrete and livable shape, and attempting to realize that world through address” (81). We see this dynamic play out in *The Penfield Directory of 1863* (see fig. 9), a one-page insert that appeared in the paper’s second year. By prominently listing her name and occupation within the public record of “the names and occupations of all the Business Men and Farmers,” Williams essentially put herself, her work, and her business on the metaphorical map. Through visual formatting, the entry “Published by Nellie Williams, Editress of the Penfield Extra” stands out via its bold typeface and its placement at the top of the center column. In addition, hers is the only business to appear twice in the center column, with the final entry spotlighting Williams’s occupation as well as her business acumen. Announcing—“Fancy Print Jobs . . . executed with neatness” at “The Office of the Penfield Extra”—Williams’s advertisement sets the printer up for success a second time. Ensuring in this way that her name received top billing, Williams created space for her work and identity within a public that was assumed to be male and adult—thus *The Penfield Directory of 1863* epitomises her skillful manipulations of print forms designed for mass circulation, which have the potential to take on a public life all their own. That this extant document was found faded, folded, and enclosed in a local Penfield resident’s diary testifies to the diverse public usages anticipated by popular print (Owen 136).

In Williams’s frequent reproduction of letters by subscribers as well as texts created expressly “for Little Nellie’s paper,” she demonstrated additional strategies through which her paper materially foregrounded the network for and about whom it circulated. Even in her paper’s first year of publication, for instance, Williams reprinted several poems dedicated to her, including one reminiscing about her own mother’s death, and another entitled “The Power of the Pen.” These trends continued throughout her paper’s successful run. And Williams’s frequent transcriptions of subscribers’ letters meant that readers might awaken to find their private correspondence made the news, as Mary E. Kellogg of Macomb, Michigan discovered. Her letter was reprinted in the *Extra* of December 31 1863:

PENFIELD VILLAGE DIRECTORY FOR 1863.

Containing the Names and Occupation, of all the Business Men, and Farmers, within the limits of the Village, for present and future references. Price for single copies, 5 Cents.

<p>Auchampach H. Blacksmith, Auchampach P. Laborer, Allen Athens, Farmer, Allen Daniel, Tie & Copper Smith, Allea Lewis, Farmer, Austen Orvil, Carriage Maker, Andrews Fairchild, Supervisor, Allen, Lemuel, Farmer, Adams, Franklin, Farmer, Browe T. A., Physician & Surgeon, Burrows J. A., Physician & Surgeon, Burbull Spencer, Moulder, Barard John, Farmer, Burns Joseph, Farmer, Burns John, Farmer, Bradish J. N., Hotel Proprietor, Beaumont Thomas, Farmer, Bailey, M. W., Farmer, Bourne R. Wagon Maker & Farmer, Becker Abram, Nurseryman, Brothers Peter, Farmer, Beuch Labon, Carpenter & Joiner, Becho Wm. M., Carriage Factory, Bedwell Wm. C., Hotel Proprietor, Bigsby, B. L., Fruit Tree Dealer, Burrongs Harman, Soldier, Boppe E. L., Farmer, Clark A. S., Justice of the Peace, Campbell A. B., Academy Principal, Case A. F., Soldier, Crippen E. R., Fruit Tree Dealer, Church W. F., Town Collector & Const., Coon John, Soldier, Chapman Geo., Fruit Tree Dealer, Church A. F., Laborer, Courtier A. B., Retired Tailor, Covey J. R., Carpenter & Joiner, Cole Henry, Clothier, Cole John, I., Farmer, Cook Abner, Constable, and Fruit and Produce Dealer, Carter P., Nurseryman, Carrier Charles, Nurseryman, Cooklin J. W., Auctioneer, Clark Geo., Farmer, Clark Oren, Farmer, Covey Spencer, Farmer, Clainer John, Farmer, Erocher Edward, Laborer, Loce, Henry H., Fruit Tree Dealer, Clark, Honore, Laborer, Cator, William, Soldier, Clark, Horace E., Farmer, Clark, Franklin E., Farmer, Carpenter, S. C., Butcher & Farmer, Crane, William, Carpenter & Joiner, Crane, Mahan, Farmer, Dutton C. H., Universalist Minister, Dryer, N. R., Physician & Surgeon, Dunham Austin, Farmer, Dunham Riley, Farmer, Darling John, Carpenter & Joiner, Douglas Thomas, Head Miller, Dunham L. A., General Agent, Dutton D. H., Tin Smith, Dutton L. L., Tin Shop & Stove Store, Davenport Geo., Farmer, Duten J., Tailor & Hvy Scales, Dillon Thomas, Shoemaker, Daggott, Levi, Carpenter & Joiner, Daggott, Horace, Soldier, Daggott, John, Soldier, Daggott, Martin, Soldier, De Rater, Paul R., Farmer, East Thomas, Butcher, Edridge B. W., Mason, Fellows Henry, Nurseryman, Fellows Charles, Nurseryman, Fellows John, Nurseryman, Fellows Robert, Nurseryman, Fellows Wm., Nurseryman, Fellows Wm. 2d, Nurseryman, Fellows George, Nurseryman, Fellows John 2d, Nurseryman, Follett Abel, Mason, Follett E. P., Soldier, Fullon, Lemuel, Farrier & Farmer, Gifford N. A., Carpenter & Joiner, Grippen C. J., Soldier, Gifford, E. W., Nurseryman, Hipp, Harrison, Farmer, Hipp, George, Farmer, Hipp John, Farmer, Hipp Wm. J., Cooper, Hipp L., Teamster, Howe Benjamin, Furnace Proprietor, Howe George, Farmer, Haskins J., Shoemaker, Harris J., Nurseryman, Huntington, J. F., Soldier, Hammond, D. C., Soldier, Higbie, Abijah, Farmer, Hammers, J., Carpenter & Joiner, Haskell, A., Baptist Minister, Hayward Henry, Mill Proprietor</p>	<p>VILLAGE DIRECTORY, CONTAINED IN Little Nellie Williams, FARMER OR WAS PENFIELD EXTRA, Rocheater City, Cards E. P. HALL'S PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY, No. 15 Main Street Rocheater, Is one of the best in the State. The best place to stop in ROCHESTER, is at FARMERS' HOTEL, John Chapman, Proprietor. The cheapest place to purchase LEADS & CARDS, is at 13 Front Street, Rochester, N. Y. The largest Dry Good Store in ROCHESTER. Burke, Fitts Simmon, Hone & Co., GARDNER'S BLOCK, MAIN ST. J. J. HANSEN'S Steam Fancy Dyeing, Center of Mill & Platt St., Rochester, N. Y. PURCHASE YOUR PAPER HANGINGS OF DIX & RICKARD, No. 11 Front Street, Rochester, N. Y. GEORGE W. HARROLD, Keeps the best variety of CROCKERY, IN ROCHESTER, 85 Main Street. E. Oumpaugh, Rochester, deals in one variety of MEN'S FURNISHING GOODS, No. 10 Main Street Bridge Boots Shoes & Gaiters. The largest variety can be found at H. S. VAN DAIKE & Co., 81 Buffalo St. Rochester, N. Y. FRESH AND CHEAP GROCERIES, Pure Wines & Liquors, Can always be found at M. J. MONTEBORD, 99 Buffalo Street, Rochester, N. Y. The Best Family Newspaper, Published in Monroe County, is MONROE STAR, VOL. XXXII. THE CHEAPEST Book Store in Rochester, is G. W. Fisher's, 6 Exchange St. The best place to obtain a first rate SEWING MACHINE, is at 57 Buffalo Street, D. E. Rice, Agent. The best kind of HOOP SKIRTS, Are Manufactured by W. H. H. & Co., 117 Main Street, Rochester, N. Y. The only place to obtain genuine PURE COFFEE & SPICES, is VANZANDT & FENNER'S FACTORY, 76 Main Street, Rochester, N. Y. GEM DE VISITES, Can be obtained only at Geo. W. GODFREY & CO'S, SUN BEAM GALLERY, 81 Main Street, Rochester, N. Y. The best place to Purchase CLOTHS, CLOTHING & C., in Rochester, is at C. Sheil's, 15 Front Street. Fancy Job Printing OF ALL KINDS, AND VARIETIES, Executed with accuracy and dispatch, At the Office of the Penfield Extra.</p>	<p>Higbie, Alanson, Justice of the Peace, Hardick Jacob, Highway Commis'r, Johnson, M. H., Farmer, Jungh, Michael, Farmer, Keith, William, Soldier, Lovell, Thos. B., Academy Principal, Lincoln, A. W., Mill Owner & Farmer, Lincoln, J. K., Miller, Lamb, Eliza, Farmer, Lamb, George, Farmer, Laws, D. E., Retired Merchant, Lewis, John F., Nurseryman, Leonard, I., Farmer, Leonard, Charles, Farmer, Leonard, George, Farmer, Lippencott, Joseph, Farmer, Loyd, Samuel, Farmer, Loyd, William, Farmer, Mills, F. A., School Collector, Markell, Carlos, Blacksmith, Markell, George H., Furunceman, Markell, Watson, Blacksmith, Merrill, Alwood, Soldier, Mott, John, Cooper, Mann, R., Farmer & Retired Minister, McKinstry, P., Methodist Minister, Owen, C. W., Carpenter & Joiner, Owen, W. F., Clerk, Owen, Harvey, Laborer, Pickett, John, Grocery Store, Pittsford, W., The oldest man in town, Pope, William, Steam Market, Pope, W. G., Teacher of Vocal Music, Parmenter, George, Farmer, Pope, Edward, Soldier, Pope, Oren, Soldier, Raymond, A., Shoemaker, Raymond, G., Laborer, Raymond, William, Soldier, Raymond, George, Farmer, Richmond, John, Soldier, Rich, John, Dry Good Clerk, Ramey, Horace, Farmer, Rosa, George, Carriage Maker, Rockerfeller, John, Farmer, Rubic, Wm. B., Harness Maker, Rundall, Calvin, Farmer, Rundall, Myron, Thrasher & Farmer, Rosa, Elijah, Farmer, Rosa, Horace A., Farmer, Stainon, R., Head Miller, Skimmore, T., Boatman, Southworth, G. D., Nurseryman, Steuer, Jacob, Laborer, Still, Isaac, Carpenter & Joiner, Slade, A. L., Fruit Tree Dealer, Sims, Alexander, Harness Maker, Still, John, Mover of Buildings, Sharp, Alfred, Carpenter & Joiner, Sharp, Henry, Saxon, Starung, Robert, Grocery Store, Livery Stable, & Farmer, Sweet, Berj., Blacksmith, Strawger, George, Farmer, Strawger, Wm., Farmer, Strawger, Samuel Surveyer & Farmer, Strawger, Samuel 2d, School Teacher, Strawger, A., Soldier, Strawger, O., Soldier, Strawger, Ghes H., Public Lecturer, Spall, William, Farmer, Sewell, John D., Post Master, Town Clerk, and Shoe Maker, Stubbins, W. J., Carpenter & Joiner, Thompson, E. N., Grocery Store, Thomas, Wm. R., Fruit Tree Dealer, Thomas, C., Farmer, Thomas, A., Farmer, Thompson, Wm., Machine Agent, Thompson, Olney, Machine Agent, Upson, Orin, Living on money 1-st, Wood, J. H., Farmer, Wood, Richard, Farmer, Wilson, J. W., Atty & Coss'r at Law, Woodruff, J., Presbyterian Minister, Westerman, J. 2d, Farmer, Webb, Nathaniel, Laborer, Wenters, Micheal, Farmer, Wright, R. B., Harness Maker, Shoe Maker, Nurseryman and Farmer, Weaver, John, Farmer, Weaver, E. K., Farmer, Welsber, Peter, Laborer, Williams, L. K., Retired Printer, Wright, D. W., Nurseryman, Nellie Williams, Printing Office & Drug Store, Williams, Leroy K., Soldier, Wright Frederick B., Farmer, Williams, E., Mill Proprietor, Westerman, J., Farmer, Weeks, Ard, Farmer, White John, Farmer.</p>
---	---	--

Fig.9. Penfield Village Directory for 1863, originally published in the Penfield Extra and found enfolded in Calvin Wooster Owen's diary (courtesy Local History Room, Penfield, NY).

Dear Nellie,

I saw a notice in the Pontiac Jacksonian that a little girl not yet in her teens published a Little paper in Penfield, N.Y., and having a curiosity to see a copy that I sent you fifty Cents, subscription for one year, calculating to be satisfied on the receipt of one copy, and your Photograph, as I could not believe that a child so young, could have the courage and ambition to print a regular weekly paper. I was sure that it would be a failure, and I, with the rest of your subscribers, would be fifty cents out, and I must say that I was very agreeably surprised on receiving the Extra every week during the year. (2)

Perhaps more often, readers were encouraged to write for publication, as when Williams harnessed public modes of expression and circulation as means of self-defense. Just a few weeks after Williams reprinted Kellogg's ringing endorsement of her weekly, the neighbouring *Rochester Evening Express* attacked her newspaper. Without missing a beat, Williams made use of her rival's disparagement, making it fodder for own front page. In an article simply and suggestively titled "It May Be Interesting to Many," Williams announced that her paper had been "attacked by a small Rochester paper expressly calculated to make all the disturbance their small influence and circulation will allow them to do" (21 January 1864, p. 1). In the same issue in which she announces that her identity was attacked by the *Evening Express* and viewed by its many exchanges and readers, she covers her front pages with letters by over twenty subscribers and fellow journalists, who vehemently defend Williams. While not naming the exact nature of the attack, Williams leaves it for readers to infer, from these transcribed letters, the exact insult directed at her paper (e.g., that Williams was not actually writing and editing her own paper). That these letters not only defend but also exuberantly praise Nellie Williams's character and credibility disarmed the *Express's* charge. A letter attributed to a subscriber from Rochester, NY is representative:

Dear Nellie,

The difficulty between you and the worthless Express will no doubt make you many friends, and many subscribers. I only trust your noble mind will soar above such a contemptible sheet, consider it attached to long ears, and reap world of success from your hard Labor, success is yours.

Respectfully Yours, C

By covering her front pages with such laudatory letters from over twenty subscribers and fellow journalists, Williams rebuked her sceptics through the same circuitous modes of representation that had been used against her.

She triumphantly reports the following:

We have received the past week **eighty three** subscribers through the influence of the Daily Union, and have not lost one through the influence of the small Express. A paper that has no influence (which is virtually proved by the above) cannot do any person any harm or any good, and the following letters will show that many people have the same opinion. (21 January 1864, p. 1. Emphasis as in the original)

Here, Williams demonstrates her awareness that her words, once printed and in mass circulation, assume a public life all their own. That she received eighty-three new subscribers proves, in her view, that her paper has great influence, a statistic that she uses to further fan the flames of her critique against the *Express* (as having no influence).

The hint that her paper's contents have been reprinted by others (like the *Daily Union*) also speaks to Williams's awareness of the channels through which her "little paper" could be put to various readings and uses. Her prescient awareness resonates with what Ryan Cordell terms the "viral" nature of nineteenth-century print journalism (29). Like internet writing today, Williams's paper anticipated, constructed, and was influenced by a "conscious rhetorical concern for distance, travel, speed, and time, pertaining specifically to theorizing instances of strategic appropriation by a third party" (Ridolfo and Devoss n.p.). I would further argue that her preoccupation with how her paper was circulated, read, and recycled anticipates Ridolfo and Devoss's definition of the keen attention to "rhetorical velocity" (i.e., rapidity and frequency of reproduction) that dominates web writing today. For Williams, just as for twenty-first-century bloggers, the nature and purpose of her writing involved "charting its uses and movements—both social and geographic—alongside its evolving content" (Ridolfo and Devoss n.p.). Newspapers like Williams's were self-consciously produced as miscellanies, that is, mass-circulating texts created for mass production and dissemination while also ripe for further replication and exchange.

In her work as "editress," then, Williams demonstrated her awareness that "writing is alive when it is being . . . read, remembered, contemplated, followed-when it is part of human activity. . . . The signs on the page serve to mediate between people, activate their thoughts, direct their attention, coordinate their actions, provide the means of relationship" (Bazerman and Russell qtd. in Yancey 312). Deepening the dynamic nature of this enterprise, Williams foregrounds how the various genres assembled within and across the weekly instalments were urgently shaped by and speaking to national and domestic unrest. That is, not only was Williams's newspaper self-consciously produced for mass production and circulation, but also her paper harnesses these modes as means for "activating" and "mediating" readers' thinking on numerous social and political topics, from children's obedience, women's rights,

and the need for religion, to racism, hypocrisy, and the tumultuous events of the American Civil War.

Conclusion: A Child, Her Newspaper, and the Civil War

I CONCLUDE by attending to two photographs, one of Nellie Williams as a teen and the other when she was in her early twenties. These are the last known images taken before her premature death in 1875 at the age of 26 (figs. 10 and 11).¹⁴ The former “youngest editress in the world” survived her newspaper’s final issue by less than a decade, a fact that renders the opinions, voices, and agency recorded in her “Little Paper” even more poignant.



Fig. 10 and Fig. 11. Nellie Williams in her teens (left) and Williams in her early 20s (right), undated photographs (courtesy Local History Room, Penfield, NY).

Yet interpreting a young author’s agency proves an elusive exercise.¹⁵ As anthropologist Allison James reminds us, attending to children’s agency necessitates

“acknowledg[ing] that their particularity and the generalizations we draw from them ... must be recognized as crafted; their ‘authenticity’ must be interrogated, not assumed” (265). James’s argument illumines one of the most compelling and haunting examples of the discursive boundary crossing exhibited by Williams’s text: her 8 December 1864 report that her only brother, the Union soldier, was missing and presumed dead or prisoner of war. She heads the news story of her family tragedy with a compelling (yet jarring) title:

JUST AS WE EXPECTED

One reason why we opposed this cruel war was because our only brother has been enduring the hardship of a soldier's life for the past two and a half years; and has wrote to us from time to time of the treatment he has received at the hands of his superiors. Although we are deeply grieved, yet we are glad that he is out of his tormentor’s hands, it is stated by those who saw him last that he paid the debt of his folly, on the tenth day of last month, together with about 60 others of the N. Y. Cavelry [*sic*]. They were overpowered by the rebel cavalry, and we have had no tidings since from any of them. (1)

Here, Nellie Williams, aged fourteen, acknowledges the raw, personal grief of learning that her only brother was missing in action.

To a considerable extent, however, these painful, fresh emotions are filtered through the restrained voice of Nellie Williams, editress and publisher of the *Penfield Extra*. In the article’s adoption of the editorial “we” (“we have had no tidings of his existence or whereabouts”), raw emotions (as “deeply grieved” over “our only brother” presumed capture and death) are cloaked within the conventions of objective, matter-of-fact reporting. Her article concludes with the abrupt lines: “We shall glory in the next draft, not that we would wish to see our (stay-at home) war abolitionists shot down like dogs, but we would like to see the cowards shake in their boot a little” (1). In the end, whispers of a petulant, confused child, stirred by private grief, intersect with strident political attitudes inflamed by violent national fratricide. As Williams lashes out at local abolitionists for not enlisting as her brother had, we once again witness the ways by which crucial fault lines—between childhood and adulthood, between public and private feeling, between national and personal conflict—were invoked and unsettled by Williams’s weekly.

“Little Nellie’s Little Paper” corroborates James Marten’s contention that children, including Northern white girls, were dramatically affected by as well as participants in the politics defining the American Civil War. And yet we must concede that the *Penfield Extra* cannot be considered to capture or reveal authentic children’s experiences with the personal and national traumas surrounding the American Civil War. When it comes to interpreting children’s agency, even when this evidence spans

thousands of pages such as Nellie Williams's *Penfield Extra*, "there is no way of escaping the predicaments of representation," as Allison James argues (269). In other words, even when we have such detailed, written documentation of how a child viewed, interpreted, and understood the political, social, and domestic realities of wartime, we must also be aware that reading Nellie Williams's rich text is like any other instance of "hearing children's voices"; such texts "have to be regarded as standpoints, places from which any analysis sets out, rather than definitive descriptions of empirical phenomena embodied in the words that children speak" (James 269). Thus, when we treat Williams's text not simply as evidence of her historical agency or experience, but rather as textual representation or written performance through which one child tested her intersectional identities, voices, and actions, we gain important insights into how other children, like Nellie Williams, could articulate subjectivity and agency through public, performative rhetoric.

That the previous recognition of Williams's *Penfield Extra* focused almost exclusively on the exceptional biographical conditions informing its production illustrate the danger of biographical readings, which falsely reduce child-authored texts to documents of authentic experience. Such readings remind us that texts by children, even remarkable ones, do not speak for themselves. Like any work of creative expression, they must be actively engaged, held up to sympathetic and critical analysis, and enlivened through interpretation. Through careful reading, child-composed texts like the *Penfield Extra* yield crucial insights into the ways that writing by children, like their "art, ideas, lives, and communities," is "informed by their own theorizing about what it means to be a child, what children can do, and how much control children have (or imaginatively conceive) over" their lives (Ryan 11). As Williams's literary labours demonstrate, child writers were capable of engaging deeply with a range of subjects and modes of discourses—from the politics of the American Civil War to the playful genres of popular print, from objective reportage of national and personal traumas to elegiac laments of loved ones lost, from stories endorsing religious obedience and virtue to weather reports celebrating the vagaries and beauty of nature. And in the juxtapositions and fissures between the child editor adopting adult forms and singling out her precocious creative agency (as rooted in sensibilities and perspectives distinct from the adult world), Williams's performative rhetoric destabilizes notions of children's relationship to authorship and work, and to private and public history, during a time of great political upheaval, the American Civil War.

Notes

- ¹ This letter is transcribed in full in the *Boy's Herald*, an early twentieth-century amateur newspaper. Many thanks to Kathy Kanauer, Town Historian, Local History Room, Penfield, NY for locating this article. (Besides the publication date of 1914, the Penfield History Room does not have the full citation for this piece.) The article, entitled “Nellie’s ‘Penfield Extra,’” which also includes an interview with Williams’s sister, Mary E. Wetherall. The article offers the most detailed record of Williams’s biography and contains the only example of her private writing located to date.
- ² From the *Penfield Extra*, 7 Feb. 1862, p. 2. In circulating her tintype portraits, small, highly reproducible photographs on “tin plates” (really iron), Williams promoted her foray into the new media of the day (weekly newspapers) through the newest photographic technologies. The tintype, which was invented in 1856 in Europe, arrived in New York City in 1859. Working with several different Rochester photographers, Williams was on the cusp of the tintype “rage.” According to Janice Schimmelman, by 1861 the desire for “card photographs” was so great that New Yorkers had to wait weeks to get their own taken (20). While other editors, such as Sarah Hale of *Godey’s Lady Book*, included their engraved portraits as frontispieces and some newspaper editors from across the country were beginning to sit for portraits by 1861 (see the Brady Collection at the Library of Congress), Williams was the only editor who circulated her photograph in exchange for subscriptions.
- ³ For more on the remarkable biographical contexts informing the production and reception of the *Penfield Extra*, see “Nellie’s ‘Penfield Extra,’” as well as Vincent Golden, Dennis Laurie, Richard Sheaff, and Katherine Wilcox Thompson. (Thompson is former Penfield Town Historian).
- ⁴ My interpretations of Williams’s discourse practices and her access to/expressions of agency are informed by various disciplinary branches of childhood studies. For instance, Williams’s moral and political insights resonate with John Wall’s claim that “children are not passive recipients of top-down values, bringers of bottom-up moral agency, or blank slates developing their moral reason. Rather, they are active participants who engage in the same moral dynamics as adults by reconstructing their moral surroundings over time” (57). In addition, I agree with Tatek Abebe, interpreting children’s agency is problematic, especially since “children are both dependent and independent at the same time, and their agency should only be researched in the social-cultural and political-economic contexts in which they are located” (12). That is, when interpreting children as “social actors,” we must consider how children’s social positioning, including “relations of subordination . . . create and enable [their] capacity for action” (Hoechner, qtd. in Abebe 12). Thus, I am especially interested in recovering the historical, material, and cultural particularities engaged by, reflected in, and challenged by Williams’s writing. For these reasons, I strive to avoid generalizing about children and their access to agency from Williams’s accounts. Instead, taking a page of anthropologist Allison James, I read Williams’s discourses as reflective of the “socially constructed character of childhood that makes the social space of childhood different for different children. . . . it means acknowledging that the children’s voices that appear in our texts do not necessarily speak about ‘children’ in general or ‘the child’ in abstraction” (265).]
- ⁵ Although an analysis of the influence of her work as a printer on her literacy and authorship is beyond the scope of this project, I note that Williams’s work also exemplifies the physical labour of “practicing for print,” to borrow Karen Sánchez-

- Eppler's turn of phrase (in her ground-breaking article on juvenilia produced by an elite Boston family, "Practicing to Print: The Hale Children's Manuscript Library").
- ⁶ During the final year and a half of the *Extra's* run, numerous articles warned that steep hikes in production costs were making it difficult for newspapers to remain profitable. As her sister, Mary, later corroborated: "About 1866, as the cost of printing material had risen out of proportion to the cost of publication, Nellie decided to discontinue her paper, and accept a lucrative position offered her in the Hughes Book and Job office in Rochester, N.Y." ("Nellie's 'Penfield Extra,'" p. 6).
- ⁷ For more, see Lagan Cohen and "Amateur Newspapers."
- ⁸ Thomas Harrison in his *Career and Reminiscences of an Amateur Journalist and a History of Amateur Journalism* describes the amateur boom from the 1870s to 1880s thus: "There are at the present time, some eight or nine hundred boys and girls, or young men and women, as some of them might be better pleased to be called, varying from twelve to twenty-four and twenty-five years of age, engaged in printing, editing and contributing to some two or three hundred miniature publications" (n.p.). In addition, many amateurs considered their work morally and intellectually formative. Spencer Truman, in his *The History of Amateur Journalism*, described the Dom as a "mutual intellectual culture" or "a miniature world of letters" (3).
- ⁹ For more on the rhetorical forms and practices of nineteenth-century amateur journalism, see recent essays by Elissa Myers, Lara Langan Cohen, and Victoria Ford Smith.
- ¹⁰ I am interested in what happens if we read Williams's newspaper as Laurie Langbauer prompts us to read juvenilia; that is, not as "mere apprenticeship" or "subordinated to some looked-for-end," but rather as "important in itself" ("Young England" 77). By reading Williams's newspaper as perpetuating *and* reinventing normative cultural discourses our notions of childhood, history, and print culture are potentially transformed. As Langbauer puts it, when child writing is read "as making an imprint, generating, producing, speaking up—as trying to shape not just be shaped," our very notions of "history and literary history" are potentially altered (*Juvenile Tradition* 3). In addition, Conrad, Alexander, Gubar, McMaster, and Sánchez-Eppler remind us that reading writing by children means interpreting how child authors internalise and mimic cultural discourses responsible for their objectification as well as subvert and revise language practices through their linguistic expression.
- ¹¹ For more on the significant and various models of child and adult collaboration in Victorian literary culture, see Smith's wonderful recent book, *Between Generations: Collaborative Authorship in the Golden Age of Children's Literature*.
- ¹² Reading the play of discourses within Williams's paper speaks to the historical, material, and cultural particularities of her situation as a child and child writer. My approach, like that endorsed by the anthropologist Maria Kromidas, seeks to "illustrate what it is like to be a child at a particular time and in a particular place and symbolic context. In these accounts, children's deeply felt experiences are rendered in a way that allows us to be *affected* by children" (83).
- ¹³ In this essay as well as in my essay for *JJS* Special Issue 4.1 (forthcoming), I build on Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality, a term she coined to "denote the various ways in which race and gender interact" and thus are not isolated categories. Crenshaw developed this concept of intersectionality to emphasise how the "intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately" (1244). I draw out the implications of this concept to include other identity categories, including race, gender, class, professionalism, and age, in order to consider

how these categories were variously practiced and/or channeled in children's expressions of grief and trauma. In this sense, I follow the lead taken by Crenshaw herself in a special issue of *Signs* (2013), in which she, Sumi Cho and Lesley McCall sanction the various ways that scholars have interpreted "the scope of intersectionality, representing the wide variety of projects that make up the field" (788).

- ¹⁴ Nellie Williams died 15 June 1875, aged 26, of consumption, the same disease which prematurely claimed her mother and would soon after take the life of her younger sister, Allie. According to her sister Mary's account, after the *Extra* concluded, Williams sought employment in Rochester, as a typesetter for a local print shop. At the age of 19, she married Henry Braden, a baker who owned his own shop on Main Street (*Rochester Business Directory*, 1869). She had a daughter and son before her early death. Her son died of consumption roughly a year after her death. He was three years of age. For more on Williams's biography, see Laurie and Thompson, as well as "Nellie's 'Penfield Extra.'"
- ¹⁵ In the final year of the *Penfield Extra's* run, Williams and her two sisters, Mary (aged 17) and Allie (aged 12) initiated a second publishing venture, the *Literary Companion*, a monthly literary journal (published between October 1864 and September 1865), for which "Little Allie Williams" would become the editor-in-chief. While it has long been known that Nellie Williams edited a popular amateur newspaper, that her sisters also produced a periodical (found bound at the back of the fourth volume of the *Penfield Extra* in the Rochester Public library holdings) is less well known; I only recently discovered the sisters' joint project through the Monroe County, New York Public library's holdings. While the *Literary Companion* has only recently come to light and does not seem to have met the popular national following of the *Penfield Extra*, it proves that Williams and her sisters worked side by side in a single print shop producing their papers. In addition, the remarkable cross-pollination between their periodicals illustrates how they employed the miscellaneous forms of nineteenth-century journalism during a time of tremendous personal and national trauma. For more on this cross-pollination see my essay "Child Journalists, the Civil War, and the Intersectional Work of Reporting Grief" (editor's column, *Journal of Juvenilia Studies*, 4.1, forthcoming).

Works Cited

- Abebe, Tatek. "Reconceptualising Children's Agency as Continuum and Interdependence." *Social Sciences*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2019, pp. 1–16.
- Alexander, Christine, and Juliet McMaster. Introduction. *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*, edited by Alexander and McMaster, Cambridge UP, 2005, pp. 1–10.
- "Amateur Newspapers." *American Antiquarian Society*, www.americanantiquarian.org/amateurnews.htm.
- Cho, Sumi, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall. "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis." *Signs: Journal of Woman in Culture and Society*, vol. 38, no. 4, Summer 2013, pp. 785–810.
- Cohen, Lara Langan. "The Emancipation of Boyhood": Postbellum Teenage Subculture and the Amateur Press." *Common-Place*, vol. 14, no. 1, Fall 2013. commonplace.online/article/the-emancipation-of-boyhood/.

- Conrad, Rachel. *Time for Childhoods: Young Poets and Questions of Agency*. U of Massachusetts P, 2020.
- Cordell, Ryan. "Viral Textuality in Nineteenth-Century US Newspaper Exchanges." *Virtual Victorians: Networks, Connections, Technologies*, edited by Veronica Alfano and Andrew Stauffer, Palgrave, 2015, pp. 29–56.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6, 1991, pp. 1241–99.
- Fern, Fanny. "To Gentlemen. A Call to Be a Husband." *New York Ledger*, December 13, 1856. Reprinted in *Ruth Hall and Other Writings by Fanny Fern*, edited by Joyce W. Warren, Rutgers, 1986, pp. 280–82.
- Golden, Vincent. *Amateur Newspapers*. Gale, www.gale.com/binaries/content/assets/gale-us-en/primary-sources/standalone-collections/gps_amateurnewspapers_academic_essay_golden.pdf.
- Gubar, Marah. "Risky Business: Talking about Children in Children's Literature Criticism." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 38, Winter 2013, pp. 450–57.
- Harrison, Thos. G. *The Career and Reminiscences of an Amateur Journalist and a History of Amateur Journalism*. Thos. Harrison, 1883.
- Isaac, Jessica. "Graphing the Archives of Nineteenth-Century Amateur Newspapers." *Book History*, vol. 19, 2016, pp. 317–38.
- James, Allison. "Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials." *American Anthropologist*, vol. 109, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 261–72.
- Kromidas, Maria. "Towards the Human, After the Child of Man: Seeing the Child Differently in Teacher Education." *Curriculum Inquiry*, vol. 49, no.1, January 2019, pp. 65–89.
- Langbauer, Laurie. *The Juvenile Tradition: Young Writers and Prolepsis, 1750–1835*. Oxford UP, 2016.
- . "Young England: Part One." *Journal of Juvenilia Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, December 2019, pp. 77–101.
- "Little Nellie's Paper." *Christian Ambassador*, 22 February 1862, p. 31. *American Historical Periodicals*, Gale, link.gale.com/apps/doc/BWVDIY972055319/AAHP?u=acd_aahp&sid=bookmark-AAHP&xid=a835baab.
- Laurie, Dennis. "Nellie Williams and *The Penfield Extra*." *Almanac*, no. 70, Winter 2006, p 1.
- Marten, James. *The Children's Civil War*. U of North Carolina P, 1998.
- McMaster, Juliet. "'Adults' Literature,' By Children." *The Lion and the Unicorn*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2001, p. 277–99.
- Myers, Elissa. "'Something More than Invisible': Care as Agency in Girls' Amateur Periodicals." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 2, Summer 2020, pp. 103–23.

- “Nellie’s ‘Penfield Extra’: A Story about a 12-Year-Old Editor of 1861, with Recollections of Hon. Louis F. Post.” *The Boys’ Herald*, 1914, pp. 5–6. Local History Room, Penfield, NY.
- Owen, Calvin Wooster. *Calvin Wooster Owen: A Diary of a 19th-Century American*. Edited by Anne H. Stevens and Kathy Kanauer, Town of Penfield, 2013.
- “*The Penfield Extra*.” *American Odd Fellow*, vol. 1, 1862, p. 365.
- The Penfield Extra*. Edited by Nellie Williams. Vol. 1–5, 1861–66. *Central Library of Rochester and Monroe County, Historic Newspaper Collection*.
- “*Penfield Extra*.” *Water-Cure Journal*, 1 April 1862, p. 80. *American Historical Periodicals*, Gale, link.gale.com/apps/doc/PODVBW145046622/AAHP?u=acd_aahp&sid=bookmark-AAHP&xid=4a4992ed.
- Ridolfo, Jim and Danielle DeVoss. “Composing for Recomposition: Rhetorical Velocity and Delivery.” *Kairos*, vol. 3, no. 2, Jan. 2009.
- Ryan, Patrick J. “How New Is the New Social Study of Childhood? The Myth of a Paradigm Shift.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 38, no.4, Spring 2008, pp. 553–76
- Sánchez-Eppler, Karen. *Dependent States: The Child’s Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2005.
- . “Practicing for Print: The Hale Children’s Manuscript Libraries.” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, vol. 1, no. 2, June 2008, pp. 188–208.
- Schimmelman, Janice. *The Tintype in America: 1856–1880*. American Philosophical Society, 2007.
- Sheaff, Richard. “Little Nellie’s Little Paper.” *Ephemera News*, vol. 28, no. 4, Summer 2010, pp. 9–12.
- Smith, Victoria Ford. *Between Generations: Collaborative Authorship in the Golden Age of Children’s Literature*. U of Mississippi P, 2017.
- . “Toy Presses and Treasure Maps: Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osborne as Collaborators.” *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, Spring 2010, pp. 26–54.
- Spencer, Truman J. *The History of Amateur Journalism*. Fossils, 1957.
- Thompson, Katherine Wilcox. *Penfield’s Past, 1810–1960*, Town of Penfield, 1990.
- Yancey, Kathleen Blake. “Made Not Only in Words: Composition in a New Key.” *College Composition and Communication*, vol. 56, no. 2, December 2004, pp. 297–328.
- Wall, John. “Childism: The Challenge of Childhood to Ethics and the Humanities.” *The Children’s Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*, edited by Anna Mae Duane, U of Georgia P, 2013, pp. 52–62.
- Warner, Michael. “Publics and Counterpublics.” *Public Culture*, vol.14, no. 1, January 2002, pp. 49–90.
- Warren, Joyce W. Introduction. *Ruth Hall and Other Writings by Fanny Fern*, edited by Warren, Rutgers, 1986, pp. ix–aaxxxxix.