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EDITORIAL

WELCOME, on behalf of the *JJS* Editorial Team, to *JJS* vol. 7, no. 1, which offers you the latest scholarship in juvenilia studies, as well as book reviews of important publications in the field. You will find in this issue a focus on pedagogy, with a range of essays approaching the relationship between juvenilia and pedagogy from a number of productive vantage points. Rob Breton inspires those of us who teach undergraduate English courses with a wide range of practical suggestions for bringing juvenilia into the classroom, as he urges a role for juvenilia in the work of reinvigorating the humanities. Juliet McMaster invites instructors to consider developing a course centred on juvenile journals, in an essay that draws on her rich knowledge of this genre and its value as an object of study—whether studied "for cultural, historical, or psychological purposes," or for "literary ones." Daisy Johnson analyzes the effects of certain pedagogical strategies on one instance of youthful writing in her wide-ranging discussion of the complex process by which a young princess who would grow up to be Queen Victoria wrote and (in part) illustrated *The Adventures of Alice Laselles by Alexandrina Victoria aged 10¾*, recently published by the Royal Collection Trust.

Our invited contribution both describes and exemplifies how "collaboration" sparked "original research" when young scholars, working in partnership with librarians and faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, undertook original research into the juvenilia that they found (sometimes only after considerable investigation) in the archives. We recognize and celebrate the "intellectual excitement and conviction" of young scholars who encounter that same excitement and conviction in the young writers and artists they research. Youthful writers and artists are, however proficient, almost by definition learners. We have so much to learn about pedagogy and learning from gifted young learners themselves.

Lesley Peterson

COLLABORATION IN COLLECTIONS

Damaris Alvarenga Agustin, Amy Fader, Madison Gagnon, Mohala Kaliebe, Laurie Langbauer, Mila Mascenik, Caroline Parker, Matt Turi
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

INTRODUCTION

Laurie Langbauer
Professor, UNC Chapel Hill

"THERE is a something, no matter what we call it, in the writing of youth," a Victorian editor reflected as he published the verses that Henry Kirke White (1785–1906) wrote before he was twenty-one, "which will ever be popular with the young" (Todd 13). Offering a class on recovering the creative works of young people asks students to reflect on how youth speaks to youth. What do they think that means? This essay presents a rough outline of the "what, how, and why" of our work in English 425: "Literature, Archives, and Original Research," an intensive research undergraduate course at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in the Fall 2024 that focused on juvenilia. We tell our story from the points of view of four students, three librarians, and me, the professor. The projects the class undertook show how young researchers occupy an exceptional position when it comes to considering what young artists and authors care about and why it matters: in the sections that follow, Damaris Alvarenga Agustin reflects on young scientists at UNC a century ago, for instance, from the vantage point of being a young scientist at UNC herself; Mila Mascenik, working in journalism, zeroes in on what it meant for George Cruikshank to be active in the nineteenth-century press when he was around her age.

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Our team included a class of thirteen undergraduates (all years, all majors), five PhD students from English and Comparative Literature, one professor from the same department, instructional specialists from Ackland Art Museum, and librarians galore from Wilson Library Special Collections and Davis Library, all at UNC Chapel Hill. We met with two or three museum and four or five library colleagues; but many others, behind the scenes, made our course possible. In our class, we believed in each other as partners—and scheduling in-class research days that asked every class member to share their work as we went along fostered that sense of joint venture. We also reached outside our campus—inviting scholars we had read to video chat with our class. Though all busy people, every one of them said yes.

What brought our research team together? When it came to the librarians, it was their outreach. Almost all my teaching nowadays involves Special Collections because, well over a decade ago, I just happened to get chatting with a Manuscripts Research and Instructional Librarian from Wilson Library, Matt Turi—I don't remember now where or how. By the end of our talk—one of those "small, relevant conversations" (as he calls them) in his section of this essay, that "put a kind, available, collaborative, and deeply interested face on the archive"—we had agreed to teach together an intensive summer course on the figure of the child. In his description here, you can see some of the original sources he brought to the table to aid our discussion of different meanings "the child" could take.

Many years (and many different courses together) later, I've learned—as Matt Turi suggests many like me are "surprised to learn"—that such exchanges don't just happen; librarians seek out those engagements. They are the animating force of library instruction, underpinning its teaching. "Talk to us," was the burden of his remarks years later to a graduate class about how best to use the archive: "Talk to us; teach with us; ask us." That's a lesson that anyone anywhere can apply when they get inside a library. It has really stuck with me every time I do and turning to such colleagues has boosted my own work and my teaching no end.

I'm not sure when Amy Fader joined the team. I hope it was just as soon as she possibly could, because another surprise was how freely and wholeheartedly she was willing to provide the tools I knew the students needed to unlock the research they wanted to do. Locating juvenilia, learning the vocabulary for its study, collecting scholarship on it—those take a certain knack and some specialised knowhow, which Amy Fader's section here outlines for us. She has online repositories and indices at her fingertips, but she starts by sending students on a scavenger hunt into the stacks. As with Matt Turi, who writes of the shared absorption that comes when he strategically places a manuscript between two students to get them discovering it together, Amy Fader taught me the continuing value of hands-on cooperative engagement, students working together in groups in the stacks or at their computers. Thirty years ago, on the first day I opened the doors of the libraries at UNC, I'd found myself in grateful tears to think that for three centuries librarians had been collecting all these works expressly for me and my students. I had the same happy shock when

I realised that here was someone whose job—in which she gloried—was to come into the classroom and just give away her time and expertise to foster the students' skills, her only thought of return to make their work better. She turns them into the "resident experts," as she terms it, while giving them the confidence to see themselves in that role.

What neither Matt Turi nor Amy Fader tells you (but I will) is about their inexhaustible and generous work behind the scenes. As COVID was shutting down campus in March 2020, Matt Turi sped to Wilson before they had locked its doors to make sure the class had copies of our materials from there (we envisioned him under a bare bulb in the basement, working feverishly at the scanner). In course evaluations every year, students single out Amy Fader's one-on-one meetings (hours and hours and hours of meetings) as a support they treasure. Wherever we are, we all know devoted colleagues who play out such stories every day. Finding such partners makes all the difference. They can show us what we don't know we're missing: researching juvenilia means recognising all the other accounts that collections leave out, wittingly or unwittingly (as Matt Turi discusses); Caroline Parker calls these "blind spots" that researchers can work to restore.

Mohala Kaliebe also touches on the rewards that come from making contact and opening up conversations. What *she* doesn't tell you is that, through her own "thoughtful questions" about ways to "examine unpublished materials," it emerged that she had over the last year been conducting her own juvenilia research (very successfully) into an early twentieth-century journal kept by a teenager, a diary she had rummaged out of a pile of old books that she had found for sale. In a trice, I had her in front of the classroom presenting (graciously) her strategies in advancing that research. She taught them to us all—and other lessons too, lessons just as important as any specific strategies: the determination and joy of intellectual curiosity, for one, and how seeking out connection (here was a practicing expert in our midst!) brings to light unexpected rewards once we look for such affiliations, for another. Watch this page—I hope Mohala Kaliebe will soon share her findings on teenage diaries, here or elsewhere, with the larger community.

I'd need a separate essay to describe our partnership with the Ackland Art Museum. That story, and the range of works held, come out a little in the entries by Caroline Parker and Mila Mascenik. The teaching staff at the Ackland has pulled images for classes to pore over in the print room. They have hung teaching galleries of our particular selections. They have led tours through the on-view collection. Seeing works up close with trained art staff has helped students think about images by young illustrators in published volumes (Pamela Bianco, say) that we considered in Rare Books or pictures by young creators that we viewed online (such as the imagined world dreamt up by the Nelson brothers—see the innovative class at Amherst on them taught by Karen Sánchez-Eppler, one of our video-chat visitors—or the Darwin children's marginalia on their father's manuscripts).[1] Identifying works by artists under twenty-one in the Ackland collection will be a continuing process,

and a painstaking one for me, in which I slowly compare image-production dates to artist birth dates, art work by art work. I have discovered a score of works so far, and I know there will be more to come. The excitement of recovering them more than warrants the labour: standing in front of our upstairs gallery, our class had the elation of seeing for the first time works that had never been brought together before. Through their connection, we felt, they could be viewed in new ways; every comment by every student would be a new discovery. For me, as a teacher, that affirmation of each class member's promise and voice is what teaching should impel.

As at every college and university, the students are the whole point. The four essays that follow speak for themselves—and they speak volumes when it comes to the intellectual excitement and conviction that Matt Turi suggests we should encourage. I wish you could read every essay the class turned in that term. Our class had a handful of graduate student members, central to our team, who are all working to publish their findings; so I hope you *will* be able to read those essays sometime soon. In every class I've taught on juvenilia, every student has had something new to say. Their research, investigating others like them who sought to get down in print or picture something never before expressed, ensures that they do too. Recovery spurs originality—and not just because the texts they choose may be unknown, ignored, or neglected, never studied by anyone else, though that disregard is part of the incitement. For some researchers, it's central to the story: Madison Gagnon, for instance, delves into Nathalia Crane's notoriety at the time (critics scoffed that no real young lady could write in that way) to argue that bringing her *back* into critical awareness lays bare assumptions about young people and gender then, but also that such preconceptions can still be hard to see today.

These essays represent a range of texts or approaches. They share an understanding, however, that seems to me another major factor in ensuring the originality I've come to expect from their concentrated, open-ended, hands-on labour in the archives, which in the middle of it can seem overwhelming in its tasks until they see a way (and they always do) to plait their straw into gold: all these essays zero in on how young creators sought to have a voice because they wanted, first and foremost, to reach out to others. That stands out to me most when I read them. These acute young critics not only hear how youth speaks—they understand that what it wants most vitally is to be heard.

DEVELOPING ARCHIVAL COMPETENCE

Matt Turi
Manuscripts Research and Instruction Librarian, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

MOST OF the archival instructional encounters that I stage have an inherent flaw. Fifty minutes, or even seventy-five—if it happens to be Tuesday/Thursday—is too brief a period in which to instill the skills and manners of thought essential to independently and successfully navigate a special collections library. Of course, this assumes that the burst of odd demands that begin a session—wash and dry your hands!—bags and coats to the shelves!—throw out your coffee and water!—no pens or notebooks!—has only caused us to lose class time and not alienated potential researchers.

Of necessity, these temporal limits as well as the experience of working with new researchers have caused me to radically reconsider which elements of special collections life and work are essential to convey to new researchers within an instructional session. I have become increasingly convinced that developing archival competence is best understood as a continuum that only begins with a formal encounter and continues throughout the library's relationship with a researcher. There is no clear end.

This realisation is liberating and has helped me distill my instructional goals so as to engender feelings of excitement, collaboration, and distrust through the collective examination of archival materials. The direct examination of materials fills most of the session.

Selecting the corpus of material is the central intellectual work of preparing to meet a class. As precursors to selection, there are discussions with the instructor and colleagues, review of the syllabus, and archival description. Once I have developed a mental map of the class's semester, my work is to select letters, diaries, and other texts that convince these new readers that an archive is uniquely revealing about the intimate and hidden lives of others, and that any of the barriers posed by our policies, procedures, hours, and other chicanery are negligible in comparison. Ideally, students should be charmed, shocked, enchanted, enraged, perplexed, and curious to know more. Archival juvenilia and materials reflecting the lives of children readily lend themselves to this instructional project. Two perennially useful late twentieth-century collections are the life-long diaries kept in the Elizabeth Rose Campbell Papers and the children's books and editorial files in the Lollipop Power, Inc., Records. Campbell's diaries, which she began writing at the age of eight, are variously naïve

and child-like (with a will leaving her sister half of a horse), testy about the travails of high school life, and detailed and sexually candid in young adulthood. The illustrated children's books published by Lollipop are visually simple—bold colours with line drawings—but present a series of non-sexist lives and choices that are in sharp conflict with the dominant values and public culture of the 1970s and 80s. The editorial files allow us to construct a narrative (otherwise hidden) of the books' construction. Both these collections are readily accessible, superficially familiar, charming, laugh-out-loud funny, intellectual, and emotionally exciting. In numerous ways, then, these collections speak to the fun and adventure that can happen in the archive.

During a session, there are ideally two library staff available to have small relevant conversations with individuals and groups. Their role at this time is to answer questions, provide context, suggest additional sources, and put a kind, available, collaborative, and deeply interested face on the archive. Many researchers—not just early students—are surprised to learn that their work, their questions, their discoveries, and their interpretations are deeply important to us and inform our work as archivists and librarians. Much of our knowledge about the collections and research trends is derived from these small but significant conversations, and they do impact how we collect and describe materials.

In addition to being present and engaged, another occasional tactic that library staff employ to reinforce the value of collaboration is to conduct a shared common reading. This can be as simple as placing a cursive diary between two seats at a table, thereby encouraging students to interpret together, or it could be the projection of a cursive letter for the entire class to decipher and interpret out loud together.

One very powerful, if fraught, collection that suggests the worth of the archive, the value of collaboration, and the limits and biases of the archive is a collection that is now titled "Mary Tunstall Letter on Enslaved Child Betsy." When I first used this letter in a class on children in the archive it was unhelpfully called "The Tunstall Family Letter." The letter has many pedagogical virtues. A single letter is the entire collection. It is short. It is written in good clear cursive. It is also simple to characterise: it is a thank-you letter from a wife to her husband for the gift of Betsy, an enslaved child.

The title and the letter's original description were terribly distorted in their presentation of the document's content, as they focused not on the central actor of the letter, Betsy, but on the adults, the white adults receiving and writing the letter. The massive disjunction between the content and its archival description is a powerful example for the students of the archival biases that can hinder research. This is especially true for work by or about children, who, like other devalued historical actors, are often treated dismissively by archivists. It is important that students think critically about our work and do not assume that we are omniscient or fair narrators.

If students leave excited by what they have seen, with a conviction that we are partners in the research process, and doubts about the limits of our knowledge and work, they are well placed to begin work in the archive.

DEVELOPING CRITICAL RESEARCH SKILLS

Amy Fader
Humanities Librarian, UNC Chapel Hill

WORKING closely with Laurie Langbauer's classes on juvenilia, particularly "Literature, Archives, and Original Research," has been a rewarding opportunity to deeply engage with students over the course of an entire semester—a rarity in library instruction, which is often limited to a single session. I employed various strategies to support students in developing critical research skills, including leading multiple library instruction sessions, providing one-on-one consultations, and creating a dedicated course page.

My first session begins with an overview of library resources to ensure that all students, regardless of their prior research experience, start on equal footing. To encourage engagement, I then send students into the stacks to locate an item. This increasingly novel experience serves as an icebreaker and introduces the concept of serendipitous discovery. Afterwards, we debrief on their findings and discuss the materiality of sources—how to skim a table of contents, recognise an edited volume, and understand the structure of different types of books. As a result of such an exercise, one student found relevant juvenilia within an edited volume on nineteenth-century periodicals. Such a discovery prompts us to consider how juvenilia is often embedded within broader literary collections and reinforces the value of browsing.

A core activity in my instruction sessions involves students working in small groups to explore different library databases and resources. Each group examines a specific database, identifies its key features, and analyses a selected item. They then share their findings with the class, becoming the "resident experts" on their assigned database. This method fosters collaborative learning and helps students navigate the distinctions between primary and secondary sources. The databases students explore typically reflect a range of library resources, including indexes for secondary scholarship and digital archives for primary sources. Students analyse landing pages to determine the content, time period/coverage, and geographical focus of the database. Often, these landing pages are opaque, presenting students with little more than a search toolbar without any context. I provide suggestions for finding more information (vendor websites, the library's catalogue, or e-resource descriptions) and encourage students to seek out details such as lists of included publications or the

names of the institutions that compiled the archives. I stress this because learning how to critically assess a resource is an invaluable skill that extends beyond the academic setting.

To streamline the classroom experience, I pre-select sample items from each resource for students to examine. This allows for a productively structured discussion when students are early in the research process and are still refining their topics. Students consider factors such as authorship, publication context, narrative voice, and omitted perspectives. For instance, while working with an article from Gale's Nineteenth Century Collections Online: *Juvenile Journalists: Selected Amateur Newspapers*, students are encouraged to zoom out and examine the entire newspaper issue to gain a broader understanding of its historical and cultural context. By looking beyond a single article, students can identify patterns in amateur journalism (social commentary, literary experimentation, peer feedback) that speak to the nature of juvenilia as a body. Similarly, using Adam Matthew's digital archive *Nineteenth Century Literary Society*, students explore "Letters of Lord Byron to His Mother, Catherine Gordon Byron (1799–1809)."[2] Engaging with personal correspondence can add another layer of meaning to an author's familiar writings and provide insight into the societal context of the time (familial relationships, gender norms, educational practices). Additionally, working with digital archives provides a low barrier of entry to engaging with archival materials and provides exposure to finding aids, library metadata, and the use of search functionalities to find relevant sections within a larger document or collection.

This initial exposure to library resources benefits students by familiarising them with diverse research materials, building confidence in their research abilities, and fostering peer learning. By engaging in hands-on research before finalising their topics, students gain an appreciation of the variety of sources available and the complexities of the research process.

Subsequent sessions and one-on-one consultations focus on individual research needs. A workshop-style session covers keyword formation and search strategies, emphasising the use of synonyms, historically relevant language, and discipline-specific discourse. Students then practise navigating the library's catalog and databases while paying close attention to subject headings and controlled vocabulary. Working in pairs or small groups, they conduct searches in multiple databases, compare results, and refine their research questions.

Students researching juvenilia often struggle with terminology because works by young writers are not always labelled as such. For example, research on George Cruikshank may begin with just an author or title. To narrow scope, author/title may need to be coupled with other terms (political caricatures, Victorian satirical prints, nineteenth-century British illustrators), but it may also be necessary for students to research these broader concepts in material that is not directly related to their chosen work. Specifically, when there is limited scholarship on a particular author or title, students can expand the scope of their research and supplement this with their own

analysis of a primary text. A shift as simple as this can uncover new resources and highlight the importance of maintaining flexible search strategies.

At this stage of the research process, students learn to differentiate between repositories and indexes and understand how search results differ in the two. For example, JSTOR is a repository that provides full-text articles across disciplines, but lacks subject headings or controlled vocabulary, making keyword searching the primary means of discovery. This may result in irrelevant hits (search terms may appear in an article even if it is not the main topic of discussion), so precision searching using advanced search tools will yield better results in this resource. In contrast, MLA International Bibliography is an index that curates and provides metadata for literary criticism and related disciplines. As a result, students can use some of the same research skills they practised in the library's catalogue, using subject headings and controlled vocabulary. It provides more extensive coverage (essential for students researching at this level) and introduces students to using Interlibrary Loan for items where full text is not available online. Understanding these distinctions helps students refine their research strategies and leverage these resources to discover the most suitable materials for their project.

As students progress in their research, source evaluation becomes critical. In instruction sessions as well as in consultations, we reflect on how to vet the credibility and relevance of materials, strategising how to determine which sources best enrich their theses and how to identify gaps in existing scholarship. This process is particularly important for students researching niche topics with limited academic coverage, and we discuss how we can cast a wider net, for instance by using ILL and ArchiveGrid.[3] For example, one student researching Mary Wollstonecraft and Percy Bysshe Shelley's travel writings used ArchiveGrid to locate digitised manuscripts and letters. Many libraries have extensively digitised archival collections, so searching further afield using this method can be productive.

To further support students, I create a dedicated course page (LibGuide) of curated resources such as databases, digital archives, reference materials, and information about library services. The guide consolidates content from our instruction sessions as well as more specialised resources that come up during consultations. While most of the databases are subscription-based and available through the library, I also include open access materials from outside of our library's collection.

Throughout this process, I aim to foster students' confidence in research and their ability to critically engage with library resources. Our library is fortunate to provide access to a wide variety of databases, but my goal is to equip students with transferable skills. By emphasising critical thinking, source evaluation, and strategic searching, this process prepares students for future research in any context, whether at another institution or in their professional and personal lives.

FINDING JUVENILIA IN THE ARCHIVE

Mohala Kaliebe
Research and Instructional Services Graduate Assistant, the UNC Chapel Hill

ENGLISH 425 was among the first classes I worked with as a graduate student assistant on the Research and Instructional Services team at the Wilson Special Collections Library. In many ways, helping instruct these sessions served as a learning experience for me as much as for the students taking the course. The texts requested by Laurie Langbauer for the four themed days that her class visited Wilson—Manuscripts, Rare Books, Young North Carolina Writers, and Amateur Journalism—sent me throughout the building, cart in hand, to pull boxes and books and slim newspaper volumes from the Southern Historical Collection, the Rare Book Collection, and the North Carolina Collection. During each class session, I learned alongside the visiting students from my colleague, Matt Turi, what these collections contained and when and by whom they were created. As students read and instructors circulated to discuss their observations and answer questions, I learned from Laurie Langbauer about relevant historical context for these materials—for example, that there had existed a vibrant youth newspaper culture in the nineteenth-century US. The volume and variety of the materials explored during these classes helped introduce me to the breadth and depth of the materials held in Wilson Library. I chose to use many of the materials pulled for this course again for other classes visiting Wilson.

Further, working with English 425 introduced me to the particular challenges of juvenilia studies research. How does one find materials based on the age of the author at the time of writing, information not generally highlighted in a catalogue entry or finding aid? The Library of Congress subject headings attached to the James Spencer Love Papers, 1851–1980, from which we pulled Love's boyhood diaries, include "Children—North Carolina—Social life and customs" and "Diaries." No tag links the children to the diary writing. The subject headings for another collection we used, the Elizabeth Rose Campbell Papers, 1961–2004, refer to "Women—North Carolina—Diaries" and "Women—North Carolina—Social life and customs." Yet Campbell wrote many of her diaries as a girl, not a woman. In the absence of universal and clearly defined practices for identifying child writing, researchers and librarians who assist them must take other approaches to find the juvenilia of the unfamous. Pay attention to recorded biographical details, the age of the authors compared to the creation dates of their writing. Seek out material types designed for children's writing,

such as primers, cipher books, creative publications produced in schools. Recall previous findings for future researchers.

Perhaps the most compelling aspect of assisting with this course was conversation with the students. They asked keen questions about the materials before them, which led to broader discussions about archival materials in general. Are these original materials, or copies? *Why* does Wilson Library have them? The students and I delved into the nuances of acquisition, discussing the scope of what the university collects, whether such materials might be donated or purchased, and how patrons may use them. Students also raised the potential issue of self-consciousness—or self-censorship—in authors. Does it matter that Elizabeth Rose Campbell curated and chose to donate her diaries to her alma mater, while James Spencer Love's children donated his after his death? How might scholars examine unpublished materials differently from materials that the author produced for public consumption? Such thoughtful questions suggest to me that students are equipped to think critically about primary sources they encounter in their research, rather than accepting their contents at face value. The English 425 students inspired me to address more of the hows and whys of archival practice in class sessions I have conducted since then.

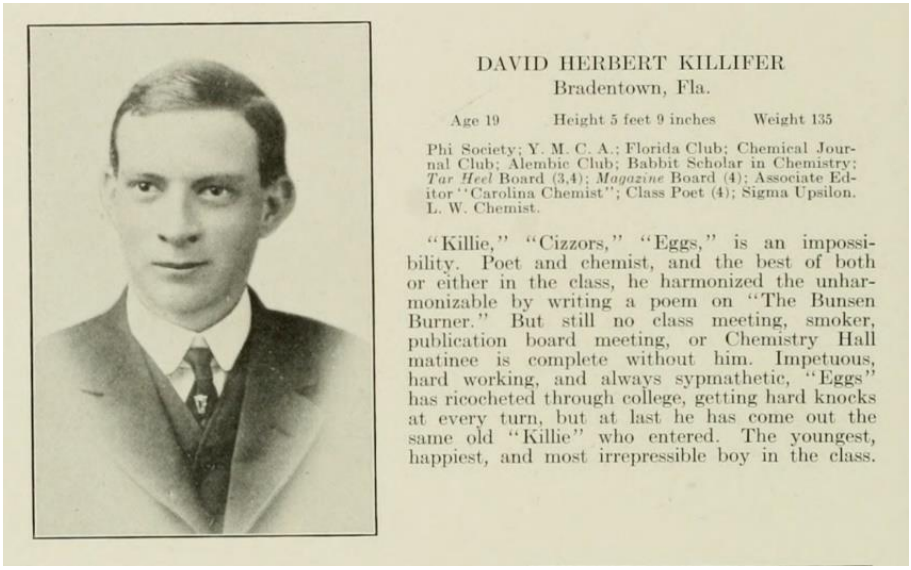
D. H. KILLEFFER AND *THE CAROLINA CHEMIST*

Damaris Alvarenga Agustin
double major in Biology and English, UNC class of 2027

THE CAROLINA Chemist began as a news source for the Chemistry Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Originating with the Journal Club of the Department of Chemistry, it ran from 1915 to 1922. It helped connections grow among the students, faculty, and alumni of the department. Over the years, as the journal grew in readership, it became more professional and began to be distributed in more places, especially once it added a "High School Department Section" in March 1919. This publication, as well as subsequent student publications, helps highlight how young people could—and continue to—contribute to making the scientific community more accessible to the general public and other youth through their writings.

One of my first steps in researching *The Carolina Chemist* was to look into who was involved with the publication.[4] I believed that the identity of the students involved could reveal a lot about what the purpose of the publication was, what was important to youth at that time, and what impacted them. The "Seniors" section of UNC's yearbook *Yackety Yack* for 1915 has an entry on "David Herbert Killifer" (*i.e.*, David Herbert Killeffer, 1895–1970, also known as D. H. Killefer), who was uniquely

involved as a writer and editor of *The Carolina Chemist* while a student and maintained a close involvement with science writing even after graduating (Fig. 1). The entry identifies Killeffer as an Associate Editor, and he is listed as being part of the editorial committee in the first issues of the publication (see, e.g., Fig. 5). That role, as well as others listed, appear to have made him an important part not only of the journal but also of the school's community: he was part of the Journal Club, the *Tar Heel* Board, and the Magazine Board as well (*Carolina Chemist*, Jan. 1915, 62). Of these roles, some were related to chemistry and others to writing. Killeffer was also a senior class officer with the position of Class Poet (*Yackety Yack* 62; Fig. 2), an interesting position considering his background in chemistry: his peers call him "an impossibility" because of this combination (ibid.). This shows how, even a century ago, mixing humanities and science could be seen as a sort of anomaly.



DAVID HERBERT KILLIFER
Bradentown, Fla.

Age 19 Height 5 feet 9 inches Weight 135

Phi Society; Y. M. C. A.; Florida Club; Chemical Journal Club; Alembic Club; Babbit Scholar in Chemistry; *Tar Heel* Board (3,4); *Magazine* Board (4); Associate Editor "Carolina Chemist"; Class Poet (4); Sigma Upsilon. L. W. Chemist.

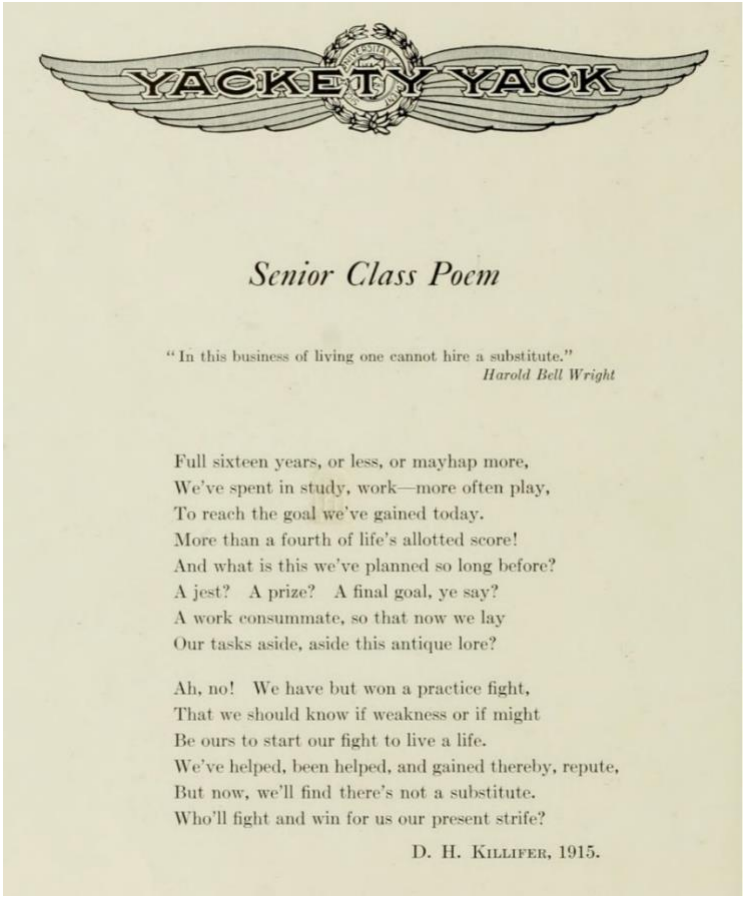
"Killie," "Cizzors," "Eggs," is an impossibility. Poet and chemist, and the best of both or either in the class, he harmonized the unharmonizable by writing a poem on "The Bunsen Burner." But still no class meeting, smoker, publication board meeting, or Chemistry Hall matinee is complete without him. Impetuous, hard working, and always sypmathetic, "Eggs" has ricocheted through college, getting hard knocks at every turn, but at last he has come out the same old "Killie" who entered. The youngest, happiest, and most irrepressible boy in the class.

Figure 1: "David Herbert Killifer." Yackety Yack*, 1915, vol. 15, p. 62 (www.HathiTrust.org).*

Through my research, I found in the May 1922 edition of *The Carolina Chemist* an article titled "The Chemist's Paymaster" by Killeffer, who at that point was in his late twenties and an alumnus of the Department of Chemistry (11). I also found him writing for another science club that he became a member of after graduation called The Chemist's Club. He wrote a book on the club's history entitled *Six Decades of the Chemist's Club* (1957), as well as a few other writings on chemistry that were not related to his work with the Chemist's Club, including *Eminent American Chemists* (1924) and *The Genius of Industrial Research* (1948).

Finding Killeffer's yearbook photo helped humanise the writers of *The Carolina Chemist* and helped me see just how young the people involved with the publication were. Killeffer was one of the most significant of the undergraduate chemistry students at that time, because of the positions of Associate Editor and Class Poet that

he held and because of the extent of his involvement as a young person within the Department of Chemistry and on campus. It was also interesting that his passion for writing about science and the chemistry industry continued past graduation and into adulthood in The Chemist's Club.



YACKETY YACK

Senior Class Poem

"In this business of living one cannot hire a substitute."
Harold Bell Wright

Full sixteen years, or less, or mayhap more,
We've spent in study, work—more often play,
To reach the goal we've gained today.
More than a fourth of life's allotted score!
And what is this we've planned so long before?
A jest? A prize? A final goal, ye say?
A work consummate, so that now we lay
Our tasks aside, aside this antique lore?

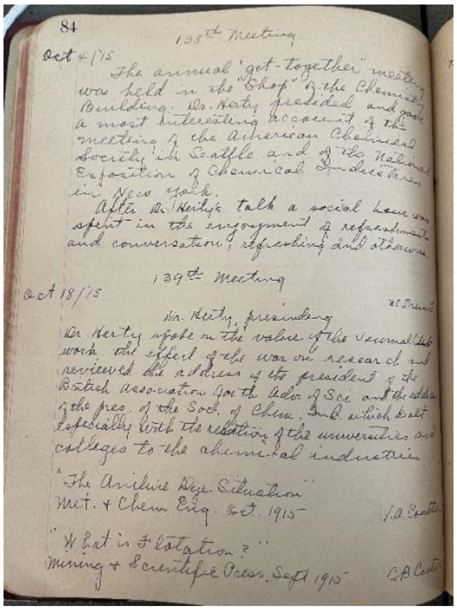
Ah, no! We have but won a practice fight,
That we should know if weakness or if might
Be ours to start our fight to live a life.
We've helped, been helped, and gained thereby, repute,
But now, we'll find there's not a substitute.
Who'll fight and win for us our present strife?

D. H. KILLIFER, 1915.

*Figure 2: "Senior Class Poem" by D. H. Killifer[*sic*]*. Yackety Yack*, vol. 15, p. 38 (www.Hathitrust.org).*

It was also important to look into the origins of *The Carolina Chemist*. In the first issue of January 1915, the section titled "Journal Club Notes" states that the journal is published by the Journal Club (known in later years as the Alembic Club) of the Department of Chemistry, which had recorded meeting minutes starting from 1901 (pp. 2–3; see Fig. 6). I tracked down the physical records of the Journal Club's meetings: each entry contains the date when the meeting took place, the names of the presenters, and the titles of the papers being presented. Some entries also contain a short description of what happened during the meeting. I found that many of the people who were involved with the Journal Club were also involved with writing or editing *The Carolina Chemist*—for example, R. O. Dietz and R. H. Souther. I found both Dietz's and Souther's names in one of the records of the Journal Club meetings

and used the date of that entry to choose editions of *Yackety Yack* to look through, which I had also done with Killeffer. *Yackety Yack* provided information on other clubs and organisations the students were involved in. One of the most common links I found among the undergraduate students was their involvement with the Journal Club, *The Carolina Chemist*, and Alpha Chi Sigma, which was (and still is) a chemistry fraternity. They, as well as many of the other chemistry students, were all much involved in the activities of the Department of Chemistry.



84

138th Meeting

Oct 4/15

The annual "get-together" meeting was held in the "Shop" of the Chemistry Building. Dr. Herty presided and gave a most interesting account of the meeting of the American Chemical Society in Seattle and of the National Exposition of Chemical Industries in New York.

After Dr. Herty's talk a social hour was spent in the enjoyment of refreshments and conversation, refreshing and otherwise.

139th Meeting

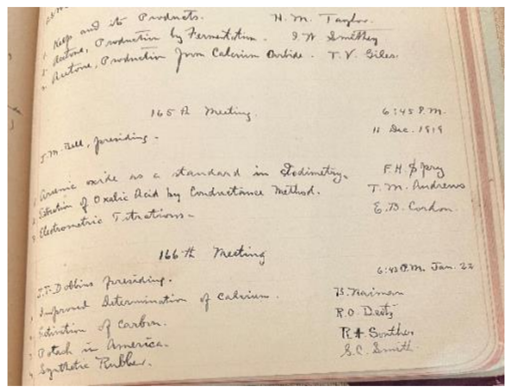
Oct 18/15

Dr. Herty presiding

Dr. Herty spoke on the value of the Journal Club work, the effect of the war on research and reviewed the address of the president of the British Association for the Adv. of Sci. and the address of the pres. of the Soc. of Chem. Ind. which dealt especially with the relation of the universities and colleges to the chemical industries.

"The Aniline Dye Situation" Met. + Chem. Eng. Oct. 1915

"What is Flotation?" Mining + Scientific Press, Sept 1915 C.B. Carter



Kelp and its Products. H. M. Taylor.

Acetone, Production by Fermentation. J. W. Smithey

Acetone, Production from Calcium Carbide. T. V. Giles.

165th Meeting 6:45 P.M. 11 Dec. 1919

J. M. Bell, presiding.

Arsenic oxide as a standard in Iodimetry. F. H. Spry

Titration of Oxalic Acid by Conductance Method. T. M. Andrews

Electrometric Titrations. E. B. Carlton

166th Meeting 6:45 P.M. Jan. 22

J. T. Dobbins presiding.

Improved Determination of Calcium. B. Naiman

Estimation of Carbon. R. O. Deitz

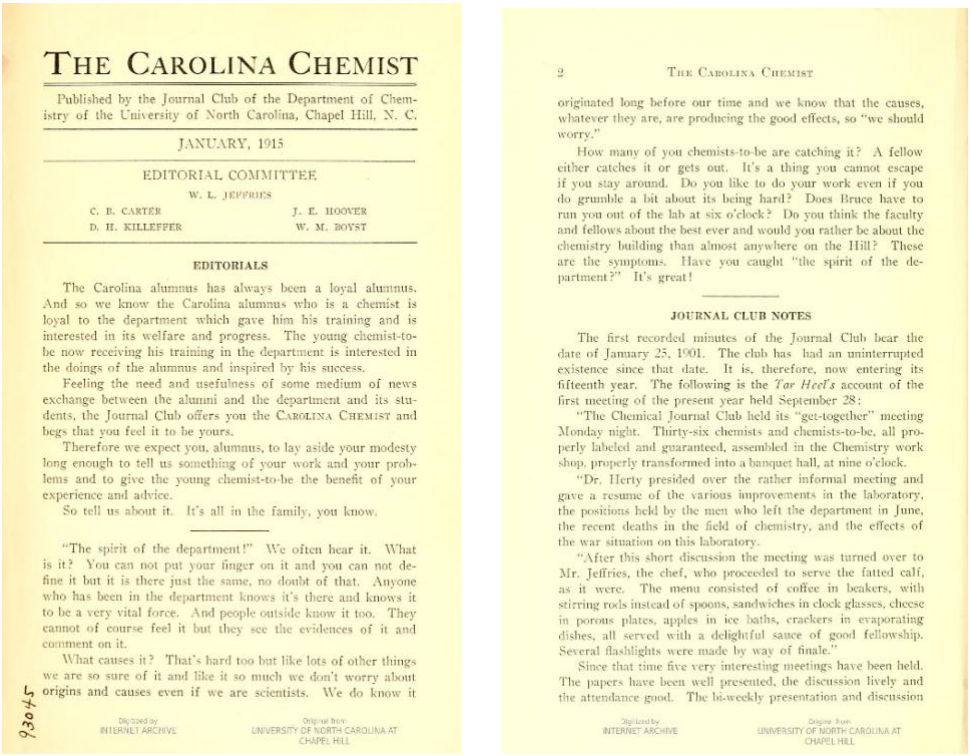
Potash in America. R. H. Souther

Synthetic Rubber. S. C. Smith

Figures 3and 4: Meeting notes from the Journal Club of the Department of Chemistry at UNC, p. 84 (Fig. 3, left) and p. 97 (Fig. 4, right), with entries including the names of members of The Carolina Chemist. *Alembic Club of the University of North Carolina Records, 1901–1928, #40187 (courtesy of University Archives, The Louis Round Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill).*

Such close connections suggested the exclusivity of the scientific community at the time. These were university students, all educated by the Department of Chemistry, who could understand scientific information shared between peers and through this same understanding gained connections to the rest of the scientific community. The community created by the Department of Chemistry was similar to the larger scientific community in that it was based on a shared interest and understanding. In this case, however, the community's exclusivity was based not just on its members' education but on other aspects of their identity as well. It was not common at the time for women or minorities to receive higher education, leading to white men being the majority of the students in this department. It is also important to note that some of the relationships between members of the department were even more exclusive. I found, for instance, that two students, C. H. Herty Jr. and F. B. Herty, were the sons of Charles Holmes Herty, a professor of chemistry who helped

oversee the Journal Club and *The Carolina Chemist*. In Volume 3, F. B. Herty is listed as a class representative (1); and in the next volume, C. H. Herty Jr. is listed as the Editor in Chief (1). Their connection to the department was stronger than that of other students because of their father, giving them better access to these positions.



THE CAROLINA CHEMIST

Published by the Journal Club of the Department of Chemistry of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

JANUARY, 1915

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

W. L. JEFFRIES

C. B. CARTER — J. E. HOOVER

D. H. KILLEFFER — W. M. BOYST

EDITORIALS

The Carolina alumnus has always been a loyal alumnus. And so we know the Carolina alumnus who is a chemist is loyal to the department which gave him his training and is interested in its welfare and progress. The young chemist-to-be now receiving his training in the department is interested in the doings of the alumnus and inspired by his success.

Feeling the need and usefulness of some medium of news exchange between the alumni and the department and its students, the Journal Club offers you the CAROLINA CHEMIST and begs that you feel it to be yours.

Therefore we expect you, alumnus, to lay aside your modesty long enough to tell us something of your work and your problems and to give the young chemist-to-be the benefit of your experience and advice.

So tell us about it. It's all in the family, you know.

"The spirit of the department!" We often hear it. What is it? You can not put your finger on it and you can not define it but it is there just the same, no doubt of that. Anyone who has been in the department knows it's there and knows it to be a very vital force. And people outside know it too. They cannot of course feel it but they see the evidences of it and comment on it.

What causes it? That's hard too but like lots of other things we are so sure of it and like it so much we don't worry about origins and causes even if we are scientists. We do know it

originated long before our time and we know that the causes, whatever they are, are producing the good effects, so "we should worry."

How many of you chemists-to-be are catching it? A fellow either catches it or gets out. It's a thing you cannot escape if you stay around. Do you like to do your work even if you do grumble a bit about its being hard? Does Bruce have to run you out of the lab at six o'clock? Do you think the faculty and fellows about the best ever and would you rather be about the chemistry building than almost anywhere on the Hill? These are the symptoms. Have you caught "the spirit of the department?" It's great!

JOURNAL CLUB NOTES

The first recorded minutes of the Journal Club bear the date of January 25, 1901. The club has had an uninterrupted existence since that date. It is, therefore, now entering its fifteenth year. The following is the *Tar Heel's* account of the first meeting of the present year held September 28:

"The Chemical Journal Club held its "get-together" meeting Monday night. Thirty-six chemists and chemists-to-be, all properly labeled and guaranteed, assembled in the Chemistry work shop, properly transformed into a banquet hall, at nine o'clock.

"Dr. Herty presided over the rather informal meeting and gave a resume of the various improvements in the laboratory, the positions held by the men who left the department in June, the recent deaths in the field of chemistry, and the effects of the war situation on this laboratory.

"After this short discussion the meeting was turned over to Mr. Jeffries, the chef, who proceeded to serve the fatted calf, as it were. The menu consisted of coffee in beakers, with stirring rods instead of spoons, sandwiches in clock glasses, cheese in porous plates, apples in ice baths, crackers in evaporating dishes, all served with a delightful sauce of good fellowship. Several flashlights were made by way of finale."

Since that time five very interesting meetings have been held. The papers have been well presented, the discussion lively and the attendance good. The bi-weekly presentation and discussion

Figures 5 and 6: The Carolina Chemist *(January 1915), p. 1 (Fig. 5, left) and p. 2 (Fig. 6, right).*

Nevertheless, evidence of a strong sense of community and connection, even family, is present across the department. "The Spirit of the Department" is a phrase that is emphasised throughout all of the publications, so one would need to be part of the department to "catch the spirit." This relationship between members of the Department of Chemistry is brought up in the first page of the first issue of *The Carolina Chemist* (Fig. 5). After asking alumni for advice, the editors write, "So tell us about it. It's all in the family you know" (Jeffries et al. 1). Finding that the chemistry students were often part of the same groups, such as clubs and fraternities, also meant finding that they had the same limited connections to other students, faculty, and alumni. As Catherine Sloan cautions, "Understanding youth periodicals includes attending to the impact of these school collective cultures, and their shared values and habits" (174). *The Carolina Chemist* offers a good example of a group that showed this kind of collective culture, and by extension, the exclusivity of the "shared values" of a group limited by scientific understanding and education in the Department of

Chemistry. They emphasised the "Spirit of the Department" and wrote about information or events that were meant only for chemistry students.

However, as the publication continued and became more professional, the young writers saw the need to expand their audience. The journal decided to also focus on giving high school students more information about chemistry, rather than just those in the department. By volume 5, issue number 1 (1919), the writers make a clear plan to expand their publication: "There is a feeling of dissatisfaction with this narrow sphere of activity and this fall *The Chemist* will invade a new field to demand a larger audience and a bigger opportunity for usefulness. Therefore, it turns to the High Schools and Preparatory Schools of North Carolina with a challenge to a contest of scholarship in chemistry" (20). The community and the "spirit of the department" first emphasised could no longer be kept within the "narrow sphere" of the department. It needed to go outside of it to have a greater purpose. This plan also includes young women, rather than just focusing on young men, because women attended the high schools. Not only is *The Carolina Chemist* striving with this "contest of scholarship" to make an education in chemistry more accessible but they are also making it more inclusive.

The Carolina Chemist was an important publication because it was written by young people to spread scientific knowledge to other young people. This goal is important, as even today publications similar to it are still being produced, such as UNC Chapel Hill's current undergraduate science journal *The Carolina Scientific* (founded in 2008). The main goal of this student publication is to "educate and stimulate" other undergraduate students and introduce new research in science (*Carolina*). Student publications like this make information accessible and digestible to students outside of scientific disciplines. This is especially important in science periodicals, where complex concepts may be difficult for students to understand. Using these publications as a way to encourage other young people, just as *The Carolina Chemist* did with their contest, also helps to encourage and increase engagement with science among its young readers. Making knowledge and information accessible can help break the barrier of exclusivity in the scientific community, allowing young people to thrive in scientific fields and make contributions of their own.

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK'S *AN ELECTION BALL*

Mila Mascenik
double major in Journalism and English, UNC class of 2025

AT THE age of twenty, renowned British caricaturist and illustrator George Cruikshank (27 September 1792–1 February 1878) produced his 1813 political

caricature print *An Election Ball* (Fig. 7). Caricatures can serve as a medium to explore electoral culture (Burlock), and Cruikshank does just this in his print, which depicts a ball following the 1812 UK general election. The print's usage of text to convey political messages and the rich imagery showcasing the dancing spectacle illustrate Cruikshank's extensive knowledge of politics in his time. As a youth, he was already inserting himself into political discourses, developing as he did so a keen awareness of societal issues that carried into his artwork.

Figure 7. George Cruikshank, British, 1792–1878, An Election Ball*, published 1813, hand-coloured etching (Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, The William A. Whitaker Foundation Art Fund, 70.31.4).*

My research process for my semester-long project on this political broadsheet began with me locating and consulting several digital biographies of the nineteenth-century artist, such as Corryn Kosik's biographical entry on Cruikshank in *Illustration History*, a digital research database by the Norman Rockwell Museum, and Joan Lynn Schild's 1958 article "George Cruikshank, Caricaturist." Kosik's biography provided me with a solid foundation of knowledge about Cruikshank's childhood and his early artistic career, such as descriptions of the types of caricatures he produced, many of which were political. Schild's biography touches on the period in English history Cruikshank was positioned in and the influence of his times on his work. Once I familiarised myself with Cruikshank's artistic background as a youth and the historical context in which his works were created, I sought through further research to enhance

my understanding of the vital role the caricaturist played in English society during Cruikshank's day. John Wardroper describes him as "an illustrator and observer of the passing scene" (quoted by Hunt 5), which was a particularly exciting finding as I strove to make connections between Cruikshank's involvement in the political scene and discourse of the day and his acute observations about them in his youth, as evidenced by the impeccable details in his *An Election Ball*.

Biographies serve as a jumping-off point for much of my research on historical figures, and my project on George Cruikshank was no exception. Without comprehensive background on Cruikshank's early life and his renowned artistic predecessors in Britain's golden age of caricature, such as James Gillray, I would not have fully grasped the significance of his contributions to his country's blossoming youth culture.

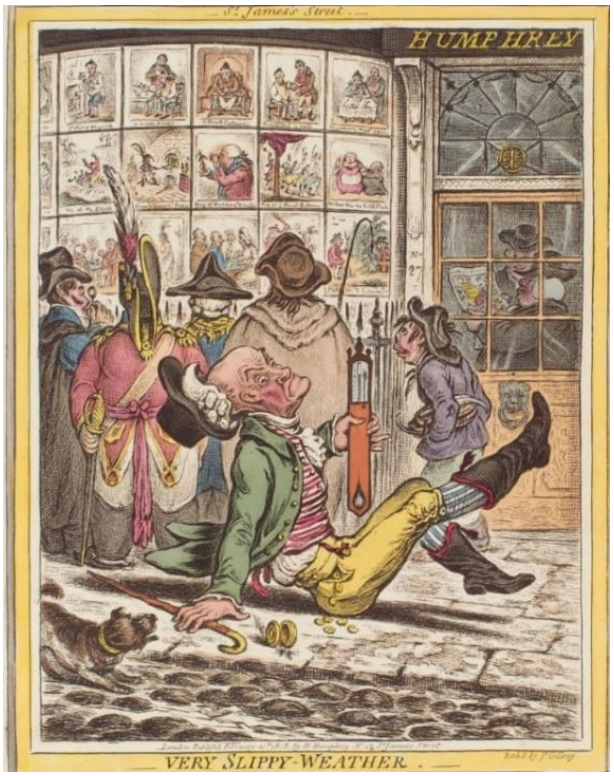


Figure 8. Gillray, James. Very Slippy Weather*, 1808, hand-coloured etching and engraving on wove paper (@ National Portrait Gallery, London).*

James Gillray's 1808 depiction of Hannah Humphrey's print shop is titled *Very Slippy Weather* (Fig. 8). In print shops of the day, print sellers such as Hannah Humphrey, the publisher of *An Election Ball*, "papered their entire windows with their newest prints, effectively turning the street into a public gallery" to promote them (Simpson 35). Interestingly, a couple of the members of the crowd appear to be of a

high status based on their attire, but one looks like an unsophisticated young countryman, suggesting that while Humphrey's shop may have primarily attracted customers of status and wealth, other classes and age groups, including youth, may have frequented it as well. In this way, print shops allowed for the mass dissemination of news among various audiences.

This image symbolises my research after I moved past the biographical research stage. Coming into this project, I believed my topic would concentrate on England's newspapers during the nineteenth century and, more specifically, how satirical prints like *An Election Ball* helped make news more accessible to a wider audience. I learned for the first time about print shops and about which shops (like Humphrey's) Cruikshank was familiar with, and I learned that his works were published there during his lifetime. My interest in mass production and news dissemination remained the same; now, however, it had a unique angle, with an exploration of how the early nineteenth-century print shop aided in the distribution of news among Londoners. Discovering this Gillray print allowed me to see the diverse audiences that print shops attracted, both in terms of status and age; it is a piece of cultural history recorded by the caricaturist. I began piecing together the media landscape in which *An Election Ball* was produced. I hoped by doing so to understand where youth fit in, and this image of Hannah Humphrey's shop was particularly advantageous in situating my research.

At first, I was unsure of youth's relevance to my research; however, it became clear after I located *An Election Ball* in the context of English politics in 1813. As Cruikshank's prints were filling print shop windows, youth under thirty were filling the seats of Parliament—the 1812 election returned over a hundred members of parliament under age thirty (Thorne). Before that, as a youth, Cruikshank had seen Great Britain's youngest prime minister come to power—William Pitt "The Younger" (1759–1806) in 1783. I conducted research on the UK general election of 1812, its issues, and its election balls, which was necessary to learn how Cruikshank inserted himself into the political discourse in his youth.

These findings led me to research contemporary youth's reception of Cruikshank's and other caricaturists' political cartoons. I got excited about this information after locating sources such as Tamara Hunt's dissertation about English caricature, especially after learning from Hunt that youth had received this art form positively. She quotes English novelist and illustrator William Thackeray remarking in 1840 about how much he missed the "coarse humor of Regency caricature" of his youth: The printshops were "bright enchanted palaces, which George Cruikshank used to people with grinning, fantastical imps and merry harmless sprites …" (quoted in Hunt 385). Thackeray's reaction exemplifies what Cruikshank meant to youth. British teenage artist Richard Doyle echoes Thackeray's sentiments toward caricature prints displayed in print shop windows in the late nineteenth century when he describes them as "celebratory image[s]" (Langbauer, "Fiction Factory" 60n29). These accounts detailing Doyle and Thackeray's positive reception toward print shops' wares offer critical insight into how other young audiences may have

interpreted these prints, including Cruikshank's *An Election Ball*. At only twenty years old, Cruikshank's voice as a youth was carried through the streets of London through his political cartoons; for me, this research project ties into something I strive to do in my writing, especially when I write news articles, which is to uplift the voices of youth, and over 200 years later, I strove to uplift Cruikshank's in this project.

J. M. W. Turner's *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham*

Caroline Parker
double major in English and American Studies, UNC class of 2025

For my project, I chose Joseph Mallord William Turner's (1775–1851) *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham*, which he produced—both the original underdrawing (Fig. 9) and the completed watercolour (Fig. 10)—while on a sketching tour as an eighteen-year-old student at the Royal Academy of Arts. The Royal Academy, founded in London in 1768 under the patronage of King George III, provided "practical and theoretical artistic training ... free of charge" and "was an important shop window for his [Turner's] works" (Archer), introducing him to fellow artists—both young and old

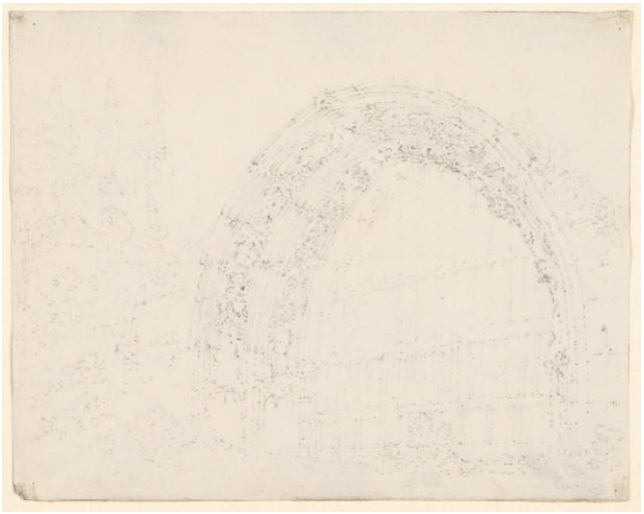


Figure 9. J. M. W. Turner, British, 1775–1851, Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham, *1793, graphite, image 8 7/16 x 10 5/8 in. (21.4 x 27 cm), sheet: 12 15/16 x 16 9/16 in. (32.8 x 42.1 cm) (Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Ackland Fund, 68.9.1).*

(Hutchinson x–xi). Its free training allowed for "a new breed of artist" (Moyle 30): students like Turner who had wanted to become painters from an early age and who were often the sons of cobblers, bricklayers, butchers, and barbers. Or, as Mark Archer put it in his recent headline for the *Wall Street Journal*, "J. M. W. Turner Was a Hustler." Turner's *Arch* reflects how his education at the Royal Academy allowed him to master the tools he needed both to make money and to have self-determination as a young artist, unsettling our inclination to only categorise youth as unintentional creators or apprentices.

Ackland Art Museum was integral to my research this semester. Not only did it hold the piece that I researched but it also provided a physical space where I could see the piece, think deeply about it, and view it alongside the other works displayed there. Our class's gallery, held on the second floor and situated beside galleries from other courses held at UNC that semester, created a space where youthful creation and youthful research could meet. It was the only space in the museum dedicated to both displaying young people's artistic creation and promoting undergraduate research.

Figure 10. J. M. W. Turner, Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham*, 1793, watercolour (courtesy of the RISD Museum, Providence, RI).*

I saw the effects of this exhibition most clearly the time I visited Ackland so that I could look closely at *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham* in preparation for writing my interpretive focus. As I was looking at the piece and taking notes on its composition, a couple walked through the upstairs gallery, paying particularly close attention to our

class's display. As they went through each piece, they read the descriptions, pointing out familiar artists whose works were also part of our gallery, such as the pointillist Georges Seurat's (1859–1891) *Study after a Plaster Cast of Praxiteles' "Apollino"* (c. 1875–79, Fig. 11) and American illustrator William Meade Prince's (1893–1951) *Four Men Seated around a Table* (c. early 1900s, Fig. 12).

Prince's drawing caught their attention the most, especially when they realised a child of (perhaps) around eight or ten years old had created it. Afterwards, they looked at these works by young people in a new light. Being able to see other people engage and interact with the pieces that many of us had spent months researching was amazing for me. At that moment, it showed me that people are interested in the kind of research we did, and it motivated me to work on honing my interpretive focus.

Figure 11. Georges Seurat, French, 1859–1891, Study after a Plaster Cast of Praxiteles' "Apollino," *c. 1875–79, black chalk, 25 1/2 x 19 in. (64.8 x 48.3 cm) (Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, The William A. Whitaker Foundation Art Fund, 79.3.1).*

Because of this experience where I saw the real-life effects of our work, Ackland became integral to the formation and evolution of my thoughts on *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham* and why it matters in the context of youthful creation. I found Ackland's focus on engaging the public—they provide families and children with do-it-yourself art kits and interactive activities inspired by their collection—to indicate that they were aware of the importance of young peoples' creations. By introducing young people to art and inspiring them to create, Ackland shows an institutional awareness and appreciation for youthful creation. Not only do they hold young people's work, and display it in the upstairs gallery, but they are also encouraging similar creativity in young people who visit.

However, it should also be acknowledged that, before our class, Ackland did not know they held works created by people under twenty-one years old. I think that their

acknowledgement of this in their description placard about our class's topic—where they state that the works were "discovered through the professor's research"—is an important step in the right direction. By acknowledging their previous shortcomings and blind spots, Ackland will be able to better give the young creators held in their collection the attention and respect that they deserve. As we discussed in class, archival spaces are rarely, if ever, sorted according to the age of the creator. Perhaps through this class, the research we have done and will continue to do, and the research and work of others in the field, young artists will one day get the archival recognition they have always deserved.

Figure 12. William Meade Prince, American, 1893–1951. Four Men Seated around a Table*, early 1990s, hand-colored etching, graphite, brush and black ink, and gouache on thin cream paper (Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Gift of Mrs. William Meade Prince, William Meade Prince Collection, 62.27.1547).*

In his will, Turner bequeathed all the unsold work in his studio at Queen Anne Street West, both finished and in progress, to the British Nation. This donation, which later became known as the Turner Bequest, was "the largest ever donation of works of art to the National Gallery" and "comprises nearly 300 oil paintings and around 30,000 sketches and watercolours, including 300 sketchbooks" ("The Turner Bequest"). Most of this collection is currently held at Tate Britain and can be viewed in their Clore Gallery, which periodically rotates displays.

Turner's will also stipulated that his work would only be donated to the Nation under the conditions that a gallery be created to display his work and that his paintings were to be displayed beside two paintings by Claude Lorrain (1600–1682). This would, he thought, signify and cement in public opinion his position as an equal of the old masters. Furthermore, in their gallery, the Tate Britain displays Turner's *Fishermen at Sea*, which is the first oil painting he ever exhibited at the Royal Academy's

Annual Summer Exhibition in 1796 when he was just 21 years old (*Exhibition* 10). Turner's wish for his work, including this early piece, to be held—and displayed—in the same gallery as Claude shows Turner's own belief in the power and importance of youthful creation.

By making it so that all his work—even early paintings—was owned by the Nation and therefore free to view, Turner was able to posthumously encourage the next generation of artists, especially if they came from lower-income families as he did. I would love to know what he would have thought about Ackland's encouragement of young artists and how he would have responded if they had put out a do-it-yourself kit inspired by his work. In any case, I believe that Turner's will shows his confidence in himself as a young creator—not only did he keep his juvenilia but he also donated it so that it could be exhibited. As a teenage student, he went on numerous sketching tours, during which he created pieces like *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham* that he would either eventually sell or submit for exhibition, showing that he always valued his work and recognised that they showed his skill. Furthermore, he did not destroy his early work like many young creators, such as Frances Burney, have done, but instead kept a meticulous record of it through his sketchbooks and in his studio (Clark 27). It is because of these two facts—that he produced much work at an early age and kept almost all of it—that I was able to conduct this research on *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham*.

The work previous scholars have done on Turner's early career—particularly that of art historian and Turner expert A. J. Finberg—has been invaluable to my research, allowing me to build upon and contribute to this ongoing conversation. Trying to navigate through the archival record when researching a person's juvenilia is always a challenge. More challenges arise when trying to work with a specific library. For example, as a student at UNC, my sources are largely limited to what they have purchased. To help mitigate this limitation, there is Interlibrary loan. I had worked with this before, but sparingly. This semester, however, I used the Interlibrary loan program more than I ever have. Many of the sources I consulted—particularly the older sources that were created about the Turner Bequest—were not held at UNC, so I was not able to immediately access them. Instead, I had to request them. The most important of these requests, at least in terms of my own research, was A. J. Finberg's 1922 book *Notes on Four Pencil Drawings Made by J. M. W. Turner in May or June, 1793*.[5] Finberg writes that several of the pencil drawings Turner made during this sketching tour were exhibited at "Mr. Walker's gallery in Bond Street" (4). Perhaps the sketch of *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham* was displayed here and was eventually sold, which would explain why it was not part of Turner's Bequest to the Nation upon his death. At eighteen, Turner, a "precocious boy," had "already succeeded in doing such work [landscape watercolours] nearly as well as it can be done" (Finberg 4).

Finberg's work allowed me to connect the sketch of *Arch of the Old Abbey, Evesham* in Ackland to the other ones he made on his Marches tour, such as *Tewkesbury Abbey*

(1793), *All Saints Church* (1793), *Old Ruin*s (1793), and *Hereford* (1793)—sketches once held by art collector Herbert William Underdown, but which now appear to be held by the British Museum. Without Finberg's work, which was largely dedicated to cataloguing the Bequest, I would not have been able to make the connections that I did this semester. It allowed me to pursue a path I would not have otherwise gone down. Furthermore, the previous scholarship that I looked at showed me that there will always be more questions to answer and more pathways to follow when doing juvenilia studies research. It shows that youthful creation, and research about it, is complex and worthy of study. The process of researching may be difficult and daunting at times, but the end result is always worth it.

NATHALIA CRANE'S *THE JANITOR'S BOY AND OTHER POEMS*

Madison Gagnon
English major, UNC class of 2025

THE 1920S, otherwise known as the "Roaring Twenties," marked a period of change in the lives of women and girls alike. At the time, scholars suggest, "a new type of adolescent femininity emerged in the US" through the image of the flapper (Burr 420). The flapper was a "sexualized, commercialized version of middle-class girls" (McCarron 418). Young women were often portrayed with "short hair and shorter skirts and sometimes their new right to vote" (Hirshbein 114). Work and educational opportunities started to arise outside the home, which granted younger women "freedoms hardly imaginable by their mothers and grandmothers" (Hirshbein 121). At the same time, poetry and prose written by young girls, such as Hilda Conkling and Opal Whiteley, emerged as "popular reading in the 1920s in Britain and America" because their texts "appeared to both crystallize and support readers' conceptions of what children were like," leading to the larger cultural phenomenon of publishing children's work (Halverson 235, 236).

One of these young girl poets was Nathalia Crane (11 August 1913–22 October 1998), who published her first poetry collection in 1924, *The Janitor's Boy and Other Poems*, at eleven years old. Crane presents an entirely new conception of girlhood, related to the representation of the flapper, by asserting that girls are individuals with their own feelings and thoughts in a time of changing preconceptions around gender. In such poems as "The Janitor's Boy," "Oh Roger Jones," "The Flathouse Roof," and "The Vacant Lot," the speaker uses her childhood imagination to create a romance narrative that explores her love for the Janitor's Boy Roger and grapple with her own feelings. Lines such as "It was really romantic, or / As good, at any rate"

(Crane 24.11–12) indicate a level of ambivalence, though, as the speaker has not decided yet whether she found the experience of imagining romance enjoyable or was pretending to fit in with the preconceived notions of gendered ideals of romance.

Figure 13. Nathalia Crane, frontispiece to The Janitor's Boy, and Other Poems*, by Nathalia Crane, limited edition, Thomas Seltzer, 1924. Signed by the author.*

For exploring such questions, Crane became known as one of the "most controversial of all child authors of the 1920s" (Sadler 24). As Catherine Halverson observes, when readers are presented with a child's writing, such as Nathalia Crane's poetry, they try to draw "their own conclusions regarding authenticity" and the degree to which the text matches their "already formed notions of 'the child'" (243); for many readers, these notions emphasise such characteristics as "innocence, kinship to nature, incipient but not full-blown sexuality" (244). Crane, on the other hand, as David Sadler notes, wrote about "sophisticated subjects using an adult vocabulary"; because she "turned a critical eye on adult themes," she has often been criticised for not being "childlike enough" (27). Paul B. Bellew similarly observes that Crane faced "mistrust on account of knowing too much, specifically about romance and sexuality" (55). Yet Crane "express[es] agency" in the "context" of the 1920s, a period of

changing conceptions around women's agency and sexuality, by directly dispelling traditional notions of childhood in poems that openly explore topics, such as love, that have been deemed "adult" content by others (Conrad 45). Writing gives young people the ability to explore their identities, which adults may not agree with or find appropriate, such as in the case of Nathalia Crane.

Searching archives and databases was the first step in finding information about Crane and her first poetry collection. At first the process seemed daunting, as searching in academic databases, such as Jstor and ProQuest, revealed little literary scholarship. I also used the ArchiveGrid database to find collections and archives where Crane's papers and manuscripts of her work are currently held. But when I entered the keyword of "Nathalia Crane" into the search bar and hit enter, only about fourteen results popped up. In this way I realised that people and institutions, during her time, did not find Crane's work important enough to save for future generations to read and research. Therefore, I had an intimidating task ahead of me.

As I combed through the results, I found photos of Crane. The frontispiece of *The Janitor's Boy, and Other Poems* shows a young Nathalia Crane sitting in a large chair with a picture book open on her lap (Fig. 13). I also found a group of photos showing Crane in her twenties from *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* that are currently stored in the Brooklyn Public Library (Photographs). From this collection, we can assume Crane was still in the public eye as an adult in her twenties, as she was still publishing poetry and prose then, if not as frequently as when she was a child. The pictures help to situate Crane as a young woman growing up in the 1920s and 1930s, a time of changing perceptions around womanhood and girlhood. The frontispiece in *The Janitor's Boy, and Other Poems* and the later photos in *The Brooklyn Eagle* serve as a reminder of Crane's ability to establish and maintain a place for herself in the public eye.

After stumbling upon this trove of newspaper photos, I directed my attention towards archives of historic newspapers. Here I encountered a multiplicity of sources, which showed that Crane was in the public eye from a young age. Historical newspapers provided a clear sense of the general public's primarily skeptical perception of Nathalia Crane and her poetry. Newspapers published in the 1920s contain many discussions of Crane's authorship; at first many reviews were positive, with such authorities as Louis Untermeyer and William Rose Benét praising her work; however, with the publication in 1925 of Crane's second volume of poetry, *Lava Lane*, an increasing number of reviews argued that neither collection could have been written by a child. Through a keyword search of the ProQuest database, results from the press quickly filled the screen, numbering over one hundred. In one instance, the *New York Herald Tribune* published a short article with four headlines: "Poems Too Wise for Nathalia, Says Markham; Poetry Society's President Doubts Little Miss Crane Wrote the Volume, and Suggests 'a Genial Hoax'; Gives Opinion as 'Expert'; Says Verses Evince Maturity and Sophistication Beyond Grasp of a Child" ("Poems Too Wise").[6] It became clear that Crane was seen as a fraud by many who believed

her poetry was too advanced for a child to have written because of its complexity in vocabulary and subject matter.

The responses to Crane's work recorded within these historical newspapers revealed adults' unrealistic expectations for what a child could understand and write about. Adults viewed such topics as love as "adult" because of their complex and intimate nature. However, through her poetry, Crane exposes adults' assumptions about children and young adults by showcasing how youth themselves are individuals with their own thought processes. She subverts her readers' romanticised childhood and girlhood ideals by directly exploring the "shiver[ing] in bed" that to her seems a natural part of growing into a young woman (Crane 3.16).

My process of in-depth, close reading and analyzing of Crane's poetry entailed meticulously poring over each line and phrase to understand Crane's perspective. I first read all the poems within *The Janitor's Boy, and Other Poems.* I tossed and turned on various ideas, but finally because of the context found within the historical newspapers, I concluded that Crane, unlike other young girl poets of the time, presents a new conception of girlhood that critiques gendered expectations for girls through lines such as "And the only thing that occurs to me / Is to dutifully shiver in bed" (Crane 3.16). While Crane partakes in a childhood fantasy of creating a family, she knows about the traditional underlying gender roles within a family system. Yet that Crane calls her imagined feminine passivity "dutiful" raises questions about the traditional expectations for girls and young women to stay at home, within the domestic sphere, so that they can raise a family and follow their husbands' bidding without any protest or complaint.

Ultimately, my project revealed what was involved in researching young writers who remain unknown in today's world. Crane was well-known during the 1920s because she represented ongoing discourses around girlhood during a time when idealised notions of innocence were changing to become less restrictive of what girls could do. The historical newspapers and firsthand accounts of Crane's work were useful in uncovering and understanding how she represented the changing attitudes towards gender at the time. Using a historical approach in juvenilia studies can be vital in recovering young writers, waiting to be discovered, who both challenge the dominant narratives of their time and offer insights into the contexts in which they lived and wrote—young writers like Nathalia Crane. Through her poetry, Crane challenges traditional notions of childhood by showcasing young people's thought processes while critiquing the highly gendered structures present within society during the early twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

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FOR ME, the voices in this essay confirm that collaboration sparks original research. I hope this joint essay also shows that the secret is the people you work with, not the specific resources you might have. I found for this class just as many freely available primary sources online as we pulled from UNC's special collections. Don't get me wrong—we at Carolina are lucky to have exceptional special collections and museum galleries. The class did love visiting objects they could look at and handle—for some, that direct contact provided their eureka moment. But you don't need those. What Matt Turi calls "the fun and adventure of working in an archive" can happen otherwise too. We read the Campbell and Love diaries he pulled, but we also had great discussions about Marjory Fleming's journal digitised by the National Library of Scotland and Elizabeth Jernigan's diary written aboard a whaling ship, curated by the Martha's Vineyard Museum.[7] The projects the class chose to do ultimately divided equally between texts we saw on campus and texts we consulted online. For many students, that access to what they could not otherwise see opened up a whole new understanding of the range of works produced by young people, a bigger picture they found remarkable.

I hope our combined endeavour leaves you with the sense that anyone can offer this kind of course, if they've a mind to it. As Mohala Kaliebe and Caroline Parker suggest in their entries, such repositories were never collected with the youth of the producers in mind, anyway. We all had to find the young creators in those collections—and locating juvenilia in the libraries, historical societies, and museums near you or using digital tools to find them in myriad websites across the globe expands everyone's horizons. Every section in this essay strives to contribute to that widening of our knowledge. We offer our accounts to show the ways that finding great partners, who can share, listen, and work together, lifts everyone higher.

NOTES

[1] "The Nelson Brothers Library of home-made books is kept in Archives and Special Collections at the Frost Library in Amherst College." For a description of the semester's coursework on these archival materials taught by Karen Sánchez-Eppler in Spring 2014 go to <www.ats.amherst.edu/childhood/exhibits/show/nelson/home/about/about-us>. For the Darwin children's marginalia, see "Children's Drawings & Stories" on the

American Museum of Natural History website at <www.amnh.org/research/darwin-manuscripts/surviving-pages-from-the-first-draft-of-the-origin/children-drawings>.

[2] "Letters of Lord Byron to His Mother, Catherine Gordon Byron., 1799–1809." National Library of Scotland MS.43409. Available on Adam Matthew's website *Nineteenth Century Literary Society* at <www.nineteenthcenturyliterarysociety.amdigital.co.uk>.

[3] ArchiveGrid "is a collection of millions of archival material descriptions, including MARC records from WorldCat and finding aids harvested from the web." This open-access resource is published by OCLC at <www.oclc.org/research/areas/research-collections/archivegrid.html>.

[4] T*he Carolina Chemist* is available on *Internet Archive* and *HathiTrust.* For vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1915), go to <ia800606.us.archive.org/23/items/carolinachemists1922may/Carolina chemists1922may.pdf.>; for vol. 8, no. 1 (May 19222), go to <ia800606.us.archive.org/23/items/carolinachemists1922may/carolinachemists1922may.pdf>.

[5] Two other books by Finberg that I consulted are *Early English Water-Colour Drawings of the Great Masters*, edited by Geoffrey Holme (The Studio, 1919), at <www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/65259/pg65259-images.html>; and *Turner's Sketches and Drawings*, 2nd ed. (Methuen, 1911). Other helpful sources were Ian *Turner's Sketchbooks* (Tate, 2014), Gerald Wilkinson and J. M. W. Turner, *Turner's Early Sketchbooks; Drawings in England, Wales and Scotland from 1789 to 1802* (Watson-Guptill, 1972), and Andrew Wilton, "Watercolors and Studies Relating to the Welsh and Marches Tours 1793–4," in *J.M.W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolors*, edited by David Blayney Brown (Tate Research Publication, December 2012), at <www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/watercolours-and-studies-relating-to-the-welsh-and-marches-tours-r1141164>.

[6] Markham only expressed his skepticism in late 1925, after Crane had published her second collection, *Lava Lane*. *Time* magazine subsequently sent reporters to interview the Cranes; they witnessed Nathalia compose extempore and concluded that "Nathalia collects words the way a boy of her age collects postage stamps" ("Miscellany").

[7] See Marjory Fleming's journal at <digital.nls.uk/marjory-fleming/archive/100989212>; for Laura Jernigan's diary, go to *Laura Jernigan: Girl on a Whaleship* at <www.girlonawhaleship.org>.

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Class Acts: Juvenilia, John Ruskin, and the Humanities Today

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When I taught an undergraduate course on juvenilia, a fourth-year honours seminar, I set it up as an introduction to and survey of the field, recognising that the study of child writing was not likely something the students would have encountered before. Including writers from different times and places, the course's central question I asked was whether juvenilia can be understood in the way we understand a genre or sub-genre: are there conventions or features shared between child writers despite vast differences in the time and place of their productions, or regardless of, for example, the gender or class of the author. I was asking myself a more pointed version of the question, whether the study of child writing invites methodologies and pedagogies amenable to both a *longue durée* and the interplay of active historical moments. We also looked at the study of juvenilia in relation to mature works, what Juliet McMaster calls a "vertical" treatment of juvenile material, reading Austen's *Jack and Alice* beside *Pride and Prejudice* (138). We looked at the fascinating question of genius and how one deconstructs the juvenile writer, whether it is easier to imagine the child imitating other writing, constructed by their literary and cultural environments, or whether the child can be understood as gifted because, after all, these are child writers who have had less time to be imprinted by their surroundings. We looked at differences between child writing and children's literature, the way that adults and juveniles construct childhood so differently. We also took a cue from the Juvenilia Press and worked on creating an edition of Tennyson's "The Devil and the Lady." The students began by feeling very superior to the material, enjoying misspelt words and such, but then were thoroughly humbled by the allusions in young Tennyson's work to *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Paradise Lost* and on and on, most of which initially went over their heads. We looked at the changing nature of education, the changing definition of childhood, and the changing assumptions around childhood ability, as well as all the historical and cultural themes generated by the individual texts. In the end, we agreed that juvenilia

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can be studied in the way a genre is studied, but equally that historisation is needed to understand textual differences.

It was a successful course, but for a number of reasons I have not been able to teach a full course on child writing again since that one in 2007. Many in the discipline today face programmatic obstacles stemming from the contraction of the humanities at our universities, making specialised study less and less an option. Enrollment numbers at Nipissing University where I teach in the humanities have been steadily declining for the past fifteen years, something that is generally, though unevenly, true true around the world.[1] Benjamin Schmidt states that in the US, "Almost every humanities field has seen a rapid drop in majors: History is down about 45 percent from its 2007 peak, while the number of English majors has fallen by nearly half since the late 1990s." John Guillory's popular *Professing Criticism* is only one of several recent books that read as a eulogy for literary studies. University administrators still speak of the value of liberal arts, but mostly so as to turn courses in the humanities into service courses, in service to the more lucrative professional programs. There are legitimate arguments behind this change of direction: in *The Elective Mind: Philosophy and the Undergraduate Degree*, Réal Fillion argues that what society needs most is to have professional citizens, all citizens, with some knowledge of philosophy, so in their working or "real" lives people can have some recourse to the advantages that philosophy provides for basic problem-solving. More specialised studies in philosophy, or in other disciplines now acting as electives for professional programs, would then become for the very, very few (a contraction that some might argue is already taking place in any case). For whatever reason, the need to address enrollment decline in the humanities, and specialised study in the humanities, is growing more acute. This paper is about teaching juvenilia with these obstacles in mind, addressing the need to and ways to integrate it into the study of non-juvenile, less specialised material, given that English departments in the foreseeable future will likely continue to offer fewer and fewer courses. I am not in any way arguing against teaching full courses on juvenilia. Rather, I am looking at the way that the teaching of juvenilia can be combined with other teaching goals to enhance the study of the more mainstream material while increasing the exposure of child writing and its value. There is some urgency to reinvigorate the humanities, and the study of juvenilia can have a central role in this, paradoxically by not always placing it on centre stage (as in a specific course on child writing) but by rather incorporating it into other courses.

Mixing the study of juvenilia with the study of non-juvenile works or supplementing the study of more established texts with juvenile ones impresses among students the advantages of adopting historical and self-consciously interdisciplinary approaches to their studies, promoting an inclusive view of culture. With juvenilia, students almost instinctively tend towards historicising the texts, if only in the most biographical, psychologising, or micro-historical way possible – how wealthy were the parents?; was the child home-schooled?; what was the young author reading? Students are much quicker to identify the need to know the child's situation

in relation to their compositions than when studying adult writers, likely because of common postulates fixing children as "dependants," less autonomous and more impressionable than adults. They resist reading juvenilia as a social register, however, for the same reasons, but when teaching both juvenile and non-juvenile works together, this paradox is put into relief and a full historicisation can follow. Introducing students to juvenilia when studying other non-juvenile texts can also lead to naturalising interdisciplinary approaches to literary analysis. I teach a course on the Victorians where Brontë's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* is a centrepiece. For a research paper I ask the students to look into nineteenth-century practices of child-rearing and education, what they say about the Victorians, using *Tenant* but also the Brontë juvenilia as research materials. Students develop an interest in juvenilia to bring to their other studies, or to develop as a scholarly field, or they simply have alternative ways into the study of more mainstream or standard literatures. I do the same thing with working-class writing, and while there are problems with grouping working-class and child writers together, they are both marginalised groups in literary studies and they both can be nudged to the centre by teaching them besides the more anthologised material.

What follows are more details and specific examples of how I bring in juvenile works not only in service to teaching other texts by the same author but also when studying material on or about other authors, literary genres, or movements. Teaching a seminar on "Victorian Masculinities," I introduce John Ruskin's (1819–1900) *The King of the Golden River, or The Black Brothers; a Legend of Styria* (1841, first published in 1851 by Smith, Elders, and Company of London) beside his properly juvenile works; and while teaching a course on Romanticism, I bring in Ruskin's juvenilia in relation to the idea of the "Romantic child." Ruskin's early poetry has attracted a lot of attention for a variety of reasons, though most commentators at some point discuss the young boy's self-conscious reflections on his own verse, on the writing process, and on childhood itself. Sheila Emerson notes that "His father's delight in his precocity spurred Ruskin to impersonate not only his elders but also boyhood itself – trumping it up and then peering at it sagely, as if from afar" (11). David Hanson notes Ruskin's defensiveness in his fragmentary verse, arguing that a "fragmentation of self was manifested in incomplete and heavily revised verse" ("Self" 255). He also notes that many of the poems are "unresolved and unresolvable, owing to their internal tensions" ("Psychology" 252). Though dismissive of the early poetry, Wendall Stacey Johnson notes that Ruskin's self-reflexiveness may be a "nervous tendency," a "reaction to anxieties about what is remembered, what is feared" (23). I have argued elsewhere that the coy posturing of the boy-poet and the abrupt closure of the poems indicate a careful managing of emotion; in a number of the poems, self-reflection and good-humoured poetics pre-emptively cut off any deeper feeling or self-analysis that the act of composition might generate. This aspect of Ruskin's early work primarily generates interest in Ruskin's biography, and though there are dangers in using biography to teach at the undergraduate level, when the overall goal is to go

beyond understanding the individual author as the final unit of analysis, Ruskin's early work, with its complex relationship to Victorian masculinities and Romanticism, can be paradigmatic.

Though written before Ruskin's rise to fame with *Modern Painters* (1843), *The King of the Golden River* is a mature work, even if it almost reads as if it could be or ought to be a juvenile one. My interests in teaching it were in furthering a discussion of Victorian masculinities, asking what the story says about ideal masculinity, and how its youthfulness can be read to bring out what the story says and refuses to say about the masculine. As U. C. Knoepflmacher explains, Ruskin wrote *King* when he was 22 for the 12-year-old Euphemia Gray—he referred to it as "Phemy's fairy tale"—whom Ruskin was to marry seven years later (4). W. G. Collingwood, Ruskin's first biographer, says she "challenged the melancholy John, engrossed in his drawing and geology, to write a fairy tale, as the least likely task for him to fulfill. Upon which he produced, at a couple of sittings, *The King of the Golden River*, a pretty medley of Grimm's grotesque and Dickens's kindliness and the true Ruskinian ecstacy of the Alps" (41). Gray had recently lost three younger sisters to scarlet fever. Ruskin himself was recuperating from a sickness his parents feared might have turned into tuberculosis. A light-hearted fairy tale generically bound to have a happy ending might have been what the proverbial doctor would order. Another biographical reading of the motivation behind the story, however, suggests it was primarily intended for Ruskin's parents, essentially a way to convey to them that he was not growing up too fast. Knoepflmacher notes that the elder Ruskins "made sure to retain a manuscript copy for themselves before forwarding Phemy her own," seeing it as proof that their only child was still a child with his "uncorrupted and incorruptible innocence" intact (5). The pressures to write something uplifting and light seem overdetermined, and to fully divorce the young adult from the juvenile child at this moment in Ruskin's life history would only reduce potential readings.

But as a story of three brothers, two of whom are "toxic" or at least hyper-masculine and brutal, and the youngest who is hyperbolically gentle, *The King of the Golden River* ostensibly seems unrelated to anything in Ruskin's biography. A fairy visits Gluck, the gentle boy, and he proves himself worthy of the fairy's magic, though mostly by remaining inactive; by simply obeying the King/fairy and being unconsciously generous, Gluck ensures that the valley will turn Edenic, its having become barren because of his brothers' selfishness. The story draws upon German fairy tales and reproduces from them traditional lessons in Christian charity and discipline; it remakes the Christian pilgrim in Gluck, promising his maturation, or at least a degree of growth and development to match his carefully laid-out journey. The story is fascinating, however, for the way Gluck does not mature; its representations of men and manliness are the primary reason I teach it in a course on Victorian masculinities, but Gluck does not grow into manhood. Gluck begins as the boy-Cinderella. He has to "clean shoes, floors, and sometimes the plates, occasionally getting what was left on them, by way of encouragement, and a wholesome quantity

of dry blows, by way of education" (241). Instead of growing into a mature man ready to take on the public world with his brothers finally vanquished, or ready to meet his princess, the story simply ends without the character's conversion into a more manly and independent position. Gluck's near girlishness is amplified by comparison to his hyper-masculinised bad brothers, Schwartz and Hans. The gendering of the characters is then exaggerated in publication by Dick Doyle's illustrations where, as Knoepflmacher has observed, nearly every drawing of the two men has them holding onto phallic items, flagons and sticks for example (10). Doyle's Gluck, on the other hand, is drawn as girlish, with long hair and a small build. Schwartz and Hans are powerful, suspicions, malicious, violent adult males. Their masculinity is shown to be as repulsive as their capitalist cheapness. As a "fair, blue-eyed" childlike Ruskin, Gluck is their opposite, "kind in temper to every living thing" (241). He bests his brothers and their competitive values by staying young, "unmanly," and cut off from the adult world.

When writing about familial matters or personal feelings, the cover of boyishness is exactly what the young poet adopts as well. What interests the class most with *King* is the way a story modelled on a fairy tale and ostensibly written for a young girl or anxious parents has no girl or parents in it, no romance and no lesson on how to grow and develop. It is modelled on the Grimms' tale "Water of Life," but as Jane Merrill Filstrup says, Ruskin "sidesteps" the original theme of "love" and "affection" (with a princess), and unlike "the prince in the folktale, the boy of *The King of the Golden River* engages in no heroic competition" (73–74). Gluck is said to be "not above twelve years old," like Phemy at the time, so she might have seen herself in the character (241). She also might reasonably have seen Ruskin in the character of Gluck to some extent, when he was her age, but in either case, the story precludes amorous development or just interpersonal content. And it is this reading of the story—what it omits, skips over or elides—that Ruskin's early poetry highlights. The juvenilia of his that we read also enabled the class to explore the story in relation to one of the major strands of the course, the masculine management of emotion that in theories of toxic masculinity both emerge out of and cause further trauma. The early poems, as said, often deny introspection or even describe denying or defeating it, outlining the recklessness of giving in to any emotion but the simplest forms of happiness. "On the Appearance of a Sudden Cloud of Yellow Fog Covering Everything in Darkness" (1829) introduces a personified darkness but only to have it vanquished by "light." The poem concludes abruptly, without any reflection on the effects of the "darkness": "All now became as 'twas before / And now I am not able to say more" (25).

I encourage a reading of *King* as an imitation of the juvenilia or a return to it. Denied participation in the adult world, child writers will mimic adults; the course offers an opportunity here to see that the inverse of this can also be true. Subscribing to the Romantic notion of the truthfulness of the child's insights, Ruskin might have adopted his earlier voice to suggest authenticity, but it might also be the case that he turned to that voice for its very evasiveness, its refusal to engage with material that

he—both the boy and the young man—wanted to keep buried or that he considered forbidden. Though there are a number of important exceptions, the early verse is notable for its emotional distance and detachment, most likely a skirting of the emotionally troubling conditions of his upbringing as he himself later described them. By approaching the refusal of *King* to address "growing up," and the way this might correspond to the cagy child refusing to say what the adult would later say—for example, that Herne Hill, where he was raised, was an Eden where "*all* the fruit was forbidden" (35. 36)—the class can extend the idea of Victorian man's emotional control or clampdown to the child's world, with the child apparently feeling some need to mask feelings that would leave him exposed.

That young writers develop their own voices by experiments in the imitation of adult voices is well known. This can and does lead child writers to adult subject matters, including expectations surrounding gender and gender roles. But Ruskin arguably mimics different genres and discourses – the fairy tale in *King* and mechanics, history, or geology in the juvenilia – to avoid a coming-of-age narrative, which generally includes a coming to terms with gender. On the one hand, *King* and its heavily gendered three brothers is a study in masculine roles and possibilities. But like the early poems, potential maturation narratives are shut down before they lead into the emergence of anything "too adult." Ruskin can be understood as performing childhood in his early verse, and that habit of retreating into childhood continues in *King*. The poems that describe overcoming emotion, as if he were telling himself to get over personal and familial struggles or to avoid self-exploration, are especially evasive when his parents are introduced, ending hurriedly or interrupting the contemplative with textual or youthful superficiality. It is as if young Ruskin knew how to withdraw his meditative voice to call a halt to emotions that might have arisen as a result of writing poetry, which often invites introspection. Like "On the Appearance of a Sudden Cloud," "The Storm" (1827) introduces the imagery of violent threats and psychological disturbance—predators, storms, and dark clouds—only to end abruptly and cutely: "And so in beginning another line I end" (8). Read with an understanding that the boy knew his parents would be reading his poetry, discussing the appropriateness of their son's poetic habits, the forced closure can be understood as a refusal to investigate troubling emotions. "My Dog Dash" (1830) and "Dash" (1831) stand out in Ruskin's juvenilia because they are personal in a way that demonstrates emotional attachment and vulnerability. They show young Ruskin's devotion to his aunt's dog: arguably, the most emotional moment in *The King of the Golden River* is when Gluck gives his last drops of water to the suffering dog, who then turns into the King.

In the later juvenilia of 1836, however, having fallen for Adèle Domecq, Ruskin writes directly about love, so he was quite capable of doing so at a young age (seventeen). His parents' attitude towards the relationship was very similar to their attitudes toward their son writing verse: his mother, née Margaret Cock, was largely against it, snubbing Adèle in part because the girl was a Roman Catholic but also

because she considered passion and romantic rapture dangerous. John James Ruskin, on the other hand, encouraged the union, discussing marriage possibilities with Adèle's father, who was also his business partner. A great deal has been written on Ruskin's parents and the way that they can be understood to represent conflicting social forces, Margaret promoting an evangelical Protestantism that manifested in overprotectiveness and a rejection of the poetic and John James representing something like Romantic daring, encouraging young Ruskin to write by giving him a farthing for every line of verse he came up with. Still, this is not simply or simple biography. Margaret was following a role more socially prescribed to mothers at the time and John James was performing a role more open to fathers. John James, that is, could be expected to promote the Romantic image of audacious masculinity even if he were attuned to the transition from Romantic emotion to Victorian stoicism affecting ideas of masculinity at the time. Much of young Ruskin's poetry can be read in the context of a boy negotiating his parents' opposing views, leading to the evasion of conflict by a refocusing of the poems away from the personal. In "On Adèle" (1836) or "A Moment's Falter" (1836), poems about him falling in love, Ruskin tends to avoid deep feeling by borrowing liberally from conventionally poetic forms. Emerson characterises these poems as using "determinedly poetic language" (14). The second stanza in "Evening in Company – May 18" (1836), for example, runs as follows:

> Chance sounds the changing breeze can fling
> Across the harp with fitful finger
> Or sweep the chords with wayward wing,
> And on the quick-responsive string
> Long and low vibrations linger.
> They strike the chord, but I alone
> Can hear the sounds in answer start—
> With sweet delay that echoing tone
> Rolls round the caverns of my heart. (65)

Students see that this is an affected and controlled performance of the paramour, that the complications of a half-forbidden, half-expected love affair are concealed or abolished in the artificiality and conventionality of the verse, a way to avoid difficulty by sentimentally playing the role of the lover and using genre to control the representation of feeling. Since evasiveness also marks the later *King*, students reading the juvenilia see a pattern of elusiveness that would not be available to them without the juvenilia.

So much of the early poetry includes consciously poetic performances that deny or excise introspection that the students were able to understand *King* as a performance of genre, and we went beyond the more obvious representations of masculinity in the story to its refusal to examine masculinity. Stoniness, stoicism, and the stiff upper lip were Victorian virtues for men; moreover, children might not to

commit personal feelings to paper if they know that their parents will be reading their work. Yet the way the restriction of the personal in the juvenilia corresponds with the avoidance of the intimate, the sexual, and the adult in *The King of the Golden River*—its impersonation of childhood—allowed the class to explore the reserve and control central to Victorian expectations of middle-class manliness as a social equivalent to Ruskin's childhood evasiveness and all the possible reasons for it. The violence of the Black Brothers as a form of vile masculinity becomes a cover for a different habit of masculinity, emotional closure. The parental complications involving Ruskin's upbringing and especially Margaret's and John's varying attitude towards his creativeness may have led to the evasiveness of the early verse, but they also might remind us that this kind of tension is not all that remarkable for the middle-class Victorian child and has broader social implications, which the class should be mostly interested in. Reading *King* as a withdrawal into the juvenile allowed us to see further into its representation of masculinity as more broadly representative of the time.

In a different class on Romanticism, I bring in many of the same early poems but in this case do so to explore the relationship between the "Romantic child" and child writers, looking at Ruskin's poetry to consider the way that a young poet from the Romantic period might have imitated the image or felt pressure to replicate the image of the Romantic child, even feeling pressure to be that figure. The ideal of the "Romantic child" could not be easily replicated. The attempt to model oneself on it may have produced difficulty for young poets at the time, and I use Ruskin's early work in this course in that context. Ruskin's verse, that is, can be brought into a discussion of Romanticism in order to get the students thinking about Romantic poetry and the reception of it as something that would be deeply affective, a lived experience. The course begins with the figure of the child, starting with Blake's *Songs* and moving to Joanne Baillie's "A Mother to Her Waking Infant" and Wordsworth's "We are Seven," "There was a Boy," and "Intimations of Immortality" or "Tintern Abbey." The image that emerges is of the child with special knowledge, wisdom that is lost as we are socialised, as we encounter institutions or the pressures of adulthood. It is an image of the child with unmediated connections to nature, to truth, and to the divine. Barbara Garlitz writes that the assumption "that the child is fresh from God and still remembers its heavenly home, that the aura which surrounds childhood fades into the common light of adulthood, that the child has a wisdom which the man loses . . . became the most important and the most common ideas about childhood in the nineteenth century" (647). Seeing the Romantic construction of childhood allows students to debate their own ideas about childhood, constructivism more generally, and the psychological difficulties that even children might face if feeling pressure to meet an image of childhood.

From introducing the Romantic child, an image students are at first very attracted to and very quick to corroborate or accept, at least the idea that the child has insights that adults lose, it is not difficult to transition the class to many of Romanticism's related tenets: "the spontaneous overflow of emotion," energy and enthusiasm,

uncensored states of being, and authenticity. The Romantic era, of course, also offers us child poets who were represented as prodigies, as evidence, in a way, of this unspoilt child, such as Thomas Chatterton or Thomas Dermody, though their biographies, especially Dermody's, more than distract from the image of the innocence of youth. The class, however, interrogates the idea of the Romantic child not solely through an image constructed by adults or by young writers thrust into position by the media of the day, but by child writers whose verse suggests an imitation of the Romantic child, as if constructing themselves through their work to reproduce the model offered by Romanticism.

Young Ruskin in many ways fits the bill. Growing up in Romanticism's heyday or its immediate aftermath, the young poet, as with many from his generation, looked at Romantic poetry as poetry, and the influence of Wordsworth, for example, can be directly seen in a great deal of his verse, especially where he recounts his "tours" of the Lake District. Poems such as "On Skiddaw and Derwent Waters" (1830) demonstrate not just imitation, but a degree of posturing as the boy takes up the mantle of the Romantic and his quest for isolation, contemplation, and deep meaning, showing an affinity to nature in contradistinction to any meaning that might emerge out of the study of society. One passage from the poem reads,

> Now Derwent Water come. A looking glass
> Wherein reflected are the mountain's height
> As in a mirror framed in rocks and woods.
> So upon thee is a seeming mount,
> A seeming tree, a seeming rivulet.
> All upon thee are painted by a hand
> Which not a critic can well criticize. (17)

As if to replicate Wordsworth reflecting on youth's special relationship with nature, he adds,

> Thy polished surface is a boy at play
> Who labours at the snow to make a man
> And when he's made it knocks it down again
> So when thou'st made a picture thou does play
> At tearing it down again. (17)

The snowman's primary value is in being impermanently adult, reinforcing the unique relationship between child and nature.

That Ruskin studied and emulated Wordsworth, Byron, and Scott is in itself not remarkable for a young poet in the 1830s, but Ruskin spends so much of his time meditating on his own verse, contemplating the act of composing as he writes, that it may not have been possible for him to avoid a self-conscious comparison between

himself as a young poet and the idea of the Romantic child, and he may not have wanted to avoid doing so. He repeatedly underlines his ability to describe things as they are, following Wordsworth's insistence that the best poetic language does not need to embellish, and frequently explicates his facility by saying things like, "And now a little description of the sun" ("The Sun" [1828]) (12). Sharing the somewhat false modesty of "cease this vain rhyme / Which not at all needed wastes paper and time / Too lengthened and tiresome" ("Iteriad" [1830–32]) (35) underscores that he had been swept away in the previous moment. In this way he reproduces the Romantic doctrines of spontaneity, powerful feeling, special insight or uncensored truth; of Coleridgean writing "without any sensation or consciousness of effort" ("Kubla Khan") and of what Jerome McGann has described as an ideology of "sincerity" (63).

David Hanson notes that as "a child" Ruskin "could compose dozens of lines in a day, and fair-copy the draft with minimal revision. In his family, this effortlessness was termed the heart's ease of composition. Years later, this quality was still employed by Ruskin as a criterion in literary criticism, a writer's ease indicating a felicitous imagination" (255). Ease of composition also confirms the tenets of Romanticism, and the ability of the Romantic child to simply be part of the world they represent. Later in life Ruskin would continue to subscribe to the Romantic notion of the truthfulness of a child's insights, saying in *Modern Painters I* that "all great painters, of whatever school, have been great only in their rendering of what they had seen and felt from early childhood" (3. 229). Poems such as "Iteriad" leave readers with an image of a child living spontaneously, untroubled and with exuberance, fostered by rural environments. If there is an issue in this group of poems, it is that his solitude might be disrupted by tourists, as he also suggests in "The Invasion of the Alps" (1835). As an adult, in *Sesames and Lilies*, Ruskin would speak of a desire to "put an end to the vulgar excitement which looked upon the granite of the Alps only as an unoccupied advertisement wall for chalking names upon" (18. 24). I quote from the later Ruskin to again stress that a life-long continuity of thought as if spontaneously arising in childhood is fundamentally Romantic and meant to demonstrate truth of purpose. Youthful wonder, the thrill of exploration and discovery, and the draw of a good climb were undoubtedly felt genuinely by young Ruskin, but his verse, or at least some of it, heightens the experience of youth with deliberate Romantic flair.

But Ruskin was not the Romantic child, and he arguably found the model of childhood offered by the Romantics deeply unsatisfactory if not oppressive. At least some of his early poems demonstrate either that he had trouble with living up to the idea of the Romantic child or that he simply did not want to be seen as that figure. Ease of composition would run against his efforts to demonstrate that writing poetry was a vehicle to rehearse scientific or historical fact as much as or more than personal feeling. Poems such as the very early "On the Steam Engine" (1826) and "The British Battles" (1828) assert that his interests are not just adult ones, but interests more considered than inspired. They do not reproduce nature's abundance or isolate the

speaker away from public matters or nagging reality, and they do not confirm the speaker as lost in the moment. Rather, they give us a self-conscious treatment of the adult in waiting, though only an adultness marked by the knowledge of external things, not adult emotions. Ease of composition would also run against his efforts to demonstrate that writing poetry was a discipline demonstrating accomplishment, a work ethic, and learning. This line of thought in Ruskin's verse may have been to appease his mother, who again tended towards restricting her child's leaps of imagination and who insisted upon educational practices that were non-Romantic, if not anti-Romantic, or at least anti-Rousseauian.

Moreover, not all of Ruskin's poetry demonstrates an ease of composition, far from it. As Hanson has documented, many of the early poems are fragmented, revealing "consistent effects of psychological disturbance on the process of Ruskin's composition" ("Self" 264). One way this manifests is in the stifling self-consciousness in his early verse discussed earlier. The exceedingly abrupt endings of "The Storm" and "Time" (1827), for example, suggest that at the very moment when the poems almost demand Romantic introspection, young Ruskin ends them. Hanson goes further to suggest that "often starkly contrasting indications of facility and difficulty of composition in the manuscripts tend to be identified with competing forms of romantic quest" ("Self" 255-56). On the one hand, we have Byronic language demonstrating difficulty with his attachment to his mother; on the other hand, we get Wordsworthian language "untroubled by revision" that signifies an effort to "recover the heart's ease" he associates with his father ("Self" 256). For my purposes of teaching the Romantic child, the Wordsworthian poems, often corresponding with family expeditions and mountain heights, are used to represent the elements of Romantic thought aligned with the image of the Romantic child. But it is intriguing to consider young Ruskin as caught between early and late Romanticism, Wordsworthian verse competing against imitations of *Manfred* and *Childe Harold*, for example. Yet even in the more Wordsworthian poems, childhood insight is often limited to confirming powers of observation, and instead of the boy uncensored, unself-conscious and in the moment, we see him struggling with where his observations of the external world lead him, and the need to shut that down, censoring himself. The more Wordsworthian poems mark a temporary retreat from "darker thoughts" but not an escape, and the boy, remarkably self-aware, is then faced with the added difficulty of failing to live up to the idea of the "Romantic child."

At best, Ruskin had ambivalent feelings towards the Romantic model of childhood, and that can be seen in the switchbacks between the parts of his poetry that would satisfy his father's approval of imaginative acts, rejecting a matter-of-fact view of the world, and the parts that seem to conform to his mother's contrasting propensity to insist upon a restriction of the imagination and a containment of emotion. These dual pressures also correspond to competing models of education Ruskin and other affluent children his age would encounter. Against the influence of Rousseau and the idea that children are best left free from authority to discover the

world around them through their own reason is the evangelical notion that discipline, regulation, and even chastisement are needed to direct children away from the paths created by "original sin."[2] Ruskin, in various ways, would later reflect on this division when recounting his early verse, stating that being without siblings and friends, he was drawn to either "inanimate things—the sky, the leaves, and pebbles, observable within the walls of Eden," referring to the gardens at Herne Hill where he was raised, "or caught at any opportunity of flight into regions of romance" (35. 37).[3]

The point here is that the Romantic notion of childhood may have contributed not only to Ruskin's but also to other young artists' sense of self in ways that would create expectations and pressures observable in their youthful work. Ruskin's imitation of the Romantic child—an adult treatment or idealisation of childhood—may have been yet another source for the boy's struggle with his voice, "the signs of textual difficulty" ("Self" 255) that Hanson identifies, or in the way he seems to spend more time meditating on what to write or on how to write than on any particular subject matter, often avoiding personal reflection or introspection despite Romanticism's preference for the lyric mode. The figure of the Romantic child and the powerful feeling it is said to possess presented the young poet with an unattainable ideal. In addition to the pressures Ruskin must have felt to satisfy contradicting familial expectations, that ideal also led to the remarkable layers of self-consciousness in his verse, the boy's non-Romantic failing to simply be in the moment.

As Michael Sprinker says, Ruskin is a "central figure in the history of Romanticism for having recognized himself as both heir and enemy to this tradition" (115). Perhaps this recognition of being both allied with and set against Romanticism began in his childhood years. For the adult Romantic, childhood comes with "vision," with the child somehow in touch with or still connected to "the infinite." The child is a redeeming force for the adult who has lost these things; like nature, the child can teach morality, true humanity. Students learning of the care-free Romantic child, happy in isolation, and Romanticism through it, however, would benefit from considering Romanticism as a lived experience for its audience, and that the image of exuberant happiness created by the Romantic child full of wonder was and should be understood as troubled by lived history. Laurie Langbauer argues that understanding "Romanticism as part of youth movements alters its identity and importance" (77). As with the class on Victorian masculinities and *The King of the Golden River*, Ruskin's juvenilia alerts students to historically sensitive and multi-disciplinary approaches to the material, to a criticism from the inside. If current trends continue and English departments are faced with the fact of fewer and fewer students and thus fewer and fewer courses that they can offer, introducing juvenilia into the study of non-juvenile works may be one way to rejuvenate our classrooms.

NOTES

[1] Nipissing University is a primarily undergraduate university in North Bay, Ontario, Canada, one that used to be a mostly liberal arts institution with a large Education program but is increasingly becoming something like a professional school, with very large online nursing and business programs.

[2] Hanson explores the competing models of education faced by young Ruskin in "Ruskin's *Praeterita* and Landscape in Evangelical Children's Education."

[3] The older Ruskin adds, "compatible with the objective realities of existence in the nineteenth century" (35. 37) as if to insist that he never fully sided with either things or thoughts.

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READING THE CHILD AUTHOR IN *THE ADVENTURES OF ALICE LASELLES BY ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA (AGED 10¾)*

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ONCE UPON a time, a young girl called Alexandrina Victoria wrote a story. She titled it *Alice* and "affectionately and dutifully inscribed" it, her "first attempt at composition," to her "dear mama" (2). The story itself, written some time around 1829, is about a girl called Alice and her adventures at a boarding school for select young women. Her initial departure from home is painful and unsought, but her stepmother is insistent upon school: Alice will be "much happier … among other girls" (10) and is to stay there for six years until she will be "of an age to … go out in company" (10). Upon her arrival at the school, Alice is introduced to the Headmistress, Mrs. Duncombe, thereafter referred to as Mrs. D, and her fellow students in a series of individual vignettes. Alice makes friends with two girls in particular, the "quite delightful" team of Selina and Ernestine (47), before then coming into conflict with another pupil, Diana, who claims Alice has brought a cat to school without permission. Upset at this challenge to her character, and indeed at the fact that she has "never even had a cat" (48), Alice emotionally consoles herself with the knowledge that the truth will out and her honour will be restored. With some narrative alacrity, the culprit then confesses and Alice's innocence is established. She rises the next morning with "a light heart" and, as the conclusion to the book recounts, "in less than 3 months" becomes "one of the best learners in the school" (56). Almost one hundred and eighty years later, long after Alexandrina Victoria had become better known as Queen Victoria and begun her lengthy and definitive reign over the United Kingdom, *Alice* was republished by the Royal Collection Trust as *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* (2015).

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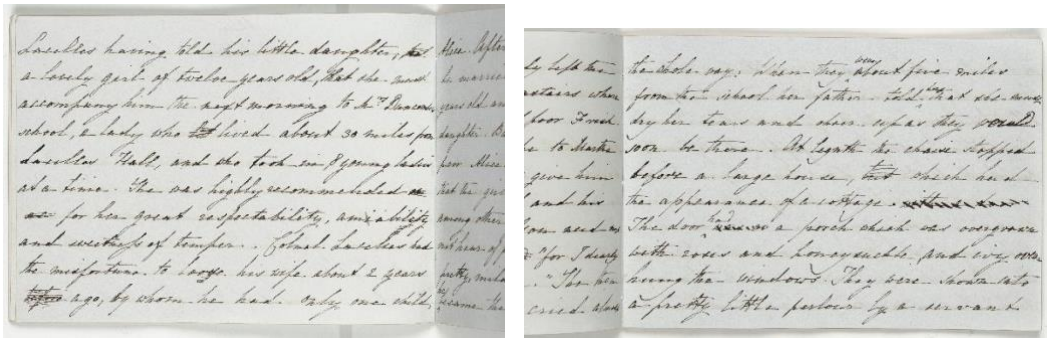
In this article, I discuss the journey of original manuscript to publication. For purposes of clarity, I refer to the original version of the text as *Alice* and to the edited, published version as *The Adventures of Alice Laselles*. I also suggest that the original *Alice* was written c. 1829, a conclusion that sits at odds with the publisher and indeed, the readings of other scholars. This is due to a number of reasons, the first being found in *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* itself. The cover copy states that the original story was written by Alexandrina Victoria "aged 10¾." An afterword expands upon this: "We think Queen Victoria wrote this story when she was just coming up to her eleventh birthday" ("Story" 58), and there is further mention of Victoria's age in a second afterword about paper dolls: "We think Queen Victoria made these paper dolls in about 1830—about the same time as she wrote down the story of Alice's adventure" ("Paper Dolls" 60). Victoria was born on 24 May 1819, and thus her eleventh birthday would have been 24 May 1830. If we accept that Victoria was 10¾ when she wrote *Alice*, then this would position its composition somewhere between January and March of that year. This is not impossible by any means, yet I would suggest that stories do not begin at the point of writing out a clean copy. This book is published from a noticeably neat and clean manuscript, which reveals upon inspection few if any edits or visible mistakes (Figs. 1 and 2). Such texts take their time in production and may have had many earlier, untidier versions of themselves consigned to the dustbin.



Figures 1 and 2. Princess Victoria, ms. of "Alice," p. 2 (Fig. 1, left). Princess Victoria, ms. of "Alice," p. 7 (Fig. 2, right); note the edits. (Royal Archives | His Majesty King Charles III).

Lynne Vallone, one of the few other scholars to have engaged with *Alice* as an object of scholar interest, offers an alternative perspective upon the story's year of composition. She suggests that it was written when Victoria was fifteen years old, "circa 1835" (138). For rationale, she cites the text's stylistic qualities and the author's ability to sustain a lengthy narrative (129), as well as the practical circumstances that writing such a lengthy story would require: "It is likely that Victoria wrote it while

travelling and released from her usual rigid lesson schedule as was the case for her 'Sophia and Adolphus' story written in Broadstairs" (138).[1] Again, this is not impossible by any means, but my own experience of working with young writers (Johnson) has shown that girls as young as ten write and do so at length (indeed, many of the participants in my study were chidden for writing too much). Furthermore, it is not a reach to see a young writer from privileged circumstances producing a lengthy work such as *Alice*. Taking all of this into account, then, I date *Alice*'s composition as c. 1829.

I also spell Alice's surname differently, depending on whether I am referring to the original or the republished text. This is due to the fact that in the original story, the surname of Alice is spelt "Lascelles," whilst in the newer edition, *The Adventures of Alice Laselles*, the 'c' has been dropped and Alice's surname has become "Laselles."[2] As I discuss below, this is a small yet impactful edit upon the text that has lasting resonance. In an attempt to not reinforce this impact and, indeed, as an act of fidelity to the text as written, I retain Alexandrina Victoria's original spelling of the surname whenever I quote from the manuscript.

Finally, these clarifications about style and terminology may seem to link this article firmly with the work of an individual young author and the journey of an individual text towards publication. It is important to emphasise that this is not so. This is the story of how a young author, profoundly influential both in her child and adult life, remained yet unable to escape the "complex games" (Watson 53) of meaning-making that adults sometimes play about a child-authored text, often for purposes of publicity or marketing.

"A Children's story written and illustrated by Queen Victoria"

BOUND in pale pink candy-stripe cloth, *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* is an eye-catching volume (Fig. 3). The title is printed in gilt lettering, wrapped in a wreath of pink flowers, and crowned with a small image, reminiscent of a Victorian cameo brooch, of a girl holding a cat in her arms. Upon reading, it becomes clear that this girl is the titular Alice, but the first impression is that she might be the young Victoria herself looking out at the reader. Indeed, such an interpretation is only helped by the autobiographical detail added to the cover: the front proclaims that this is *The Adventures of Alice Laselles by Alexandrina Victoria aged 10¾* with the strapline "A Children's story written and illustrated by Queen Victoria." The back cover describes it as "An enchanting children's story written by a real princess" and "A delightful and

unique children's story, which will still enchant and captivate every little princess today."

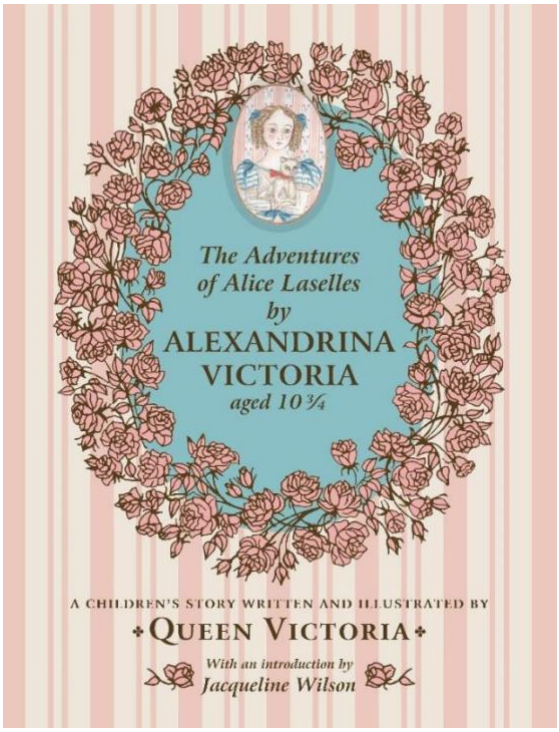


Figure 3. Front cover of The Adventures of Alice Laselles, *2015 (© Royal Collection Enterprises Limited 2024 | Royal Collection Trust).*

It is in this soft pink statement of purpose that *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* both asserts the identity of its author whilst also confessing some sense of confusion about the same. The invocation of Queen Victoria on the cover is understandable: this is a story written by a pivotal figure in British history, and that identity clearly influenced The Royal Collection Trust's decision to republish this story in the first place. Name recognition is important: publishing is a commercial business. It is also understandable that the names of Alexandrina Victoria and Queen Victoria are so intimately linked together. They are the same person: the child grew up to become the adult; the princess became the queen; this much is true. Yet, underneath this truth, there is a hint of something friable, something much more unsure: a hint of a book being written simultaneously by both the young Victoria and the old, by a young girl in the process of becoming monarch and the monarch herself, whose name even in this context is resonant with the legacied history of her position.

Because of this simultaneity, as much as the peritextual material included with *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* serves to dislocate Victoria from her childhood, it also works to quite deliberately fix her there. Her age is emphasised on the front cover: she is "aged 10¾" and thus quite clearly a child. This is no new phenomenon for a young author, and I do not seek to characterise it as such here. Rather, I seek to unpack how this precise delineation of age and underscoring of Victoria's position as *child* sits alongside the other material on a cover which simultaneously proclaims her as adult. I would suggest that, at the very least, this results in a state of tension. She is an author fixed in the state of becoming, on the cusp of an imminent birthday and of maturity, both young and old, and somehow all of these things at the same time. Furthermore, she is an author whose peculiarly specific age has noticeable echoes across literature: Sue Townsend's fictional young author, Adrian Mole, for example, had his diaries published at age 13¾, while Platform 9¾ is a key location in J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series (1997–2007). In describing Victoria as 10¾ years old when she wrote *Alice,* then, the 2015 title connects Victoria to these literary landmarks in a way that asserts *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* to be pivotal, weighty, part of the literary firmament; and indeed, every element of the book's cover design works to secure and handfast that reading.

However this careful delineation and emphasis of Victoria's age rests upon delicate foundations: the age of the author is an estimate. This uncertainty is not revealed until the reader reaches the afterword of *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* where we learn that the editors only "*think* Queen Victoria wrote this story" at the age given and find no reasons given ("Story" 58, emphasis added). At one level, this is an understandable and necessary caveat to give under the circumstances; the original manuscript of *Alice* is undated. Yet on another level, this afterword also hints at the contentious role that authorial age can play in juvenilia, beginning with the editing process. Sylvia Molloy, for example, describes how the mother of nineteenth-century diarist Marie Bashkirtseff shifted her age from fourteen to twelve years old when her diaries were published. This was, Molloy suggests, the act of a "shrewd impresario" who, in making her daughter younger than she was, sought to emphasise Marie's precocity for marketing purposes (13). Thinking of age, and indeed the fixing of it, as an editorial act made with commercial intent allows us to read Victoria's age as a sign of imminence; such an editorial decision emphasises how close she is to her adulthood and her ascendance into the monarchy: the becoming, become. This then allows the idea of her adult celebrity, as represented on that cover and in the additional authorial material, to start making meaning: her childhood work has become of interest due to her subsequent adult achievements; the one informs the other. The

front and back covers of *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* suggest and indeed facilitate this adult-centred reading of a young author's work.

So too do this edition's illustrations. As originally written, *Alice* was without illustrations. A case might be made for its in-text edits as visual matter, consisting as they do of small arrows that accompany insertions, deletions, and corrections, but the matter of intent is relevant here: the author's intent is to amend and correct the text rather than provide illustrations. Yet upon its republication, *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* as one afterword notes in its unidentified voice "had to have illustrations" ("Story" 58), and so it did. A similarly anonymous foreword provides further information on the visual material. It was "created by four very different people: firstly Queen Victoria and her governess Baroness Lehzen; and secondly Cristina Pieropan and Felix Petruška" (Foreword 2). This quartet draws together a number of individuals across the boundaries of both age and time; Pieropan and Petruška are contemporary artists, contributing towards the project in the present day, while Baroness Lehzen, the childhood governess of the young Victoria, is described as having drawn the dolls out for Victoria to then paint (ibid.). Victoria herself is the only child to be mentioned, though an additional anonymous afterword on "Alexandrina Victoria's Paper Dolls" does acknowledge that other young people may have been involved, such as Princess Feodora of Leiningen (Victoria's maternal half-sister, born December 1807) and Victoire Conroy (born August 1819), the daughter of Sir John Conroy, comptroller for Victoria's mother the Duchess of Kent and her household (60–61).

Many years after their initial painting by Victoria and her peers, the dolls were then remade into illustrative matter for *The Adventures of Alice Laselles*. They were first "digitally cut out and manipulated" by Felix Petruška, using a process that involved "changing their poses and expressions and" adding "shadows to give them a more three-dimensional appearance" (Foreword 2). Following this reworking, the paper dolls were then set into scenes where they were given depth and texture by the delicate, sensitive etchings of Cristina Pieropan. The result is a charming amalgamation of historic and contemporary artforms which sees the paper dolls lean into each other, gossiping and chatting on a sofa in the school's living room, or leaning over the staircase to whisper something in their headmistress's ear, their formerly fixed existence forgotten. Yet there are also illustrations which recognise the inescapable flatness of the paper dolls even within this new, vibrant landscape, and do so with profound impact. One of the most impressive demonstrations of this illustrates the moment when Colonel Lascelles and his daughter arrive at the school for the very first time (Fig. 4). The paper doll playing the part of her father stares fixedly ahead, unable to even look at his daughter, while Alice, all fluid line and

movement, stares sorrowfully at the floor, lost in her feelings. There is an eloquent poignancy at play here: Alice may be with her father, but emotionally, they are miles apart.

Figure 4. Alice sits with her father in the school parlour, The Adventures of Alice Laselles, *p. 18 (© Royal Collection Enterprises Limited 2024 | Royal Collection Trust).*

Under these circumstances, the claim that *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* is a "children's story written and illustrated by Queen Victoria" becomes something of a provocation, for there were many other parties involved, especially when the publishing process and all its stakeholders are considered. Yet this story *is* clearly illustrated by Victoria. Dolls were part of her childhood play, and the dolls that were selected to feature in *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* were part of a wider cast, both two- and three-dimensional, who, as Frances H. Low put it in 1892, "made happy the childhood of her who is endeared to her subjects as a good wife, a good mother, and a wise and exemplary ruler" (238). The dolls reflected experiences that Victoria had had in her life and came to function as something of an embodied, physicalised

journal. After a performance of *Les Sylphides,* for example, Victoria made a "series of lively drawings and water-colours in her sketchbook" before "Baroness Lehzen made" her "a doll to represent Taglioni as La Sylphide." At some point, this doll was then "married" to "another, which she and the Baroness dressed and named Count Almaviva (from the character in *The Barber of Seville*)," and gained "two baby daughters" ("Queen Victoria's Dolls" n.p.) As an adult, Victoria even went as far as providing clarifying and explanatory footnotes upon media articles about her collection of dolls (Low 11). By the time of her death, dolls had become irrevocably associated with her, part of her mythos and iconography. Any representation of them in the media was a representation of the monarch; for this reason, making them the source of new illustrations for *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* is an act of strategic marketing. Victoria's established iconography is reaffirmed; the dolls are positioned once more as a way of understanding the monarch, and Victoria's childhood identity is foregrounded.

These ideological exertions around meaning-making, and the shadowy adult bodies that lie behind them, are a familiar sight in the field of juvenilia studies. For example, in describing the process of editing a child-authored text, Christine Alexander remarks: "As Humpty Dumpty said, it is a question of mastery over the conventions of language and therefore meaning" ("Defining" 81). The visual materials published with *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* are clear expressions of mastery over the text. They bring with them the exertions of adult bodies, laden with their own agendas, and the resonance of the wider, established discourse about the author. Individual games become played: contemporary artists learn how to negotiate historical material and media and integrate this into their own creative practice, while an institutional press must grapple with a key member of the institution which they serve and work out how to, and indeed whether they even *can*, represent such a figure and all of her significance in print. Yet these multiple-bodied efforts towards mastery, towards the shaping of meaning, also achieve quite the opposite; they diffuse it, share it, and work to minimise any sense of original ownership by the original author upon their text.

It might be productive here to clarify the difference between the interventions that I have discussed and the more general process of editing literary material. Texts, both child-authored and adult-authored, are edited prior to their publication. More than one person is involved and their own purposes drive their efforts, be that a line edit, or a more thematic, large-scale structural edit. This process is an important and common part of the publication journey: the literary object rarely enters the world fully formed and ready for public readership. I do not seek to deny the benefits of these often fruitful and productive encounters between author and editor, text and

publisher, nor to make a value judgement of the edits applied to *Alice*. What I am working towards instead is a kind of mapping, a tracing, of how those edits have injected a peculiar kind of force into the text, the impact of that force, and how it both serves and undermines the author.

"I think you'll agree that she was very talented"

ONE OF the key additions to *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* is a foreword by Jacqueline Wilson. Forewords can act as a curious hybrid of provenance and value marker for child-authored texts (see Walker, amongst many others), and this one is no exception. Wilson is a well-established author within British children's literature with a prolific back catalogue of titles and is a former Children's Laureate (2005–07). The position of Laureate is held for two years and devoted to advocacy for children's literacy and literature across the United Kingdom. In addition to her professional standing and notable literary achievements, Wilson has featured paper dolls in her own creative work and has often spoken about her childhood fondness for playing with them (Duncan). Her foreword to *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* sees her write about how she "loved playing with paper dolls" (4) and how she "was delighted and astonished to discover that the most famous of all Victorians, Queen Victoria herself, also loved paper dolls" (5). She writes that Victoria's "governess drew them [the dolls] for her, but the young Victoria coloured them in herself. I think you'll agree that she was very talented" (5). Wilson also uses her foreword to comment on Victoria's skill as a writer. She notes that *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* "ends happily, if a little hurriedly. Victoria was obviously keen to get to the end of her story. I know the feeling!" and writes that "If Victoria hadn't been destined to be Queen I think she might have made a remarkable novelist" (5). The text itself, read from a contemporary perspective, supports this assertion: Victoria is clearly a good writer, both confident in style and prolific in output. Indeed, contemporary reviews of *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* pick out her eye for "resonant detail" and her "ear for dialogue" (Hensher), and indeed, the accusation of Alice by her new headmistress provides a clear demonstration of both:

> "Why I have just heard from Barbara Somerville that you have placed a cat in my kitchen without previously enquiring from me if such a thing was allowed. Now I never permit any cat whatsoever to be in the kitchen or the house and particularly not without permission.

> I shall therefore beg of you my dear Alice to send your cat home to Laselles Hall."
>
> "Indeed Mam I never even had a cat for Pappa does not like them, and as for venturing to bring a cat into your house, I never dreamt of doing so undutiful a thing, indeed Mam it is not my cat."

At this point, the misinformed Barbara becomes involved:

> "Well then Miss Benson our teacher must tell a lie for it was she who told me that she saw the cat with a piece of red ribbon round its next on which was written Alice Laselles," retorted Barbara.
>
> "No no I never brought one, somebody must have done so out of malice, out of pure unkindness, to a pure helpless stranger," sobbed out poor Alice. (48)

This is a dynamic moment between three parties, one of the longest episodes of conversation within the text, and one which gives each character her own clear identity, motive and agenda within moments of her speaking. Mrs. D's adult authority is respectfully noted and affirmed; Barbara's information is recognised as being based on hearsay and thus her lack of character is established, and Alice's quick, repeated denials ("I never … I never"; "No no I never") serve to reinforce her inner nobility and her passionate commitment to the truth. Details like the red ribbon with Alice's name on it emphasise the drama; this is a writer working to catch the reader's eye, a writer who knows precisely what she is doing.

Victoria continued to write regularly into her adulthood and up to 1901, the year of her death. At this point, she had written somewhere over one hundred and forty-one volumes of a detailed personal journal and somewhere over an estimated sixty million words. Her style was purposeful, precise, and occasionally possessed of a delicate and moving introspection as her diary entry for 10 February 1840, the day of her wedding, shows: "How can I ever be thankful enough, to have such a Husband! May God help me to do my duty as I ought & to be worthy of such blessings!" As a young woman, she was familiar with literary culture and more than comfortable in expressing a judgement upon her reading. On 25 August 1835, she is read to from Madame de Sévigné's letters[3] and writes in her diary about "how truly elegant and natural her style is! It is so full of naivete, cleverness and grace," a topic she returns to over a year later. Here Victoria notes that they are reading the "middle of the 10th vol." of the letters and, as she reflects, "I like them more and more, they are so beautiful, so easy, they show the character of the person who wrote them so perfectly,

you become acquainted with her and hers, and there are such tender and beautiful feelings expressed in them, towards that daughter who was her all & all; and the style is so elegant and so beautiful" (27 October 1836).

The point here is perhaps self-evident: Victoria wrote, lengthily and well, as both child and adult. She was a prolific correspondent and, for example, wrote so many letters to her newly married daughter in Germany that her husband felt it necessary to intervene for the sake of her health (Hibbert 258). She also published several full-length literary projects of her own, most notably *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* (1865) and its sequel: *More Leaves From the Journal of Our Life In The Highlands* (1884). These titles drew upon the resource of Victoria's personal diaries and shared the details of royal life in Scotland with a hungry public readership. They were a notable public success (O'Neill) and shone a spotlight on the royal domesticity and its sometimes uneasy, self-conscious performance. Victoria also wrote an unpublished memoir-cum-tribute about her servant John Brown (Hibbert; Lamont-Brown) and was even later nominated, perhaps somewhat ambitiously, as the possible secret author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through The Looking Glass* (Rosenbaum).

The Adventures of Alice Laselles demonstrates Victoria's talent as a writer, even as a young girl. For example, upon her arrival at school, Alice unpacks a "small red case" which holds a lock of her mother's hair (25). As she tells her new headmistress:

> "About two months before my poor Mamma died she cut off a long piece of her beautiful black hair, and as she could plait very well she made it into this string and put a lock of her hair into this locket. Well, when she felt her last moment approaching she called me faintly to her bed, and taking this string and locket from her neck said, 'This is my work, my hair—and my last gift. Always keep it by you and always remember your dying mother's last words.'" (25)

As this passage shows, Victoria could be moralising in nature, not particularly subtle in making her point, and yet could still do so with style and occasional panache. The deathbed scene is a more than familiar friend to readers of literature from this period, and the incident here is presented with style and "resonant detail" (Hensher), not least in that description of the locket itself and its accompanying case. As in the passage quoted above, Victoria uses the colour red to signify objects of narrative importance: here, the red case; there, the ribbon around the cat's neck. The locket unmistakeably represents an intimate relationship; despite her obvious absence, Alice's mother is still very much present in her daughter's life.

It is also noticeable that Alice tells this intimate and profoundly personal story only after the gentle enquiries of her new headmistress, Mrs. D. It is she who, when noticing Alice's locket, asks: "What is this my love?" and in response to Alice's offer to tell her the story of it, replies, "I should like it very much my dear" (25). In this tender prompting, the subsequent telling, and indeed the respectful listening, Mrs. D's goodness is underscored; she is a new and positive maternal figure within Alice's life, a counterpoint to the stepmother Victoria suffered under at home.

This exploration of parenting, both good and bad, is a recurrent theme within the book. For example, Alice is able to recognise the machinations of her new stepmother behind her departure for school and, in doing so, see her father's weakness: "[Y]oung Mrs Laselles did not like poor Alice. She always hinted to her husband that the girl would be much happier at school among other girls"; once "he became the father of a second little girl and Mrs Laselles told him he neglected both mother and daughter for Alice, he weakly consented to send her to school for six years" (10). The theme persists: "At last Colonel Laselles called her to say goodbye to her unworthy and selfish stepmother." But Victoria explains that "Alice was not so much of a child not to see that her departure was the work of her stepmother" (14). This emotional acuity reoccurs elsewhere; in a series of individual character sketches which introduce the girls of the school, Victoria writes for example that Barbara Somerville has "been longest in the school, and consequently claims our attention first" (30) and that the beautiful Charlotte Graves "paid proper attention to her lessons but all her leisure time was employed in arranging her curls with the greatest care" (34). She even abandons her normally fulsome style for the occasional witty aside: "Laura and Adelaide Burtin were twins and had arrived but 4 months. They had been sent by their parents who were gone to India, to remain only for a year. They were unoffending good sort of girls" (37).

The Adventures of Alice Laselles is also a story with a predominantly female cast that works to remove these characters from the wider world so that they can study and live alongside each other and develop passionate, heartfelt friendships in the process. In doing so, the story also reads as something of an intriguing early example of the girls' school story genre. Yet the joys of collective education alongside her friends were unfamiliar to Victoria herself, and the impact of her lonely and regimented childhood manifests itself in curious, subtle ways in her work. Many of the girls in *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* come from complex home circumstances and have experienced a childhood of neglect. They have been sent away to school and have been there ever since. Diana O'Reilly, for example, has been abandoned by her father for ten years while he grieves the death of his wife who died in childbirth. The orphaned Selina Bawden has only a "rich unmarried uncle who disliked children"

(40), while another orphan, Ernestine Duval, has been sent away to school by her "rather poor" Uncle who has "many children of his own to provide for" (33). For these characters, the school is a space of sanctuary and the other girls, a family. They sit companionably "around a large oaken table" where they are read to; and once the book is finished, they are allowed their own amusements "till-bed time" (53). The suspicion that the author sought something of the companionship of collective education and easy, positive friendships for herself is hard to escape. As this double page spread (Fig. 5) shows, Alice sits by herself on the verso page and watches the girls dance; her isolation is felt, not just in terms of practical remove but also in terms of medium. The other pupils are all repurposed paper dolls and thus of a uniform appearance while Alice is not. She hides her face from the reader, lost in her homesickness and misery, while the paper dolls look out from the page, united by their collective joy. In the background lurks the soon-to-be problem of the white cat, wearing a red ribbon.

Figure 5. Alice watches the girls dance, from The Adventures of Alice Laselles*, pp. 44–45 (© Royal Collection Enterprises Limited 2024 | Royal Collection Trust).*

Despite Alice's being accused of an initial wrongdoing at school, the real culprit is discovered and punished with little to no input from or impact on Alice herself. As Ernestine, a fellow pupil, informs her, "'Mrs. D has found out the whole, the mystery is disclosed and your innocence is proved. Trivial as the occurrence about the cat appeared, our dear good governess always makes a point to find out the truth, so accordingly we were all assembled, Miss Benson and Nanny the cook also, Di alone

was not forthcoming and can you believe it, O Alice she was the culprit"' (50). Alice's response to this chatty screed is, it might be noted, exquisitely brief: "Really" (53). She then turns her attention towards making friends, thriving and flourishing; and the other girls, save Di and Barbara, "who protected Di" (53), welcome her with "open arms." This is recorded in a full double-page spread illustration, which depicts the girls chatting and playing together in a large salon. Two girls whisper on the sofa together while another two play a game of cards on a small table. Mrs. D, the headmistress, sits by the fire, while another girl stands hand in hand with her friend. The overall impression is of warm hominess.

It is hard to resist making a connection between these moments of togetherness and Victoria's own, lonely childhood. Indeed, Vallone writes that Victoria's "perhaps spoiled upbringing by an obsessive widow, her wide reading in improving literature, her appreciation of romance and dedication to life-writing in her journals—invites these conjectures about the connection between the young author and the female characters she created" (143). Yet if these connections are rendered so palpably, with such yearning, within the text, should such a reading of them be resisted? The young author seems to grapple with the inevitability of such inferences in the representation of Alice's stepmother, where she seeks to negate any potential critical reception. The new Mrs. Lascelles is a complicated, challenging character who becomes profoundly humanised in the final few pages of the original manuscript. Her name is revealed to be "Emma," and she has her previous bad behaviour explained by her own tragic backstory. As the final two pages of the original notebook detail: "Her misfortune was that having been an only daughter she had been dreadfully spoilt by a most indulgent and foolish mother who lost her husband when Emma/Mrs Lascelles was only four months old and she herself only eighteen"; and so, as Victoria notes several sentences later, Emma was allowed to grow up with all "sorts of bad and foolish habits." This is a remarkable shift in perspective: "The point of view becomes sympathetic to the stepmother who now is referred to by her first name" (Vallone 141). This shift helps to transform *Alice* from a school story concerned with the exploits of Alice and her peers into a profoundly human story of redemption for adults, as much as for the children themselves. Everybody in this world, even those who do not deserve it, can be saved.

The redemption of Emma, however, is absent from *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* (2015); instead, the editors have selected an earlier point in the original manuscript as its ending: Alice wakes with a "light heart" (56) and sets herself towards becoming a good student. This goal is reached, and as the final line in the book recounts: "in less than 3 months she was one of the best learners in the school" (56). This new ending results in the loss of later passages that tell how Alice remains at the school to witness

the arrival of other new pupils. One of the most notable of these is the Lady Christina, daughter of the Countess Somerville and recipient of awestruck admiration from the vain Charlotte: "What a lovely pink satin pelisse Lady Christina has on and what a bonnet. O how very happy Lady Christina must be to be able to have such fine things …." It is only Alice who replies, "I do not think Lady Christina is any happier for having fine clothes for did you not observe how anxious she looked when she came through the door[?]" Following the arrival of the Lady Christina, the story then shifts back to Alice's family home, Lascelles Hall. There has been another addition to the family: Alice's delicate new half-sister, Blanche. Following her daughter's birth, Mrs. Lascelles insists that the family take a tour across Italy, France, and Switzerland. The reason for this is unclear, but there are a number of potential readings, not in the least in relation to Blanche's health. Yet the trip does not come off, and even though Mrs. Lascelles behaves "like a naughty child," the consequences of her now-explained poor upbringing, it is "all to no avail." It is at this point that the composition reaches the practical limits of the red leather exercise book and ends. There is no more space to write, and the story is not continued elsewhere.

Despite what is lost, the ending provided for the published edition is a natural point of closure within the original text, and it is easy to see why it was chosen for this purpose, as it neatly wraps up one strand of the story. It compliments Victoria's authorial skills by showing that she is able to present a full, rounded narrative with both beginning and end, and that she did so at a young age. Even at her young age, she is a remarkable and talented author.

"To my dear Mamma"

VICTORIA was also attuned to the practicalities of writing and sustaining a lengthy piece of creative writing. *Alice* is not a small story; it runs to fifty pages in the notebook and fills almost every page entirely. It may also be Victoria's first public piece of composition, as evidenced by its somewhat self-conscious dedication. I reproduce it here with line-breaks intact (Fig. 6):

To my dear Mamma
this
my first attempt at
composition
is affectionately and

dutifully inscribed
by her affectionate
daughter
Victoria.

This dedication is more complex than it initially appears: *Alice* is not Victoria's first attempt at composition. An untitled story written in Ramsgate in 1827 survives in the Royal Archives, as does an initial draft and final version of *Sophie and Adolphus* (1829).

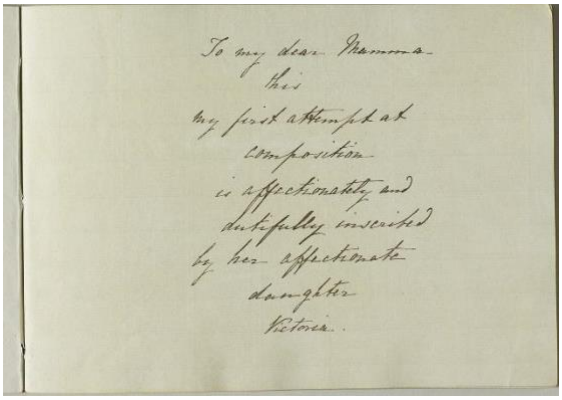


Figure 6. Dedication of Alice*, c. 1829 (Royal Archives | His Majesty King Charles III).*

These other compositions show how Victoria was able to edit and rework her writing and demonstrate her ability to sustain a lengthy piece of creative writing. They also demonstrate her fondness for dedications: although the earlier piece does not have a dedication, both the draft and longer versions of *Sophia and Adolphus* are dedicated to the "dear Baroness," namely Baroness Lehzen. The dedication to *Alice* may perhaps, then, be read more productively as a signal that this was one of the first stories Victoria wrote that she thought might be suitable for her mother to read. Vallone suggests similarly that, in *Sophia and Adolphus,* "the careful and detailed illustration that accompanies the story, as well as the inscription, point to an independent project undertaken to please" (49). However, *Sophia and Adolphus* was, as Vallone notes, "found among Victoria's things rather than her mother's" (139), and the same is true of *Alice*. This story was, then, written to please, but it was perhaps not ever read—at least, not by the Duchess of Kent.

This does not mean that no one read it. Victoria's dedication of *Alice* to her mother acknowledges her childhood surveillance and performs an appropriate sense of filial piety to the powers at the heart of it, despite the counter-performance of freedom and fellowship that lurks within the text itself. Her education had to adhere

"to every expectation of female decorum—and be recognized as doing so" (Vallone 64). In one instance, Victoria was quizzed in her knowledge by "the Bishops of London and Lincoln and the Archbishop of Canterbury" (64). This public examination had been requested by Victoria's mother in the hope of gaining approval by noted scholars and to "call attention to her fulfilment of her duty to her daughter and adopted country" (64). But then, Victoria's childhood writing was never free from such scrutiny, such concern for the presence of others. As Alexander rightfully notes, the nineteenth century was "notorious for its surveillance of the child" (2005, 27), and the young Victoria suffered more than most. She followed a series of complex educational and social rules known as the Kensington System throughout childhood. This had been developed by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, and the household comptroller, Sir John Conroy, and resulted in the former becoming an "absolute power" (Vallone 140) in Victoria's life. This highly unusual educational experiment—the training of a "faithful future female sovereign" was intended to position Victoria as the ideal monarch: dutiful, obedient, and deeply, inescapably English (Okawa 25). Not only were her days scheduled neatly to the hour but she was also rarely left by herself, even required to sleep in her mother's bedchamber. This paradoxical mixture of severity and intimacy, unusual even for aristocratic families (39), saw Victoria inhabit something of a panopticon where she was at the centre and impacted and restricted by the discursive systems positioned about her. Despite this, her writing, already a form of writing subject to becoming "public property" (Watson 56), exerts considerable effort to escape these systems whilst being simultaneously deeply conscious of their boundaries.

The critical reception about *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* (2015) recognises some of these struggles and often considers the presence of other bodies and their potential influence upon the author. Philip Hensher wonders in his review for *The Spectator* whether Victoria wrote the book herself: "It is so extraordinary and fully achieved that doubts about Victoria's sole authorship cannot be entirely stifled." Yet the editorial interventions mislead Hensher, who writes, "The main character is Alice Laselles—a misspelling of Lascelles that any German would be prone to." He then wonders, "Did her governess Baroness Lehzen have a major hand in it?" As we have seen, this misspelling is an introduced edit and not Victoria's. Hensher's review then moves somewhat against itself by concluding that *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* is most likely Victoria's own work: "The dramatic opening would have been beyond her [Lehzen], and there are bold imaginative leaps no governess would have dared make." These discussions over attribution, age, and ability are more than familiar to scholars of juvenilia. As Clémentine Beauvais rightfully notes, young authors suffer the impact of adults upon their writing in curious and persistent ways: "Like an army of prying

aunts, with a mixture of loving admiration and disbelieving curiosity, adults read over the shoulders of child writers, commenting, analysing, comparing, marvelling about their works" (62). Here Beauvais recognises both the players in this game of meaning-making, and their potentially contradictory concerns. Adults admire but also disbelieve. They compliment whilst also questioning. Although the review of Hensher checks its impulse to delve deeper into questions of authorship, the issue remains raised: is this story *actually* the work of Victoria? Which adults were involved and where are they? What did they do? Understanding these adult interventions upon the text, the adult bodies who have been involved in *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* and their diverse motivations behind such edits, becomes vital, then, for any and perhaps even all understanding of the text itself. These questions concern themselves both with the identity and skills of the young author herself and also with how and why adults intervene in the child-authored text in the first place. It is by demonstrating these interventions and their legacies that *Alice* (c. 1829) and *The Adventures of Alice Laselles* (2015) offers notable value for scholars of child-authored texts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge with grateful thanks the permission of His Majesty King Charles III to quote from this material, the help of the Royal Archives in accessing the original manuscripts, and the Drusilla Harvey Access Fund in supporting my research on this topic.

NOTES

[1] Inspired by the practical moralising of *Harry and Lucy Concluded* (1835), Maria Edgeworth's conclusion to the series begun by her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744–1817), *Sophia and Adolphus: In the style of Miss Edgeworth's Harry and Lucy* (1835), is a gossipy and occasionally melodramatic story of two siblings and their journey to adulthood. As with *Alice*, it is dedicated to one of the key figures of Victoria's own childhood: "My dearest Lehzen, I have taken the liberty of dedicating this book hoping to entertain." The story sees the titular siblings learn from their family's benevolence whilst also witnessing the mechanical marvels of the day and reflecting on their import. A key plot point, notable in how it explores issues of feminine agency in curtailed circumstances, sees Sophia act *in loco parentis* to a suddenly bereaved girl and teach her "to read and to wright [*sic*]; to talk french; to walk straight; to hold up her head and make neat curtesies."

[2] As Lynne Vallone's 2001 research on this story predates the publication of *The Adventures of Alice Laselles*, she refers to the original manuscript as "Alice" and retains its spelling of "Lascelles."

[3] These letters were the correspondence of the aristocratic Marquise of Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal (1626–1696) to her daughter, Françoise-Marguerite de Sévigné (1646–1705) and others. In them, the Marquise ruminated on diverse religious and philosophical preoccupations along with recounting her own day-to-day life.

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Fat Books, Coloured Pencils, Nibs and Ink: Juvenile Journals for the Classroom

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If we take juvenilia seriously as a body of literature worth studying, then it follows that it's a body of literature worth teaching. But youthful works are not just one genre: kids write fiction, polemics, poetry, drama, journals. And, as we do with literature by adults, we may find it convenient, for the purposes of teaching, to concentrate on one genre at a time. Within that large body of writings, the childhood journal is eminently worthy to provide matter for a specialised course—say an honours tutorial, or a senior course in genres.[1]

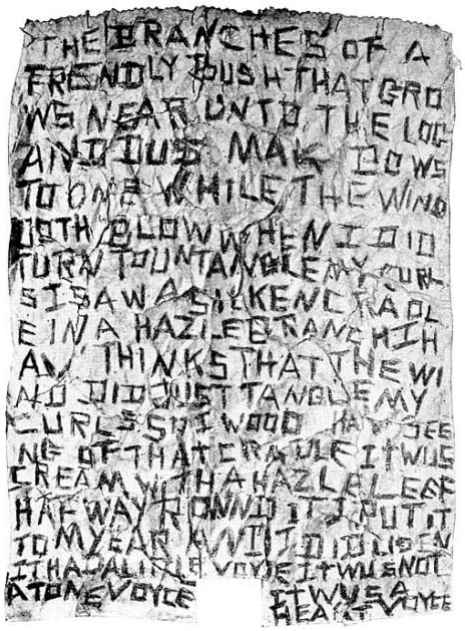

Figure 1. A specimen page of Opal's diary written on a paper bag (Opal Whiteley, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*).*

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Why should access to a child's subjectivity be only in the hands of pediatric psychologists and the like, when we have first-hand accounts by children themselves? Youthful journals can be a fascinating study, for cultural, historical, or psychological purposes, as well as literary ones. For instance, how much has the world learned, not only about one child, but a major phase of world history, from the diary of Anne Frank? Anne Frank hasn't needed the Juvenilia Press to bring her famous diary into the limelight. But the Press has published a number of childhood journals of more and less historical significance and literary merit, and these would certainly form a strong basis for a course on the youthful journal. The choice of approach would naturally depend on the context of the course, and the instructor's preferences. A literary study might focus on youthful style. These journals are typically written from the self to the self; so the style is apt to be refreshingly direct and intimate. A psychological approach might focus on the child/parent relation, or on family dynamics. Iris Vaughan and Opal Whiteley, for instance—both elder sisters—take their responsibility in caring for younger siblings very seriously. A focus of my own is on the child's eye view of what Jane Austen called "real solemn history" (*Northanger Abbey*, ch. 14)—which in this context may not be as real or solemn as usual.

Materials

KIDS CAN'T always go out and purchase their own writing materials—paper, pens, ink, and especially a blank book to write in. Writing starts with materials, and materiality looms large in youthful journals. The relation of writer to page is an intimate one. Anne Frank addresses her diary in the second person, and names it "dear Kitty."

"I'll begin from the moment I got you [she writes]: the moment I saw you lying on the table among my other birthday presents" (1). She has just turned thirteen. Iris Vaughan, writing in South Africa at the time of the Boer War, begins her journal at seven (and she can't yet spell "diary," though she takes three shots at it!). "Pop … gave me this fat book. It was a government book, but it is mine now. I shall write here in the loft, and hide my book in the box with straw where no one can see it" (1). The blank book to write in, or some equivalent, is a *sine qua non* of composition for a child of this period. It is almost as though the blank book sucks the child's narrative onto its inviting pages.

Pop's project in giving Iris the blank book is to funnel off the brutally honest responses she is unable to quell in speech, and it works. Since Pop is a magistrate, she is familiar with the oath about delivering "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth": and when she tells Mr. Ogilvie that she is *not* his "sweethart … so help me God becos you are such an ugly old man with hair on your face" (2), Pop considers it is time to provide her with a place to unload the whole truth. Hence the government book.

Opal Whiteley, the seven-year-old daughter of a family working in the logging camps of Oregon in the early nineteen-hundreds, has no access to blank books and not much to pens (Fig. 1). She writes, in capitals only and with no spaces between the words, on such scraps of throw-away wrappings from butcher and baker as she can lay her hands on. She uses coloured pencils, given her, she believes, by the "fairies"—though with the mediation of "the man that wears grey neckties and is kind to mice" (as she always calls him) (*Peter Paul Rubens* 10).[2] When she discovers the delivery, she writes, "I did have joy feels all over. The color pencils, they were come. There was a blue one, and a green one, and a yellow one and a purple one, and a brown one, and a red one. I did look very long looks at them a long time" (12–13). It seems the fairies' gift provides a magical power. When it came to publishing the diary in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the coloured pencils proved a boon, since Opal kept using the one colour until it was finished; so the multitudinous scraps of paper could be assembled in some order.[3] Her intense and poetic outpourings, despite the paucity of her materials, suggest that her inspiration is almost compulsive.

Parents are often the suppliers of the crucial blank book. Hope Hook, sailing from England and crossing Canada in 1905, has a sleek black booklet that matches ones also given to her brothers; clearly the parents were supplying their children with an activity to keep them occupied during the long, sedentary journeys by ship and rail and boat. And when we were editing Hope's diary, we were able to borrow illustrations of beetles from the journals of her artistically talented brothers. (They were all keen entomologists.) These diaries were not on-going, but of the kind devoted to a single life episode. Hope ends her diary, "At 5.45 on Friday 16th August 1907 we reached Silverbeck [their home], thus ending both our journey and this journal" (41). Perhaps it came with a sign of relief!

Why Write a Diary?

SOME YOUNG diarists ask themselves that question. Anne Frank admits, "It seems to me that later on neither I nor anyone else will be interested in the musings of a thirteen-year-old girl." She was wrong there!—her diary has gone through many translations, editions, and reprintings. But she declares, "Oh, well. It doesn't matter. I feel like writing …" (6). And write she did, recording her Jewish family's long experience, hiding from the Gestapo in the now famous Annex in Amsterdam.

Dick Doyle, at fifteen, is of two minds about starting a diary: "WEDNESDAY. The first of January [1840] …. Made good resolutions and didn't keep them. … First thought I would, then thought I would not, was sure I would, was positive I would not, at last determined I would, write a journal. Began it. This is it" (Doyle I, 1). He did go on with it, and illustrated it too, with dozens of highly inventive drawings that soon led to his successful years as an illustrator for *Punch*, and as the designer of its famous cover that lasted for over a century (Fig. 2).

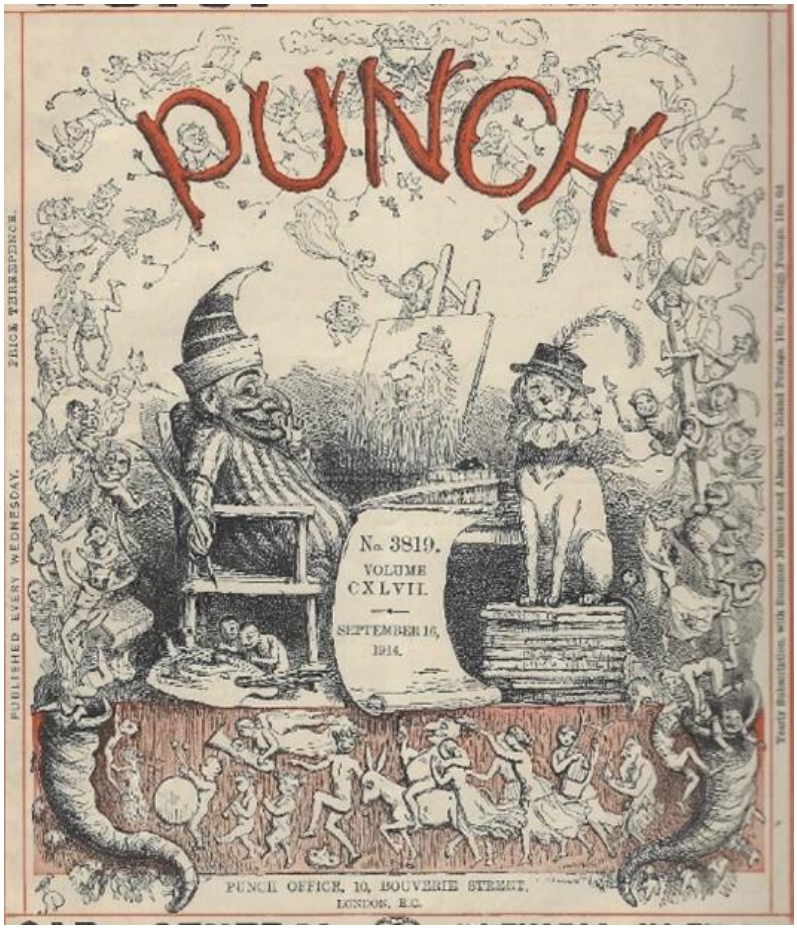

Figure 2. Punch *cover from 1848, by Richard Doyle, slightly revised from the version of 1844. (Cover image by Rowland McMaster.)*

Marjory Fleming, in Scotland, was only eight when she died of measles in 1811; but she nevertheless makes it into the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where the editor himself, Leslie Stephen, wrote her entry. She wrote her amazing combination of journal, history, verse, and moral comment as part of her education by her cousin, Isabella Keith, who was also her governess. And the signs of pedagogy are still there in the manuscript as preserved in facsimile, spelling corrections and all. This prolific child wrote a history of Scotland in verse, and a biography of Mary Queen of Scots, also in verse, as well as records of her ongoing reading of—for instance—Swift, Thompson, Gray, and the *Mysteries of Udolpho* (Radcliffe). Not bad for an eight-year-old!

Of course there are many motives for writing a journal, but Anne Frank's cheerful "I feel like writing" is probably the basic motive for most of these young authors. Little Opal Whiteley, an abused child who has much to complain of, is once sent in disgrace to lie under the bed (Fig. 3). Her mother then forgets about her:

> Now I hear the mamma say, "I wonder where Opal is." She has forgets. I'm still under the bed where she did put me quite a time ago. And all this nice long time light has come to here from the lamp on the kitchen table—light enough so I can print prints. ["Printing" is her word for writing.] I am happy. (*Peter Paul Rubens* 28)

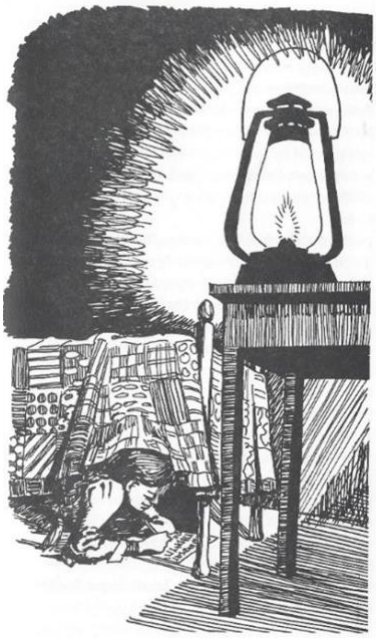

Figure 3. "… light enough so I can print prints. I am happy." Illustration by Juliet McMaster of Peter Paul Rubens and Other Friendly Folk *by Opal Whiteley, p. 27.*

Light enough to write by suffices for happiness for this young diarist.

Why Read and Teach Childhood Journals?

OF COURSE it is worth reading and studying youthful journals for many of the same reasons that we read and study famous adult journals—that of Samuel Pepys, for instance—to find the individual's close-up experience, in a past era that otherwise we glimpse only in the long view of history. Anne Frank's record of the years her Jewish family spent in hiding brings us close to a salient part of Second World War history.

Sometimes the child's eye view provides an enjoyable new take on solemn adult-related history. Iris Vaughan wrote some of her diary during the Boer War. Her account of the raid of the Boers on the premises of the stolid British Magistrate "Pop" disperses the self-importance of some adult accounts. The Boers are ragged and bearded, and inefficiently in search of money and horses. The children watch from

the fence, but scatter as a Boer with a gun and "a band of bullets rond his chest" comes to question them. There is a degree of slapstick as the girls scurry to hide in the closet, and Charles "lay flat in the manger" (29):

> The Boer saw Charles and said "Where is your horse we know you have a horse. Charles said I dont know. We all knew Pop had locked it up in the feemale cell in the jail. Pop said if Naughty holds his mouth and you all hold yours they wont find him. We all shut our mouths. (29)

Naughty, safe in the female jail cell, escapes discovery, and the Boers depart empty-handed. The next day—too late—the British army arrives, all spit and polish, while Pop is digging in the garden:

> The Majer didn't think he was a magistrar and shouted at him, "Hoist the flag, hoist the flag" … and Pop was in a bad temper becos it was hot … and he stood up and looked at the Majer with a savige look and said "Bloody well hoist it yourself. Up one day and down the next … if you would move faster it might stay up longer." (31)

Not the British Empire's finest hour!

As a teenager with his finger on the pulse of literary and artistic Victorian London,[4] Dick Doyle is reading the serial novels of Dickens, Harrison Ainsworth, and Charles Lever as the numbers emerge, and commenting on them as well as on the daily events recorded in the *Observer*. He brings history home in engaging ways. He watches military reviews presided over by the Duke of Wellington on "his little fat bay horse" (II, 9). He sees the wedding procession of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, and notes, "The Queen with a large veil over her head, looked actually beautiful" (I, 27). Doyle's early haunting of public spaces served him well in his career. For *Punch* he could knock off recognizable caricatures of figures like the Duke, Prince Albert, Peele, and Disraeli.

The child diarist can look inward as well as outward. And it is intriguing to follow the young writer's self-examination. Anne Frank investigates herself anatomically as well as morally, and doesn't shy away from matters like menstruation and sexuality. Marjory Fleming, usually proud of her many accomplishments, castigates herself for losing her temper with her ever-patient cousin: "I am going to tell you that in all my life I never behaved so ill for when Isa bid me go out of the room I would not go & when Isa came to the room I threw my book at her in a dreadful passion & she did not lick me but said go into the room & pray & I did it I will never do it again" (39).

These young writers are often developing professionally as well as morally. Some of them, not surprisingly, are planning to be authors. Opal Whiteley declares, "When I grow up, I am going to write for children, and grownups who haven't grown up too

much [adults, take note!] all the earth-songs I now do hear" (14). Subsequently she did write about her extraordinary insights into nature, though the teenage writings don't live up to her early childhood diary. Anne Frank, too, planned to be a writer, we hear: "Unless you write yourself, you can't know how wonderful it is. … I want to be useful or bring enjoyment to all people, even those I have never met. I want to go on living even after my death!" (Frank, 249–50). And Anne Frank has indeed gone on living after her pathetically early death in Bergen-Belsen, at the hands of the Nazis.

Iris Vaughan in South Africa, too, has her writing ambitions. She means to be a journalist. And she and her equally young friend Violet proceed to found their own newspaper: "Pop gave us lots of foolscap and nibs and ink [those indispensable materials!]. Violet will write the stories and I will write the news. … We sell it at sixpence each. It is hard work doing so much writing. … We work on Friday night when Pop and Mom go to parties" (120–21). And Iris did indeed become a journalist, though she never wrote anything as popular as her youthful diary became.

Figure 4. Dick Doyle's drawing of himself admiring his prints for sale. His dream is realized. Reproduced from Dick Doyle's Journal *(Juvenilia Press, 2006), p. 7).*

Artists too can write journals, and record their ambitions. Dick Doyle, from a large family of aspiring artists, at fifteen already launches on professional endeavours. "I am working away at the Tournament like I don't know what," he reports (I, 11), of his series of satirical drawings of the "mediaeval" tournament staged by the Earl of Eglinton in 1839. Dick allows himself to dream of seeing his *Tournament*, printed

and published, on display in the window of Fores, the famous print shop. "Oh crikey," he writes, "it would be enough to turn me inside out" (Doyle I, 7). He has his professional ups and downs. He gets the *Tournament* printed, and joyfully gloats over his neat stack of fifty copies. Then—horrors!—comes the printer's bill of £4 – 18s, which he can't pay; and he imagines himself hauled off by the Peelers. And finally—yes, he does see his *Tournament* actually on display for sale at Fores' print shop (Fig. 4). His dream is realized!

Elizabeth Thompson (later Lady Butler), a talented young painter, is inspired by a visit to the field of Waterloo to specialize in battle scenes. As a woman artist, especially one choosing subject matter usually considered a male preserve, she faces many challenges. Hers is something of a Cinderella story: she encounters one obstacle of exclusion after another; and then records a triumph with her painting *The Roll Call* at the 1873 exhibition of the Royal Academy. The art establishment and even the Prince of Wales shower her work with praise; their speeches are published; and she becomes famous overnight. Nevertheless, though later she was actually nominated for election to the Royal Academy, that hallowed institution couldn't bring itself to elect a woman to its ranks until the twentieth century.[5] There were some battles even this brave and brilliant woman couldn't win.

It is enlightening to watch these fledging young authors struggle to take wing. When Butler, as a well-established painter in her seventies, wrote her *Autobiography*, she knew professional beginnings are important; and she incorporated parts of her early journal. "Let the young Diary speak," she wrote.

Yes, and let us listen!

These fat books and blank-volume birthday gifts, coloured pencils, "foolscap, pens and ink," in these young hands, can become not only indispensable tools, but sources of inspiration.

NOTES

[1] In an honours tutorial I taught before I retired, the three students and I co-edited an edition of Daisy Ashford's *The Young Visiters* for the Juvenilia Press.

[2] I quote from the Juvenilia Press edition of selections from the diary, since our edition is readily available; the full diary first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in August 1920 as *The Story of Opal: The Journal of an Understanding Heart*. A more recent edition is by Benjamin Hoff, *The Singing Creek Where the Willows Grow*.

[3] I have argued that Opal Whiteley's account of her beloved pig influenced E. B. White when he wrote *Charlotte's Web*. See "White's Wilbur and Whiteley's Peter Paul Rubens."

[4] I have written on this subject in "*Dick Doyle's Journal*: a Teenager at Home and at Work in 1840 Victorian London."

[5] Two women, Angelica Kauffmann and Mary Moser, were among the original 40 Academicians appointed at the founding of the Royal Academy in 1769. But no other women were elected during the whole of the nineteenth century.

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Reviews

Mya-Rose Craig. *Birdgirl: Discovering the Power of Our Natural World.* Vintage, 2023.

311 pages. Paperback, USD 19.68.
ISBN: 9781529114317.

Mya-Rose Craig's second book, *Birdgirl* (first published 2022), is a memoir of her youth. Though the author is still only twenty-two and finishing her undergraduate degree at the University of Cambridge, her book is based on posts from her blog that she started in 2014, aged just twelve. The focus of *Birdgirl* is the Craig family's passion for birding, alternatively known as twitching or birdwatching, and Mya-Rose's highly unusual childhood which involved extensive global travel. A Bangladeshi-Brit, she is increasingly known for her promotion of climate justice, and campaigning for people from VME (Visibly Minority Ethnic) groups engaging in nature. In 2020, at age seventeen, she became the youngest Briton to receive an honorary doctorate. She founded a charity, Black2Nature, which organises summer camps for VME people in Britain, and shared a stage at Cop26 (the 26th United Nations Conference on Climate Change) in Glasgow in 2021 with two other girl activists: Greta Thunberg and Malala Yousafzai. Although not as globally recognised, Mya-Rose began blogging three years before Greta Thunberg emerged on the global stage, as the author herself observes (170). This communion with other young activists shows the importance of this generation for galvanising others to care about the natural world. Early in the book Mya-Rose includes an anecdote about how the Spoon-billed Sandpiper bird has been brought back from the brink of extinction due to public awareness and renewed intervention strategies by conservationists. Her own awareness-raising directly contributed to the protection of this rare bird.

As we know from Kate Douglas and Anna Poletti's *Life Narratives and Youth Culture* (2016), blogging, selfies and social media make up some of the most ubiquitous forms of life narrative accessed by young people today. Mya-Rose is also a more traditional life writer: in writing *Birdgirl* she has referred back to diaries that she kept throughout her childhood. There is a rich history of girl writers who were inspired by the natural world, from Dorothy Wordsworth's *The Grasmere Journals* (1800–03) to the *Journal of Emily Shore* (1831–39) and the *Diary of Opal*

Whiteley (1903–04). A more obscure example is the juvenilia of Isobel Wylie Hutchison (1889–1982), the Scottish explorer and botanist who published poetry and books describing her travels to Alaska, Iceland, and Greenland. As a child, Hutchison contributed to *The Horticultural Magazine* and later *The Scribbler*, both manuscript magazines created by her and her siblings, covering topics on botany and gardening. Like Hutchison's, Mya-Rose Craig's childhood writing about the natural world was a linchpin of family life.

Mya's encyclopaedic knowledge of birds, and her ability to describe them in accessible ways, communicate a genuine love and warmth. "Twitchers" are also characterised by their obsessiveness and propensity to collect. In 2009 she started a "Big Year"—a competition with herself to see how many birds she could see. Interspersed with stories of world travel and adventure, the memoirs combine nature writing and travel writing. Taken out of primary school for six months, Mya travels to South America for bird-watching across three countries. She recounts stories of chewing on coca leaves to relieve symptoms of altitude sickness and of having to have a maggot extracted from her scalp. She travels across Australia, America, Africa, Indonesia; she sees whales, Komodo dragons, and chimpanzees in their natural habitats—an unintentional perk of her birdwatching voyages.

The memoirs begin not with a picture of Mya-Rose's infancy, but with an account of her family history. She describes how her parents met in a Bristol club in 1995: "The condensation dripped off the vaulted cellar walls as they made eye contact through a throng of gyrating bodies" (7). In imagining her youthful and love-struck parents she demonstrates the importance of shared dynastic histories in children's writing: an aspect that has been identified by the scholars Arianne Baggerman and Kathryn Gleadle. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the young author's parents feature prominently in both the text and the paratext of *Birdgirl*. From a young age, Mya-Rose is aware of her mother's struggle with bipolar disorder. The illness's characteristic fluctuation between mania and depression complicates home life and birding trips, but their shared hobby provides some respite. Mya's sympathetic narration depicts a turbulent family dynamic, her mother's illness amounting to moments of tyranny during their far-flung and already strenuous birding expeditions (264). In a memorable passage, Mya-Rose recounts one of her mother's suicide attempts, and how her father responded by planning another birding trip. Referring to their financial facility to do so, the author comments somewhat jarringly, "I'm a lucky girl, aren't I" (91).

Mya-Rose also depicts the awkwardness that she felt in engaging in her hobby during adolescence. She recounts how during her secondary school IT classes certain pupils would click on online news stories featuring the Craig family and tease Mya-Rose about them, and how she would carefully curate her Instagram account to not exhibit her birding fixation too explicitly, posting pictures of penguins instead of Snow Petrels (226). In her growing activism, she "found it less scary to talk to thousands of people online about systemic racism than to challenge the boy I was sitting next to in maths about his Islamophobia" (274). Eventually, Mya-Rose learns to own her "Birdgirl" sobriquet and not compartmentalise her life. Yet the author is only at the start of her career, and

Birdgirl ends on a note of "anticipation" and "hope" (302), which seems appropriate for a young person who has already achieved so much.

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Reviews

William Harrison Ainsworth. *December Tales. A Selection.* Edited by Ryan Twomey with Jennifer Simkins. Juvenilia Press, 2024.

60 pages, 9 sepia. Paperback, AUD 20.00.
ISBN: 9780733433740.

THIS HANDSOME volume does credit to the Juvenilia Press's production values. The cover reproduces a miniature of William Harrison Ainsworth at twenty-one, showing a Byronic or swashbuckling hairstyle above a baby face, like a child dressing up. Further sepia illustrations capture aspects of the period, from busy all-male sociability to twilight solitude.

Ainsworth was eighteen when these tales (with another half-dozen not included here) reached print: the second book of his young life. His precocity and teenage angst included playing at being near his life's end, witness this volume's title, and the persona adopted for "The Churchyard": "I am not young: I am, indeed, approaching to the period when I shall cease to indite these dotings of age."

Already, however, Ainsworth was skilled in handling the market, hitting the taste of the day. His quotations and borrowed phrases reflect a love for late, minor Romantics, and some phrasing passed from him to the better-known Edgar Allan Poe. He made his mark on literary history, that is, far beyond the dreams of most juvenile writers, before achieving best-sellerdom with historical melodramas like *Rookwood* (1834), featuring, indeed almost inventing, the highwayman Dick Turpin, *The Tower of London* (1840), and *The Lancashire Witches* (1848). His popularity, however, proved briefer than that of his early associate Charles Dickens.

Ainsworth has recently featured in a very different historical novel, Zadie Smith's *The Fraud*. Smith depicts him as elderly but unromantic, soured by the ebbing of his fame. Her selections from his prose in his palmy days are a luxuriant garland of clichés, flung out with immense narrative energy and panache.

Ryan Twomey's introduction dwells on the natural description in these early stories, whose outpourings of words evoke scenes of secluded bowers,

overarching forests, or violent storms and desolate wilderness. Landscape is steeped in fantastical human imagination: rocks and forests evoke ideas of ogres and spirits, often of malign intent.

The emotion in these stories is paramount: both events and background exist to feed it, and events seldom constitute the kind of developing sequence constituting plot. The narrator of the first tale, "Mary Stukeley," passes over his entire childhood and adolescence as an "uninterrupted course of happiness" having no interest. He then falls in love with Mary "among the most beautiful scenery I ever knew," who accepts his proposal. On his wedding eve he walks out and observes another walker, a woman of striking looks, who appears to hide "a lurking trace of the darker passions" under a disguising air of softness. She falls and sprains her ankle. He helps her walk until, resting in "a spot, the most delightful I ever beheld," she plucks him a flower, he falls at her feet, and is discovered thus by Mary, whose brother then challenges him to a duel.

Rushing out in emotional anguish to fight, the narrator is accosted by the now detested mystery woman with news that the brother has been murdered by someone unknown; he is suspected and must flee to London. She supplies him with money and a horse, reaches the refuge before him, and later extracts a promise to marry her. He promises; she plunges into remorse and releases him from his promise, but out of despair he marries her anyway. We learn her name, Eliza. She earns enough money to support them both. Her husband continues to suppose she "is probably of violent and irregular passions," but without observing any: her conduct is beyond reproach.

Unable to bear subsisting on her exertions any longer, and liberated by the discovery of the real murderers, he travels to the scene of his earlier traumas hoping to recover his property. Meeting Mary by chance, he clasps her in his arms, and soon marries her without mentioning his existing wife. This marriage brings him no happiness, only guilt, shame, and misery, both before and after he reveals all to Mary. Her health declines from this moment, and she dies, leaving him to wander the world in misery and despair.

These events form a frail scaffolding for mental torment and social alienation. Similarly, the narrator of "The Sea-Spectre" endures a storm, near-shipwreck, starving in lifeboats which some do not survive (the captain heaves one corpse overboard just in time to prevent cannibalism), being washed up with other crew members on a desert island, and further starving, all before they learn the cause. Years before, a crew had mutinied in those waters. Ever since, wrecks are common there, and a spectral woman is seen pursuing and drowning a man: the widow of the murdered captain taking her revenge on the mutineers' ringleader.

Assertive women like Eliza and the murdered captain's wife bring trouble in these stories. Even their converse, those possessing "the serenity of a pure and blameless mind," seldom bring happiness. An exception is the "lovely creature" who nurses to recovery and then marries the battered protagonist of "The Falls of Ohiopyle". The man who first jilts and then marries Mary Stukeley finds both lead equally to misery. The narrator's former schoolmate R----, who first loves and then loses an ideal woman in "The Church-Yard", turns that piece at its ending to misery from mere melancholy.

The textual editing for this volume consisted simply of correcting misprints in the original, larger collection (which was nicely produced, from the samples reproduced here) and wisely deciding to retain the original spelling. Footnotes provide generous explanation of potentially unfamiliar words and phrases. Literary-context notes are from the single-volume *Oxford Companion*. The annotations are weak in Latin. "Candidi lectores" addresses not so much the bright as fair and honest judges: a version of a phrase often applied by authors to prospective readers. And "I nunc liber" does not mean "I now liberate" but "Go now, book": another time-honoured sentiment (as so many of Robert Burton's sentiment are) used at the launching of a text into the world.

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