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Contents

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Cover image: Marbled paper, creator unknown. Germany, c. 1847. Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marbled_paper_from_back_cover_of_Stolle,_Gedichte_(Grimma_1847).jpg)

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Editorial

Welcome to issue 3.2 of the *Journal of Juvenilia Studies*. This is the first issue of JJS since the two of us writing this opening editorial, Rob Breton and David Owen, have gone from being members of the Advisory Board to being members with Lesley Peterson of the core editorial team. Lesley has so magnificently put together the first four issues of the JJS as editor that the two of us thought we might learn from her as co-members of an editorial team.

Rob has been and will continue to be the International Society for Literary Juvenilia (ISLJ) liaison and David has been looking after production matters and OJS reports and will continue to do so. Moving forward all three of us will be responsible for making recommendations to the Advisory Board regarding JJS policies and its direction; for consulting on layout and design; for overseeing the peer-review process; for maintaining the website content and functionality; and for copy editing and proofreading. We will all serve as the assigned editor for certain submissions. We thank Lesley for the opportunity to work with her.

The JJS will continue to be an open-access, peer-reviewed journal, published by the ISLJ and hosted by University of Alberta Libraries. Insightful and innovative peer-reviewed scholarship remains our core mission, alongside informative reviews.

Rob Breton and David Owen

From Juvenilia to Senilia: A Personal Case

Juliet McMaster
University Professor Emerita, The University of Alberta

I APOLOGISE in advance for writing egocentrically. It is not my usual mode. But I *was* a juvenile writer, and I *am* a published author; and since my scholarship is often about childhood writings, I have paid attention to the connections between the juvenilia and the mature writings of the same author. Only recently, I turned my attention to those connections in my own case. And I was somewhat surprised by what I discovered. At least my self-examination will have the merit of coming from the horse's mouth. To what extent my findings may apply to other authors, I am still investigating.

When I was eleven, I received some private tutoring to get me into the local high school (the Kenya Girls' High School in Nairobi). For "History" the tutor took me, inevitably, back to good old 1066 and all that.[1] I had "done" the Norman conquest before. But this time I heard about Hereward the Wake, the Anglo-Saxon hero who formed a resistance movement against William the Conqueror. He holed up in a ruined monastery on the Isle of Ely in the fens of East Anglia, and William, and all the King's horses and all the King's men, couldn't safely find their way across the marshes to cast him out and put an end to the resistance. So much was about the sum total of what I was taught about Hereward the Wake. But it was enough for my purposes. The heroic outlaw and his band of followers were like Robin Hood and his merry men. And I decided to write a historical novel about him.

I began at eleven, consulting no one, and writing strictly in secret. And it says something for my persistence that I kept at it till I was about fourteen. You can deduce the passage of years by the visible evolution in my handwriting (Fig. 1); also by the improving quality of my illustrations, which are many, and in full colour.

I had no idea how to do research so as to find out more about my historical subject—no internet of course, and my access to libraries was limited; but nor did I feel the need. The historical situation as I have outlined it was enough—for my business was fiction, not history. At some point I discovered that Charles Kingsley

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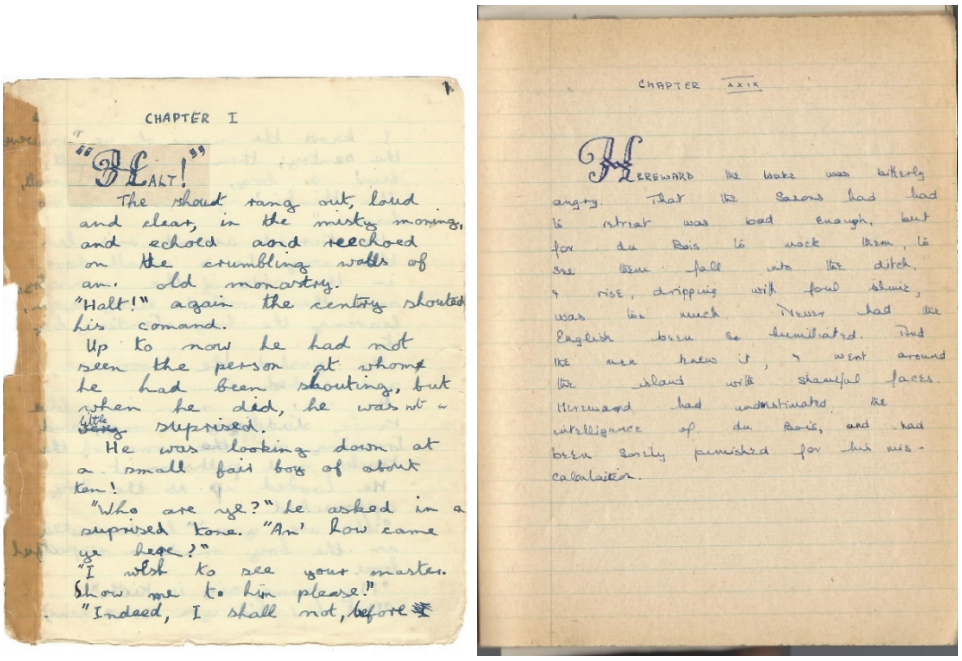
had written a novel, *Hereward the Wake*, published in 1866, and I duly read it. But by that time it was too late to be influenced by it. I was already doing my own thing; and actually, I liked my own thing better. (No offence, Rev. Kingsley!)


CHAPTER I

"HALT!"

The shout rang out, loud and clear, in the misty morning, and echoed and reechoed on the crumbling walls of an old monastery.

"Halt!" again the sentry shouted his comand.

Up to now he had not seen the person at whom he had been shouting, but when he did, he was not a little surprised.

He was looking down at a small fair boy of about ten!

"Who are ye?" he asked in a surprised tone. "An' how came ye here?"

"I wish to see your master. Show me to him please!"

"Indeed, I shall not, before

CHAPTER XXIX

HEREWARD the Wake was bitterly angry. That the Saxons had had to retreat was bad enough, but for du Bois to mock them, to see them fall into the ditch, & rise, dripping with foul slime, was too much. Truly had the English been so humiliated. That the men knew it, & went around the island with shameful faces. Hereward had underestimated the intelligence of du Bois, and had been justly punished for his miscalculation.

Fig. 1. Hereward the Wake *holograph manuscript, first and last pages, by Juliet Fazan.*

My protagonist was a ten-year-old boy called Keith. (I'm sorry to say that I spelt his name throughout as "Kieth," conscientiously observing the rule of "I before E except after C"). I kick myself now that I didn't have the guts or inventiveness to create a girl protagonist. But I suppose like other girls of the day (this was 1948) I grew up with the assumption that adventures happen to boys, not girls (though I was certainly all set to have adventures of my own). Keith, having been early separated from his parents, resourcefully finds his own way across the treacherous marshes to the Isle of Ely, and presents himself to Hereward the Wake as a new and competent recruit. Hereward is skeptical because of his youth, but gives him a chance to prove himself. Keith persists, and gathers admiration for his exploits.

The structure is episodic, as the outlaws think up ways to harass the Normans. Episodes include setting two Norman barons (usurpers of Saxon estates) at enmity with each other; releasing prisoners from dungeons; rescuing a condemned Saxon from execution on the scaffold. Some of my own hobbies and interests naturally crept in: horses, and swords, and fencing.

Historical authenticity? Well, unsurprisingly, there isn't much of that. In the illustrations I dressed my outlaws in outfits such as I had seen in swashbuckling movies or ballet: tunics, tights (cross-gartered), and shirts with puffy sleeves. I hadn't much French at the time (and still less Anglo-Saxon!); but I begged and borrowed

what I could, and cooked up names that I thought appropriate; and in dialogue my characters "spoke forsoothly."

The manuscript, hand-written and bulging with paste-ins and inserted pictures, could have served as an exhibit at the upcoming Sydney conference on Juvenilia and Materiality (but that will now be virtual). I probably wouldn't have begun it at all but for having been given a hardcover book, lined but otherwise blank. Pasted into the endpapers are pencil portraits of characters in the story: Hereward, Keith, his friend Dave, his particular enemy the Norman Franz Plage. In a loose leaf at the front is a fold-out map of the Isle of Ely as I conceived it, the surrounding fens, and the castles of the neighbouring Norman barons. The chapters are numbered in Roman numerals (such was the convention I was used to); and each chapter begins with an ornate initial (copied from a book I was fond of, Mary O'Hara's *The Green Grass of Wyoming* of 1946). The initial is carefully pasted in, as it was an after-thought. Once I caught up with my writing, I could draw the initial straight onto the page. By page 157 I had come to the end of the first hard-cover book. But I taped it to another, and kept going. I finally gave up at page 229, at the beginning of Chapter XXIX. The illustrations are many, and in full colour (pencil and watercolour); thirty-six in all, or about one to every six pages of manuscript.

To supply a sample of the prose of this eleven-year-old author of historical fiction, here is the opening of Chapter IV:

> DAYBREAK! [with ornate capital D]
>
> The dawn of a day that Kieth would never forget!
>
> To the East, the rim of the sun could just be seen. To the West, were still a few stars which were going out one by one.
>
> Kieth, his heart filled with happiness, was once again making his way across the marsh.
>
> He stepped out of the mud and onto the dry land. As he did so, he heard a familiar burst of laughter to his right, and, turning, he beheld Dave, who was grinning from ear to ear.
>
> "So you're none the worse for your first job, eh? Haw haw!" cried Dave, stepping forward and, as many times before, bowling Kieth over with a hearty slap on the back. "Good lad! Got them men of de Everest proper mad!—what with lettin' out their prisoner and settin' fire to their crops!" (19–20)

With the description of daybreak young Juliet (as I call her, in distinction to old me) is trying for some purple prose. But she throws in humour and some slapstick.

The illustration that goes with the passage dates from a little later (Fig. 2), as she started the illustration project later than the prose narrative. There has been some evolution in her envisaging of the marsh that surrounds the Isle of Ely. At first she thought of a lake of mud, and an island with a clearly defined bank. Then she learned

that the fens were less easily discriminated from land, and that the two alternate and blend, and are not always distinguishable; hence, in this illustration, the green blends into the muddy sea behind Keith. Hero's Friend, as you can see in this passage, is Dave, big and brawny and not too bright. (There's a Hero's Enemy among Hereward's people too: Hugh the Archer, who resents Keith's success.) The gaping hole between the two figures shows Juliet had much to learn about composition; but she is working to make her figures expressive. For "turning, he beheld Dave," she took pains with the placement of Keith's feet to show the sudden turn "to his right." And there is a degree of pose and movement in the three-quarter back view of laughing Dave.

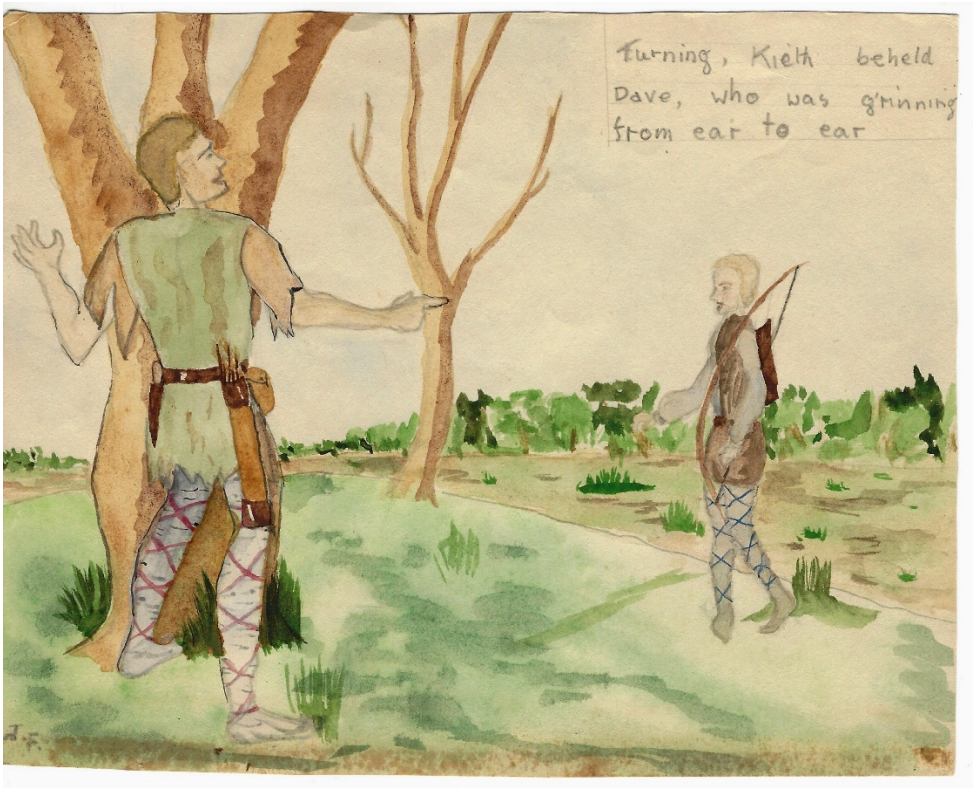


Fig. 2. "Kieth beheld Dave, who was grinning from ear to ear," by Juliet Fazan, from Hereward the Wake*, facing p. 19.*

A year or two on, and Juliet has definitely improved in composition, figure drawing, and the management of watercolour (Fig. 3).

Though Juliet never finished her historical novel, she did have burgeoning ideas, recorded in elaborate notes, as to where the narrative was going—so burgeoning, in fact, that they were hard to reconcile, and may have formed one reason for her finally abandoning it. Despite her long commitment, she hadn't yet determined on a title. Her notes reveal that she had two in mind, both as extracted from scenes of dialogue yet to come. *"This Norman Plague"* (if it was spoken by a Saxon); or *"These Stubborn*

Saxon Dogs!" (if it was spoken by a Norman). But Juliet was evidently alert enough to traditional narrative patterns. Where does Keith come from? Before the narrative begins, he has lost his mother, and is alone in the world until he finds his "family" among Hereward the Wake's followers. There is a mysterious woman with bandaged face who occasionally enters the narrative, and spends a lot of time either ill or incarcerated. And she will turn out to be his mother. Moreover, it will finally emerge that Keith's father is none other than Hereward the Wake himself. Juliet was on to the birth mystery plot, and not shy of using it to the hilt.

Fig. 3. "… flung himself down on the unkempt grass," by Juliet Fazan, from Hereward the Wake*, facing p. 189.*

She had already abandoned her historical novel in 1952, the time of the Mau Mau in Kenya. Although she wasn't writing stories any more, she was still composing them in her head, and narrating them to herself in quiet times when she was picking fruit or on walks. One ongoing narrative had to do with a band of kids who set up resistance to a tyranny. Another fantasy concerned an attack by the Mau Mau on her parents, and her heroic rescue of them by her skilled use of the foil. (By then she was a committed fencer, though not an experienced one). Both of these unwritten narratives, I realize now, fed into my later work.

MANY A year passes. Juliet grows up and becomes me; now in Canada not Kenya; and author of sundry books of literary criticism, on Thackeray, Trollope, Dickens, and Jane Austen—but not of any fiction, historical or otherwise. But I have kids, and I tell them stories. A recurring motif of them is a villain called Blackguard; and kids who manage to foil him in his nefarious doings.

Then it seems my early fantasy about rescuing parents from the Mau Mau, my years as a competitive fencer, and my oral stories for my kids began to coalesce; and I felt the need to write an adventure novel for young adults. I asked myself, what sort of an adventure novel would *I*, as a young adult, have liked to read? Well, it would be about kids resisting evil and succeeding by using their skills. It could be set in East Africa among volcanic mountains such as I had climbed when I was a kid. There could be a military coup, and a ruthless blackguard dictator who imprisons or disempowers all adult resistance. But the kids, who have combat skills such as fencing and sharp-shooting, form a resistance movement, take to the mountains, become the "Young Outlaws," and yes, prevail. And that's the narrative that I proceeded to write.

I quite consciously developed a set of Robin Hood analogies: my heroine was called Robyn Sherwood: there is a William Crimson (for Will Scarlet), a fat boy called Buldo, skilled at the quarter-staff, for Friar Tuck. I was vaguely conscious of a large analogy with my juvenile historical novel. But the setting was twentieth-century East Africa, not eleventh-century England; my principal personnel were all kids, girls as well as boys, not just one boy among a large company of adult males. This was another story altogether, I thought.

I wrote my young adults' fiction alongside a full-time career and kids (though the kids proceeded to grow up and have kids of their own). This new venture in adventure fiction lasted a long time—longer than the first (though it was probably proportional as a fraction of my life at the time). I finally found a publisher in Vancouver who gave me a contract for a trilogy; and I thought publication was around the corner. But through the years he required cut after cut, until finally I took it away from him while there was still some of it left, and self-published with Friesen Press. *Blades Against the Dark* came out in 2017.

It was not until I was asked to talk about *Blades*, and give a reading, that I thought I'd go back to take a look at my youthful Hereward the Wake fiction, to see what had carried over. And I was astonished at parallels I hadn't recognized before. Previously I had been most aware of the differences; now I was struck by the likenesses: the secret hideout (island in the fens with a secret pathway, a subsidiary crater on a volcano, with a secret passageway entrance); the foreign take-over (Norman William the Conqueror, and Blackguard with his army of foreign mercenaries); the youthful protagonists (ten-year-old Keith, and Robyn, Bruce, and Dirk with their young army of skilled outlaws); the episodic structure, with sorties to harass the enemy. When I looked closer, I discovered points of detail I hadn't realized I'd repeated: for instance, each main protagonist has an Enemy Within, motivated by envy, and an Enemy Without, a man in the opposition who singles out the protagonist for particular

enmity. It was entirely a surprise to me that in the case of the Enemy Within, both are archers ("Hugh the Archer" and William, whose particular weapon is the bow).

What about the pictures? Being still keen on the visual, but much more professionally inclined, I nevertheless found a way to include some graphic work of my own. I made drawings of swords, foils, sabres, daggers; and these became part of the decoration of the printed version. Each page number has a miniature sabre pointing at it. And yes, there were maps, or rather diagram-like pictures with labels. And to internalize these graphics—to make them part of the narrative—I attributed them to a character whose skill is not in a weapon, but art. "Milly *fecit*," she signs, like a Renaissance painter (Fig. 4). And Milly has added to her map "(diagram only)," much as Juliet had admitted, all those years ago, that her map of Ely was "Not to scale" (Fig. 5).

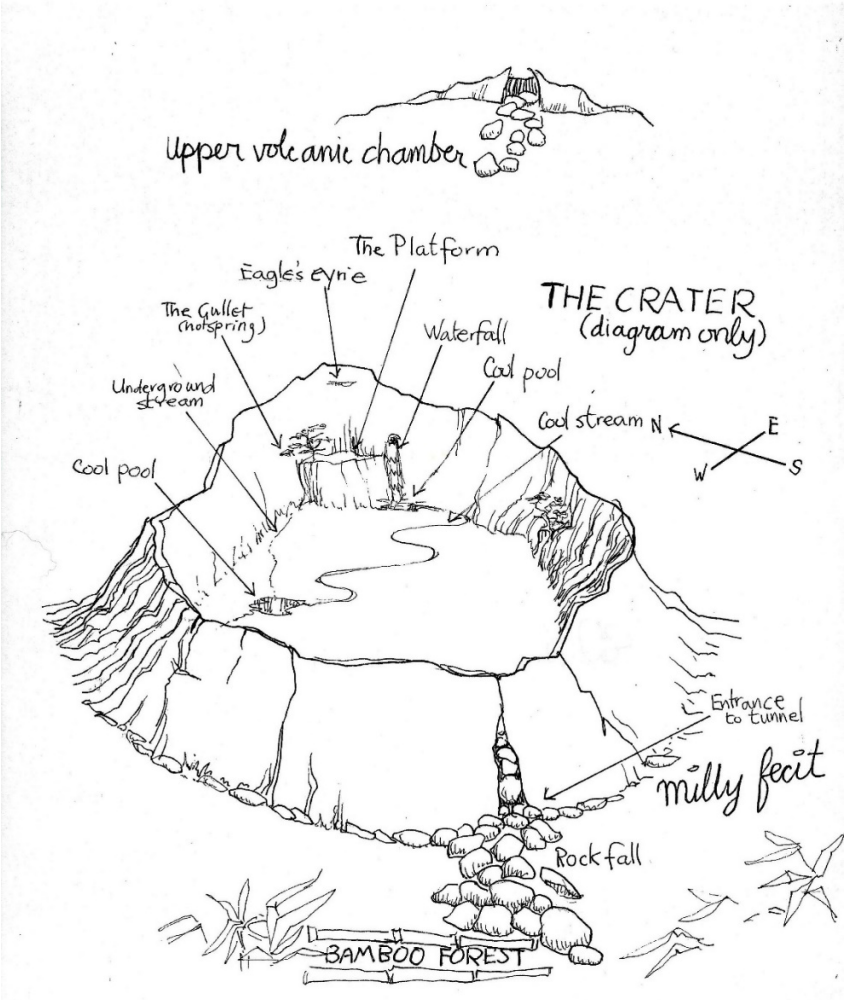


Fig. 4. "The Crater," by Juliet Fazan McMaster, from Blades Against the Dark, *p. 39.*

It seems that when I asked myself what today's young adults would most like to read, I unknowingly answered myself, "They'd like to read what I wrote when *I* was a young adult"! (Not that I was correct.) In any case, that's what was in me to write for the purpose. It was something of a revelation to me that when I—as a definitely mature author—wrote my adventure novel for young adults, I was actually taking care of unfinished business from my youth.

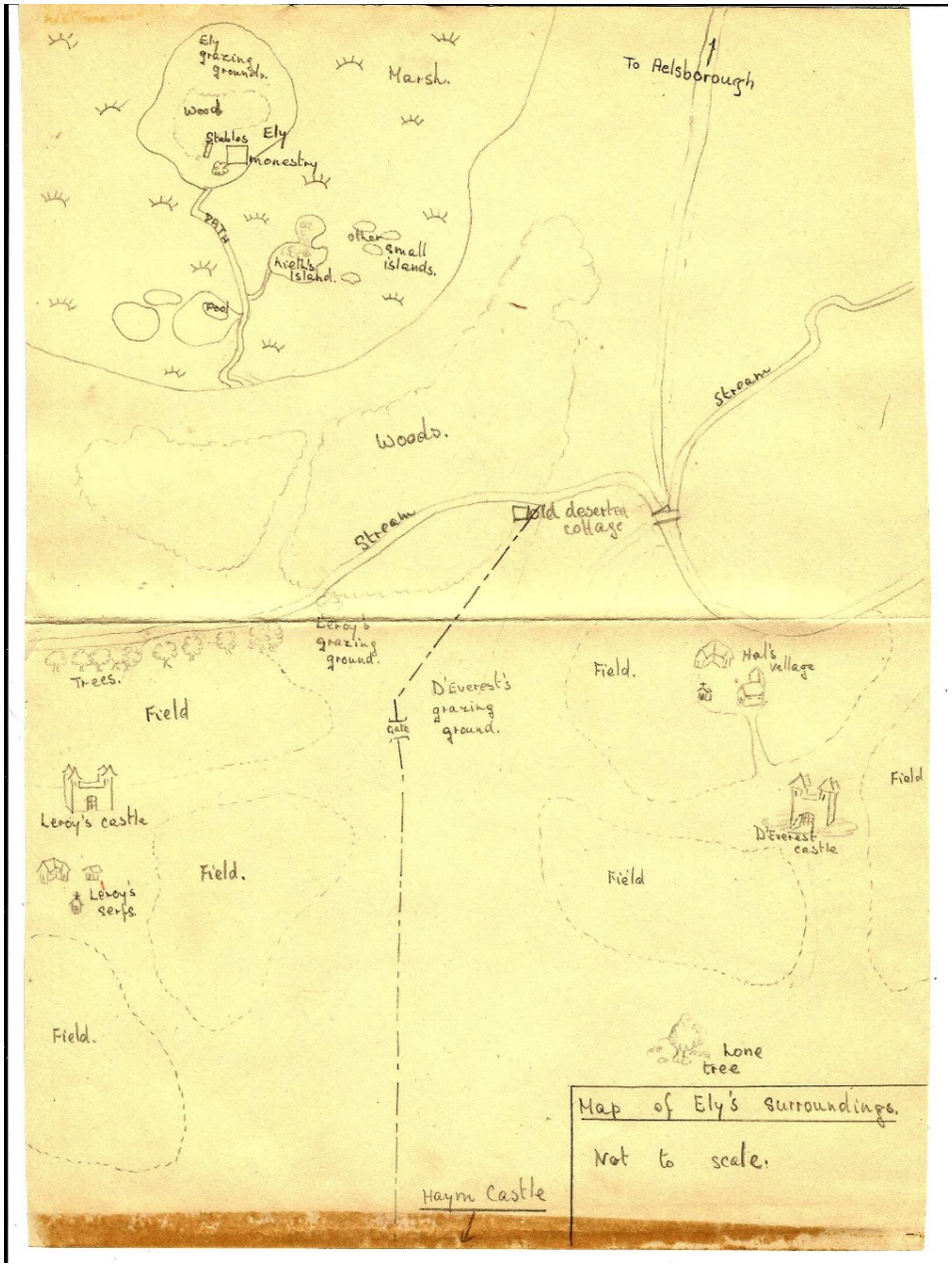


Fig. 5. "Map of Ely's Surroundings. Not to scale," by Juliet Fazan, from Hereward the Wake*, loose leaf insert.*

DISCOVERING this strong inheritance from youthful imaginings to mature in my own case alerts me further to the same inheritance in other writers; and this relation, of course, is one of the branches of the study of juvenilia.

Q. D. Leavis, writing even before the publication of *Volume the Third* of Jane Austen's early writings—though she had read it in manuscript—developed "A critical theory of Jane Austen's writings" that posited a direct descent from some juvenilia to the novels: so that *Susan*, the early version of *Northanger Abbey*, "was probably written up from an unfinished story in *Volume the Third* called 'Catharine, or the Bower'" (63); "*Lady Susan*, on my [i.e., Leavis's] theory, was expanded into *Mansfield Park*" (63). And *The Watsons* transmogrified into *Emma*. This is going very far indeed in relating early works to later: not just likenesses and partial repetitions, but almost wholesale cannibalising. She presents Austen as a thrifty novelist who wastes nothing, but recycles her abandoned works into her new ones. Not many of us would go this far today; but not many would deny a degree of carryover—from "Catharine," say, to *Northanger Abbey*.

Sixteen-year-old Malcolm Lowry writes almost obsessively of the last hours of Judge Jeffreys, the brutal "Hanging Judge" of the 1685 Rebellion; and the name fastens on the protagonist of his major novel *Under the Volcano*, Geoffrey Firmin (Grace xii).

"Until I found a bundle of children's writing in the cellar of my mother's house," Margaret Atwood said in a radio interview, "I'd forgotten the extent to which *The Blind Assassin* had its origins in my early writing" (qtd. in Stovel and Couto xxxiii). These juvenilia, along with the early work of her brother Harold, are now collected in the Fisher Manuscript Library in Toronto. As children, the protagonist of *The Blind Assassin* and her sister lap up the lurid magazines "with stories about other lands, or even other planets. Space-ships from the future … asteroids where the plants could talk, roamed by monsters with enormous eyes and fangs" (*Blind Assassin* 191): motifs recognizable in the comics and narratives created by young Margaret and Harold Atwood. The story-within-a-story concerns the people of Zycron, a planet with three moons that clearly derives from the Atwoods' space-themed early writings. The ruthless rulers of Zycron, and the society they run, take female slaves and sexually exploit them as a matter of course. And we learn,

> The official wives sit in the shadows, eyes bright in the dark ovals of their head-scarves, watching for impertinences. They know they'll sleep alone tonight, but they can whip the captive girls later for clumsiness or disrespect, and they will. (*Blind Assassin* 157).

Even within this story-within-a-story of 2000 lurk echoes and reminiscences of *The Handmaid's Tale* of 1985. The imagination, however fertile, has its recurring elements.

It's no news, of course, that authors are apt to draw on their earlier works—that early versions of the characters and oppositions of *Jane Eyre*, for instance, can be

found in the Angrian sagas. The example of my own case, however, alerts me to the degree to which such self-borrowings can be accidental and unconscious. And there can be food for study not only in what gets carried forward from the early work, but how it develops, and why. To me this evidence of a stable identity and continuous imagination is heartening. Let's not put away childish things—let's treasure them and explore them, because in a real sense childish things continue to be us.

NOTES

[1] *1066 and All That*, the parodic British history by W. C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman, was first published in *Punch*. Peter Sabor has demonstrated that this hugely popular parodic history was partly inspired by Jane Austen's take-off of Goldsmith, "The History of England," written at fifteen.

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

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

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

Her family burdens were many. Williams elaborates:

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

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

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

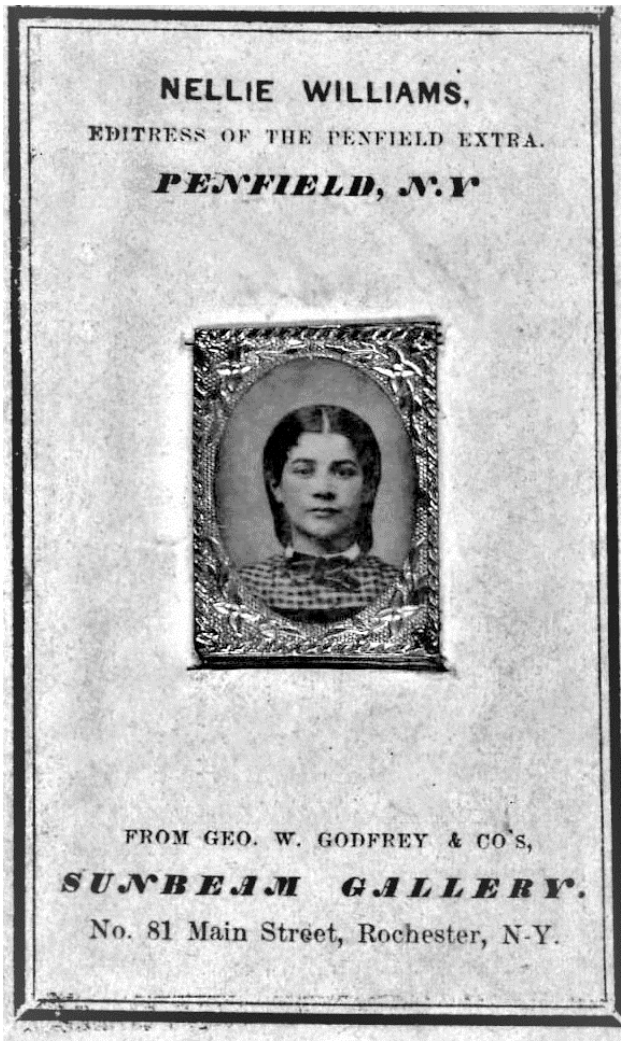


Fig. 1. Gem Tintype Portrait of Nellie Williams, photograph, c. 1862 (courtesy Local History Room, Penfield, NY).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Making of the "Youngest Publisher in the World"

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

PENFIELD EXTRA.

OUR HOPE

Little Nellie's Little Paper.

Fifty Cents Per Year. DEVOTED TO NEWS AND LITERATURE, AND NEUTRAL IN POLITICS. Single Copies, Two Cts.

VOLUME III. PENFIELD, N. Y. DEC. 31st, 1863. NUMBER 1.

From Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine.

AUTUMN LEAVES.

BY MIRA NERTON.

From the maple in the meadow,
By the rill,
And the mighty oak and chestnut
On the hill,
Come the fading leaves of autumn,
Floating still;
Through the wide extending forest,
When the winds no longer rave,
They are dropping, dropping, dropping,
O'er the land and o'er the wave.
From the green boughs, where the summer
Tresses hung,
And the young twigs, where the robin
Perched and sang,
Floating down into the grave.
And whene'er I see them floating
Without sound,
From the long and pendant branches
All around;
When I see them torn and scattered
On the ground,
Bitter thoughts arise within me,
And my heart unconscious grieves;

☞ There is a couple in Cincinnatti who have been engaged to be married for the past five years, but no time has occured within that period when they were both out of prison at the same time.

The estate of the late Senator Douglas, at Cottage Grove, Chicago, was recently sold. It consisted of sixty acres, and brought $83,160, or $803 less than the amount required to satisfy the mortgage.

Repository and Messenger.

Taking Them Out to Drive.—Dr. A——, thinking a little excercise and fresh air preferable to physic, had taken on of his patients to ride, and was seen by Dr. R——, who addressed Dr. A——, in this wise:

'Well, Doctor, I saw you taking one of your patients to ride."

'Exactly,' said Dr. A——.

'Well,' said Dr. R——, 'that is a thing I never do, to take my patients out to ride.'

'I know it,' replied Dr. A——, 'the undertaker does that for you.'

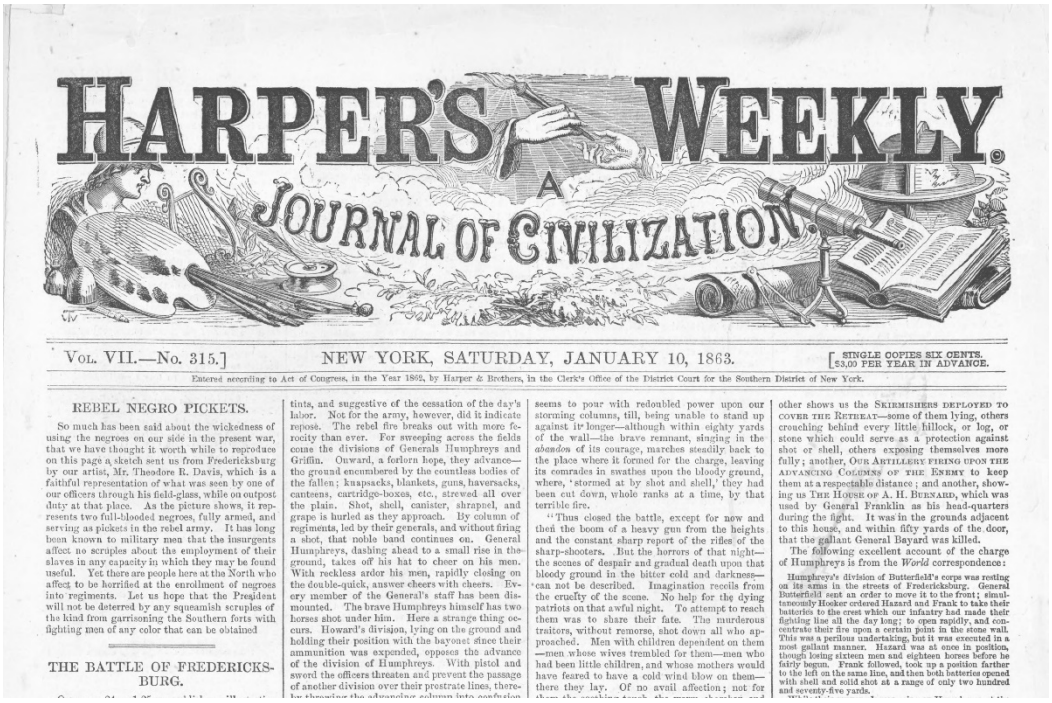
The reason why.

A good accommodating Landlord seldom has a hotel too large. You will always hear them complain that they have not sufficient room to accommodate the traveling public; but if a landlord is a small, 'penny man,' and keeps poor fires, and poor accommodations generally, and no one to wait upon people, our word for it, his house will become to large.

The Union Hotel, of Penfield has always been considered a good sized house, but we often hear the present proprietor, Mr. J. N. Bradish, complains of not having room enough; reason why. He is the best Hotel Proprietor that we have had in our village in a long time.

The Farmer's Hotel, of Rochester, has always been considered a good sized house, also; but for the past two years, the House has been growing "too small" very fast; the fact is, every person that stops there once, will stop there again; besides, he will tell his neighbors what accommodations he received at the Farmer's Hotel, and the fact has become so generally known, that the best accommodations, for the price, in Roch-

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



HARPER'S WEEKLY.
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

VOL. VII.—No. 315.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1863. [SINGLE COPIES SIX CENTS. $3,00 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the Year 1862, by Harper & Brothers, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York.

REBEL NEGRO PICKETS.

So much has been said about the wickedness of using the negroes on our side in the present war, that we have thought it worth while to reproduce on this page a sketch sent us from Fredericksburg by our artist, Mr. Theodore R. Davis, which is a faithful representation of what was seen by one of our officers through his field-glass, while on outpost duty at that place. As the picture shows, it represents two full-blooded negroes, fully armed, and serving as pickets in the rebel army. It has long been known to military men that the insurgents affect no scruples about the employment of their slaves in any capacity in which they may be found useful. Yet there are people here at the North who affect to be horrified at the enrollment of negroes into regiments. Let us hope that the President will not be deterred by any squeamish scruples of the kind from garrisoning the Southern forts with fighting men of any color that can be obtained

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

tints, and suggestive of the cessation of the day's labor. Not for the army, however, did it indicate repose. The rebel fire breaks out with more ferocity than ever. For sweeping across the fields come the divisions of Generals Humphreys and Griffin. Onward, a forlorn hope, they advance—the ground encumbered by the countless bodies of the fallen; knapsacks, blankets, guns, haversacks, canteens, cartridge-boxes, etc., strewed all over the plain. Shot, shell, canister, shrapnel, and grape is hurled as they approach. By column of regiments, led by their generals, and without firing a shot, that noble band continues on. General Humphreys, dashing ahead to a small rise in the ground, takes off his hat to cheer on his men. With reckless ardor his men, rapidly closing on the double-quick, answer cheers with cheers. Every member of the General's staff has been dismounted. The brave Humphreys himself has two horses shot under him. Here a strange thing occurs. Howard's division, lying on the ground and holding their position with the bayonet since their ammunition was expended, opposes the advance of the division of Humphreys. With pistol and sword the officers threaten and prevent the passage of another division over their prostrate lines, thereby throwing the advancing column into confusion

seems to pour with redoubled power upon our storming columns, till, being unable to stand up against it longer—although within eighty yards of the wall—the brave remnant, singing in the *abandon* of its courage, marches steadily back to the place where it formed for the charge, leaving its comrades in swathes upon the bloody ground, where, 'stormed at by shot and shell,' they had been cut down, whole ranks at a time, by that terrible fire.

"Thus closed the battle, except for new and then the boom of a heavy gun from the heights and the constant sharp report of the rifles of the sharp-shooters. But the horrors of that night—the scenes of despair and gradual death upon that bloody ground in the bitter cold and darkness—can not be described. Imagination recoils from the cruelty of the scene. No help for the dying patriots on that awful night. To attempt to reach them was to share their fate. The murderous traitors, without remorse, shot down all who approached. Men with children dependent on them—men whose wives trembled for them—men who had been little children, and whose mothers would have feared to have a cold wind blow on them—there they lay. Of no avail affection; not for

other shows us the SKIRMISHERS DEPLOYED TO COVER THE RETREAT—some of them lying, others crouching behind every little hillock, or log, or stone which could serve as a protection against shot or shell, others exposing themselves more fully; another, OUR ARTILLERY FIRING UPON THE ADVANCING COLUMNS OF THE ENEMY to keep them at a respectable distance; and another, showing us THE HOUSE OF A. H. BERNARD, which was used by General Franklin as his head-quarters during the fight. It was in the grounds adjacent to this house, and within fifty yards of the door, that the gallant General Bayard was killed.

The following excellent account of the charge of Humphreys is from the *World* correspondence:

Humphreys's division of Butterfield's corps was resting on its arms in the streets of Fredericksburg. General Butterfield sent an order to move it to the front; simultaneously Hooker ordered Hazard and Frank to take their batteries to the crest which our infantry had made their fighting line all the day long; to open rapidly, and concentrate their fire upon a certain point in the stone wall. This was a perilous undertaking, but it was executed in a most gallant manner. Hazard was at once in position, though losing sixteen men and eighteen horses before he fairly began. Frank followed, took up a position farther to the left on the same line, and then both batteries opened with shell and solid shot at a range of only two hundred and seventy-five yards.

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

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

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

THE UNIVERSAL
CLOTHES WRINGER.

It is the only Original, and only Genuine and Reliable Wringer before the people. It surpasses all others

IN STRENGTH OF FRAME!
CAPACITY FOR PRESSURE!!
AND POWER OF ACTION!!!

WE CHALLENGE THE WORLD!

We defy all Competition!!

WE WARRANT EACH ONE IN EVERY PARTICULAR.

We have the highest testimonials certifying to its great value, both in the saving of labor and materials, as well as its perfect adaptation to the use for which it is intended. These notices, however, cannot be inserted here.

We only ask that the public look at the facts—try our Wringer, and judge for themselves. We ask none to buy without giving it a thorough test, for which abundant opportunity will be given to all.

Canvassers Wanted.

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

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

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

The new Patent Method for Fastning the Rolls to the Shaft—Never blocks the clothes.

Dickerman's Patent Clasping Frame, for fastening to tub—Cannot work loose from its place.

Lyman's Patent Adjustable Gauge for different sized tubs—thick or thin, straight, slanting, or circular.

GOODYEAR'S PATENT (of which they are the exclusive owners) for the right to make, sell, and use Vulcanized India Rubber Rolls or Covered Rolls for Washing Wringing, or Starching Machines

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

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

Descriptive Circulars furnished by

JULIUS IVES & CO.
GENERAL AGENT 345 BROADWAY, N. YORK.
Sold by Special Canvassers throughout the land.

Now is the time to subscribe for the
THE AMERICAN EXCHANGE AND REVIEW:
A monthly Journal devoted to Business, Industrial and Monetary, Intelligence, National Resources and Interests.
J. A. Fowler, Editor and Proprietor.
This valuable work for Dec. is upon our table.
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Ten " " " " 20 00
Address Whiting and Co. Publishers,
No. 712 Chestnut St. Phil.

POWELSON'S
Photograph and Fine Art
GALLERIES.
No. 58 State Street, Corner of Market, Rochester N. Y. and No. 302 Main Street, Buffalo N. Y.

R. B. APPLEBY'S
PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY Rochester N. Y.
ARCADE, OVER THE POST OFFICE.
Mr. R. B. Appleby announces to his friends and the public, that he is now prepared to execute Photographic Portraits and Pictures in every style of the Art, and in the most artistic manner. A skilful and experienced operator is engaged to attend specially to this department. The Gallery has every facility producing the very best results in Photography; a fine light, the best instruments, the complete stock of plates, chemicals, &c. The Rooms are eligible and accessible without much stair-climbing, and sitters will find their comfort provided for.
Long experience in the business and the Art in this city, enables the proprietor to give the best satisfaction to those who patronize his Gallery.
R. B. APPLEBY.
s19 Arcade, over the Post Office.

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

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

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

G. W. SOULES
PHOTOGRAPHIC & AMBROTYPE
GALLERY
NO. 14 STATE ST. ROCHESTER N.Y.

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

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

BALMORALS.

JOHN KEMPTON,
Manufacturer of
LADIES, MISSES & CHILDRENS,
FINE SHOES.
53 Dey Street
New York.
Made of the best Glove, Wax and Grain Calf, plain and petile Goat and Cloth.
The Anklet Boot for Misses and Childrens meets with a ready sale. no8.3m

READ! READ!

The Bird Work Holder; for the lap in hand sewing; price 25 cents.
The Kerosene Oil Burner for Fluid Lamps price 12 cts.
ENGRAVINGS,
Of Maj. General Geo. B. McClellan, Seigel, Hallock, President, and his Cabinet Army and its Generals &c. &c.
The above articles can be sent by mail, by the undersigned, or will be furnished by Miss Anna M. Northrop P. O. Box 1358 Rochester N. Y. Agent for Monroe and Livingston Counties.
Applicants for AGENCIES should Address
Chas. A Baldwin
no8.2m Box 79, Arkport N. Y.

ARTIFICIAL LEGS.
BY E. H. HUDSON M. D.,
CLINTON HALL, (Up Stairs,) Astor Place N. Y.
Soldiers provided by commission of the Surgeon General U. S. Army. Hands of superior quality. Feet for limbs shortened by Hip Disease, a great benefaction. Dr. H. having devoted his attention and practice for fourteen years to the subject of Artificial Limbs, has made so great improvements upon the "Palmer Patent," the right to which is his by purchase, as to render his work in this branch of Surgery superior to all others.
de27-62.

Clark's School Visitor,
VOL. VII.,
A DAY SCHOOL MONTHLY.
The VISITOR will commence its *seventh volume* with the January No., 1863. This is the only *Day School Periodical* published at
FIFTY CENTS A YEAR!
Magazine form. Beautifully illustrated. Readings, *Music*, Speeches, *Dialogues*, Stories, *Puzzles*, &c., &c., from the VERY BEST WRITERS.
The VISITOR has the largest circulation of any Educational Journal published.
Now is the time to form clubs for Winter Schools. Send for a specimen, and see inducement to clubs.
Address
DAUGHADAY & HAMMOND, Publishers,
Philadelphia, Pa.

THE MAGIC ORICLE,
OR
WONDERS FOR THE EVENING.
This is a very amusing and exceedingly popular game, and just the thing to pass off a pleasant hour or two of a winter's evening, and which any Lady's or Gentleman's Age can be discovered. The cards of instruction are so very plain, that even a child can understand them.
PRICE 10 CENTS.
Or 25 Cents with a gift. Send U. S. Currency, or Postage Stamps.
Address CHARLES D. INGALSBEE,
Lowville, Lewis Co., N.Y.

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

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

HE.
With all my heart. Well, dearest, to begin;
When by our cheerful hearth our friends drop in,
And I am talking in my brilliant style
(The rest with rapture listening the while),
About the war—or anything in short,
That you're aware is my special forte—
Pray, don't get a up circle of your own,
And talk of—bonnets, in an under tone!

SHE.
That's Number One; I'll mind it well, if you
Will do as much, my dear, by Number Two;
When we attend a party or a ball,
Don't leave your Molly standing by the wall,
The helpless victim of the dreariest bore
That ever walked the parlor floor,
While you—oblivious of your spouse's doom
Flirt with the girls—the gayest in the room!

HE
When I (although the busiest man alive)
Have snatched an hour to take a pleasant drive,
And say, "Remember, at precisely four
You'll find the carriage at the door."
Don't keep me waiting half an hour or so,
And then declare, "The clock must be too slow."

SHE.
When you (such things have happened now and then)
Go to the club, with "I'll be back by ten"—
And stay untill two o'clock—you needn't say
"I really was the first to come away;
'Tis very strange how swift the time has pas'd
I'm sure my dear, the clock must be too fast.'

HE.
There—that will do; what else remains to say
We may consider at a future day;
I'm getting sleepy—and, if you have done—

SHE
Not I—this making rules is precious fun;
Now here's another—when you paint to me
"That charming woman" you are sure to see
Don't—when you praise the virtues she has got—
Name only those you think your wife has not!
And here's a rule I hope you wont forget,
The most important I have mentioned yet—
Pray, mind it well;—whenever you incline
To bring your queer companions home to dine
Suppose my dear—good gracious, he' asleep!
Ah, well!—'tis lucky good advice will keep;
And he shall have it, or upon my life,
I've not the proper spirit of a wife!

QUICK RETURNS.—We have been informed that soldiers claims, and any other government business, will meet with quicker returns by applying to G. C. Teall, Rochester, than by any other man in this county.—See his card elsewhere.

troyed by fire last Monday morning, loss, about 2,000,000.

RETURNED SOLDIER.—Mr. Harmon Burrows, first Lieut. of com. I, 8th, N. Y. Cavelry, is home on a ten day furlough, and Edmond Beach is home on a thirty day furlough, and Mr. Wm. Dancy has his discharge from Military Service, on account of poor health.

WE MUST ASK TO BE EXCUSED.—Those letters sent us for publication from East Henrietta and other places would probably injure us more than it would the Express, as the more refined readers like our subscribers would rather read something more interesting than a newspaper quarrel, which is only fit for a common roughdy to glut over, the same that he would over a dog fight, or a Heenan knock down. Our Henrietta correspondent undoubtly has been abused by the Express proprietors, but he should seek other re-dress, as his letter published in every newspaper in the State, would not financially satisfy him, and beside, as I have said before, it does not show a christian dispositions to quarrel. To this every person with the common intelligence of a *long eared horse* will agree, our saviour and malace will not dwell together in the same heart.

Jones
Where in this
world did you get your
beautiful dress? I got it at
Isaacson expect store in Rochester. Where is that? At Burk, Fitz Simmons, Honey & Co. No. 5 3 Main Street, th ey ha ve th e most splendid ario ty of Dress Goods t o be foun d in Roche ster and e rowds of people f rom the country are buying th em daily, as every body anticipa tes a still higher advance in al l kinds of goods, and they wis h to make their purchases whil e money is plenty. A stock in st ore too! says, is no sore. T here are large inducements thro wn out on paper, in the shape of hand bills, of very cheap places to t rade in Rochester, but you may trav the city over, and you will surely ma ke money on coming back to number 53 Main st. to make your purchases.

sharp puked nose, and every time he spakes he says, bloody zounds, go the rounds, peep in the deep, amen.

FOR SALE.

A farm of forty acres situated about five miles from Rochester, in the town of Chili, opposite the residence of Owen Gaffney Esq. The land is all into grass and in fine condition for a farmer to raise *two thousand* dollars worth of *hemp* from it the coming season.

IT WILL BE SOLD CHEAP.

And the greater part of the money can remain on Bond and Mortgage for a number of years if desired.

For particulars enquire of J. H. JEFFERS, Esq., No. 12 Smith's Block, Rochester, or of M. B. GAGE, Byron, Genesee Co., N. Y.

February 4th, 1864.

☞When is a rose bush like a pig?—When it begins to root! When is it like a soldier? When it begins to shoot! When is it like an Editor? When it begins to blow!

Governor Yates, of Illinois, has issued a proclamation ordering the arrest of all parties recruiting men in Illinois, either black or white, for service in any other State.

Pontiac Jacksonian

The Baltimore Clipper says Alfred B. Day was arrested yesterday, upon the charge of being a reble Spy. He is held at head quarters for an examination. The accused is well known in this city, and has always been known as a staunch Union man and his friends are surprised at the arrest.

SUMMER LIKE WEATHER.—Last Friday the thermometer stood at about 60 all day in the shade, and the streets in the village are quite dry, our young men and boys were playing ball all day. Many of our readers who are enjoying a pleasent sleigh ride will be surprised to hear about this part of the country.

A change of weather, Saturday morning while writing this article it is snowing very hard and steady, the thermometer stands at 48. There is no wind and the snow packs as it falls, and we hope to report good sleighing by Monday.

Monday was a trifle colder, but the ground is nearly bare and wheeling very bad.

Trains are now running on a broad gage railroad without a change of cars From New York to Cleveland Ohio.

DIED.

In Penfied Feb 8th, Mr. Lyman Hall in the 70th year of his age.

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

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

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

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

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

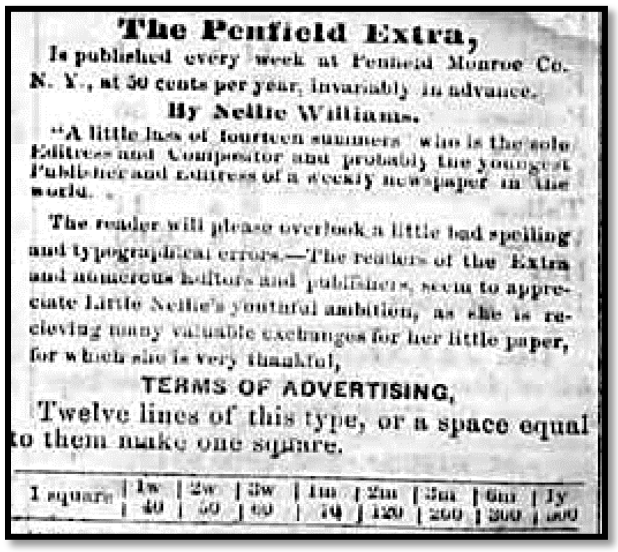
reviews were unequivocal in their praise, however. The editor of *The Water Cure* endorsed the "honest industry and laudable ambition" of the "little lass" in charge of the *Extra*, while also stressing that these remarkable efforts seemed "out of her sphere," and he declared, "aint it lucky that there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

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

Readers of Little Nellie's Little Paper

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

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



The Penfield Extra,

Is published every week at Penfield Monroe Co. N. Y., at 50 cents per year, invariably in advance.

By Nellie Williams.

"A little lass of fourteen summers" who is the sole Editress and Compositor and probably the youngest Publisher and Editress of a weekly newspaper in the world.

The reader will please overlook a little bad spelling and typographical errors.—The readers of the Extra and numerous editors and publishers, seem to appreciate Little Nellie's youthful ambition, as she is receiving many valuable exchanges for her little paper, for which she is very thankful,

TERMS OF ADVERTISING,

Twelve lines of this type, or a space equal to them make one square.

1 square	1w	2w	3w	1m	2m	3m	6m	1y
	40	50	60	70	120	200	300	500

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The article continues, but its tone becomes harsher:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Child Authorship as Public Performance

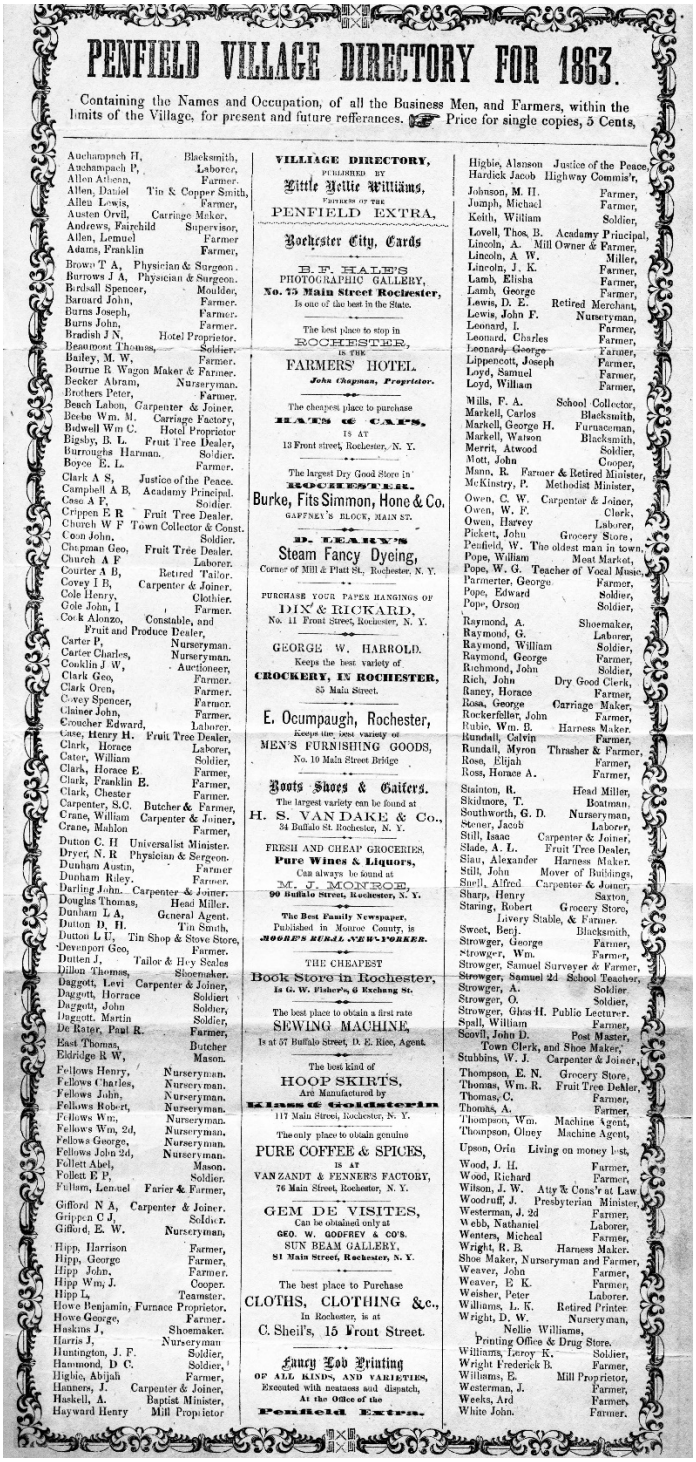
THE OVERLAID and competing discourses of the *Penfield Extra* turn the Romantic establishment of childhood and adulthood as separate states of being on its head. Indeed, Williams's paper—which straddles discourses associated with children and adults—nicely illustrates Marah Gubar's contention that the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

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

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

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

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



PENFIELD VILLAGE DIRECTORY FOR 1863.

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

Auchampach H, Blacksmith,
Auchampach P, Laborer,
Allen Athena, Farmer.
Allen, Daniel Tin & Copper Smith,
Allen Lewis, Farmer,
Austen Orvil, Carriage Maker.
Andrews, Fairchild Supervisor,
Allen, Lemuel Farmer
Adams, Franklin Farmer,

Brown T A, Physician & Surgeon.
Burrows J A, Physician & Surgeon.
Birdsall Spencer, Moulder,
Barnard John, Farmer.
Burns Joseph, Farmer.
Burns John, Farmer.
Bradish J N, Hotel Proprietor.
Beaumont Thomas, Soldier.
Bailey, M. W, Farmer.
Bourne R Wagon Maker & Farmer.
Becker Abram, Nurseryman.
Brothers Peter, Farmer.
Beach Labon, Carpenter & Joiner.
Beebe Wm. M. Carriage Factory,
Bidwell Wm C. Hotel Proprietor
Bigsby, B. L. Fruit Tree Dealer,
Burroughs Harman. Soldier.
Bogue E. L. Farmer.

Clark A S, Justice of the Peace.
Campbell A B, Academy Principal.
Case A F, Soldier.
Crippen E R Fruit Tree Dealer.
Church W F Town Collector & Const.
Coon John, Soldier.
Chapman Geo, Fruit Tree Dealer.
Church A F Laborer.
Courter A B, Retired Tailor.
Covey I B, Carpenter & Joiner.
Cole Henry, Clothier.
Cole John, I Farmer.
Cook Alonzo, Constable, and Fruit and Produce Dealer,
Carter P, Nurseryman.
Carter Charles, Nurseryman.
Conklin J W, Auctioneer,
Clark Geo, Farmer.
Clark Oren, Farmer.
Covey Spencer, Farmer.
Cloiner John, Farmer.
Croucher Edward, Laborer.
Case, Henry H. Fruit Tree Dealer,
Clark, Horace Laborer,
Cater, William Soldier,
Clark, Horace E Farmer,
Clark, Franklin E. Farmer,
Clark, Chester Farmer.
Carpenter, S.C. Butcher & Farmer,
Crane, William Carpenter & Joiner,
Crane, Mahlon Farmer,

Dutton C. H Universalist Minister.
Dryer, N. R Physician & Sergeon.
Dunham Austin, Farmer
Dunham Riley. Farmer.
Darling John. Carpenter & Joiner.
Douglas Thomas, Head Miller.
Dunham L A, General Agent.
Dutton D. H. Tin Smith,
Dutton L H, Tin Shop & Stove Store,
Devenport Geo, Farmer.
Dutten J, Tailor & Hey Scales
Dillon Thomas, Shoemaker.
Daggott, Levi Carpenter & Joiner,
Daggott, Horrace Soldiert
Daggott, John Soldier,
Daggott, Martin Soldier,
De Rater, Paul R. Farmer,
East Thomas, Butcher
Eldridge R W, Mason.

Fellows Henry, Nurseryman.
Fellows Charles, Nurseryman.
Fellows John, Nurseryman.
Fellows Robert, Nurseryman.
Fellows Wm, Nurseryman.
Fellows Wm, 2d, Nurseryman.
Fellows George, Nurseryman.
Fellows John 2d, Nurseryman.
Follett Abel, Mason.
Follett E P, Soldier.
Fullum, Lemuel Farier & Farmer,

Gifford N A, Carpenter & Joiner.
Grippen C J, Soldier.
Gifford, E. W. Nurseryman,
Hipp, Harrison Farmer,
Hipp, George Farmer,
Hipp John. Farmer.
Hipp Wm, J. Cooper.
Hipp L, Teamster.
Howe Benjamin, Furnace Proprietor.
Howe George, Farmer.
Haskins J, Shoemaker.
Harris J, Nurseryman
Huntington, J. F. Soldier,
Hammond, D C. Soldier,
Higbie, Abijah Farmer,
Hanners, J. Carpenter & Joiner,
Haskell, A. Baptist Minister,
Hayward Henry Mill Proprietor

VILLIAGE DIRECTORY,
PUBLISHED BY
Little Nellie Williams,
PRINTERS OF THE
PENFIELD EXTRA.

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John Chapman, Proprietor.

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Steam Fancy Dyeing,
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Keeps the best variety of
CROCKERY, IN ROCHESTER,
85 Main Street.

E. Ocumpaugh, Rochester,
Keeps the best variety of
MEN'S FURNISHING GOODS,
No. 10 Main Street Bridge

Boots Shoes & Gaiters.
The largest variety can be found at
H. S. VAN DAKE & Co.,
34 Buffalo St. Rochester, N. Y.

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Pure Wines & Liquors,
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in Rochester, is at
C. Sheil's, 15 Front Street.

Fancy Job Printing
OF ALL KINDS, AND VARIETIES,
Executed with neatness and dispatch,
At the Office of the
Penfield Extra.

Higbie, Alanson Justice of the Peace,
Hardick Jacob Highway Commis'r,
Johnson, M. H. Farmer,
Jumph, Michael Farmer,
Keith, William Soldier,
Lovell, Thos. B. Academy Principal,
Lincoln, A. Mill Owner & Farmer,
Lincoln, A W. Miller,
Lincoln, J. K. Farmer,
Lamb, Elisha Farmer,
Lamb, George Farmer,
Lewis, D. E. Retired Merchant,
Lewis, John F. Nurseryman,
Leonard, I. Farmer,
Leonard, Charles Farmer,
Leonard, George Farmer,
Lippencott, Joseph Farmer,
Loyd, Samuel Farmer,
Loyd, William Farmer,

Mills, F. A. School Collector,
Markell, Carlos Blacksmith,
Markell, George H. Furnaceman,
Markell, Watson Blacksmith,
Merrit, Atwood Soldier,
Mott, John Cooper,
Mann, R. Farmer & Retired Minister,
McKinstry, P. Methodist Minister,
Owen, C. W. Carpenter & Joiner,
Owen, W. F. Clerk,
Owen, Harvey Laborer,
Pickett, John Grocery Store,
Penfield, W. The oldest man in town,
Pope, William Meat Market,
Pope, W. G. Teacher of Vocal Music,
Parmerter, George Farmer,
Pope, Edward Soldier,
Pope, Orson Soldier,

Raymond, A. Shoemaker,
Raymond, G. Laborer,
Raymond, William Soldier,
Raymond, George Farmer,
Richmond, John Soldier,
Rich, John Dry Good Clerk,
Raney, Horace Farmer,
Rosa, George Carriage Maker,
Rockerfeller, John Farmer,
Rubie, Wm. B. Harness Maker.
Rundall, Calvin Farmer,
Rundall, Myron Thrasher & Farmer,
Rose, Elijah Farmer,
Ross, Horace A. Farmer,

Stainton, R. Head Miller,
Skidmore, T. Boatman,
Southworth, G. D. Nurseryman,
Stoner, Jacob Laborer,
Still, Isaac Carpenter & Joiner,
Slade, A. L. Fruit Tree Dealer,
Slau, Alexander Harness Maker.
Still, John Mover of Buildings,
Snell, Alfred Carpenter & Joiner,
Sharp, Henry Sarton,
Staring, Robert Grocery Store, Livery Stable, & Farmer.
Sweet, Benj. Blacksmith,
Strowger, George Farmer,
Strowger, Wm. Farmer,
Strowger, Samuel Surveyer & Farmer,
Strowger, Samuel 2d School Teacher,
Strowger, A. Soldier.
Strowger, O. Soldier,
Strowger, Glen H. Public Lecturer.
Spell, William Farmer,
Scovil, John D. Post Master, Town Clerk, and Shoe Maker,
Stubbins, W. J. Carpenter & Joiner.

Thompson, E. N. Grocery Store,
Thomas, Wm. R. Fruit Tree Dealer,
Thomas, C. Farmer,
Thomas, A. Farmer,
Thompson, Wm. Machine Agent,
Thompson, Olney Machine Agent,

Upson, Orin Living on money lost,

Wood, J. H. Farmer,
Wood, Richard Farmer,
Wilson, J. W. Atty & Const'n Law
Woodruff, J. Presbyterian Minister,
Westerman, J. 2d Farmer,
Webb, Nathaniel Laborer,
Wenters, Micheal Farmer,
Wright, R. R. Harness Maker.
Shoe Maker, Nurseryman and Farmer,
Weaver, John Farmer,
Weaver, E K. Farmer,
Weisher, Peter Laborer.
Williams, L. K. Retired Printer.
Wright, D. W. Nurseryman,
Nellie Williams, Printing Office & Drug Store.
Williams, Leroy K. Soldier,
Wright Frederick B. Farmer,
Williams, E. Mill Proprietor,
Westerman, J. Farmer,
Weeks, Ard Farmer,
White John. Farmer.

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

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

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

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

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

She triumphantly reports the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JUST AS WE EXPECTED

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

[1] This letter is transcribed in full in the *Boy's Herald,* an early twentieth-century amateur newspaper. Many thanks to Kathy Kanauer, Town Historian, Local History Room, Penfield, NY for locating this article. (Besides the publication date of 1914, the Penfield History Room does not have the full citation for this piece.) The article, entitled "Nellie's 'Penfield Extra,'" which also includes an interview with Williams's sister, Mary E. Wetherall. The article offers the most detailed record of Williams's biography and contains the only example of her private writing located to date.

[2] From the *Penfield Extra*, 7 Feb. 1862, p. 2. In circulating her tintype portraits, small, highly reproducible photographs on "tin plates" (really iron), Williams promoted her foray into the new media of the day (weekly newspapers) through the newest photographic technologies. The tintype, which was invented in 1856 in Europe, arrived in New York City in 1859. Working with several different Rochester photographers, Williams was on the cusp of the tintype "rage." According to Janice Schimmelman, by 1861 the desire for "card photographs" was so great that New Yorkers had to wait weeks to get their own taken (20). While other editors, such as Sarah Hale of *Godey's Lady Book,* included their engraved portraits as frontispieces and some newspaper editors from across the country were beginning to sit for portraits by 1861 (see the Brady Collection at the Library of Congress), Williams was the only editor who circulated her photograph in exchange for subscriptions.

[3] For more on the remarkable biographical contexts informing the production and reception of the *Penfield Extra*, see "Nellie's 'Penfield Extra,'" as well as Vincent Golden, Dennis Laurie, Richard Sheaff, and, Katherine Wilcox Thompson.(Thompson is former Penfield Town Historian).

[4] My interpretations of Williams's discourse practices and her access to/expressions of agency are informed by various disciplinary branches of childhood studies. For instance, Williams's moral and political insights resonate with John Wall's claim that "children are not passive recipients of top-down values, bringers of bottom-up moral agency, or blank slates developing their moral reason. Rather, they are active participants who engage in the same moral dynamics as adults by reconstructing their moral surroundings over time" (57). In addition, I agree with Tatek Abebe, interpreting children's agency is problematic, especially since "children are both dependent and independent at the same time, and their agency should only be researched in the social-cultural and political-economic contexts in which they are located" (12). That is, when interpreting children as "social actors," we must consider how children's social positioning, including "relations of subordination … create and enable [their] capacity for action" (Hoechner, qtd. in Abebe 12). Thus, I am especially interested in recovering the historical, material, and cultural particularities engaged by, reflected in, and challenged by Williams's writing. For these reasons, I strive to avoid generalizing about children and their access to agency from Williams's accounts. Instead, taking a page of anthropologist Allison James, I read Williams's discourses as reflective of the "socially constructed character of childhood that makes the social space of childhood different for different children. … it means acknowledging that the children's voices that appear in our texts do not necessarily speak about 'children' in general or 'the child' in abstraction" (265).]

[5] Although an analysis of the influence of her work as a printer on her literacy and authorship is beyond the scope of this project, I note that Williams's work also exemplifies the physical labour of "practicing for print," to borrow Karen Sánchez-

Eppler's turn of phrase (in her ground-breaking article on juvenilia produced by an elite Boston family, "Practicing to Print: The Hale Children's Manuscript Library").

[6] During the final year and a half of the *Extra*'s run, numerous articles warned that steep hikes in production costs were making it difficult for newspapers to remain profitable. As her sister, Mary, later corroborated: "About 1866, as the cost of printing material had risen out of proportion to the cost of publication, Nellie decided to discontinue her paper, and accept a lucrative position offered her in the Hughes Book and Job office in Rochester, N.Y" ("Nellie's 'Penfield Extra,'" p. 6).

[7] For more, see Lagan Cohen and "Amateur Newspapers."

[8] Thomas Harrison in his *Career and Reminiscences of an Amateur Journalist and a History of Amateur Journalism* describes the amateur boom from the 1870s to 1880s thus: "There are at the present time, some eight or nine hundred boys and girls, or young men and women, as some of them might be better pleased to be called, varying from twelve to twenty-four and twenty-five years of age, engaged in printing, editing and contributing to some two or three hundred miniature publications" (n.p.). In addition, many amateurs considered their work morally and intellectually formative. Spencer Truman, in his *The History of Amateur Journalism,* described the Dom as a "mutual intellectual culture" or "a miniature world of letters" (3).

[9] For more on the rhetorical forms and practices of nineteenth-century amateur journalism, see recent essays by Elissa Myers, Lara Langan Cohen, and Victoria Ford Smith.

[10] I am interested in what happens if we read Williams's newspaper as Laurie Langbauer prompts us to read juvenilia; that is, not as "mere apprenticeship" or "subordinated to some looked-for-end," but rather as "important in itself" ("Young England" 77). By reading Williams's newspaper as perpetuating *and* reinventing normative cultural discourses our notions of childhood, history, and print culture are potentially transformed. As Langbauer puts it, when child writing is read "as making an imprint, generating, producing, speaking up—as trying to shape not just be shaped," our very notions of "history and literary history" are potentially altered (*Juvenile Tradition* 3). In addition, Conrad, Alexander, Gubar, McMaster, and Sánchez-Eppler remind us that reading writing by children means interpreting how child authors internalise and mimic cultural discourses responsible for their objectification as well as subvert and revise language practices through their linguistic expression.

[11] For more on the significant and various models of child and adult collaboration in Victorian literary culture, see Smith's wonderful recent book, *Between Generations: Collaborative Authorship in the Golden Age of Children's Literature.*

[12] Reading the play of discourses within Williams's paper speaks to the historical, material, and cultural particularities of her situation as a child and child writer. My approach, like that endorsed by the anthropologist Maria Kromidas, seeks to "illustrate what it is like to be a child at a particular time and in a particular place and symbolic context. In these accounts, children's deeply felt experiences are rendered in a way that allows us to be *affected* by children" (83).

[13] In this essay as well as in my essay for *JJS* Special Issue 4.1 (forthcoming), I build on Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality, a term she coined to "denote the various ways in which race and gender interact" and thus are not isolated categories. Crenshaw developed this concept of intersectionality to emphasise how the "intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately" (1244). I draw out the implications of this concept to include other identity categories, including race, gender, class, professionalism, and age, in order to consider

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

[14] Nellie Williams died 15 June 1875, aged 26, of consumption, the same disease which prematurely claimed her mother and would soon after take the life of her younger sister, Allie. According to her sister Mary's account, after the *Extra* concluded, Williams sought employment in Rochester, as a typesetter for a local print shop. At the age of 19, she married Henry Braden, a baker who owned his own shop on Main Street (*Rochester Business Directory,* 1869). She had a daughter and son before her early death. Her son died of consumption roughly a year after her death. He was three years of age. For more on Williams's biography, see Laurie and Thompson, as well as "Nellie's 'Penfield Extra.'"

[15] In the final year of the *Penfield Extra*'s run, Williams and her two sisters, Mary (aged 17) and Allie (aged 12) initiated a second publishing venture, the *Literary Companion*, a monthly literary journal (published between October 1864 and September 1865), for which "Little Allie Williams" would become the editor-in-chief. While it has long been known that Nellie Williams edited a popular amateur newspaper, that her sisters also produced a periodical (found bound at the back of the fourth volume of the *Penfield Extra* in the Rochester Public library holdings) is less well known; I only recently discovered the sisters' joint project through the Monroe County, New York Public library's holdings. While the *Literary Companion* has only recently come to light and does not seem to have met the popular national following of the *Penfield Extra*, it proves that Williams and her sisters worked side by side in a single print shop producing their papers. In addition, the remarkable cross-pollination between their periodicals illustrates how they employed the miscellaneous forms of nineteenth-century journalism during a time of tremendous personal and national trauma. For more on this cross-pollination see my essay "Child Journalists, the Civil War, and the Intersectional Work of Reporting Grief" (editor's column, *Journal of Juvenilia Studies*, 4.1, forthcoming).

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YOUNG JANE AUSTEN AND THE CIRCULATION-LIBRARY NOVEL

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IN 1802, MARIA Edgeworth proudly reported to her friend Mary Sneyd the result of an inquiry her father had made in a "circulating library" in Leicester: he found there that "'Belinda,' 'Bulls,' etc. … were in good repute—'Castle Rackrent' in better—the others often borrowed, but 'Castle Rackrent' often bought" (85). Edgeworth's words convey an author's reasonable pleasure at news of good sales and positive word-of-mouth reviews, but her association of good sales with "good repute" also blurs the line between profit and propriety. Edgeworth, her father, and her friend appear to have shared an assumption, common at the time, that the "often bought" were not only more profitable for the author than the "often borrowed" but also more respectable. Jane Austen, on the other hand, was wont to question such an attitude, both as reader and as writer. Her oft-quoted statement that the Austens were "not ashamed" to be known as "great Novel-readers" must be taken to endorse the borrowed as well as the bought, since it occurs as part of her news that Mrs. Austen "finds the Money" to subscribe in Cassandra's name to a new "Library" (*Letters* 19 December 1798).[1] And when she reports that there may not be "a 2^{d} edition" of *Mansfield Park* because "People are more ready to borrow & praise, than to buy—which I cannot wonder at" (*Letters* 30 November 1814), her words convey no concern about what effect such borrowing might have on her book's "repute"—merely a resigned acknowledgement of financial practicalities. If, furthermore, Austen knew that *Belinda* was "often borrowed," this knowledge did not stop her from naming it as an exemplary novel—one of only three, the other two being Fanny Burney's *Cecilia* and *Camilla*—in her famous defense of novels at the end of chapter 5 in *Northanger Abbey* (*NA*).

Yet it is also noteworthy that Austen does not include *Evelina* in this list, which was published by Lowndes—a circulation-library publisher. Neither *Belinda*, *Cecilia*, nor *Camilla* had a publisher who specialized in circulation-library fiction.[2] Neither, for

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that matter, had *Mansfield Park*.[3] On the other hand, of the seven "horrid" novels that Isabella Thorpe recommends to Catherine Morland in chapter 6 of *Northanger Abbey*, six were published by the most successful circulation-library publisher of them all, the Minerva Press—famous (or notorious)[4] both for publishing gothic romances in the Radcliffean manner and for its active encouragement of young, often untried, women writers. By contrast, John Murray, who published *Mansfield Park*, was known for publishing Byron, Scott, and Isaac D'Israeli, as well as the *English Review*.

Such evidence suggests that, although Austen read widely all her life, choosing without apology among books both bought and borrowed,[5] she understood that publishers like Murray and publishers like Minerva operated according to very different business models, and the lack of overlap between the two *Northanger Abbey* lists suggests that these differences mattered to her as a young adult. In this essay, I consider what she may have understood of these differences as a teenager and how this understanding may have helped to shape her juvenilia, with particular focus on "Love and Freindship" (completed 1790, the year Austen turned fifteen). Although William Lane only began publishing under the Minerva imprint in 1790, by the end of that decade he had—thanks to his ongoing publication of gothic romances written in imitation of Ann Radcliffe, his recruitment of unknown women authors, and his innovative marketing strategies—eclipsed the competition.[6] However, as Edward Jacobs shows, "circulation-library publishers were" as a tribe "more likely to publish works by anonymous authors" and "more likely to publish works by female authors" than establishment publishers were. Moreover, the set-up and organization of circulation libraries made it easy for "readers to perceive and sample books as members of genres" (607, 617). Before the Minerva era began, one of Lane's major competitors in the field of circulation-library formula fiction, Thomas Hookham,[7] published several novels by anonymous authors that were important to Austen's juvenilia, including the three I focus on in this essay: Ann Radcliffe's *Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789) and two by Eliza Nugent Bromley, *Laura and Augustus* (1784) and *The History of Sir Charles Bentinck and Louisa Cavendish* (1788/9?).[8] Because *Athlin and Dunbayne* and *Sir Charles Bentinck* are so little known, the first part of this essay establishes the case for acknowledging them as important targets of Austen's youthful satire, with particular focus on the recognition scenes in each.

With new books entering the market in ever-increasing numbers in the late eighteenth century, such aids to selection as advertisements, reviews, dedications, catalogues, prospectuses, and homemade reading lists were important to publishers, to even the most voracious of readers, and to new or aspiring authors. For this reason, besides Hookham's novels and Austen's parodies of them, I also consider associated paratexts. These include titles and dedications in Austen's case and, in Hookham's case, a list of "Books Printed by T. Hookham." This list includes excerpts of dedications and reviews in its descriptions of recent publications, which includes both *Sir Charles Bentinck* and *Athlin and Dunbayne*, and which appears inside *Athlin and Dunbayne* immediately following the title page, where any reader must notice it. The

very possibility that Austen paid attention to Hookham's list of "Books Printed" prompts a careful consideration of what the juvenilia may reveal about her reading process, her youthful understanding of circulation-library publishers' marketing strategies and materials, and her response to the model of authorship they promoted. In the second part of this essay, accordingly, I turn to *Northanger Abbey* for evidence of Austen's appreciation of the practical value to readers of such lists. The third part of this essay examines the influence of Hookham's list of "Books Printed" on Austen's own youthful paratexts, her dedications in particular. In the final part I read "Love and Freindship" in the context of circulation-library publishers' encouragement of female readers to consider taking up the pen, in order to argue that one of the targets of Austen's satire in "Love and Freindship" is young ladies like Laura who are not only quixotic readers of sentimental novels but also quixotic writers of the same.

"unexpected Happiness": The Pleasures of Recognition

JANE AUSTEN had little or no say about which books were permanently housed in her father's library, and as a child her input into decisions about which borrowed books found their way into the Austens' home would have been limited. Still, a reader must at some point choose to pick up this book rather than the one beside it or, once having read, to write about this book rather than that other one. And once in a while Austen's choices are surprising. A case in point is her decision to revisit, five years or more after its first and only printing, the anonymously published *Laura and Augustus* (Hookham, 1784), a circulation-library novel that received only one printing and had long since joined the ranks of the deservedly obscure when Malcolm Mudrick and Juliet McMaster revealed its significance as a source of "Love and Freindship" and made it seem worth reading again (Mudrick 4–9, 13–14; McMaster, *Jane Austen* 143–52).[9]

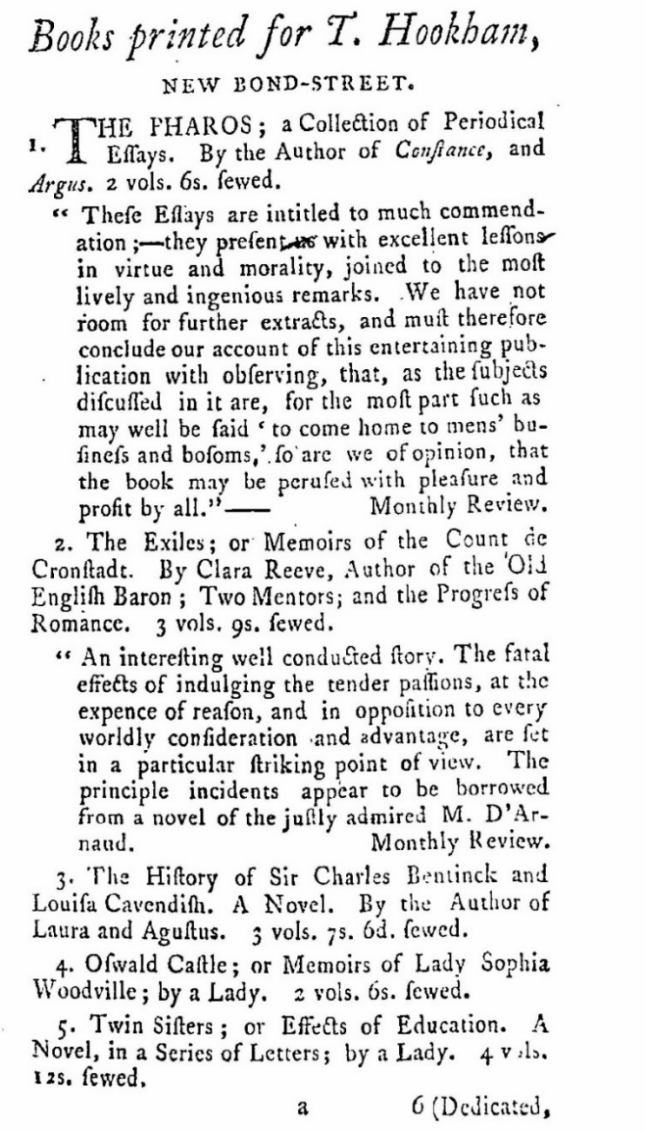
In many ways Austen's choice is not at all surprising: as Mudrick points out, *Laura and Augustus* is a good representative of the "'lachrymose novel'" and as such a deserving target of the satiric treatment she gave it (3–4).[10] Nor, given her "memory extremely tenacious" for books she had read (H. Austen, 273), is it surprising that Austen was able to retrieve details about Bromley's plot from memory,[11] even though as many as five years may have passed between the reading and the writing. And yet we may still wonder why—when the circulation-library publishers were churning out so many equally lachrymose candidates—Austen's attention landed on this one. More work remains to be done on this point, but the time gap may be anomalous, especially for the juvenilia. Consider, for instance, the fact that the circulation-library fiction that served Austen as a significant model for *Lady Susan*, namely Mary Robinson's epistolary novel *The Widow* (1794), another Hookham product, was published in the same year that Austen probably began writing her own epistolary novel about the

widowed Lady Susan (Sutherland, "Chronology" 15). Stephanie Russo quite reasonably hypothesises "that Austen would have encountered" *The Widow* "soon after its publication through a circulating library while at Steventon" (183–84).[12] Unlike such personal and family favourites as Samuel Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* and Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Rivals*, neither *Laura and Augustus* nor *The Widow* is likely to have had a material presence in the Austen home long enough for the kind of revisiting that helps to keep a book fresh in memory. For one thing, these are not books that the Austens would invest money in purchasing, if only because Hookham made them so easy to borrow.[13] For another, a circulation library's cheaply bound novels were designed to be read "literally to pieces" (McLeod 85) and typically lasted only a few months.[14] *Laura and Augustus* is, therefore, highly unlikely to have been available in 1789 or 1790 for borrowing, or re-borrowing, especially from a small provincial library with limited stock that had to be kept current for readers who demanded the latest publications. Yet this is when Austen was choosing the names Laura and Augustus for two of her four main characters.[15]

Given this chronological oddity, I should very much like to ask what sort of system young Jane Austen employed for choosing which book to read—or to parody—next. That being a question to daunt even the most quixotic, however, I begin instead with an observation: that Ann Radcliffe's first novel, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, was also published by Hookham, but in 1789; that it too, as F. B. Pinion has shown, was a significant source for "Love and Freindship"; and that it contains a mention of *Laura and Augustus* placed where Austen was almost guaranteed to see it—on the first page of the list of "Books Printed for T. Hookham." This paratext is eight pages long and contains fifty-four items; clearly, Hookham believed that it made financial sense to incur the cost of printing these extra pages when he added them to Radcliffe's slender, single-volume novel that sold for the comparatively low price of "3s. sewed" ("Books Printed," item number 53, a4^{v}).[16] In other words, Hookham expected readers to pay attention to this paratextual material and to make profitable reading selections accordingly.[17] Austen's juvenilia strongly suggests that she was, from a young age, one reader who did just as Hookham hoped, not least because on the first page of "Books Printed" she would have encountered the following: "3. The History of Sir Charles Bentinck and Louisa Cavendish. A Novel. By the Author of Laura and Agustus [*sic*]. 3 vols. 7s. 6d. sewed" (a1^{r}, see Fig. 1).

Sir Charles Bentinck was another significant influence on "Love and Freindship," as I have shown elsewhere; in fact, Austen appears to have been actively comparing Bromley's first and second novels as she wrote her epistolary spoof of the sentimental novel's "female faints, frenzies, and fulminations" (Peterson 84). Both of Bromley's first novels were published anonymously, but Hookham advertised the connection by identifying the latest as being "By the Author of Laura and Agustus [*sic*]." Thus, as soon as Austen picked up *Athlin and Dunbayne*, in one place all three circulation-library novels were brought to her attention. *Athlin and Dunbayne* by itself might have served to remind her of *Laura and Augustus*—Radcliffe's novel also features a heroine of

immense sensibility named Laura and a memorable recognition scene, to name just two similarities. But if Austen were reading as Hookham expected his subscribers to read, then the "Books Printed" list could well have been that which induced her to seek out *Sir Charles Bentinck*. Once sought, this novel turns out to be a kind of sequel to *Laura and Augustus*, so reading it would have further refreshed Austen's memory of its predecessor.[18] Furthermore, given the way circulation libraries were at least sometimes set up, where one Hookham work was to be found there could well have been plenty more readily to hand.[19]



Books printed for T. Hookham,

NEW BOND-STREET.

1. THE PHAROS; a Collection of Periodical Eſſays. By the Author of *Conſtance*, and *Argus*. 2 vols. 6s. ſewed.

"Theſe Eſſays are intitled to much commendation;—they preſent us with excellent leſſons in virtue and morality, joined to the moſt lively and ingenious remarks. We have not room for further extracts, and muſt therefore conclude our account of this entertaining publication with obſerving, that, as the ſubjects diſcuſſed in it are, for the moſt part ſuch as may well be ſaid 'to come home to mens' buſineſs and boſoms,' ſo are we of opinion, that the book may be peruſed with pleaſure and profit by all."—— Monthly Review.

2. The Exiles; or Memoirs of the Count de Cronſtadt. By Clara Reeve, Author of the Old Engliſh Baron; Two Mentors; and the Progreſs of Romance. 3 vols. 9s. ſewed.

"An intereſting well conducted ſtory. The fatal effects of indulging the tender paſſions, at the expence of reaſon, and in oppoſition to every worldly conſideration and advantage, are ſet in a particular ſtriking point of view. The principle incidents appear to be borrowed from a novel of the juſtly admired M. D'Arnaud. Monthly Review.

3. The Hiſtory of Sir Charles Bentinck and Louiſa Cavendiſh. A Novel. By the Author of Laura and Auguſtus. 3 vols. 7s. 6d. ſewed.

4. Oſwald Caſtle; or Memoirs of Lady Sophia Woodville; by a Lady. 2 vols. 6s. ſewed.

5. Twin Siſters; or Effects of Education. A Novel, in a Series of Letters; by a Lady. 4 vols. 12s. ſewed.

a 6 (Dedicated,

Fig. 1. "Books Printed for T. Hookham," in The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne *by Anne Radcliffe (London: Hookham, 1789), a1r. Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

The scenario I sketch out here—in which Austen begins reading Radcliffe's first novel and is in the process reminded of Bromley's first novel in a manner that prompts her to reach for Bromley's second—is purely hypothetical and deserves a healthy skepticism. We can never know how it happened that Austen brought these three circulation-library novels together and introduced them into the company of the other works of fiction and drama that she offers us the pleasure of recognising within the pages of both "Love and Freindship" and "Lesley Castle." We can say only that this is one possibility; at the most, we might say that it is the simplest explanation for the facts before us.[20] However, we might also consider it an invitation—an invitation to do as Hookham and Austen each did in their own ways, and consider the three novels together.

OF THE three, only *Laura and Augustus* kills off the hero, as Austen does in her burlesque. In volume 1, Laura Levison and Augustus Montague marry despite Mr. Levison's cruel opposition, but after sundry adventures and much suffering, in volume 3 Augustus dies of consumption. Laura dies shortly thereafter, after first demonstrating her sensibility in a sequence of swoons and ravings. Austen follows this basic structure in "Love and Freindship" in that her Laura and Edward marry at the beginning of the story and then flee Edward's "'mean and mercenary'" father (108); her Augustus also "dies in pathetic circumstances," along with Edward, when their phaeton overturns (McMaster and others 36n3). Sophia, the widow of Austen's Augustus, like Bromley's Laura follows her husband in death, after indulging in an ill-judged and "imprudent … swoon" (*Juvenilia* 132). This much is well known.

In certain other respects, however, both *Sir Charles Bentinck* and *Athlin and Dunbayne* align more closely with "Love and Freindship" than Bromley's first novel does. Whereas the entire plot of *Laura and Augustus* revolves around a single young couple, *Athlin and Dunbayne* and *Sir Charles Bentinck* both feature two sensitive young women who marry two noble young men who are one another's closest friends. In both novels, furthermore, once the young women meet they also become devoted friends. This is just what we find in "Love and Freindship": Laura marries Edward, the best friend of Augustus, who has recently married Sophia. No sooner do Laura and Sophia meet than they exchange "mutual Protestations of Freindship, and … vows of unalterable love" (115), and they spend much of the rest of the story supporting (or enabling) one another. The brides in *Athlin and Dunbayne*, Mary and Laura, do not meet to begin their friendship until after most of their troubles have been resolved, but in *Sir Charles Bentinck*, Louisa's friend Maria supports and assists Louisa through her various tribulations and exaltations and plays a major (if largely accidental) role in Louisa's final rescue. At the same time, the story of Maria's own courtship with Bentinck's best friend Edward Sedley (yes, another Edward!) forms a significant subplot, in which Louisa provides her friend with advice and support. This partnership between two active young women is much closer to what we find in

"Love and Freindship" than the friendship in *Laura and Augustus* between Laura Levison and her chief correspondent Cecilia; this friend does nothing for Laura until it is far too late and is perhaps remarkable mainly for her inaction.

Of course, such plots as these are legion. The case for acknowledging *Athlin and Dunbayne* and *Sir Charles Bentinck* as significant sources of Austen's juvenilia becomes much stronger, however, when we turn from plot to specific details of description and dialogue. Radcliffe's first novel has been largely overlooked by Austen scholars, but Pinion, an important exception, cites several details in *Athlin and Dunbayne* that establish its "contribution" to "Love and Freindship," including the fact that one of Radcliffe's heroes is found, at a critical moment, "weltering in his blood" (239), while Austen's Edward and Augustus are similarly found, when their phaeton overturns, "most elegantly attired but weltering in their blood" (*Juvenilia* 129).

This may be a simple case of what Austen would later term "thorough novel slang" (*Letters* 28 September 1814), but Pinion is surely right to observe a "most remarkable coincidence" (173) between Radcliffe's description of her Laura and Austen's of Sophia. Radcliffe's Laura, we learn, is "about twenty, her person … of middle stature … and very elegantly formed. The bloom of her youth was shaded by a soft and pensive melancholy" (124–25). Austen's Laura, in describing her long-lost friend Sophia, provides much the same information, presented in the same order, with similar and at points identical language: "Sophia was rather above the middle size; most elegantly formed. A soft Languor spread over her lovely features, but increased their Beauty" (*Juvenilia* 113). There are two subtle enhancements to note, however: Laura recalls her friend's being "*above* the middle size [my emphasis]"; and instead of allowing the "soft and pensive melancholy" of Radcliffe's heroine to have somewhat shaded her youthful "bloom," Laura insists that her friend's "soft languor" actually "increased" her "beauty." In this, just as there is in that doubling of the number of "weltering" heroes, I note an element of competition: Austen's Laura, who is telling the story of her adventures in a series of letters to the daughter of an old friend, is ambitious to be seen by her reader as an expert in sensibility,[21] so in this case she offers to her reader's imagination a heroine who matches Radcliffe's—and surpasses her.

I would further argue that Austen's familiarity with Radcliffe's text is again on display in "Lesley Castle." Samuel Johnson and William Gilpin are generally credited as the primary sources of Austen's description of the Lesley family's ancestral home, with no mention of Radcliffe: Peter Sabor notes, for instance, that there are "many descriptions of isolated, rock-bound castles" in Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands* on which she could have drawn (Notes 446n. 11); and Pinion asserts that "Only from some of the arresting illustrations in" Gilpin's *Observations … on the High-lands of Scotland* (1789) "could Jane have imagined her amusing picture of Lesley Castle" (161).[22] Yet the specific details of Austen's description appear to have been drawn from the opening paragraph of *Athlin and Dunbayne*: "On the north east coast of Scotland, in the most romantic part of the Highlands, stood the Castle of Athlin; an

edifice built on the summit of a rock whose base was in the sea. This pile was venerable from its antiquity, and from its gothic structure" (1). Compare Margaret Lesley's description of her family's "old and Mouldering Castle, which is situated two miles from Perth on a bold Projecting Rock, and commands an extensive view of the Town" (144). Both descriptions specify location, elevation, age, and appearance, and the information is in all points the same: the castle is built on a high rock (high enough to have a "summit" in Radcliffe's case and to command "an extensive view" in Austen's); it is old; and its age makes it look "venerable" in Radcliffe's case, "Mouldering" in Austen's. The parody in this case, as others have noted, lies in Austen's relocating this rock from a remote and "romantic" coast overlooking the sea to a position inland overlooking populous Perth (Sabor, Notes 446n. 12). It lies also, I would add, in her succinct mockery of the entire gothic sensibility by downgrading Radcliffe's air of "venerable … antiquity" to one merely "old and Mouldering." Since opening paragraphs are particularly memorable, Austen may have confidently expected others in her reading network to have recognised traces of *Athlin and Dunbayne* in "Lesley Castle."

The pleasure that parody offers readers always depends on recognition, and it is hard to think of any passage in Austen that packs more of such pleasure into a few short lines than the recognition scene in "Love and Freindship." Although the object of scholarly attention before now, for the purposes of comparison I quote the passage at some length here:

> … our Attention was attracted by the Entrance of a coroneted Coach and 4 into the Inn-yard. A Gentleman considerably advanced in years, descended from it—. At his first Appearance my Sensibility was wonderfully affected and e'er I had gazed at him a 2d time, an instinctive Sympathy whispered to my Heart, that he was my Grandfather.
>
> Convinced that I could not be mistaken in my conjecture I instantly sprang from the Carriage I had just entered, and following the Venerable Stranger into the Room he had been shewn to, I threw myself on my knees before him and besought him to acknowledge me as his Grand-Child.—He started, and after having attentively examined my features, raised me from the Ground and throwing his Grand-fatherly arms around my Neck, exclaimed, "Acknowledge thee! Yes dear resemblance of my Laurina and my Laurina's Daughter, sweet image of my Claudia and my Claudia's Mother, I do acknowledge thee as the Daughter of the one and the Grandaughter of the other." While he was thus tenderly embracing me, Sophia astonished at my precipitate Departure, entered the Room in search of me.—No sooner had she caught the eye of the venerable Peer, than he exclaimed with every mark of Astonishment—"Another

> Grandaughter! Yes, yes, I see you are the Daughter of my Laurina's eldest Girl …. He folded her in his arms, and whilst they were tenderly embracing, the Door of the Apartment opened and a most beautifull Young Man appeared. On perceiving him Lord St Clair started and retreating back a few paces, with uplifted Hands, said, "Another Grand-child! What an unexpected Happiness is this! to discover in the space of 3 minutes, as many of my Descendants!" (120–21)

Within a few short sentences a fourth grandchild appears, an event that has Lord St Clair "looking fearfully towards the Door" lest any more arrive (121).

This scene is widely acknowledged as referencing two scenes in Fanny Burney's *Evelina*: the "passage … preceding the discovery scene, in which Sir John Belmont denies that Evelina is his child" (Sabor, Notes 437n. 70); and Evelina's second interview with her father, subsequent to the discovery scene (McMaster, *Jane Austen* 126). In the former, Belmont drily observes that he "has had the pleasure of discovering" more than enough children lately (403); the latter climaxes just as Austen's scene does with the words "Acknowledge thee …!—Yes …!" (416).[23] But just as one lord can discover multiple grandchildren, all with some family resemblance, so too can a reader discover multiple sources of a single recognition scene—and multiple literary ancestors for that one lord. For readers, if not for grandfathers, the more the merrier.

Others before me have already recognised several members of the clan. One, as I have noted, is the recognition scene in *Laura and Augustus*. But the family tree is a large one, and there are important recognition scenes in *Sir Charles Bentinck* and *Athlin and Dunbayne*, as well, that should catch the eye of the venerable Reader. The one in *Sir Charles Bentinck* is especially noteworthy for featuring the recognition of a grandfather rather than a parent. Moreover, this grandfather is, as in Austen, a nobleman; a coach figures prominently in the events leading up to the recognition scene; and in both texts, the grandchild who describes the scene in a letter written years after the event claims to have felt an instant affinity ("reverence" in Bromley; "Sympathy" in Austen) for a "venerable," though as yet unidentified, grandfather (Bromley, *Sir Charles Bentinck* 2.117; Austen, *Juvenilia* 120). None of these details can be found in the comparable scene in *Laura and Augustus*—or in *Evelina*.

Specific elements of the recognition scene in *Athlin and Dunbayne* are hard to find in "Love and Freindship," but as Pinion notes, the reunited families in both works boast aristocratic grandfathers with the same title (172). In Radcliffe's tale, the widowed Baroness Malcolm sees the "young Highland peasant" Alleyn (11) and swoons with shock, having recognised him by "his very air, his features," and "that strawberry [birthmark] on his arm" as her long-lost son Philip: no peasant after all but the true Baron Malcolm, brother of Laura, heir to the Castle Dunbayne, and eligible suitor to Mary, sister of the young Earl of Athlin (275). Previous to this moment, however, we have already come to know (thanks to a lengthy embedded

narrative) that the baroness's father, the grandfather of Alleyn/Philip and Laura, was a Swiss nobleman by the name of "the Marquis de St. Claire" (143). Thus, the scene in "Love and Freindship" where Lord St. Clair's family explodes unlooked-for into an extensive and complex network of relations is also a scene that explodes into an extensive and complex network of literary allusions; with the same dizzying rapidity, a legion of antecedents arises to demand *our* recognition just as Lord St Clair's descendants arrive to demand his. What else can we do in such a case but throw our Hands up and exclaim with the venerable Peer, "Acknowledge thee! Yes!"

The authors Austen imitated with such glee and such facility were, themselves, committed and (at least sometimes) creative imitators, and of this Austen was well aware: in *Northanger Abbey*, she refers to the "charming" works by Radcliffe and "all her imitators" (204). As M. H. Dunlop reminds us, "every text is … a network of codes, fragments, various strands existing in perhaps uneasy relationship to one another. Furthermore, any text is intertextually connected to networks of other texts in webs constituted of cultural codes, common borrowings, [and] repeated narrative lines" (251). Moreover, formula fiction—like the novels of sentiment that Hookham published in the 1780s—is an especially good source of "pleasurable recognition" (Dunlop 251), and Austen's juvenilia documents her discovery of this fact. Hannah Doherty Hudson observes "that the popular fiction of the 1790s and early 1800s seems to be unusually—perhaps uniquely—interconnected" and, more particularly, that "Minerva's authors," those charming imitators of Radcliffe, "were engaged in a deeply imitative and intertextual writing practice" (150, 161). I would argue that this description of the Minerva gothic applies equally well to the Hookham sentimental, and that, like the authors Hudson describes, Austen recognised imitation as "a rich and flexible *practice*" (Hudson 150, original emphasis).

We know that young Austen read fiction analytically, to master generic conventions; "Running through all her juvenilia is the young author's delight in her medium, her fascination with each genre and its conventions. How does a given genre *work*? she asks herself" (McMaster, *Jane Austen* 72). Dunlop's and Hudson's work suggests that the multiple examples of formula fiction the circulation libraries made available to readers played an essential role in Austen's process of answering that question. Jacobs argues, similarly, that these "libraries gave readers an unprecedented material basis for recognizing intertextual relationships, and for identifying generic conventions" (617).[24] Even though her amusement at certain genres and their conventions grew apace with her knowledge, in other words, her journey towards mastery may well have been propelled by formula fiction.

"I have made a list": Readers, Writers, and Paratexts

JANE AUSTEN, as Isobel Grundy observes, "was never in a position, even had she wished it, to work through the kind of subject-bibliography which Emma is always

drawing up; instead, she was dependent on titles which happened to come her way." Accordingly, she "picked her reading matter for herself from a wide range of rich and multiple traditions; but she knew no tradition systematically or comprehensively" (189, 190). This is an important insight that I would not wish to dispute.[25] Nor do I wish to dismiss the compelling evidence, presented in recent years by such scholars of the Minerva Press and other circulating libraries as Deborah Anne McLeod, Lee Erickson, and Jan Fergus, that the novels these libraries carried varied far more in quality, in content, and in originality than they have often been given credit for.[26] Nevertheless, I do suggest that the relative uniformity of the circulation-library novels of Austen's youth and their relative availability may have made it possible for her, if only for a brief (though significant) period in her development, to read formula fiction with a relatively systematic assiduity. I aim here to describe not the reading of a lifetime but only some of the reading of a particular period in Austen's life that roughly coincided with the writing of the juvenilia. But perhaps such a goal justifies asking whether the teenaged Jane Austen, who clearly recognised the complexity of the network of affiliations that existed between the various novels that currently filled the shelves of circulation libraries and publishers' advertisements, felt quite the same about lists like Emma's as adult Jane Austen indubitably did. The numbers of such novels were being added to constantly at a rapidly increasing rate; as Hudson notes, "Literary overwhelm necessitates categorisation and systems of selection" (150).

There can be little question that the process by which a teenage girl might select her reading material—or might be influenced in the selection of her reading material—is a subject Austen takes up in *Northanger Abbey*. On one reading, this novel dramatises the practical value of some sort of systematic approach to a large and fast-growing body of work. If *Northanger Abbey* (composed between 1798 and 1799, revised 1803 [Sutherland, "Chronology" 21]) explores the pleasures and perils of a steady diet of gothic romances, it also explores the ways in which a teenage girl's programme of reading might be shaped and influenced: seventeen-year-old Catherine Morland's passion for novels in the style of Ann Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) is supported and nurtured, not by reviewers, but by networks of readers, and these networks are, in part, supported by the circulation libraries. Moreover, in an informal practice analogous to the circulation libraries' catalogues and other paratexts, these networks of readers are, in part, supported by the study and exchange of such simple and practical paratexts as the homemade list of recommended titles.[27]

When Isabella Thorpe offers Catherine Morland such a list, she does so in a conversation that depicts the use to which a list of suggested readings—whether personally compiled or obtained from a knowledgeable stranger—may be put:

> " … when you have finished Udolpho, we will read the Italian together; and I have made out a list of ten or twelve more of the same kind for you."
>
> "Have you, indeed! How glad I am! — What are they all?"

> "I will read you their names directly; here they are, in my pocket-book. Castle of Wolfenbach, Clermont, Mysterious Warnings, Necromancer of the Black Forest, Midnight Bell, Orphan of the Rhine, and Horrid Mysteries. Those will last us some time."
>
> "Yes, pretty well; but are they all horrid, are you sure they are all horrid?"
>
> "Yes, quite sure; for a particular friend of mine, a Miss Andrews, … has read every one of them." (*NA* 33)

Catherine welcomes the offered list, as well she might: a single *General Prospectus* published in 1798 by the Minerva Press lists thirty-four titles as having been "This Season Published" by just this one publisher, and many of these titles are suitably gothic.[28] Faced with such abundance of riches, a reader could use some assistance.

Although on the morning of this conversation Catherine has been reading *Udolpho* alone just prior to meeting Isabella, the narrator informs us that the two friends have, on occasion, "shut themselves up, to read novels together" (30). We know by this point, then, that they have already established a collaborative approach to reading. This, and the fact that they are in Bath, which at the time of writing had multiple lending libraries,[29] is the context for the conversation: a context that explains why Catherine evinces no surprise at the list's existence, its second-hand origin, or its practical use-value. That is, she expresses no concern about the titles' availability, even though Isabella never claims that either she or Miss Andrews actually owns any of the seven titles that her "particular friend" has endorsed. Catherine only seeks assurance that they are all as "horrid" as advertised.

Some skepticism is clearly justified, given Isabella's tendency to overpromise and underdeliver. Catherine has not yet suspected this aspect of her new friend's character, but given a similar tendency among publishers her question is a reasonable one.[30] Instead of reading reviews or prospectuses, Catherine relies on a friend's recommendations, and Austen shows this to be a sensible strategy: even a non-expert reader of *Northanger Abbey* in 1798 or 1799 might have been expected to recognise that the list Miss Andrews has given to Isabella is in fact legitimate. The titles tick all the boxes: all but one announce their common genre, promising some combination of castle, forest, foreign setting, darkness, mystery, black magic, and horror. Even *Clermont* (Minerva, 1798) has a promisingly foreign ring to it, and it would have been recognised by aficionados as the second novel by the immensely popular Regina Maria Roche, author of the bestselling *Children of the Abbey* (Minerva, 1796).[31] Yet more promising is the fact that, as we have seen, six out of the seven were published by the Minerva Press. By the late 1790s Minerva was the largest publisher of circulation-library fiction in England, the largest provider of circulation libraries, and the largest purveyor of works aimed at young ladies and written (or advertised as having been written) in the Radcliffean style. By 1802 "the Minerva Library Catalogue listed nearly

17,000 titles" (McLeod 24), and Minerva had captured "fully one-third of the market for novels" (Hudson 151).

For a reader of such works, moreover, Miss Andrews demonstrates some discernment. Three of the titles on her list are by authors listed among Minerva's ten "particular and favorite Authors" in the 1798 *Prospectus*, and all seven have qualities to commend them.[32] *Horrid Mysteries* (1796) and *The Midnight Bell* are each outliers in different ways: the former features unusually "luscious and detailed" love scenes (Sadleir 19), and the latter is not published by Minerva. Still, *Horrid Mysteries* keeps Roche and Parsons company within the pages of Minerva's 1798 *Prospectus*: it is one of the thirty-four works listed (however misleadingly) as "This Season Published" (311) and given thereby the cachet of currency.[33] Reputation within Austen's own network as well as reputation with the general readership helps account for her inclusion of Lathom's *Midnight Bell*: a title that her father is known to have "Got from the library," read and, presumably, enjoyed (Austen, *Letters* 24 October 1798). We may suspect that Austen, no fan herself of "luscious and detailed" love scenes,[34] would not recommend every one of these seven titles to members of her own reading circle, but she would have had good reason, in all seven cases, for selecting them as titles that a Miss Andrews would single out for reading, discussing, and recommending in 1798 or 1799. All in all, Catherine has been given a list that, if acted upon, might lead her in time to suspect that her own moral standards are higher than those of Isabella and her friends (something she is soon to discover in any case). But it is also a list that should satisfy her hopes otherwise, both for "horrid" content and for authorial competence.

In *Northanger Abbey*, then, Austen suggests that strategic reading requires paying attention to a book's reputation, especially among members of one's social network; paying attention to a publisher's reputation; and paying attention to supplementary material where available, such as library catalogues, prospectuses, and other lists of suggested readings. On the basis of such aids, it appears, reasonable decisions can be made.

"an interesting and well written Tale": Infomercials in Austen's Juvenilia

IF LATE eighteenth-century readers found lists like Isabella's to be useful, so too, we may safely assume, did the authors and publishers whose books appeared on them. Authors' reputations could benefit from association with other authors on such lists, and so could sales. Lane may have been the best at promoting his business among the circulation-library publishers at the time,[35] but others used similar marketing strategies, as we have already seen in the case of Hookham's edition of *Athlin and Dunbayne*.

Unlike Hookham, Austen was not seeking subscribers; nor was she interested in promoting works written by others. So it is not surprising that the juvenilia offer little evidence that Austen paid attention to the rhetoric of such paratexts as Hookham's "Advertisement" for his circulating library, also included inside the covers of both *Athlin and Dunbayne* and *Sir Charles Bentinck*.[36] The three collected volumes of her juvenilia do, however, demonstrate her knowledge of many of the same strategies for promoting works, soliciting readers, and encouraging networks of readers with common interests that we find in the list of "Books Printed" and similar paratexts of the time. These include providing lengthy, descriptive titles that signal a work's generic affiliations and promise certain satisfactions to the reader; quoting positive reviews; and establishing an author's credibility and status by quoting from a work's dedication.

The lengthy, descriptive title is not specific to the circulation-library novel or to publishers' lists and catalogues but is rather a characteristic of contemporary novels in general, so it is no surprise that so many of the titles Austen gives to her juvenilia seem cut from the same cloth as those found in Hookham's list. "Love and Freindship; a novel in a series of Letters" follows many of the same conventions that Hookham follows in "5. Twin Sisters; or Effects of Education. A Novel, in a Series of Letters; by a Lady. 4 vols. 12 s. sewed" (a1^{r}, see Fig. 1). From each of these titles we know that the novel is epistolary and quite probably sentimental. From such a description as Hookham's "8. History of Henrietta Mortimer, or the Force of Filial Affection, a Novel; by a Lady. 2 vols. 5s. sewed" (a1^{v}), potential readers may even hazard a guess as to the moral tendencies of the books described. There is no need whatsoever to guess in the case of this parodic paratext of Austen's: "The Generous Curate[:] a moral Tale, setting forth the advantages of being Generous and a Curate" (*Juvenilia* 94).

Paratexts that in this way comically conflate the descriptive function of a title with the summary assessment of a review appear regularly throughout the juvenilia. Consider the full paratext of "Mr Harley":

> The adventures of Mr Harley
>
> a short, but interesting Tale, is with all imaginable Respect inscribed to Mr Francis William Austen Midshipman on board his Majestys Ship the Perseverance by his Obedient Servant
>
> The Author. (*Juvenilia* 46)

Here, in one concise sentence, Austen moves without a pause from informative description ("adventures"), to self-written review ("interesting"), to dedication. The paratext for "Amelia Webster" is structured in precisely the same way:

Amelia Webster.

an interesting and well written Tale
is dedicated by Permission
to
Mrs Austen
by
Her Humble Servant
The Author. (*Juvenilia* 57)

These two, because of their hybrid nature, are not texts we would be likely to find on the title page of any published volume Austen might be reading at the time, but they do, in their concision and in the particular elements combined, recall such entries as we find in Hookham's "Books Printed." In fact, Austen's language closely echoes that of the reviews extracted in that list, such as the *Monthly Review*'s description of the second item:

> 2. The Exiles; or Memoirs of the Count de Cronstadt, By Clara Reeve, Author of the Old English Baron; Two Mentors; and the Progress of Romance. 3 vols. 9s. sewed.
>
> "An interesting well conducted story …."
>
> The Monthly Review. (a1^{r}, see Fig. 1)

If *The Exiles* can be described as "An interesting well conducted story," then "Amelia Webster" can be described as "an interesting and well written tale." By including such commentary herself, however, Austen pokes sly fun at any pretensions to informative objectivity that such a list as Hookham's might have;[37] at the same time she proleptically describes her work in just the way that an author would expect to see in her publisher's marketing materials.

Information about an author's previous publications is sometimes part of a publisher's description of a work, especially when the author's name is withheld, but this too blurs the line between information and promotion. In the case of *Sir Charles Bentinck*, "By the Author of Laura and Agustus [*sic*]" stands in metonymically for the author's name in both Hookham's "Books Printed" list and on the book's title page itself. Similarly, readers of Radcliffe's second novel, *A Sicilian Romance* (Hookham, 1790), found the words "By the Authoress of The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne" on the title page. But where the author's name is given, as in the case of Hookham's description of *The Exiles*, quoted above, the description of Clara Reeve as "Author of the Old English Baron; Two Mentors; and the Progress of Romance" must be considered advertising.

Austen's conflation of title, review, and dedication in so many of her paratexts is fully justified by such entries in Hookham's list as this one:

> 6. (Dedicated, with permission, to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales)—an Epitome of the History of Europe, from the Reign of Charlemagne, to the Beginning of the Reign of George the Third; by Sir William O'Dogherty, Knt. 6s. boards.
>
> "The above work appears by no means destitute of merit …."
>
> English Review. ("Books Printed" a1^{v})

Here the dedication functions as an advertisement for the book, one aimed at readers whose decisions are influenced by their own and their authors' networks and affiliations; in this case the publisher must expect to increase sales (or circulation-library subscriptions) by documenting the author's affiliation with the Prince of Wales. In the juvenilia, Austen's carefully chosen dedications identify people whom we can, by and large, assume to have been interested readers of the works the author honours them with; they are "wittily tailored to the dedicatee" (Sabor, "Brotherly" 45). Yet as Austen's later history would demonstrate, dedications do not always mark such relationships, especially in published works where they are investments of the author's labour and the publisher's paper and ink that are expected to bring reasonable returns. In the case of *Emma*, the Prince Regent supplied Austen and her publisher "with advertising that did," in Margaret Anne Doody's assessment, "have its effect on reviewers and readership" (89). Quoting a dedication in paratexts other than the title page, such as catalogues, prospectuses, and "Books Printed" lists, increases such an effect.

The teenaged Austen could not have known about *Emma*, but she understood enough about dedications to expose the puffery behind the genre's veneer of grateful humility in her dedication to her sister of "Catharine, or the Bower":

> To Miss Austen
>
> Madam,
>
> Encouraged by your warm patronage of The beautiful Cassandra, and The History of England, which through your generous support have obtained a place in every library in the Kingdom, and run through threescore Editions, I take the liberty of begging the same Exertions in favour of the following Novel, which I humbly flatter myself, possesses Merit beyond any already published, or any that will ever in future appear, except such as may proceed from the pen of Your Most Grateful Humble Serv^{t},
>
> The Author (*Juvenilia* 241)

Here Austen conflates the rhetoric of the publisher's description (in this case, its identification of the author's previous works) and the periodical's review ("possesses Merit beyond any already published") with that of the author's humble dedication ("Your Most Grateful Humble Serv[t]"). In doing so she makes the implicit explicit, exposing the "Humble" dedication as a thinly disguised boast.

That the purpose of such puffery is to make money for the publisher or to obtain financial support from a patron either directly or indirectly (i.e., by advertising his support to potential readers) is, then, something that Austen fully understood, even though she leaves it to her brother Henry to make this understanding explicit in his response to her dedication to "Lesley Castle." "I am now availing myself of the Liberty you have frequently honoured me with," she writes, "of dedicating one of my Novels to you," and she signs herself "your obliged humble Servant, The Author." Directly beneath this, her banker brother has added the following instruction: "Messrs Demand and Co—please to pay Jane Austen Spinster the sum of one hundred guineas on account of your hum[bl] Servant, H T Austen" (*Juvenilia* 142).This particular exchange between Austen and her brother does, like the other dedications in her juvenilia, genuinely honour a significant relationship, but it also problematises the relationship between an author and her audience by testing the boundary between writing to please and writing for profit. By naming his fictional banking house "Messrs Demand and Co," Henry Austen maintains the fiction that it is someone other than the author who is making a "Demand" for money; at the same time, by introducing such language as "Demand" and "pay" onto the page, he points up how small the distance is between the exchange of status and gratitude that a dedication performs and a straightforward business transaction's exchange of cash. His sister, with her demonstrated awareness of the function of the conventional dedication, surely shared this perspective.[38]

"my unhappy Story": Publication, Aspiration, Circulation

WHETHER a dedication constructs its dedicatee primarily as reader or primarily as patron, in either case it foregrounds the role of the intermediary: the sponsor, dedicatee, or publisher who can play a critical role in bringing author and audience together and who could, in Austen's day, play a critical role in determining whether or not a "young Lady" became an "Author." Austen's parody in "Love and Freindship" of the epistolary novel of sentiment—and of those who write them—results in her creating such an intermediary figure in the person of Laura's old friend Isabel. Laura puts pen to paper because, just as a publisher might do, Isabel determines that Laura has a story worth telling and then solicits the as-yet-unwritten manuscript on behalf of a potential consumer: "How often, in answer to my repeated intreaties that you would give my Daughter a regular detail of the Misfortunes and Adventures of your Life, have you said 'No, my freind never will I comply with your

request till I may be no longer in Danger of again experiencing such dreadful ones.'" But Laura is too old now for adventures, so Isabel urges her: "Surely that time is now at hand." In response, Laura promises in "LETTER 2D" that, "to avoid the imputation of Obstinacy or ill-nature," she "will gratify the curiosity" of Isabel's daughter Marianne by recounting "the many Afflictions of" her "past Life" as a "useful Lesson." In "LETTER 3D" Laura promptly addresses Marianne as "the Daughter of my most intimate friend," credits Isabel's role as the one who "has so often solicited" her "unhappy Story," and then immediately begins her narrative: "My Father was a native of Ireland" (*Juvenilia* 103–04). These are the circumstances that have led Laura to write letters that neither recount current events nor connect with an intimate friend but instead present a carefully constructed tale to a reader with whom Laura has no personal relationship.

It is as a direct result of Isabel's solicitations, and under her aegis, that Laura immediately begins to plan her story: it will be, she determines, an "unhappy" one that teaches "a useful Lesson" about "fortitude." Having made her plan, she then puts it into action immediately, launching directly into her narrative in the approved manner. Whereas Isabel refers to "intreaties," Laura claims to have been "solicited" to write, using a term equally at home in the discourses of business and friendship. From the start, then, even though none of the three principals mentions money, Laura does her untutored best to imitate a professional.

I do not, however, mean to claim that Laura's authorial self-fashioning only begins with Isabel's "intreaties." Rather, I suggest, it began with her reading: with her voracious consumption of the sentimental fiction that she now imitates. "Love and Freindship," as Olivia Murphy argues, "is essentially a first-person narration masquerading as an epistolary novel" (34). Moreover, because of the time that has passed between the events Laura recounts and the letters in which she writes down her story, Austen makes it impossible for us to know how much of what we read is evidence of Laura trying to *act* like a sentimental heroine and how much is evidence of Laura trying to *write* like a sentimental novelist. Where it is this easy for a reader to turn writer, Austen suggests, the difference can be difficult to discern.

It would have been quite reasonable for Austen to see the readers of circulation-library novels as particularly prone to authorial ambition, because the publishers of these works, hungry for inexpensive manuscripts to feed the ever-growing demand, encouraged such ambitions. As Jacobs has shown, "fledgling publishers who wanted to get in on this burgeoning enterprise could not compete in terms of money, author prestige, or business connections with the established publishers"; therefore these "new publishers … needed to discover and exploit new authors who would work for cheap" (612). Lane's efforts in this regard have been relatively well documented, despite the ephemeral nature of much advertising, and some of these records predate "Love and Freindship." For instance, "in 1784 he was advertising for 'several Novels in Manuscript for publishing the ensuing Season'" (Blakey 9). Lane even made a practice of publishing novels that contained positive representations of him as

publisher, including one, *The Follies of St. James's Street* (1789), in which "a minor character with pretensions to authorship" who experiences "difficulties … placing her second novel" praises her treatment at his hands; this woman author assures the reader "'that young and timid adventurers for fame may be encouraged to present the offsprings of their genius, to Lane's Literary Repository, [where] it is but justice to say, the proprietor is both free, generous and encouraging'" (qtd. in Blakey 70–71). As Blakey notes, this "portrait of Lane … suggests that a definite part of his policy was to attract young and timid writers, who would be flattered to part with their manuscripts at any price" (71).

It is far from impossible for Austen to have encountered one or more of such solicitations. Even had she not, however, it remains the case that, as Jacobs points out, "because proprietors constructed circulating libraries as social sites, the libraries allowed reading patrons and other prospective authors an unusually direct and familiar access to the publishing business. Circulating-library publishers also had a unique ability more or less to guarantee 'circulation' for the books they published, even if they were by novices, and this ability would presumably have attracted prospective authors" (616). And many of these authorial hopefuls were indeed women—something that must have been obvious to anyone skimming a circulation-library shelf, a catalogue, a prospectus, or a "Books Printed" list.

There was some basis in fact, then, for such negative appraisals of contemporary novels and novelists as Hannah More's: "such is the frightful facility of this species of composition that every raw girl while she reads, is tempted to fancy that she can also write …. Capacity and cultivation are so little taken into the account, that writing a book seems to be now considered as the only sure resource which the idle and illiterate have always in their power" (1.170–72). We know that Austen was not one to lump all novels and all novelists together without distinction as More does; nevertheless, "Love and Freindship" suggests that, years before More published this comment in 1799, Austen may have entertained similar suspicions about some readers-turned-writers and about those who, conflating the roles of publisher and confidante, "tempted" readers to "fancy" themselves authors, tempted consumers to imagine themselves producers on a par with professionals.

From the outset, in "Love and Freindship," Austen represents Laura, Edward, and others of their generation as unduly confident in their ability to tell a good story and in their right to expect rewards for having done so. In "LETTER 3D" Edward concludes the story of his life and asks immediately, "and now my Adorable Laura … when may I hope to receive that reward of all the painfull sufferings I have undergone during the course of my Attachment to you … ?" (*Juvenilia* 109). Since he has only just arrived at Laura's home, and since he has spent virtually the entire time since that moment in narrating his story, the "course" of his "Attachment" must have paralleled the course of his narrative; therefore, the only pain he has undergone must consist in the labour of telling his story. Now he "hope[s] to receive" a "reward" for it. Similarly, Philander and Gustavus understand their arrival at the inn as an opportunity to

exchange a story for reward: "we agreed to endeavour to get something from him by discovering the Relationship," they tell Laura; "You know how well it succeeded—" (139). Laura and Sophia, as well, expect and obtain material reward when they write "a very elegant and well-penned Note" to Sophia's relative Macdonald, "containing an Account of our Destitute and melancholy Situation" (119). We know how well it succeeded: Macdonald buys their story. Their first reward is free accommodations; their second is access (albeit unintentionally provided) to the cash in Macdonald's "private Drawer" (*Juvenilia* 125). This is the culture of equating narrative with money that helps explain why, when Laura next sees Gustavus and Philander, they expect her to "call them to account for the money which … they had unjustly deprived" her of back at the inn, "but find instead that she "mentioned nothing of the matter." She is there to exchange stories. "Accordingly," Laura reports, "we feasted ourselves … by a confidential Conversation" (137). As McMaster notes, it appears here that "Laura actually lives off people's lives and adventures"; her appetite for "personal narratives is insatiable" (130). Nonetheless, this craving notwithstanding, it is quite out of character for Laura to ignore an opportunity to line her pockets—unless we consider that, within this circle of like-minded relatives, stories are scrips. They are substitutes for legal tender.

To such instances of successful and satisfactory exchange, however, Austen opposes the disappointing results of Laura's final performance. When she encounters her various friends and connections on that coach from Edinburgh to Sterling, as she explains to Marianne, "in civility I complied with" Augusta's "and Sir Edward's intreaties that I would inform them of the whole melancholy Affair." Nor is she forced to limit herself to an abstract or brief chronicle of her time as Edward's wife and widow, for her in-laws' entreaties are followed immediately by those of her friend: "at the request of your Mother I related to them every other misfortune which had befallen me since we parted" (*Juvenilia* 134–35). What follows soon afterwards is money: "Sir Edward told me that as the Widow of his Son, he desired I would accept from his Hands of four Hundred a year" (140). But Laura could be better pleased. She complains, "I graciously promised that I would, but could not help observing that the unsimpathetic Baronet offered it more on account of my being the Widow of Edward than in being the refined and Amiable Laura" (140). Even worse, her old friend Isabel "pretended to find fault with my Behavior in many of the situations in which I had been placed" (135). Laura has just been handed the perfect opportunity to tell a story that will convince her captive audience of her "refined and Amiable" character, but it proves a failure with the critics. In this context we may recall Isabel's statement in "LETTER THE FIRST" that, "in answer to my repeated intreaties that you would give my Daughter a regular detail of the Misfortunes and Adventures of your Life," Laura has "often" said, "'No, my friend never will I comply with your request till I may be no longer in Danger of again experiencing such dreadful ones" (*Juvenilia* 103). Laura's representation of her disappointment in the coach suggests that

a poor review by an unsympathetic audience has a place on her list of dreadful Misfortunes.

On this reading, then, Laura is a quixote who aspires not only to imitate the heroines of the novels she reads but also to imitate their authors and thereby gain the ranks of young ladies who write.[39] We might think that teenaged Austen, her eyes firmly fixed on the goal of professional publication, would depict such a one more sympathetically, but here too a comparison of her juvenile paratexts with those found in Hookham's "Books Printed" list may be helpful. When Austen finally achieved her first publication, *Sense and Sensibility* bore the words "By a lady" on the title page. It was only on the title page of her second novel, *Pride and Prejudice*, that she was promoted from "lady" to "author," with the words "By the author of *Sense and Sensibility*." We can infer the significance of this difference from a quick review of the attributions in "Books Printed": Of the fifty-four items listed, nine (seventeen percent of the total) are represented as having been written "by a Lady."[40] Only four—fewer than half this number—identify their anonymous creators as "authors" of previously published works. (One of these, as we have seen, is *Sir Charles Bentinck*). In relative terms, then, Hookham's "Authors" are a select few. Yet not once, in any of her juvenilia, does Austen identify her early pieces as having been authored "by a Lady" or "by a Young Lady." This is a noteworthy departure from her practice of closely imitating the rhetoric of such paratexts as Hookham's, and it strongly suggests that, although Austen was deeply interested in the process by which one progresses from being "a young Lady" who writes to being an "Author" who has already written, in all of her juvenilia she has already chosen to make that move proleptically and to absolutely eschew the merely aspirational term. To put it another way, Austen was writing her juvenilia in a time when the marketplace was becoming increasingly crowded by *young ladies* with stories to offer. Austen chose, from the start, not to travel in such a crowd.

Austen has Laura introduce the final episode of "Love and Freindship," in which she finds herself on a coach "surrounded by" her "nearest Relations and connections" (*Juvenilia* 134), with the adjective "illiterate." Before Laura can test her father-in-law's appreciation of her "unhappy tale" or even learn who he is, she deems him "an illiterate villain" simply because he snores (*Juvenilia* 134, 133). Of course the epithet marks her as absurdly judgemental, but it also serves to remind us of the central role reading practices play in shaping Laura's social network. Moreover, it signals that Laura's central purpose in writing this final letter is to demonstrate her own superior literacy, for the rest of this lengthy episode documents the importance of narrative to Laura and the literacy levels (judged by their familiarity with and respect for the "refined and Amiable" conventions of sentiment) of each occupant of the coach. By terming the baronet "illiterate" she evokes the earlier accusation he levied on his son: "'You have been studying Novels I suspect'" (*Juvenilia* 108). We may infer that, if the baronet had only read more of the right sort of book, he would not show such "total Want of delicate refinement" (*Juvenilia* 140): he would know, as the (presumably)

snore-free Laura does, how to behave and would make an acceptable companion. So determined is she to cast him in this light that her complaint of his failure to appreciate "the refined and Amiable Laura" quite overshadows the fact, which she but grudgingly acknowledges, of his having been "touched with Sorrow, by the unhappy tale" of his son's death (*Juvenilia* 134).

Her treatment of the baronet throughout this episode thus reveals how, "As the narrator of 'Love and Freindship,' Laura actively *character*-ises those she meets: that is, she turns them into characters in this story she is constructing, however improbably they answer her wants" (Murphy 38). In this case, Laura wants the baronet to be illiterate. I would add, moreover, that Laura's reading of formula fiction has, just as Dunlop describes, facilitated a way of reading—and of writing—by which characters can be "experienced … not as personal but as textual, as narrative devices propelling and propelled by formula" (254). This is why, when Laura is not treating her coach companions as audiences, she treats them as little more than potential embedded narratives or traveling subplots. As stories to be consumed they are also material for her to organise and manipulate; in this way they serve her efforts to dazzle the reader with her ability to knit up a plot.

From Laura's perspective, then, the coach episode is the culminating performance of her mastery of narrative convention. Laura-the-author offers Marianne a *second* recognition scene here: when Laura's remembered—or constructed—younger self enters the coach in the middle of the night, she misrecognises its occupants as strangers and is misrecognised similarly by them, only for everyone to properly recognise one another in the morning as relations, in-laws, and other connections. It is a coincidence that her reader cannot have expected and yet one that the writer is able to entirely explain. Moreover, the reunion provides opportunity for a fairly impressive number of embedded narratives. From one perspective, it really is a tour de force.

But from Austen's perspective, Laura's performance of authorial competence is also a demonstration of the strengths and the limitations of the vehicle she chooses for her narrative. For those on board, the journey offers new material enough to keep travellers interested along the way; there is considerable satisfaction in recognising so many familiar reminders of earlier experiences and in making new connections between the familiar elements that have here been creatively, if implausibly, brought together. Yet Laura thinks herself a better storyteller than she is, and at the end of the day, her coach starts to resemble such circulation-library novels as *Laura and Augustus* and *Sir Charles Bentinck*. It is too crammed with the familiar to be comfortable to any but the relatively "illiterate": although the characters within it offer plenty of stories, replete with incident, and although the territory it covers is by no means to be despised, the vehicle these elements propel continues to circulate but never goes anywhere new. Here, then, as she has done throughout "Love and Freindship," Austen the already-Author exposes the folly of cramming one's entire network of

associations into a single narrative vehicle with only one possible route and expecting to be both paid and praised for it.

Ann Radcliffe opens her first novel, published anonymously by T. Hookham in 1789, with a description of the castle of Athlin: she terms this edifice a "gothic structure," and it would not be wrong to describe the plot of *Athlin and Dunbayne* in similar terms. In *Northanger Abbey*, written about ten year later, Austen acknowledges Radcliffe as the preeminent author of gothic novels and the Minerva Press as their leading publisher. However, *Athlin and Dunbayne* can also be listed alongside such sentimental novels as Eliza Nugent Bromley's *Laura and Augustus* and *Sir Charles Bentinck*: works that were published anonymously by T. Hookham, that contained gothic elements, and that were advertised within the pages of *Athlin and Dunbayne* in Hookham's list of "Books Printed." All three novels are targets of Austen's expert parody of the "lachrymose" genre in "Love and Freindship," and the promotional rhetoric we find in lists such as Hookham's are targets in her youthful dedications; it is clear that Austen read all three novels, that she appreciated the textual networks that connected them, and that she paid attention to the means by which a publisher might promote them.

Taken together, these texts and paratexts strongly suggest that the teenaged Austen could be at times a deliberate and strategic reader. Committed to mastering generic conventions, she appreciated the practical use of lists like the one found in Hookham's "Books Printed" and seems to have made good use of them, even as she parodied their rhetoric in her own titles and dedications. She also appreciated the pleasurable recognition of the familiar enjoyed by readers of circulation-library publisher's formulaic fiction, yet she was skeptical about certain aspects of the reading and writing networks that such publishers' marketing strategies were designed to produce.[41] Moreover, she was aware of the implicit encouragement to write imitative "lachrymose novels" that such publishers extended to their readers, yet she resisted the invitation. Even as she fashioned in "Love and Freindship" a portrait of the sort of quixotic "Young Lady" who sets out on the road of literary imitation and ends up both disappointing and disappointed, young Jane Austen was proleptically fashioning herself as quite a different kind of "Author."

Notes

[1] Although the Austens' lack of shame may have been noteworthy, their reading habits were not unusual among their class. Two of the Austens' neighbours (Mrs. Bramston and Mrs. Lefroy) owned copies of Radcliffe novels (Benedict and Le Faye xxxvi). Neither was George Austen unusual as a man for reading novels; Fergus finds, in two sets of records studied, "no evidence of a largely female reading public for fiction in the provinces" (*Provincial* 15). See also Fergus, "Eighteenth-Century" 169, 189–90; Fergus, *Provincial* 6; Fergus and Ruth Portner 157.

[2] Jane Austen's omission of *Evelina* can also be ascribed to the fact that it is epistolary; the three novels she praises are all written in the third person (Fergus, *Jane Austen* 81). It is also significant that all three of these titles "were, in fact, published without the subtitle 'A Novel.'" In citing them as part of her defense of novels, Austen is "both praising and prodding Burney and Edgeworth" in that she "relabels *Cecilia, Camilla*, and *Belinda* as novels, in effect daring their authors to acknowledge them as such" (Looser par. 23–24).

[3] "Lowndes ran one of the earliest and most successful London circulating libraries, and was also a major publisher" (Jacobs 605). *Cecilia* was published by T. Payne and T. Cadell, who had published Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, works by William Blackstone, and several by Samuel Johnson; *Camilla* was published by subscription; *Belinda* was published by Joseph Johnson, who also published works by Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Thomas Malthus, Erasmus Darwin, and Joseph Priestley. Jane Austen "may have been their first female novelist" for both of her eventual publishers, Thomas Egerton and John Murray (Sutherland, "Jane" 105). Cadell and Davies, who rejected *First Impressions* "sight unseen" in 1797, "were quality publishers of religious books, poetry, history, belletristic titles, and some fiction (including Frances Burney's recent success *Camilla*)"; by contrast, Crosby, who purchased *Susan* in 1603 but did not publish it, "was populist with a sizeable novel list" (Sutherland, "Jane" 10).

[4] There is a long critical tradition of contempt for Minerva Press fiction. The "*Critical Review* called Minerva works 'wretched productions,' 'buzzing insects,' and 'the vilest trash'" in 1791, 1788, and 1786 (McLeod 2). In this essay I often use the term "fiction" or "novel" rather than attempting in every case to distinguish between novels and romances, in part because of the difficulty of classification (see McLeod 60–79) and in part because authors of popular fiction in the late eighteenth century often themselves preferred to describe their works as novels or tales (McLeod 54).

[5] As Gillian Dow and Katie Halsey point out, "Jane Austen got hold of books in many different ways—reading them in her father's library at Steventon and her brother's Godmersham library, borrowing from circulating libraries in Bath and Southampton, joining the Chawton Reading Society, and borrowing the latest publications from her publisher—but she rarely bought books" (par. 10). Much scholarly work has already been done on the question of just which books she did read, and that list, while inevitably incomplete, is today extensive. See Dow and Halsey, Halsey, Isobel Grundy, Jocelyn Harris, Jane Stabler, and Mary Waldron, among others.

[6] Lane started out as a printer and then began publishing books and operating a circulation library, businesses which were both well established before 1790. In the 1780s he published a wide range of genres (see, e.g., Lines), but although Blakey asserts that "after 1790 … he published practically nothing but" novels and romances (26), McLeod finds "a previously unappreciated diversity" of "sub-genre" in Minerva's publications after 1790 as well (3).

[7] Even after the ascendance of Lane's Minerva Press, Hookham remained a major player for some years.

[8] No year of publication is given on the title page, but "History of Sir Charles Bentinck and Louisa Cavendish, 3 vols, 9s" is listed among newly published "Novels, Romances, &c." in the May 1789 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling provide evidence for a publication date of "a few days" after 20 Dec. 1788 and therefore, quite sensibly, include the novel among those published in 1788 (1788:45). However, it seems possible that those hoped-for "few days" after 20 Dec. 1788 stretched into the new year (446).

[9] Other sentimental novels that have been identified as significant sources of "Love and Freindship" include Frances Brooke's *The History of Emily Montague* (McMaster 152–57) and Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline, or the Orphan of the Castle* (1788) (Byrne 77).

[10] "What these popular authors [whom Austen was parodying in her juvenilia] turned out was, essentially," states Mudrick, "so fixed and identifiable a blend of Richardson, Sterne, and the picaresque and moralistic elements of Fielding and Smollett, that it should be given a new name: perhaps the lachrymose novel, compounded of sentiment, morality, manners, instruction, sensibility, and adventure" (3–4).

[11] Nor does Austen recall plot only, as McMaster notes: "When Laura refuses to part with Augustus, her father summarily dismisses her: 'Take yourself off with your beggar's brat, and see if love will support you: you will find it, Madam heroine, I fancy damned slender diet' (II 149). This was no doubt the source for the exchange between Edward and his sister in 'Love and Freindship' when he scorns 'the mean and indelicate employment of Eating and Drinking,' and she responds drily that it's still the most effective support she knows of'" (150). On the accuracy of Henry Austen's praise of Austen's memory, see, among others, Harris (ix–xi).

[12] If, as seems at least possible, the name of *Lady Susan*'s hero Reginald de Courcy comes from Anna Maria Bennett's popular Minerva novel *Agnes de-Courcie*, published 1789, then we may have yet another instance of Austen's excellent memory. However, it is also possible that she was reminded of the 1789 volume when Bennett's *Ellen, Countess of Castle Howel* was released in 1794. Bennett was one of Minerva's most popular authors, and *Agnes de-Courcie* was translated into French (Blakey 53) some time before receiving a second edition in 1797, so there is good reason to believe that the novel was not forgotten by readers in the years between its first and second edition.

[13] Hookham's business model shares similarities with William Lane's, though much more is known of the latter. "The advertising," says Deborah Anne McLeod of Lane, "may have influenced people to read" the "novels, but it can hardly have been effective in persuading them to buy. The majority of his books did not go into the hands of private owners, but into the circulating libraries. … They were expensive; few were from the pens of distinguished authors; and fewer still were likely to be of any permanent value" (111). If the Austen family belonged to a book club in 1785, it is not completely impossible for that club to have made *Laura and Augustus* one of its selections, in which case they may have become the lucky custodians of this collectively-purchased book once all club members had had their turn. However, the only specific title chosen by a book club that Jane Austen mentions reading—albeit in 1813—is the much more respectable "Capt. Pasley's essay on the Military Police of the British Empire*" (Letters* 24 Jan. 1813).

[14] Before 1800 the standard "practice in the matter of binding" of those circulation-library novels advertised as "sewed" was to issue them "in sheets, or with a plain paper wrapper, usually entirely unstiffened" (Blakey 95, 94). This is why copies of such novels today "are extremely rare" (McLeod 85). Scholars of circulating libraries regularly refer to the problem of investigating catalogues that contain "titles of which no extant copies are now known" (McLeod 605). Edward Jacobs and Antonia Forster's research "suggests that *ESTC* and *NUC* together miss about eight percent of the works of fiction that were actually published in Britain during the eighteenth century" (267).

[15] The material fragility of these books and the subsequent loss of many of them to posterity may perhaps remind us that it is a mistake to assume that an obscure title of a book of which very few copies are today extant necessarily points to small readership or ill repute among contemporary readers.

[16] Lane also published lists of recent publications in Minerva novels, but these were printed on the fly-leaves at the back (Blakey 101–02).

[17] See also Fergus and Portner's discussion of the evidence that members of "a flourishing provincial reading community" in Warwick in the 1770s "kept in close touch with publishing activity in London largely through advertisements in newspapers" (158). Studying such paratexts as this list of "Books Printed," when provided, is consistent with such a habit.

[18] When the heroine of *Sir Charles Bentinck*, Louisa, flees from her abductor, she is rescued by Mr. Levison, the cruel father in *Laura and Augustus*. This former villain is now a repentant, cave-dwelling hermit who meditates on his lost daughter's memory, rescues persecuted maidens, and waits for death. Louisa and her friend Cecilia recall reading the "history" of Laura Levison and her husband Augustus.

[19] William Lane sold complete sets of books to circulating libraries all over the kingdom. His 1791 prospectus promised "that a library containing from a hundred to five thousand volumes could be had at a few days' notice, along with a catalogue for the subscribers, and full instructions 'how to plan, systemize, and conduct' the library" (Blakey 18). Much less is known of Hookham's business practices, but to his London-based circulating library he attracted rural subscribers in at least two ways: by offering special terms "To those … in the Country" wishing to subscribe and by making special arrangements with provincial booksellers who acted to some extent at least as his representatives ("Advertisement" a5^{r}, a6^{v}).

[20] Another scenario, perhaps even more likely given how much more popular Radcliffe's second novel was than her first, is that Austen began with *A Sicilian Romance* (Hookham, 1790), saw on this novel's title page that it was "By the Authoress of The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne," and became interested enough in the author to seek out *Athlin and Dunbayne*—which she then found complete with its list of "Books Printed." *A Sicilian Romance* is a significant source of *Northanger Abbey* (Grogan 18).

[21] See, for instance, Letter 3rd and Letter 13 (*Juvenilia* 104–05, 125–31)

[22] Sabor also points to her "interest in James Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785)" (Notes 446n11).

[23] Sir John Belmont exclaims, "Acknowledge thee, Caroline!—yes, with my heart's best blood would I acknowledge thee!" (416). He addresses his dead wife, Caroline, in absentia, not their living daughter, Evelina, who stands before him.

[24] Jacobs elaborates on this point: "Before circulating libraries, readers could more easily view a book as a singular, unique practice; with circulating libraries, readers were better able to see books as members of classes. Quite 'accidentally,' patrons' sensitivity to genre was also emphasized by the physical ordering of books in circulating-library catalogs, advertisements, and label illustrations. … At the most general level, and for practical reasons, catalogs and shelving divided books into broad categories … most 'Mysteries' were catalogued and shelved together, as were most 'Memoirs and Adventures.' Because catalogs and shelving also grouped books by format, even a little experience would teach patrons to look for 'modern romances' among duodecimo volumes. Such ordering made it easy for readers to find other books like ones they had enjoyed, and perhaps more importantly, it encouraged readers to perceive and sample books as members of genres" (Jacobs 617–18).

[25] One would have to deliberately misread Grundy to argue that the formula fiction that filled the shelves of English circulation libraries in the late eighteenth century deserves to be considered a "tradition" as she uses the word.

[26] "The Minerva Press produced many works other than novels and many types of novels other than gothic and sentimental romances. Also, although many of the Minerva Press novels are poorly written, many are at least as good as the standard novels of the day" (McLeod 13).

[27] A "reading list kept by Miss Mary Orlebar, a gentlewoman of Ecton in Northamptonshire, who read several hundred volumes between 1789, when she began her list at the age of 59, and 1820, a year before she died, aged 91," documents one reader's dependence on friends, from whom she borrowed the many novels on her list (Fergus, *Jane Austen* 25). It is not known whether her friends also kept reading lists or whether Orlebar shared her reading list with friends.

[28] These include *Rose-Mount Castle, or False Report*; *Edgar, or the Phantom of the Castle*; *Horrors of Oakendale Abbey*; *Heir of Montague*; *Mystery of the Black Tower*, and numerous others in the same line (311).

[29] In 1792 Bath had seven circulating libraries (*New Bath Directory* 13–27); "at the turn of the century" there were nine (Benedict and Le Faye xxviii). The best known of these, James Marshall's, was located in "Milson-street" (*New Bath Directory* 20), where Isabella resided and down which she would have to walk to reach "the Pump-room" where she and Catherine discuss novels (*NA* 60).

[30] A novel's title might announce it as gothic, whereas its plot might turn out to be primarily sentimental with some gothic elements. See, for instance, McLeod's plot summary of "Mary Julia Young's 1798 novel *Rose-Mount Castle; or, False Report*" (85).

[31] Roche "was a pillar of the MINERVA Press, managing deft transformations from polite decorum to GOTHIC sensationalism in sublime and picturesque settings" (Blain, Clements, and Grundy 917, original capitalisation).

[32] The three are *The Castle of Wolfenbach* (1793) and *The Mysterious Warning* (1796), both by Eliza Parsons, and Roche's *Children of the Abbey*. Roche, Parsons, and Francis Lathom (author of *The Midnight Bell* [1798]) were all popular in their day; in our own day, all three have entries in the *DNB*, a rare achievement for circulation-library novelists, and all three have been commended for the quality of their work by at least some twentieth-century readers. Sadleir terms *Clermont* an instance of the "rhapsodical sensibility romance in its finest form" (10), and Dorothy Blakey believes it "well deserved its place" among "the 'Northanger Novels'" (59). Blakey considers *Wolfenbach* and *Mysterious Warning* "two admirable specimens of terror fiction" and notes that "Contemporary reviewers spoke of her [Parsons] as a 'writer of no inferior talents' and of her novels as on the whole superior to most of Lane's other works" (59–60). She wrote to support her large family, and her "large output (19 multi-vol. titles) makes her quality uneven" (Blain, Clements, and Grundy 834). Eleanor Sleath does not make Minerva's Top Ten list, but her *Orphan of the Rhine* (1798) is, in Sadleir's assessment, "a strangely attractive absurdity" with a strong "affinity to the Radcliffian school of sensational landscape-fiction staged abroad" (23, 22), and as a 1798 publication this work would have for Isabella the added credibility of currency. *The Orphan of the Rhine* "was called by the *Critical Review* a 'vapid and servile' Ann RADCLIFFE imitation" (Blain, Clements, and Grundy 992, original capitalisation). Even though *The Necromancer* (1794) "as a novel … is a failure" in Sadleir's view, this "conglomerate of violent episodes thrown loosely together" contains "magniloquent descriptions of 'horrid' episodes" that, "for sheer stylistic fervour in the handling of the quasi-supernatural," makes it "rank high among its contemporaries" (17–18).

[33] Since *Horrid Mysteries* was first published in 1796 and there is no evidence of a second edition before 1927, its appearance on this list suggests that Lane misrepresented its

newness in order to advertise it along with genuine new releases—something he made a practice of doing. For instance, an advertisement of 1793 lists "Fifty-one titles," supposedly published "'within the space of a year,'" but in fact "the list contains books which may be definitely dated 1791, 1792, and 1793" (Blakey 97). In the 1798 *Prospectus*, similarly, of thirty-four titles said to have been published "This Season," only six were published in 1798; twelve were published in 1797, thirteen in 1796, and one in 1793. (Two cannot be located.) Similarly, Crosby advertised as "Just Published" in 1805 a book he "had published … two years earlier" (Burns 196).

[34] See her complaint to Cassandra of the "indelicacies" of Madame de Genlis's latest novel, *Alphonsine* (*Letters* 7 January 1807). Sadleir calls *The Midnight Bell* "Clumsy in construction, humourless and as mechanically a novel of suspense … as ever was" but notes that it does contain some chapters that would still "hold the attention of the modern reader" (16, 17).

[35] For instance, "Lane … spent a number of years travelling throughout the country, encouraging the development of a network of provincial circulating libraries in order to develop a market for his own productions" (McLeod 23).

[36] In *Athlin and Dunbayne*, a four-page version of the "Advertisement" follows the "List of Books Printed." A two-page version of the "Advertisement" is appended to the second volume of *Sir Charles Bentinck*. Whereas the "Advertisement" appears designed to appeal to the library's widest possible number of potential subscribers, the "List of Books Printed" serves to promote the publisher's most popular genres and most profitable products.

[37] When Lane "became the proprietor of a newspaper" in 1788, "'the first idea' of the proprietors, according to the prospectus" in the opening number of *The Star and Evening Advertiser*, "was to provide a reliable medium of advertising for their own products" (Blakey 10).

[38] Henry "probably wrote the note at some point after he began his banking career in 1801, and perhaps as late as November 1812, when Jane sold the copyright of her most popular novel, *Pride and Prejudice*, for £110. Henry's joke, in that case, would be the suggestion that his sister's unfinished, juvenile manuscript was worth almost as much as the three-volume novel newly purchased by the publisher Thomas Egerton" (Sabor, "Brotherly" 40).

[39] For a further discussion of the eighteenth-century tradition of the quixotic "novel *reader* who turns *writer*" as one of the "constituent images" of "the dominant discourse about authorship" that was "taking shape at the end of the eighteenth century," see Neiman (636).

[40] In this count I include number 10, "the first literary attempt of a Young Lady" and number 45, "by a Widow Lady." The other seven all use the identical phrase, "by a Lady." Other entries that do not name the author include four that identify the author only by previous works (these include *Sir Charles Bentinck*), twenty-four that make no mention of the author or translator at all, five that identify the works as translations without identifying either the author or the translator, and one that identifies the author as "an American Spy" (no. 46, n.p). Blakey similarly notes that "by far the most common item in the Minerva list of pseudonyms is the colourless fiction of 'A Lady'" (48).

[41] For a more positive assessment of the reading and writing networks generated and sustained by circulation-library fiction, see Neiman's analysis of how Minerva novelists "are connecting with each other over space and time via a market-driven system of exchange," to "fashion a collective model of authorship" (634, 635).

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Reviews

Edward Mendelson. *Early Auden, Later Auden: A Critical Biography*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

xiv + 895 pages. Paperback, GBP 22.99.
ISBN 9780691172491.

Edward Mendelson, Auden's bibliographer, literary executor (never did a poet make a better choice), editor and critic, who knows more about Auden than anyone in the world, has now published in one volume his *Early Auden* (1981) and *Later Auden* (1999), a highly informed commentary on Auden's early work and a comprehensive study of the mature poems, together with a sympathetic account of Auden's life. Although the poet's family background, education, life and loves are not scanted, this critical biography is definitely slanted towards criticism, giving a comprehensive, highly informed, intelligent account of Auden's *oeuvre*. However, whereas Rupert Davenport-Hines's biography *W. H. Auden* (1995) quoted very early poems, discussed at length the early influences of Wordsworth, Hardy and (at Oxford) T. S. Eliot, and pondered the sexual uncertainties expressed in "Thomas Epilogises," and John Fuller's *W. H. Auden: A Commentary* (1998) has a full chapter on the privately printed *Poems* (1928), Mendelson devotes only two or three pages to Auden's juvenilia. For him, the significance of the very early work is that it shows Auden getting his scaffolding in place to become "the first English writer to have absorbed all the lessons of modernism, but also understood its limits and turned elsewhere" (9).

What "turning elsewhere" means is suggested by the two photographs of Auden on the book's cover. The acclaimed young poet, smooth-haired, slightly frowning, in a tweed coat slung with a camera, stands in front of a railway carriage as if just about to board the boat train for Berlin, Spain or China. Below him, a sadder and wiser Auden with a face wrinkled "like a wedding-cake left out in the rain," as he famously said, gestures with a cigarette held in nicotine-stained fingers. Unlike his younger self, the older Auden looks not at the camera but towards another unseen person.

For Mendelson, in Auden's poetry the good wine came last (hence, presumably, his lack of interest in the juvenilia). Contesting the previous critical consensus that

Auden's early work is his best, he argues that the poetry which so excited readers in the 1930s was immature or self-deceived or both, owing much more to the poet's personal uncertainties than its deceptively impersonal surfaces suggested, while its limited emotional and intellectual range was far surpassed in Auden's later poetry:

> Auden in his early poems treats the separation of language from the world as the ultimate subject to which all writing must refer. In his later writings he treats the gulf between language and the world … as a condition that must be accepted but that does not prevent language from being shared …. Auden moves from a world without choice to a world with choice: from a world of limits where differences are absolute and the proper literary mode is the tragedy of helplessness and isolation, to a world of possibility where differences are overcome by mutual forgiveness and responsibility and the proper literary mode is the comedy of reconciliation. Auden's early poems are for intense love affairs that end quickly; the later poems are for marriage. (31).

Throughout the book, Mendelson shows how Auden constantly reinvented and developed both his understanding of what poetry is and does, and his own role as poet.

There are five parts, two for the early Auden (fifteen chapters) and three for the later (eighteen chapters), a division reflecting both the extraordinary flowering of long poems after Auden first moved to the USA, and the high value Mendelson sets on the later Auden. Except in Part V, the theme of each division is introduced in a close reading of a poem epitomising Auden's preoccupations in its period. The post-industrial loneliness of "The Watershed" introduces "The Border and the Group" (seven chapters) on *Poems* (1930, 1933) and *The Orators* (1932), while "A Summer Night," where the poet contemplates both a shared visionary experience, (forerunner of his later conversion) and the imperilled, privileged idyll of its setting, prefaces the discussion of public poetry and love poems in "The Two Worlds," whose eight chapters describe Auden's period of greatest success in England: *Look, Stranger / On This Island* (1936), the verse plays written with Isherwood (not rated too highly), *Letters from Iceland* and the 1939 sonnets about the Sino Japanese War. The long Part III "Vision and After" (nine chapters, 199 pages) covering Auden's move to the USA, his difficult love for Chester Kallmann and his rediscovery of Christian faith, opens with the 1939 elegy on W. B. Yeats, in which Auden publicly rejected the Yeatsian role of public poet ("poetry makes nothing happen"), after which Mendelson analyses the long poems *New Year Letter / The Double Man* (1941), *For The Time Being* (1942, published with *The Sea and the Mirror* 1944), and *The Age of Anxiety* (1947)). The post-war Auden of Part IV, "The Flesh We Are" (five chapters), is introduced by an analysis of the conversational erotic "In Praise of Limestone," leading to a strong defence of "Horae Canonicae" as Auden's greatest work, followed closely by *The Shield of Achilles*. Part V, the shortest (four chapters) begins with the collection *About the House* (1964), epitomising the humane intelligence and sheer variety of Auden's late poetry.

A constant theme in the book is Auden's lifelong attempt to comprehend and synthesise the relation of Man (the young Auden mostly ignored women) with psychology, society and God. Hence the poet's penchant for encyclopaedic theorists, some distinctly oddball. Freud and Marx mattered less to the young Auden than the wacky psychologist Groddeck and anthropologist Gerald Heard, while the Christian Auden was interested not only in Kierkegaard and Karl Barth but also in the theologically minded Charles Williams whom he considered a saint (Mendelson does not disagree, despite Williams's now dubious reputation), and acknowledged intellectual debts to the theosophist Owen Barfield and the German critic-philosopher Rudolf Kassner.

How does this book differ from its two predecessors? In some ways, not much. The text has changed little, apart from a two-page discussion of Auden's 1939 journal which has recently come to light. There is no engagement with recent Auden scholarship, although eminent Auden scholars are thanked in the Acknowledgements. But there is a helpful new preface, while the truly illuminating epilogue "Auden's Secret Life," revealing Auden's private life of charitable acts, offers a new perspective on his later years. Since Mendelson writes rather little about the juvenilia, his book's importance for readers of this journal is simply that this authoritative study of the life and work of a great poet, now in one affordable volume, is required reading for anyone interested in W. H. Auden.

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Emily Brontë and Anne Brontë. *The Diary Papers of Emily and Anne Brontë*. Edited by Christine Alexander, with Mandy Swann. Juvenilia Press, 2019.

xxxix + 72 pages. Paperback, AUD 15.00.
ISBN: 9780733437151.

THE PUBLICATION of Emily and Anne Brontë's Diary Papers in this elegant scholarly edition is a feat all Brontë readers and scholars will celebrate. This is the definitive edition of the diary papers, edited by Christine Alexander, the distinguished Brontë scholar and foremost authority on the Brontës' juvenilia, in collaboration with researcher and writer Mandy Swann. For teachers of the Brontës' fiction and poetry, this visually striking, reasonably priced volume opens up a new avenue into the

Brontës' lives and work. As a university professor who teaches a large course on these writers' works each year, I will now order this edition for my students.

This is a beautiful book. On its cover is a lovely image of the desk box that holds the Brontë diary papers, with Emily's and Anne's handwriting suffusing the image, creating a palimpsest as well as surrounding it with a border. This creation and the Brontë drawing from the diary papers that comprises almost the entirety of the volume's back cover—designed by Winston Pei of Black Riders Design—evokes the margins in which Cathy Earnshaw writes her testament in *Wuthering Heights* and her caricature of Joseph, as well as Anne and Emily's creation of marginalized figures from Heathcliff to Agnes Grey. Thus, before we open this volume, Brontëans will see aesthetic connections between the diary papers and the Brontë sisters' mature work. From its poignant dedications to the memory of ABA member Ann Lock and to "eminent Brontë scholar, friend, and former Vice-President of the Brontë Society Margaret Smith," to its lovely reproductions of Brontë manuscripts and photographs and its fine appendices, this book is lovely. Alexander's previous work on Brontëan art—including the groundbreaking 1995 *The Art of the Brontës*—is evident throughout this edition.

Of course, this book is not only beautiful but immensely useful—indeed, essential to Brontëans and compelling for all readers of their novels and poetry. The erudite introduction clearly explains how the Diary Papers were created and why they are important, declaring in the very first sentence that "Emily and Anne Brontë's six Diary Papers are remarkable historical documents" (viii). The Introduction goes on to explain why these "small scraps of paper" are also precious relics, the few we have of these brilliant writers:

> Written on small scraps of paper, they record details of the everyday lives of the famous Brontë family and the hopes and fears of two young women who became famous writers. Apart from a few brief letters, the Diary Papers constitute the only surviving prose manuscripts of Emily and Anne Brontë, since not even the manuscripts of Emily's iconic *Wuthering Heights* (1847) or Anne's *Agnes Grey* (1847) and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848) have survived. Furthermore, apart from their poetry and fragmentary lists of names (see Appendix B), the Diary Papers also constitute the only surviving evidence of the Gondal saga—the private creative wellspring of the two sisters. (xiii)

The Introduction reminds us that Emily and Anne wrote the Diary Papers as private communications between themselves, the recording of moments in the present—a kind of snapshot—that they would read years hence, comparing that future time of reading with the present time of writing. The editors usefully compare the Diary Papers to both time capsules and to Wordsworth's "spots of time." They trace what we learn from the Diary Papers—the close human-animal bonds in the Brontë household, for instance, evidenced by news of the family interspersed with news of Emily's bull mastiff Keeper and her hawk Nero ("Keeper is in the kitchen—

Nero in his cage"), and the realistic, unsentimental attitude toward animal lives and deaths, which "suggests that both sisters accepted the will of providence and the unremitting power of nature" (xix). We learn more about the extremely close relationship between Emily and Anne—Charlotte's close friend Ellen Nussey called them "twins"—but we also become more aware of their differences, of Emily's need for privacy and order and for Haworth itself, and of Anne's deepening commitment to the realism that emerges in her novels as she braves the world through years of experience as a governess out in a harsh world away from Haworth and her sisters.

We read the hints of Emily and Anne's private creation of the Gondal world following their youthful immersion in the Angrian fantasy realm with their older siblings Branwell and Charlotte, and, as the editors tell us, " we as readers glimpse the astonishing integration of the real and the imaginary in the lives of the young Brontës." It is wonderful to get a sense of Emily and Anne living and writing the world of two imaginary Pacific islands, Gondal and Gaaldine, while they go on with their daily lives. We have a good number of extant Angrian stories and poems by Charlotte and Branwell, and we possess so little that recalls the Gondal saga. The first evidence of this imaginary world is in Emily and Anne's November 24 Diary Paper, announced in the middle of a discussion of domestic chores: "Tabby said just now Come Anne pilloputate …. The Gondals are invading the interior of Gaaldine Sally Mosely is washing in the back—kitchin" (3-4). From this brief excerpt—as from so many others—we glimpse not only daily life at the Parsonage, but the young writers in the process of experiment—for instance, Emily trying to imitate beloved live-in servant Tabitha (Tabby) Ackroyd's Yorkshire dialect.

For readers of this lovely and distinguished book, the intimate entrée into the domestic routines and creative energies recorded in the Diary Papers will be poignant. Emily and Anne Brontë thought that they might live to be old—and we know that they died young. The November 1834 Diary Paper closes with the words: "Anne and I say I wonder what we shall be like and what we shall be and where we will be if all goes on well in the year 1874—in which year I shall be in my 57th year Anne will be going in her 55th year ... hoping we shall all be well at that time we close our paper." We know that Emily died at 30 and Anne at 29—but before they died the two sisters lived intensely and wrote brilliantly, creating masterpieces of English fiction—and for those great works of fiction and poetry we are eternally in their debt.

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Lucasta Miller. *L. E. L.: The Lost Life and Mysterious Death of the "Female Byron."* Anchor Books of Penguin Random House, 2019.

xii +401 pages. Hardback, USD 30.00; Paperback, USD 20.00.
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9780525655350 (ebook).

STRIKINGLY, this biography of the poetess Letitia Landon begins with her death and fully narrates that death itself some fifty pages before the book ends—just one indication that this is not your standard biography. Because evidence for events in L.E.L.'s life is so sparse, often so contradictory, and also often restricted to spotty and sometimes incorrect public records, Miller has accomplished the daunting task of writing the biography of a literary age, what Miller calls "a lost literary generation" of the 1820s and 1830s (4), between the apex of Romanticism, marked by the deaths of Keats, Shelley, and Byron, and the accomplishment of the Victorian era, by ranging widely across extant materials to assess cultural practices. She examines writings by other poets and novelists to establish the temper of the times, and she delves deeply into the paper trail left by friends and contemporaries of L.E.L. in letters, memoirs and autobiographical accounts, business documents, poetry and fiction. In doing so, she reveals a great deal about the poetesses of this period when women dominated the poetic genre and a great deal as well about the hegemonic masculinity of the literary realm, especially the economics of the periodical press.

For readers of this journal, the biography is primarily interesting for Miller's account of L.E.L.'s early career. Noted within her circle of family and friends as a strikingly precocious poet, Letitia Landon began her literary career when still a teenager, publishing her first verse in 1821 when she was nineteen. (The extensive list of her publications in the Broadview Press edition of Landon's works edited by Jerome McGann and Daniel Riess records at least four poems appearing in the *Literary Gazette* in 1820, when she would have been only eighteen.) Regularly appearing in the *Literary Gazette* from this time on, she built a remarkable reputation as L.E.L., so much so that Edward Bulwer (later Bulwer Lytton) reported that when he studied at Cambridge, her latest publication caused a weekly rush in the Union reading hall: "an impatient anxiety to hasten at once to that corner of the sheet which contained the three magical letters 'L.E.L.' All of us praised the verse, and all of us guessed at the author" (qtd. 13). After the *Gazette* revealed she was a teenaged female, Bulwer remarked, "our admiration was doubled, and our conjectures tripled" (qtd. 14). Her most frequent topic was "thwarted romantic love," unrequited passion about which she wrote knowingly (5), using sexual innuendo, allusions, resonant metaphors, and implication. As Miller judges, "Her first fans regarded her as edgy, dangerous," and to be anachronistic, "cool" (15).

Using evidence that has recently come to light, Miller establishes that Landon continued as the mistress of William Jerdan, editor of the *Literary Gazette,* for decades, secretly bearing him three children that the pair quickly gave away. While this story of illegitimate children has long percolated through the L.E.L. legend, Miller assembles the evidence painstakingly. She also convincingly establishes a campaign among male literati of the 1830s to humiliate L.E.L. by exposing her sexual history, and describes her endeavour to marry George Maclean, then British Governor of Cape Coast Castle in West Africa, to escape London gossip. Miller also makes sense of the mystique surrounding L.E.L.'s death exactly two months after she arrived there, locating her experience in West Africa amid its abolitionist controversies and brisk illegal slave trade, as well as in her husband's boorish neglect. The details support theories that L.E.L. was addicted to prussic acid, as an alternative to laudanum, and that her death was either an accidental overdose or more likely, an intentional suicide nonetheless officially ruled an accident.

This study is a triumph of scholarship. Miller has exhaustively mined available records and literature of the time to produce a lively, detailed account of a little understood literary context. She illuminates L.E.L.'s life and writings to reveal a world in which the transition to Victorian proprieties allowed for no female version of Byron to triumph, command respect, or earn financial independence. Landon's life was pathetic, perhaps most poignantly so in the fact that outside personal glimmerings in ostensibly fictive poetry, so little remains to account for her life. Miller's biography suggests that she became Jerdan's mistress in order to establish and sustain her literary career. He was her Svengali, though clearly less talented than she. But readers of this biography never get a sense of whether she actually loved the man, though this is perhaps the only reason that could account for her continuing an alliance with him after she became a best-selling celebrity and while she long worked as an unpaid editor on the *Literary Gazette.* In addition, we never learn if she had tender feelings for the man she eventually married, or whether he simply provided her an escape from the lurid gossip arising in literary London. A further mystery remains after Miller's exhaustive examination of L.E.L.'s finances. Her unremitting industry as poet, novelist, and editor should have made her wealthy, even while supporting her brother and mother. Yet she remained relatively poor, long living with friends or in rented rooms, which suggests that that Jerdan was pocketing her earnings. We close the volume wondering what *there* was there. Traces of L.E.L. the woman suggest what Miller calls "a haunting vacuum where 'Letitia Landon' ought to be" (p. xi). As a writer, her poetry bears little impress of her life except as a moving example of the culture's crushing weight of judgement against women who failed to live up to nineteenth-century ideals of domesticity. Despite her fame, L.E.L. seems never to have succeeded as a woman.

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